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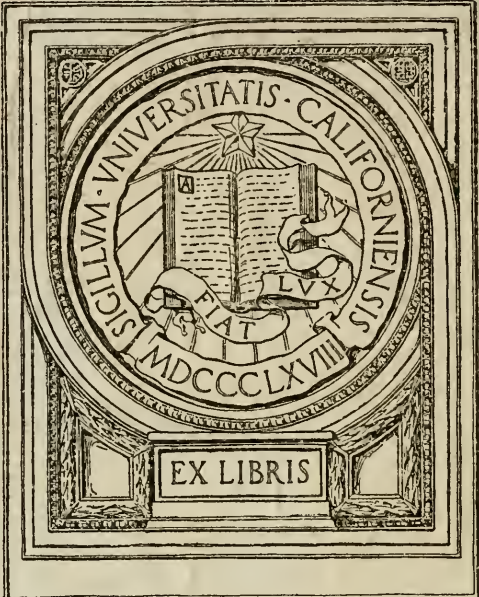


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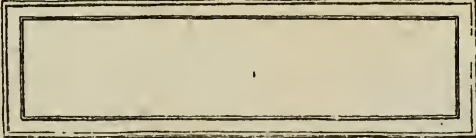


THE IRISHMAN IN CANADA.





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THE  
IRISHMAN IN CANADA.

BY  
NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN.



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TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE RIGHT HON.

Sir Frederick Temple Blackwood, Earl of Dufferin,

K.P., K.C.B.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA,

THIS BOOK

IS, BY PERMISSION, RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

AS TO ONE

WHO EMBODIES, IN RARE AND HAPPY COMBINATION,

THE VARIETY OF GIFTS

Irishmen

HAVE BROUGHT TO THE SERVICE

OF THE

EMPIRE.





## PREFACE.

---

AN old friend of mine, Mr. Joseph Hatton, writing in *Tinsley's Magazine* says :—“ Still at the bottom of all thought and speculation as to the future, there is a strong layer of old English sentiment outside the Province of Quebec. The great pioneers of Canada, the English and the Scotch look across the broad waters of the Atlantic, and think of home. They feel proud of the flag which is not only to them a national symbol, but a link between the far-off settlement and the churchyard where their forefathers sleep beyond the sea.” Scarcely anybody in England knows anything of Canadian history, and Mr. Hatton cannot be blamed for not being aware that the majority of people in Ontario, as compared with other nationalities, are Irish. The population of Ontario is 1,620,831 : of these 559,442 are Irish, 328,889 Scotch, 439,429 English ; and in the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the Irish number 846,414, as compared with 706,369 English, and 549,946 Scotch. The Irishman was here as early as others ; he fought against the wilderness as well as others ; his arm was raised against the invading foe as well as that of others ; and when a man who was not Irish lifted the standard of revolt, and another who was not Irish betrayed his country and his flag, who more faithful,

who more heroic, than the countrymen of Baldwin and Fitzgibbon in putting down that rebellion? That a literary man like Mr. Hatton should wholly ignore the Irish, therefore, shows that there was need of such a book as the present. Who to-day are more truly attached to British connexion than the great majority of Irishmen all over the Dominion? Amongst ourselves also, the Irish have been too much ignored; chiefly because the follies and absurdities of a few make hundreds averse from an assertion which would be only the reasonable expression of self-respect. There is a great dissimilarity in culture between the Irish cottier and the Irish gentleman, between the Irish labourer and the Irish professional man, but not more than there is between the Scotch laird and the Scotch gillie, or between the English squire and the English peasant. Why then is it that Irishmen of the more cultivated class are sometimes found to run down the less cultivated class of Irish, so that, as somebody has said, whenever an Irishman is to be roasted, another is always at hand to turn the spit? "My grandmother," says the Earl of Beaconsfield, "the beautiful daughter of a family who had suffered much from persecution, had imbibed that dislike for her race which the vain are apt to adopt when they find they are born to public contempt. The indignant feeling which should be reserved for the persecutor, in the mortification of their disturbed sensibility, is too often visited on the victim." Something like this process has taken place in the minds of Irishmen of a certain class. But let any Irishman who reads these lines ponder what I say:—You can never lose your own respect and keep

the respect of others; you can never be happy and dress yourself solely in the glass of other men's approval; you may as well seek to fly from your shadow as to escape from your nationality. If you find any men mistaken, or low down in type, or in popular esteem, it is your duty to raise them, especially if they have on you national or family claims.

I had not intended to write a preface, and I have said enough in the opening chapter to indicate the objects I have kept before me. The history of Canada cannot be written without the history of the Scotchman, the Englishman, and the German in Canada; the Frenchman in Canada has found his historian. "The Scotchman in Canada" is in the hands of a writer capable of doing justice to a great theme and an extraordinary race, whose deeds here as elsewhere are illustrious with such episodes as the Red River settlement, planted under the guidance of Lord Selkirk, by men with a determined bravery comparable to that of the German troops at Gravelotte, again and again attempting the hill, studded with rifle pits, which guarded the French left. Even the Mennonite settlements will come within the purview of the historian, and he will have to deal with a later American immigration than the U. E. Loyalist—an immigration composed mainly of men who entered Canada intending to settle in Michigan, but, who, when they saw the splendid stretches of oak near London and the neighbouring counties, settled here. Among these settlers were the Shaws, the Dunbars, and the Goodhues. There was an eastern settlement of the same class, in which we find the Burnhams, the Horners, the Keelers, the Smiths, the

Perrys. Some of these were led to come to Canada by inducements held out by the Government of the day to construct roads and build mills. Hence in many instances we find American immigrants the great patentees where they settled.

In the index I do not give every name, but only the leading names.

I have in the notes thanked Mr. Charles Lindsey and the Hon. Christopher Fraser for their assistance in placing books at my disposal. I have to thank Chief Justice Harrison for the loan of books, and Mr. Justice Gwynne for the loan of books and old files of newspapers. To Mr. Allan McLean Howard my thanks are also due for books which could not well have been procured elsewhere. To Dr. McCaul for books and hints respecting the university, I must likewise express my obligation. My thanks are due to my friends throughout the country who sent information, and to the agents employed by my publishers. Particularly are my thanks due to Mr. Sproule, of Ottawa, who, though an Orangeman, has visited a large number of Roman Catholic prelates and clergymen, in regard to this book, and got me more Roman Catholic information than has come from all other sources whatsoever. In a special manner, my thanks are due to Sir Francis Hincks, who, both by word and letter, helped me to understand the great period of which he could truly say—*pars magna fui*. For estimating the character and genius of Sullivan, he gave me invaluable data. From Mr. Thomas Maclear, and Mr. Thomas A. Maclear, I have received much assistance in collecting information for the settler chapters,

and in revising the proofs. Last though not least, Dr. Hodgins, Deputy Minister of Education, claims my thanks for books and pamphlets connected with his department.

I have in places departed from rules usually observed in books. For instance, in some cases, I have not "spelled out" figures because I thought the use of arithmetical symbols more suitable to the subject treated at the moment.

The Irishman has played so large a part in Canada that his history could not be written without, to some extent, writing the history of Canada, and the following pages may, in the present stage of Canadian historical literature, be found useful to the student and the politician.

TORONTO, September 22nd, 1877.

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## ERRATA.

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- Page 127, l. 4, for "exist" read "exists."
- " 163, l. 3 from bottom, for "Walters" read "Watters."
- " 165, l. 13, for "Livingstone" read "Livingston."
- " 177, l. 4 from bottom, for "£809" read "£800."
- " 213, l. 14, for "Again he" read "Acadian."
- " 328, verses belong to note p. 327.
- " 347, l. 7, for "McGibbon" read "McKibbon."
- " 349, l. 4 from bottom, for "Byson" read "Bryson."
- " 350, l. 14 from bottom, *dele* "school teacher."
- " 350, l. 12 from bottom, for "Morsom" read "Mossom."
- " 393, heading, read "Baldwin's character."
- " 409, l. 9, for "Catherine" read "Charlotte."
- " 476, l. 13, for "Vice-Chancellor" read "Chancellor."
- " 577, l. 12 from bottom, for "1859" read "1849."
- " 595, l. 7 from bottom, for "arm he drew" read "arm drew."

# CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER I.

### MOTIVE OF THE "IRISHMAN IN CANADA."

	PAGE
Future of Canada .....	1
Materials for the future historian .....	2, 3
Writing the History of the Irishman in Canada an inviting task .....	4
Resources of the Dominion.....	5, 6
Irishmen's position in Dominion.....	6

## CHAPTER II.

### ANTECEDENTS OF THE IRISHMAN IN CANADA.

Irish History .....	7, 8
The Celt in Europe .....	9
Early Settlement of Ireland .....	9
The Irish colonize Scotland and South-west Britain .....	10, 12
Effect of the Introduction of Christianity into Ireland.....	13, 15
Barbarizing effect of Danish Incursions .....	15, 18
Norman invasion .....	17, 22
The Tudor and Stuart policy in Ireland .....	23, 24
William III and James II .....	24, 27
Ireland the great Liberaliser of the Empire.....	28
Achievements of Irishmen on the Continent of Europe .....	28, 32
Great Irishmen in India .....	33, 34
Statesmen, Orators, Artists, Preachers, Literary Men .....	34, 37
Irish Intellect and Character .....	38, 42
'48 and the Men of '48; Penal Laws and Gladstone's Legislation.....	43, 46
Ireland in the Eighteenth Century .....	47, 50

## CHAPTER III.

### ANTECEDENTS—*Continued.*—IRISHMEN IN THE NEW WORLD AND IN AUSTRALIA.

The Founders of the United States .....	50, 56
---	--------

	PAGE
The Struggle for Independence.....	56, 61
Vast Immigration of Irishmen and their Success .....	62, 64
The Position of Irishmen in the United States.....	64, 65
Their Conduct during the War.....	65, 66
The Irishman in Australia, in Mexico, in California and in South America .....	62, 64, 66, 68

## CHAPTER IV.

## LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF CANADA.

The French Régime.....	68
Carleton, the First Irish Governor of Canada, and his Policy.....	68-74
The War, Invasion of Canada, Carleton's Dangers, Difficulties, and Suc- cess .....	75-87
Carleton's Magnanimity and Administration.....	87, 88
Major-General Haldimand, Governor.....	88
Acknowledgment of the Independence of United States, and the U. E. Loyalists.....	88-96
Methodism in Canada .....	96-98
The Father of Anglicanism in Upper Canada .....	99-101
The Roman Catholic Church in Canada.....	101
Carleton becomes Lord Dorchester, and Returns as Governor-General of Canada.....	101
State of Education.....	102, 103
The Constitutional Act of 1791.....	103, 104
Lieutenant-Governors Clarke and Simcoe open respectively the Par- liament of Lower, and the Parliament of Upper Canada.....	104
Colonel Talbot and the Talbot settlement .....	105-126

## CHAPTER V.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF CANADA.—*Continued.*

What Canada owes Irishmen and Canadian Unity .....	128-130
The First Settlers .....	130-132
Character of the Irish settler .....	132-135
Analysis of the Population of the Dominion .....	135-142
Irish settlements in Newfoundland .....	142-145
The Irish in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island .....	145-170
Irish Settlements in Lower and Upper Canada .....	170-173
The dawn of political life in the Canadas .....	173-178
Progress of the Methodist Church .....	178-185
Education.....	185-186
The poet Moore in Canada.....	187-190



## CHAPTER VI.

## THE WAR OF 1812-1814.

	PAGE
The Veterans of 1812 to-day and the Character of the War . . . . .	191-194
Circumstances leading to War . . . . .	195-200
Two prominent heroes of the War . . . . .	200-204
The First Year of the War . . . . .	205-210
The Second " " . . . . .	211-235
The Third " " . . . . .	236-241

## CHAPTER VII.

## IRISH IMMIGRATION FROM 1815 TO 1837.

The Results of the Great War in Ireland . . . . .	242-244
Irish Immigrations; what the Irishman has done for Canada; what Canada has done for the Irishman . . . . .	244-301

## CHAPTER VIII.

IRISH IMMIGRATION FROM 1815 TO 1837—*Continued.*

The Blakes . . . . .	302-308
Settlement of the County of Carleton . . . . .	310-328
The Irishman in Montreal . . . . .	328-336
" Oxford . . . . .	337
" Sandwich . . . . .	338-340
" Halton and Welland . . . . .	341-344
" the County of Victoria . . . . .	344-355
" the County of Peterborough . . . . .	355
" Kingston . . . . .	365
" Percy . . . . .	372-379
" Belleville . . . . .	379
" Dundas, Brantford and Hamilton . . . . .	379
" the County of Middlesex . . . . .	380, 381
" the County of Wellington . . . . .	381-383

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN CANADA.

Character of this History . . . . .	385
The first early stirrings of freedom . . . . .	385, 386
Agitation of Gourlay and Mackenzie . . . . .	386, 387
Struggle to have the debates reported . . . . .	387, 388

	PAGE
Doctor Baldwin in Parliament . . . . .	389
Hon. Robert Baldwin ; Entrance into political life ; his character . . . . .	390-395
Goes to England and presses his views on Lord Glenelg . . . . .	396
Sir Francis Bond Head . . . . .	396-406
Robert Baldwin Sullivan enters public life . . . . .	398, 399
The Rebellion of 1837 . . . . .	401-406
Sir George Arthur, Governor ; unsatisfactory condition of all British North America ; struggles for liberty . . . . .	406, 407
Sir Francis Hincks . . . . .	408, 409
Mr. Poulett Thompson (Lord Sydenham) Governor-General . . . . .	410-473
The Union of the Canadas . . . . .	409-438
The first Parliament of United Canada . . . . .	438-460
Disputes regarding Responsible Government . . . . .	446-459
Agitation . . . . .	460
Portraits of Draper and Sir Francis Hincks . . . . .	463, 464

## CHAPTER X.

THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—*Continued.*

State of Education in Canada . . . . .	473-476
Government of Sir Charles Bagot . . . . .	476-483
Fall of the Draper Government and rise of the Baldwin party to power . . . . .	478-482
Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe, Governor-General—violent agitation . . . . .	483-503

## CHAPTER XI

THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—*Continued.*

The unconstitutional interregnum . . . . .	503-508
Popular agitation . . . . .	509-512
Parliament Dissolved ; exciting contest . . . . .	512, 513
Election of Speaker ; attack on the Ministry ; progress of Constitu- tional Government ; indecency of Ministers ; Draper's Univer- sity Bill ; departure and death of Lord Metcalfe . . . . .	521-532

## CHAPTER XII.

THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—*Continued.*

Lord Cathcart, Administrator . . . . .	532
Disorganisation of the Tory Party . . . . .	532-534
Lord Elgin, Governor-General ; Draper's farewell ; famine immigra- tion ; the New Ministry ; death of Sullivan ; effect of Free Trade ;	

CONTENTS.

XV

PAGE

commercial depression ; Rebellion Losses Bill ; mob violence ; seals of Government ; treason ; triumph of Responsible Govern- ment .....	534-564
--	---------

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION.

Developing the country ; the " Clear Grits ;" Independence and An- nexation ; advantages of Canadian Constitution .....	564-572
Parliament meets ; " Clear Grits " attack the Reform Government ; fruitful legislation ; Railway Mania ; Mr. Brown's hostility to the Hincks' Government ; Coalition Opposition ; fall of Hincks and close of the Irish period (1825-1854) .....	572-589

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF CANADA.

Irish immigration since 1837 .....	590-597
The Irishman as a social force .....	597-598
"    as a Medical man .....	589-603
"    as a Journalist. ....	603, 604
The Bench, the Bar, culture.....	604-611
Canadian Art.....	611-618
Irish poets in Canada .....	618-620
Volunteers.....	620-623

CHAPTER XV.

THE IRISHMAN AS A RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL FORCE.

Importance of Religion and Education.....	623
The Church of England in Canada.....	624-629
The Methodist Church .....	629-632
The Presbyterian Church.....	632-635
The Roman Catholic Church .....	635-643
Education .....	643, 644

CHAPTER XVI.

CANADIAN HISTORY FROM 1856 TO 1877.

Premiership of Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald.....	645
John Sheridan Hogan .....	645, 646
Thomas D'Arcy McGee .....	646-651

	PAGE
Foley.....	651
Confederation, Lord Monck, Fenianism .....	651-656
McGee, fierce contest, longing after repose, murder. ....	656-659
The Catholic League.....	659
Return of Sir Francis Hincks.....	659, 660
Reform Party reinforced by Mr. Edward Blake.....	660, 661
New Irish members.....	661, 662
Lord Dufferin, Governor-General ; nationality, what ; Lord Dufferin's talents ; his career .....	662-666
Conclusion .....	667

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# THE IRISHMAN IN CANADA.

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## CHAPTER I.

It requires no such faith as Abraham's to look forward to a time when Canada will be a great nation. Had the aged Hebrew, when told to count his descendants by the stars, turned away incredulously and re-entered his tent, and sat down to laugh with Sarah over what might well have seemed a mocking promise, he would surely have been excusable. It was hard for him to believe that the withered trunk would sprout and cover the land with forest. But, however strong his faith, he could not have grasped the mighty future which lay locked within his wintry loins. What human vision could have seen in the patriarch, bowed with age, the extraordinary people who were to be to the world what the fruitful cloud and the vivifying sunshine are to the earth—a people, to whose spiritual insight that of the Greeks was blindness, from whose sublime morality Roman virtue differed, as the human differs from the Divine? But there would be no excuse whatever for doubts on our part. We already count ourselves by millions; we live in historical times; we are the heirs in possession of the moral and intellectual wealth of centuries; we carry in our veins the blood of races which have been prolific in martyrs and heroes, poets and statesmen; in beauty, which gives sweetness to strength, and in art, which renders that beauty immortal. We have seen the family

and the clan expand into the nation, and the descendants of robbers and outlaws become the stern lawgivers of the world. From what rude tribes sprang Greece; out of what a coarse chaos came the refined civilization of France and the glory of the Brito-Hibernian empire. The great Eastern shepherd had long slept in his grave when his children were the slaves of a cruel tyranny; his dust had passed through many forms when Solomon ruled at Jerusalem; ages had intervened when a greater than Solomon promulgated from Zion a kingdom which can know no decline. We, too, shall have long slept with our fathers when Canada's sun will be in the zenith. But they only play their part worthily who live for morrows whose light cannot gladden them. This is a duty which is laid on all, but especially on young peoples. Our politics are evanescent; our ambitions, dreams; there is nothing of reality in the passing show but the qualities which assign the individual and the community their place in the moral scale, and determine the character of their successors. Humanity is immortal; the individual, perishable. Even races disappear and give place to other races. Old forces take new forms, as in the sea the waves spend themselves, transmitting their strength to other waves, which in their turn are doomed to die.

It is natural to wish to know what manner of men our fathers were. On no subject has there been more curiosity, on none has there been so much absurd speculation, as on the ethnology of nations who have taken a foremost place in the world. The fountains of the Nile have not been so baffling as those changes and conditions which preceded the advent and growth of nations. The sources are lost in unrecorded time. It is only yesterday that the clue from language was discovered. Hence, ignorant or uncritical historians, more enamoured of the marvellous than careful about truth, have allowed fancy to run riot, and taught men to reverence fabulous heroes, and sometimes to regulate their conduct by what was no better than idle legend.

When the future historian of Canada sits down to write a story which, we may hope, will be illustrious with great achievements and happy discoveries, triumphs in literature and art, in

his library, side by side with lore it has not entered into the heart of man as yet to conceive, will be found records such as the historian of Greece, or Rome, or Ireland, or Scotland, or England looks for in vain. He will have to treat of the races which laid the foundation of the great northern empire on this continent, and he must have adequate information to his hand. But those records will be incomplete, unless we take care that a class of facts, which may easily escape, are duly hoarded. The future historian will find full particulars regarding those heroic Frenchmen—the missionary and the soldier—who were the pioneers of our civilization. He ought to know all about the English settlement. He should be acquainted with all that Scotchmen have done for Canada. He should not be ignorant of the noble elements of national life one of the most brilliant of modern nations has laid at her feet. To point out this is the task I have set myself.

I have another object in view: I wish, while performing this task, to sweep aside misconceptions, to explode cherished fallacies, to point out the truth, and so raise the self-respect of every person of Irish blood in Canada. The time has not yet arrived when we can speak of a Canadian type, and until that day arrives, whether we are born on Canadian soil, or in the mother lands, we cannot safely forego the bracing and inspiring influences which come from country and race.\* Our first duty here is to Canada; but one of the best ways efficiently to discharge this duty, is to be just to ourselves and true to facts.

Writing the history of Irishmen in Canada, I can afford to speak in this way, for it was in great part due to the eloquence and enthusiasm of an Irishman that the scattered provinces were brought together, and men born on this soil have acknowledged

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\* Let the miserables who would deny a country because the shadow of a vanished oppression is only passing from it, and who do not scruple to abuse their fellow-countrymen, ponder the following remarks of an Englishman:—“The moral degradation arising from this vast mass of helotage could not fail to affect the bearing even of the upper classes of Ireland. It produced in them that want of self-respect and respect for their country in their intercourse with the English which drew from Johnson the bitter remark, ‘The Irish, sir, are a very candid people; they never speak well of each other.’”—“Irish History and Irish Character.” By Goldwin Smith.

their indebtedness to his winged words for the most precious of gifts.\*

Happily, to write the history of Irishmen in Canada is no uninviting task. It is not merely that Ireland can advance her claim to recognition and respect as no inconsiderable contributor to the great work of laying the foundation of this young nation. She has helped to reclaim the land from barrenness; to substitute for the wilderness the garden. In clearing and in counsel, her sons have done their part. Whether it was necessary to speak or strike, they have been at the post of duty. This is not all which makes the task so pleasant. The heroism, the endurance, the versatile genius implied by all this may be found written on the tearful pages of the history of the motherland. What renders the task so pleasant is, that here the factions which have afflicted successive centuries exist but in shadow because the ground of quarrel is wholly absent. Whoever studies the history of Ireland, not in what are called popular histories and student's manuals, but in contemporary documents, will learn that the great bone of contention, from age to age, was not religion, nor form of government, but the land. Here, land can be no apple of discord. Ireland, nay, the three kingdoms, might be drowned in one of our lakes. We have, too, outlived the age of plunder and confiscation, and never can any difficulty arise on this score in a country where we open up provinces as men in the old world make a paddock.

And if there can be no misgiving as to the abundance, neither can there be any as to the wealth and fruitfulness of the land. Ireland's fields are greener, but they are not as variously fruitful as those of Canada; her hills—nothing could surpass their beauty, but they do not contain the mineral treasures which are to be found here; her rivers have unspeakable charm, but their sands are not of gold.

A glance at the physical geography of Canada will show it to be one of the richest sections of the globe. Its forests will

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\* "There is a name I would fain approach. . . . one who breathed into our new Dominion the spirit of a proud self-reliance, and first taught Canadians to respect themselves—Thomas D'Arey McGee."—"Canada First; or, Our New Nationality." By W. A. Foster.



build thousands of fleets and warm the hearths of many generations. Already great as a wheat-growing country, it is destined to be greater, the isotherm of wheat running right across the greater portion of the whole Dominion. The red loam of Prince Edward is among the most fertile of soils. What country is so beautifully wooded and watered as New Brunswick, whose fertility is only surpassed by the wealth of its mines and fisheries? Nova Scotia, variegated by lofty hills and broad valleys, by lakes and rivers, is rich in geological resources, and, while bountiful to the agriculturalist, is still more bountiful to the miner. Gold and iron and copper, lead and silver and tin, abound. Shipbuilding is carried on extensively, as in New Brunswick and in Quebec. The agricultural resources of Quebec and those of Ontario need not be dwelt on. It is now known that the land to the north-west of Manitoba is richer than any prairie land in the world. Our minerals held their heads high at the Centennial of 1876. Canadian horses and cattle are finding a market in England, and the gates of commerce are thrown open to us under the Southern Cross. If the eastern bounds of our Dominion, washed by the stormy Atlantic, are variously rich, so are the western bounds, whose golden feet are laved by the calmer waters of the Pacific. Destined at once to be the England and the California of the future, British Columbia is as beautiful as she is richly dowered. The traveller who proceeds up the highway made where the Fraser cleaves the granite ridges of the Cascade range and enters the open valleys beyond, is face to face with "the unequalled pastoral and agricultural resources of the bunch-grass country."\* From an eminence in the neighbourhood of Kamloops he commands an interminable prospect of grazing lands and valleys waiting for the husbandman. He may see the mouths of the coal-pits opening into the hulls of the vessels; here, inexhaustible supplies of iron ore; there, the woodsman laying the axe to trees two hundred and fifty feet high and over four hundred years old. Skirting the Fraser, he will see the Indian fisherman haul out a salmon on the sands, whence the miner is sifting sparkling ore. In Cariboo, in Cassiar, in the valley of the Stickeen, the precious metal is still more abundant.

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\* See Lord Dufferin's speech at Victoria, Sept. 20th, 1876.

What land is more richly blessed by nature with water, whether we consider it as a beautifier, or as a drudge, or as a fishing field? The fisheries, inland and seaward, are unequalled. No country in the world has such an avenue of approach as the St. Lawrence. To wind one's way through the Thousand Islands is to wander amid enchanting beauty. It is an Irish poet who writes—

“ There are miracles, which man,  
Cag'd in the bounds of Europe's pigmy span,  
Can scarcely dream of—which his eye must see  
To know how wonderful this world can be.” \*

What variety and beauty is there up Lake Superior! Cross the continent, and you may sail along the coast for a week in a vessel of two thousand tons, threading “an interminable labyrinth of watery lanes and reaches,” winding endlessly amid a maze and mystery of islands, promontories, and peninsulas for thousands of miles, the placid water undisturbed by the slightest swell from the adjoining ocean, and presenting at every turn an ever-shifting combination of rock, verdure, forest, glacier, and snow-capped mountain of unrivalled grandeur and beauty.” † Those capacious and tranquil waters, capable of carrying a line of battle ship, seem gentle, as if on purpose to suit the frail canoes which skim in safety over the unrippled surface.

In such a country, where the laws are equal, with everything which can stimulate industry, ‡ everything which can stir the heart, it would be an extraordinary thing if the Irishman did not rise to a high level. Here, all that his fathers ever struggled for he has. He is a controlling part of the present; he is one of the architects of the future, and he has nothing to do with the disasters of the past, only so far as they teach him lessons for the present. Nothing to do with the glories of the past, save to catch their inspiration. On those disasters and those glories it will now be my duty briefly to dwell.

\* Moore.

† Lord Dufferin.

‡ I am convinced, from what I saw in the States, and from all I have heard, that the position of the Irishman in Canada is better than in the States.

## CHAPTER II.

No source of education open to a people ought to be so fruitful as the story of their own country. But, if it is to teach and correct and inspire, it must be true. The muse of history is the purest of all the Nine, and no passion should darken the clear blue of the intellectual atmosphere of her domain; no fiction warp its crisp outlines. The romancer, who gives you idle fables, and calls them history, would play a much more useful part if he appeared in his true character of novelist; while the man who distorts facts or colours them mischievously, with the view of raising or stimulating passions, is worse than a murderer, for he sows broadcast the seeds of murder. In uncritical times, the deposit of the national fancy is easily mistaken for the gold of truth, and for the most credulous of Irish historians there is this excuse: for him the future was a vista of despair; the present, blood and tears, and hope, in the unnatural strain, was turned to the past, giving additional warmth and boldness to imagination. He erred, too, it must be admitted, in good company, but, in his case, error was fraught with serious consequences—it was used by the enemies of his country to discredit her real glory.

Some Irish historians divide the history into periods; the pre-Christian, the Irish pentarchy, the Danish period, the Norman, the Tudor and Stuart, and the Hanoverian.\* But, perhaps,

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\* See "The Student's Manual of Irish History." By M. F. Cusack. Until somebody does for Ireland what Mr. J. R. Green has done for England, I know no better book to recommend to those who want to get an outline of events. But, owing, perhaps, to the limits of space, very important facts, which should find a place even in a compendium, are omitted, and it is impossible to escape from the conviction that, here and there, the partiality of the patriot sways the balance of the historian—an unhappy thing, because calculated to make Irishmen look ridiculous, and a needless thing, for Irishmen can afford to have the truth told. But it is one of the best small histories of Ireland which can be got.

the facts would be brought more certainly before the mind if Irish history were divided into the Celtic period and the mixed period. The modern Irishman is not a Celt, any more than the modern Englishman is a Saxon. The name of the greatest of English historians \* proves him to have been in part Celt; the name of the latest of Irish historians † indicates that the writer is in part Norman. But, as in England, over Celt and Norman the Saxon predominates, so in Ireland, over Saxon and Norman, the Celt predominates.

We may leave antiquarians to puzzle over the five "takings" of Ireland. It is enough for every practical purpose to know as we do, by the sure test of language, that the people inhabiting Ireland, when the mists of unhistorical times are swept away from its green hills, its fertile valleys, and extensive forests, belonged to the great Celtic race. That race which came before the Teuton formed the vanguard of the Aryan march to the West ‡ and played, and still plays, a great part in the history of the world. It plays its part no longer alone, but in conjunction with one or other of its brethren. The Celt of Gaul has done great things, not merely within his own bounds, but for Europe; but he has wrought all this brilliancy speaking a Latin dialect and wearing the name of a German tribe. The Celt of Ireland of Scotia major, and his brethren among the hills of Scotia minor, having learned a language composed of elements drawn from dialects of their brethren, the Teuton on the one hand, and the Roman on the other, have done their part in building up what, if Irishmen's attention had not been directed into other

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Disfigured, as Froude's history is, by deliberate misrepresentation, his pages are the most vivid which have been devoted to Irish history, and the student could not do better than read them, if he will remember their real character and correct them by reference to more trustworthy sources bearing on the period. Mr. Goldwin Smith's essay, "Irish History and Irish Character," should be read by every student. It is the most masterly thing ever written on Ireland, and breathes, with one or two trifling exceptions, a spirit of perfect fairness. For persons who are not students of Irish history there is no other book which will give them, on a small canvas, so true a picture. The canvas is small, but the treatment is the large treatment of a master-hand.

\* Macaulay. † Cusack.

‡ Freeman.—"Comparative Politics," p. 50.

channels, they would have readily and gladly recognised as the Brito-Hibernian empire. On this continent, working by the side of the Saxon, and mingling with him, the Celt has made, in a few years, one of the foremost of modern nations, and here, in Canada, no small portion of the work of the future rests on his shoulders. It is impossible to say with certainty whether the Celts separated from the Roman and the Greek in their Aryan nome, or parted company with them on their westward march. When we see them face to face with their classical brethren, it is as enemies. They poured over the Alps, and settled in the valleys of the Po, and, in vengeance for the haughty language of Roman ambassadors and some Gaulish blood spilt in a skirmish, they raised the siege of Clusium and marched on Rome, which, having put the Romans to rout at Allia, they gave to the flames. It was Celtic valour bore down the Roman in the defile of Thrasymene, on the disastrous field of Cannæ; nor was it until Cæsar carried a ten years' extirminating war into the home of the Celts that the contest of four centuries was decided. They carried their arms into Greece and overran Asia Minor. They sacked Delphi; "they met the summons of Alexander with gasconading defiance; they overthrew the phalanx in the plains of Macedon."\*

We may trust the traditions which assign an early date to the settlement of Ireland, while dismissing with a smile stories about Noah's children and Canaanitish emigrations. The Celt who settled in Ireland, separated by the sea from the continent, would naturally be shut out from a share in the wars and enterprises of the members of his race on the mainland, and be kept free from influences to which they were exposed. Centuries passed away, and the civilization did not advance beyond the primitive stage of the sept and clan. Petty principalities arose, and petty kingdoms, and population was kept down by constant wars.† There is no use in attributing virtues to the Irish Celts at this stage which are inconsistent with the infancy of a people. What they were we can very easily understand from what we know certainly of themselves, from what we know of the Gauls,

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\* Goldwin Smith.

† Professor O'Curry.

and from what we know of the Greeks at a like period of growth. In art, in arms, in polity they were, up to the time of St. Patrick, about on a level with the Greeks of the time of which Homer sings; nor need we be surprised that a resemblance has been traced between ancient Irish and ancient Greek military monuments. The bards, as in early Greece, and in Germany in early times, held an important place in society and wielded great power. If it was their profession to flatter the strong, they were often the protectors of the weak. What was thought amongst the Teutons of the bards may be gathered from Uhland's great ballad, and in Ireland the wandering poet, who was credited with divine powers, often made himself unpopular with kings and princes. The bards were the journalists, orators, and historians of those times, and, before being admitted to the sacred order, they had to pass through a long course of training. Their religion was Druidism. They worshipped the sun, and in the neighbourhood of Dublin, to this day, the student witnesses survivals of this worship. The Irish-speaking Celt still calls the 1st of May "La Bealtinne," and throughout the island fires are lit, which are the embers of a once-living worship, the joyful greeting of the returning sun-god. There was a national code and recognised interpreters. Common ownership of land precedes separate ownership.\* In Russia and Hindostan the village communities hold the land in common, and in Ireland the land was the property of the Sept. That such was the custom among the Greeks and Romans, in early times, may be gathered from the redistributions of land and the agrarian laws, from the Roman clientage and the Greek tribes, which are evidently cognate institutions of the Clan.† One of the most curious facts in comparative politics is, that the custom sanctioned by the Brehon laws of the creditor fasting upon the debtor exists at this hour in Hindostan, and has actually been practised within living memory in Ulster.

Early in our era, the Scots of Erin colonised the west coast of Scotland and the adjacent islands. Traditions of this coloniza-

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\* Maine's Ancient Law.

† Goldwin Smith's "Irish History and Irish Character."

tion and of frequent intercourse still linger in Scotland.\* They acted with their friends in North Britain against the Roman, and in the reign of Constantine's successor the Irish and Picts

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\* The following remarkable article, which appeared in the *Inverness Highlander*, in reference to an Irish political question, is understood to be from the pen of an eminent Gaelic scholar:—"There was a time when *Clann nan Guidheal an gcuailibha a cheile* did not mean merely that a handful of Camerons, or of Mackays, or of Macdonalds, should yoke themselves firmly together in crossing a burn or tracking a morass; far less did it teach that a small body of Celts was to be compacted together for purposes of offence towards another body of Celts. And, even supposing that in remote and unchristian times this brotherhood did happen to be so limited, we have arrived at a time when, to say the very least, the bonds should embrace all the branches of the family of the Gaidheal. We are thankful to say that the tendency of the more intellectual enterprises of the race in our day is towards this wider brotherhood. Dr. MacLauchlan, Campbell of Islay, Matthew Arnold, Professor Morley, and even Professor Blackie, who is supposed to be more intense than broad, are unflinching in their declarations that Celtic learning, Celtic literature, and Celtic history to be what they ought to be, must embrace the learning and the philosophy, the history and the polity of the Scottish, the Irish, the Manx, the Cornish, the Armoric and the Welsh Celts; that we must make careful use of the living speech and current traditions of Highlanders, of the fragments of literature found in the Isle of Man and in Cornwall, of the Cymbri, and of the vast stores of Irish MSS. which have escaped the ravages of Teutonic destroyers. This is a valuable lesson in regard to other things, as well as being a valuable fact in itself, and it points to the duty of the different members of the great family drawing upon each other for co-operation in other departments. Even in the matter of war it is notorious how the Irish bore so brave a hand with the Highlanders in resisting the Danes; a fact of which the mixture of Irish and Scottish names, and some of the confusion of Scottish and Irish history are the natural results. There is not a corner in our Scottish Highlands, there is hardly a pedigree of an old Highland family, which does not bear out this remark. What are the Macdonalds, the Macdonnells, the Donnellies, the Connolies, the O'Connells, but the one grand family of *Clann Domhnuill*? The Mackays, the Mackies, the Macghies, and even the Hoeyes, the O'Gheochs, and the Keoghs, are so many modifications of *Clann Aoidh*. The very Campbells, who have been so largely implicated in the work of denationalizing Scotland, actually claim to be of the Irish stock of O'Duibhne. And, at the great battle of *Cluan-tairbh*, at which the Irish under Brian Boirmhe overthrew the Danes, in the beginning of the eleventh century, *Fechoaidh nah-Alba* are assigned an honourable position in the records of the time. Another thing, perhaps still more to the purpose, is the very curious fact, that so very large a proportion of Highland "fiction," of legendary lore—corresponding in some measure at the time of its composition with our romances and with our more sober works of fiction—should have direct reference to Irish characters, events and scenes. No one is surprised to find this the case in Cantyre and in Wigtonshire. But it is as cer-

are said to have reached London and occupied it. It required all the ability of Theodosius to save the province from destruction. He defeated Saxon, Pict, and Scot, and unless Claudian indulges in a wilder poetic license than common, the number of Scots from Ireland must have been very large. The poet describes the victorious general as pursuing them to the extremity of Britain, and slaying so many that the Orcades were stained with Saxon gore, Thule warmed with Pictish blood, and Erin left mourning over heaps of her slain Scots.\*

There are traces in South-west Britain of Irish occupation. Some think that Wales was invaded by the Irish.† Irish occupations are referred to in Welsh traditions. One invasion is mentioned in the Triads, and it would appear that, besides the settlements in Scotland and North Wales, the Irish dominion extended over South Wales and Cornwall. In Cormac's glossary we find an envoy sent over to the south-west of England to

tainly, and perhaps more generally, so in the far north Highlands. In Glen-Urquhart; in Stratherrick; in Cromarty even, which has been so drenched with Teutonic saporifics; in Applecross; in Skye; and in parts of the Long Island, the setting up of Highland families from Irish offshoots, the marrying of Highland ladies into Irish royal and other families, *et cetera*, are leading facts in the pedigrees and traditions handed down from remote periods. The wide and deep hold, for example, of the story of *Clann Uisneach* all over the Highlands is an instructive fact, and one fraught with kindly outcomings from Celt to Celt. Then there is the great Ossianic drama, which is now established to have been neither exclusively Scottish, nor exclusively Irish, but a large network over both countries—wide enough, indeed, as is now being shown by Dr. Hatley Waddell, to embrace the territory of Cymbri also. After giving illustrations in regard to our family and friendly relations with the Manx, and to the benefits which are to be derived in a variety of forms from a more intimate acquaintance with the Cornish, we might pass over to Brittany, trace the relationship, and then point to a still wider relationship exemplified by the terms of amity which subsisted so long between the French nation and that of Alban. \* \* \* What we do profess is, that there is a nationality existing among us, that there are traditions, that there are latent sentiments, that there are common interests apart from, and in addition to, those principles of justice and those sentiments of fair play, which should make Highlanders, above all men, give *Cothram na Feinne* to the Irish.

\* *Maduerunt Saxone fuso*

*Orcades : incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule :*

*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

† *Annals of the Caledonians.* Ritson.



collect tribute, and this is borne out by the romance of Tristan and Iseult, in which the uncle of Iseult is sent to demand tribute from Marc, King of Cornwall, uncle of Tristan. The tales of King Arthur belong to the period of the Irish occupation.

With the introduction of Christianity there came a new element of civilization, and the warm Celtic nature responded with enthusiastic fervour to the pure and ennobling influences of the Gospel. Their religion burned "like a star in Western Europe."\* Columba, or Columbkil, a man of the royal race of Nial, undertook to carry the glad tidings to the Gael, the Pict, the Briton and the Scandinavian, and founded the holy island of Iona, whence went forth missionaries to Iceland, to the Orkneys, to Northumbria, to Man, and to South Britain.† Columbanus did a like work among the half-barbarous Franks, and in France, in

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\* Froude, Vol. I., p. 15.

† "We must remember that before the landing of the English in Britain, the Christian Church comprised every country, save Germany, in Western Europe, as far as Ireland itself. The conquest of Britain by the pagan English thrust a wedge of heathendom into the heart of this great communion, and broke it into two unequal parts. On the one side lay Italy, Spain and Gaul, whose churches owned obedience to the see of Rome; on the other, the Church of Ireland. But the condition of the two portions of Western Christendom was very different. While the vigour of Christianity in Italy, Gaul and Spain was exhausted in a bare struggle for life, Ireland, which remained unscourged by invaders, drew from its conversion an energy such as it has never known since Christianity had been received there with a burst of popular enthusiasm, and letters and arts sprang up rapidly in its train. The science and Biblical knowledge which fled from the Continent took refuge in famous schools, which made Durrow and Armagh the universities of the West. The new Christian life soon beat too strongly to brook confinement within the bounds of Ireland itself. Patrick, the first missionary of the island, had not been half a century dead when Irish Christianity flung itself with a fiery zeal into battle with the mass of heathenism which was rolling in upon the Christian world. Irish missionaries laboured among the Picts of the Highlands, and among the Frisians of the northern seas. An Irish missionary, Columban, founded monasteries in Burgundy and the Apennines. The Canton of St. Gall still commemorates in its name another Irish missionary before whom the spirit of flood and fell fled wailing over the waters of Lake Constance. For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had swept before them had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Church of the West." History of the English People. J. R. Green, M.A., Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford.

Switzerland, in Italy there remain monuments of the sacred zeal which carried the truth to the Lombards—men, like themselves, of Celtic blood—and caused the Gospel star to shine on the darkness of the Main and Upper Rhine. While Columbanus was passing through Switzerland, one of his fellow-labourers was taken ill and could not proceed. The invalid on recovering, remained with the people who had nursed him, and St. Gall commemorates \* the work he accomplished, and, indeed, enduring traces of the Irish missions may be found in every part of Europe. It was not the sanctity only of the Irish which stood high at this time. Their scholarship was equally illustrious. Eric of Auxerre writes to Charles the Bald: "What shall I say of Ireland, which, despising the dangers of the deep, is migrating with her whole train of philosophers to our coast?" Not only did Ireland send out apostles and philosophers to other countries, she welcomed pupils from every compass to her schools. Thousands of students from all parts of Europe came for instruction to the schools of Armagh, and to "that melancholy plain where the Shannon flows by the lonely ruins of Clonmacanoise."† Bede tells us that the pestilence of 656 found "many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation" in Ireland, who had crossed thither for purposes of study, and he adds,—“The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read and their teaching gratis.” Charlemagne welcomed Irish scholars and Irish preachers as powerful allies in the civilizing work he had to do. He promoted them to places of honour in his court; he employed them to teach the Frankish youth. Mr. Goldwin Smith recalls how “Scotus

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\* The progress of the Irish Columbanus at her very doors roused into new life the energies of Rome. Gregory determined to attempt the conversion of Britain, but when the Roman mission in Kent sank into reaction, the Irish mission came forward to supply its place. “The labour of Aidan, the victories of Oswald and Oswi seemed to have annexed England to the Irish Church;” and the monks of Lindisfarne, or of the new religious houses whose foundation followed that of Lindisfarne, looked for ecclesiastical tradition to Ireland, and quoted for guidance the instruction of Columba.—Hist. of the English People.

† Goldwin Smith.

Erigena \* was sitting a familiar guest at the table of Charles the Bald, when the king asked him how far a *Scot* was removed from a *sot*, and he answered, with Irish wit, 'By a table's breadth.' During the seventh and eighth centuries," continues Mr. Smith, "and part of the ninth, Ireland played a really great part in European history. It was the bright morning of a dark day." Surely a people to whom Europe is so much indebted deserve more consideration than they have met with in the hour of their misfortunes. What glory of military conquest can equal the pure and happy glory of those two centuries of learning and piety? And in this glory neither Norman nor Saxon has any share; it belongs of sole right to the Irish Celt.

St. Patrick was a statesman as well as a Christian missionary. When at his request the "men of Erin" came to a Conference with him, he retained all the Brehon law which did not clash with the Word of God †; and happy would it have been for England as well as Ireland, if English statesmen in later times had acted in the same spirit of moderation as St. Patrick. About the time that the Brehon laws were codified under the guidance of St. Patrick, great changes were made in the Roman law, which was undergoing the modifications which might be expected under the influence of Christianity, and this may have had its effect on the character of the work, which was a "precise and elaborate code, displaying that peculiar aptitude for the form of legislation which the French Celt has displayed in the Code Napoleon." ‡ The authority of this code continued until the power of the Irish chieftains was finally broken in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Before the end of the seventeenth century the whole race of Brehons or judges, and Ollamhs or professors of the Irish laws, became extinct.

The Danish incursions put a stop to the mental culture and progress which would infallibly have brought the Irish people forward

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\* The profound utterances of this great man are living words to-day. Dean Stanley, in his latest work, quotes his saying—so far advanced, especially for Scotus Erigena's time—that "whatever is true Philosophy is also true Theology." History of Jewish Church. Third Series. Scribner, Preface, p. xxv.

† Senchus Mor., pp. 15, 17.

Goldwin Smith.

to that stage when they could be described as a united nation. It is vain to look back with regret on a state of things in which petty king warring with petty king could make alliances with the heathen invader. If national unity had been stronger than the clan and individual selfishness, of course the Danes never could have obtained a footing in the island. Though the Danish occupation led to the brief unity which expelled them the events leading up to the battle of Clontarf are such as could happen only in the very early stages of a people's growth.\* The wife of King Brian, Gormflaith, who had two other husbands alive, was at Kincora when Mælmurra, her brother, the King of Leinster, came to pay tribute. Mælmurra was also a vassal of the Danes who had helped him to his throne. His sister taunted him with being the vassal of her own husband, and a playful remark of his cousin acting on his mind like a spark on gunpowder, he left the palace in anger. Brian sent a messenger after him to pacify him, but the angry chief dashed out the brains of the messenger. His whole clan is roused to avenge an insult which no fire-eater of the time of duelling would have thought sufficient to warrant calling a man out. The O'Rourkes, the O'Niels, the O'Flahertys and the Kearys promised to assist him. And mark what followed on a sharp word over a game of chess. O'Niel ravaged Meath. O'Rourke attacked Malachy and slew his grandson and heir. Soon afterwards Malachy defeated his assailants in a bloody engagement. He then divided his forces into three parties and plundered Leinster as far as Meath. Reprisals were made on each side; Irishman slaying Irishman and the Danes in the land, nay, fighting side by side with the Leinster men, until Malachy demanded the protection to which he was entitled from Brian, who clearly was not in the proper sense of the word King of Ireland. "Brian of the tribute" properly describes his position. Brian obeyed the summons. He "*ravaged Ossory*" and marched on Dublin, where he was joined by his son Murrough, "who had devastated Wicklow, burning, destroying and carrying off captives until he reached Kilmainham." The siege of Dublin

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\* See for the details, "Irish History," by M. F. Cusack, well known as "The Nun of Kenmare."

was raised during the winter, and Gormflaith, who is a sort of Irish Helen, exerts herself in collecting forces against her two husbands, Brian and Malachy. She despatched her son Sitric to bring foreign aid, and promised her hand and the kingdom of Ireland to each of two Vikings if they would come and help the Danes. In the spring Brian marched towards Dublin "with all that obeyed him of the men of Ireland." He "plundered and destroyed as usual,"\* says the Nun of Kenmare, on his way to Dublin. After he had passed Fingal and burned Kilmainham, he sent his son Donough to plunder Leinster. A third of the forces on the Danish side were Leinster men under Mælmurra. Clontarf was a great battle, and on both sides prodigies of valour were performed. But what could save from conquest a people in the condition the events preceding the battle show the Irish to have been in? Even after the victory of Clontarf dissensions arose, and on their way from the field the clans separated and drew up in order of battle! Centuries afterwards we see the same defects break out when Baldearg O'Donnell, for a pension of £500, takes over to William's side a large following of Ulster Celts.

The Danes settled down in the seaport towns they had founded—Limerick, Dublin, Wexford and Waterford,—and paid tribute either to the Ard Righ or the local prince. They sometimes had to pay blackmail. In the year 1029 Olaf, the son of Sitric, wandering outside Dublin was taken prisoner by O'Regan, lord of Meath, who extorted for ransom twelve hundred cows, sevenscore British horses, threescore ounces of gold, and sixty ounces of silver. Now the Normans having conquered all the neighbouring nations turned their attention to Ireland. Let no one exclaim against the Irish for their want of union. We see the same thing in Greece. If the Irish had been allowed time they would have grown out of the clan into the nation. But the Irish Celtic nation was strangled in its cradle, and those conquerors with whom we have now to deal were neither Saxon nor English, but the fierce Scandinavian rovers, whose conquests extended from the Jordan to the Boyne, and under whose heavy hand the English

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\* Irish History, p. 130.

groaned for one hundred and fifty years. The Celtic blood already mixed with the Danish, and to some small extent with Saxon,\* was now mingled with the Norman tide, even as it was in after times in the south and west tinged with that of Spain. With what we see going on before our eyes on the continent of Europe, it would be futile to discuss, even to-day, the morality of conquest. We have not yet arrived at that advanced stage of civilization, when nations can be expected to curb their greed and ambition, though it is as certain as human progress that the time will come when people will look back on the French and Germans, and the state of things leading up to Sedan, as barbarous. But if we could arraign the Normans before us they might plead that one of the Irish princes invited them to the country, and what is of still more significance, that the Irish princes paid no attention to the new comers. In the words of the *Annals*, they "set nothing by the Flemings." The kingdom had not the first element of defence—watchfulness against invasion. It seemed in the ordinary course of things that troops should be brought from a foreign country to reinstate a petty king. There is this excuse to be made for Roderic, that he had to enforce his claims in the south and north, and was busy "portioning Meath between his inseparable colleague O'Rourke and himself."† He was busy in the still more useful work of founding lectorships at Armagh; for during the Danish period, the enlightenment, the religious zeal, and enthusiasm for knowledge, which had three centuries before "burned like a star," had given place to Pagan superstition.‡ Dermot MacMurrough soon found himself at the head of three thousand men, and marched on Ossory which he subdued. The monarch summoned a hosting of the men of Ireland at Tara, and with an army collected by the lords of Meath, O'Liath, Ulidia, Breffni, and some northern chiefs, proceeded to Dublin. But dissension broke out in the Irish camp; the Ulster chiefs returned home, and MacMurrough's authority was acknowledged. Now, clearly here

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\* The victims of Norman oppression fled in some cases to Ireland. McGee, 153.

† D'Arcy McGee.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 145; see also Froude, vol. i, p. 15.

we are in the presence of disunion which would paralyze the most heroic bravery. The country was thinly populated; public spirit was unknown; the only strong sentiment was the clan-nish; and disunited hosts could not be expected to stand against united hosts. We have shown that the Celt, like the Teuton and the Norman, comes from the Aryan stock; we have seen the Celt measure his sword, and not unsuccessfully, with that of Rome. As between the Irish and the Norman, it was a battle between an elder and a younger brother, and the elder brother one who had long been in training in the best fighting schools. The Prince of Thomond, Donnell O'Brien, who had married a daughter of Dermot, was in rebellion against Roderic, and was of course, willing to give his assistance to Dermot. The Normans, in fact, found the Irish princes engaged in a game of grab, and the blood of the people squandered by the caprices and ambitions of their chiefs, whose life, like that of the Gallic nobles in the first and second centuries, was spent in a "continual whirl of faction and intrigue."\* The Danes, who remembered how impossible it was to expel themselves once they got a footing in the country, were alive to the necessity of resisting the Normans; and the Dano-Celts of Wexford and Waterford fought with great energy the uncle of Strongbow. Strongbow, on his arrival at a later period, laid siege to Wexford, where the Normans set a precedent for Drogheda. Having made the Dano-Celts of Waterford a fearful example, they turned their faces towards Dublin. The woods and defiles were well guarded, but the enemy made forced marches over the mountains, and reached, long before they were expected, the capital, a city at that time not the size of Hamilton to-day. Hosculf, the Danish governor of the city, encouraged by the presence of a force collected by the Irish monarch near Clondalkin, had determined to stand a siege. But when the "decision and military skill" of the invaders were recognised, and the reports of the massacre at Waterford came, it was determined to treat. The Danish governor fled with some of the principal citizens to the Orkneys, and Roderic, the nominal king of all Ireland, withdrew his

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\* M. Amedee Thierry.

forces to Meath to support his friend O'Rourke, "on whom he had bestowed a portion of that territory." Strongbow, on the death of Dermot MacMurrough, was abandoned by the Irish following of that prince, and a general rising having taken place, he threw himself into Dublin, but only to find himself surrounded by an army, and blockaded by a Danish fleet. While he was suffering from want of food, and negotiating with a view to capitulate, Donnell Cavanagh, an Irishman of rank, no less a person than the son of the late king of Leinster, stole into the city in disguise, and informed him that Fitzstephen was closely besieged in Wexford. It is then determined to force a passage through the besieging army. "The Irish army," says the Nun of Kenmare, "were totally unprepared for this sudden move; they fled in panic, and Roderic," the King and Commander-in-Chief, "who was bathing in the Liffey, escaped with difficulty." The Norman, Miles de Cogan, was again left governor of Dublin, and with the exception of an attack on him which he easily repulsed, "the Irish made no attempt against the common enemy, and domestic wars were as frequent as usual."\*

Now it is clear that if the Irish Celts at this time were not much behind their foes in civilization, it would be impossible to account for these events. They belonged to the same great Aryan stock as the Normans, and the disunion and incapacity shown by men whose fathers did, and whose descendants have done, such great things, are to be traced to this, that their civilization, as compared with the high organization of the Norman, was in a backward state, they having, in fact, retrograded from the intellectual advancement of the 8th century. The forces which came with Henry II. in 1171, should have been no more than a mouthful for the Irish. What should they not have done with Strongbow and his few followers? In Henry's train came those who were to be the fathers of well-known Irish families; and as we owe to the Danes the † Plunkets, McIvers, Archbolds, Harolds, Stacks, Skiddies, Cruises, McAuliffes, we owe to the Normans the Clanrickards, the Butlers, the Le Poers (Powers), and many others who came afterwards, such as the Talbots and

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\* Cusack's History, p. 167.

† McGee.



the Burkes. A white hare, which leaped from a neighbouring hedge, was caught and presented to the king as an omen of victory. "But," says D'Arcy McGee, "the true omen of his success he might read for himself in a constitution which had lost its force, in laws which had ceased to be sacred, and in a chieftain race brave indeed as mortal men could be, but envious, arrogant, revengeful, and insubordinate." The penalty paid through centuries of misery by the noble innocent people who followed them, would be an impassable stumbling-block to faith in a Providence, were we not able to grasp the truth that there is more beneficence in the operation of great general laws than there would be in fitful interference, and to hold by the hope, that all moves to a great justifying event in the future.

The Irish nobles and kings submitted to Henry, who naturally according to the enlightenment of the time, but foolishly and cruelly according to modern ideas, administered the country as a Norman province. As soon as Henry was gone, and the cold steel of Norman rule was felt, there would, of course, be resistance, but, as might be expected from what we have seen, that resistance would not be systematic or united, and from this time forward the history of Ireland is the weary annals of a half subdued dependency, in which the miseries of rebellion were aggravated by domestic broils. It is doubtful whether, if the Normans had been able to afford men to conquer Ireland as completely as they conquered England, things would have been much better for the Celts than they were. But no hope whatever of happy relations could be built on a system of partial settlement, and constant and indecisive war. It is amusing to find the deeds of the Norman attributed to Englishmen, at a time when the Englishman himself was in the house of bondage. The sentences\* in which Macaulay describes the condition of English-

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\* "The battle of Hastings and the events which followed it, not only placed a Duke of Normandy on the English throne, but gave up the whole population of England to the tyranny of the Norman race. The subjugation of a nation by a nation has seldom, even in Asia, been more complete. The country was portioned out among the captains of the invaders. Strong military institutions, closely connected with the institution of property, enabled the foreign conquerors to oppress the children of the soil. A cruel penal code, cruelly enforced, guarded the

men, might, with little alteration, be applied to the state of Ireland. The cruelty on the one hand, and the irregular retaliation on the other, the aggression and resistance, are found in Ireland, with the qualification that the oppression is not so complete, and that the Irish sometimes make a stand.

The statute of Kilkenny, enacted in the fourteenth century, shows that already it had become impossible to tell a man's race by his name, and that the Norman and English settlers were mingling with the Celts. Marriage with the Celt was forbidden, as was the assumption of an Irish name. Early in the fifteenth century, the Irish of English descent began to set forth grievances, and the cities of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal complained of the desolation consequent on the strife of English noblemen. A like complaint was made by Waterford and Wexford against the Irish chieftain O'Driscoll, who is described as an "Irish enemy to the King and to all his liege people of Ireland." We find in Henry VIII.'s day, France already interfering in Ireland, but, like the intermeddlings of after times, "it took no effect by reason of Francis, his business in other parts."\* It hastened, however the "second troubles" of the Earl of Kildare, a salutary omen, if those who looked to France could have seen it. The fact that whenever there was any revolt against England foreign aid was

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privileges and even the sports of the alien tyrants. Yet the subject race, though beaten down and trodden under foot, still made its sting felt. Some bold men, the favourite heroes of our oldest ballads, betook themselves to the woods, and there, in defiance of curfew laws and forest laws, waged a predatory war against their oppressors. Assassination was an event of daily occurrence. Many Normans suddenly disappeared, leaving no trace. The corpses of many were found bearing the marks of violence. Death by torture was denounced against the murderers, and strict search was made for them, but generally in vain; for the whole nation was in a conspiracy to screen them. It was at length thought necessary to lay a heavy fine on every Hundred in which a person of French extraction should be found slain; and this regulation was followed up by another regulation, providing that every person who was found slain should be supposed to be a Frenchman, unless he was proved to be a Saxon." Macaulay's History, vol. i., p. 7. In the above paragraph we find the Saxons doing the very thing Saxon writers afterwards inveighed against the Irish Celt for doing.

\* The History of England under Henry VIII. Edward Lord Herbert, p. 245.

sought for, should have taught the obvious lesson. The alternative for Ireland, owing to size and geographical situation, was to be an equal in a great empire or a vassal principality to a continental country. When O'Neill revolted in 1597, and defeated the English at Blackwater, he invited over the Spaniards, and settled them in Kinsale. But what was the Spaniard against the sea-king? And what would Ireland be as a vassal of Spain? The history of Spain and her colonies tells us in unmistakeable language. The struggles in Ireland down to, and even after what assumed the character of a religious war, were agrarian, and Norman aggression was succeeded by confiscating plots under the Tudors and Stuarts, plots from which Burkes and Geraldines suffered as much as O'Connors and O'Rourkes.

The efforts made to introduce Protestantism into the island took a form which was doomed to failure, for it added the fervour of patriotism, the instinct of race, the hatred of the weak for the strong, of oppressed for oppressors, to the natural attachment for the creed in which men are born, which is associated in their minds with all the tenderness and charm of childhood and of home. No translation of the Bible was put forth in the Irish language, and the missionaries of the new faith appeared in the guise of plunderers; nor were their lives, as a rule, of a stamp to counteract such formidable stimulants to repulsion. "The government contented itself with setting up a vast Protestant hierarchy of Protestant archbishops, bishops, and rectors, who did nothing, and who, for doing nothing, were paid out of the spoils of the Church loved and revered by the great body of the people."\*

The plantation of Ulster followed on the confiscation of the lands of O'Neill and O'Donnell, whose English titles were, respectively, Earl of Tyrone and Earl of Tyrconnel. There can be no doubt there was a conspiracy to fasten on them a charge of treason, and their flight to the continent proves nothing, but that they were anxious to preserve their lives.† The plantation

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\* Macaulay's History, vol. i. p. 34.

† Goldwin Smith.

though destined to result in one of the darkest pages in Irish history, was, economically, a brilliant success. It introduced into the north a large population accustomed to settled modes of life, who were themselves afterwards to experience injustice at the hands of the English parliament, but who, in the face of restrictive legislation, and in the face of enormous and complex difficulties, have made the province of Ulster one of the most flourishing on the globe. Many of them were descendants of men who, at an earlier period, had migrated from Ireland into Scotland; others were of Saxon blood; but all brought with them that stern Presbyterianism, which has been the great factor in moulding the character of the modern Scotchman—a creed which would give a Titan's backbone to a race of molusks. When received, not as some modern Presbyterian divines receive it, half hesitatingly, but as it was received by Calvin and John Knox, it gives to character all the strength of fatalism, and all the strength of a passionate faith, full of hope, and immortality. Many of the new comers, indeed, were tainted with the vices of adventurers. Many of them fled from debt, and some from justice, but the great majority of them were, what we should call in Canada, good settlers. Sixty thousand acres in Dublin and Waterford, and three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres in Westmeath, Longford, Kings County, Queens County, and Leitrim, were portioned out in a similar manner.

The espousal of the cause of Charles I. brought down on the country the sword of Cromwell, and resulted in further transfers of land,—transfers in which descendants of Saxon and Norman suffered. Spenser's grandson, though pleading his father's name and protesting his own protestantism, was ordered to transplant. When Charles II. came to the throne, the unhappy "loyalists" prayed for the restoration of their property in vain. The remembrance of the miseries entailed on them by adherence to the cause of Charles I., whose iron minister, Wentworth, was the greatest enemy the Irish Celts ever had, did not prevent them falling a victim to the schemes of Tyrconnel; and they espoused the cause of James II., when espousing that cause meant binding themselves to a wheel rolling to the valley. Far more than ever France was relied on,

though a little reflection might have shown that France could never be for Ireland anything but a broken reed. Even if the English, and the Celts and Irishmen of mixed blood adhering to English rule, could have been driven by the aid of France into the sea, the work would have to be begun over again; for England could not let France have Ireland as a base of operation, and France could not hold it. The violation of the Treaty of Limerick is an undying blot, not on William, who would have adhered to it if he could, but on the Irish Protestants; even as the withholding Catholic emancipation at the time of the Union, is an undying blot on the character of George III. and on that of some of Pitt's colleagues. Pitt was true to his convictions and resigned his place. No excuse can be made for the penal laws. All that can be said is that they were the bigoted and violent reaction, caused by the violence and bigotry of James II.'s parliament in Dublin, during the brief hour when the country was at its mercy.

Henceforth the Irish Catholics were the victims of an oppression more awful than has ever been dealt out to any people or any portion of a people. Many of those Catholics were of Saxon and Norman descent, though a majority were, perhaps, pure Celts, and that they should have emerged from such persecution so little damaged by all this brutalizing tyranny, is one of the strongest evidences of the greatness of race. Education was denied them, but they gathered by the hedge side and learned from the page of Virgil the immortal tongue of Rome. Wealth and honour, freedom from shame and sorrow were offered them if they forsook their faith, but no bribe an empire had to give could make them abandon the despised religion they believed. The priest said mass when and where he could; in the lonely glen, on the desolate mountain side, in the mud hovel, in the caves of the earth, he celebrated the rites of the proscribed church; and, in his faded clothes, was armed with a talisman for the hearts of an enthusiastic people, such as no crosier of an endowed church could equal. He proved every hour his self-denial, his devotion, his sympathy; and while the rector drove to the squire's domain to enjoy his luxurious dinner, the priest shared the potato and cake of his miserable flock. The peasantry curtsy low when they meet a

priest, however familiar they may be with him, even when he is their own brother or son. The reason has often been misunderstood; it is a custom which has survived a time when the priest carried the consecrated elements constantly on his person, and when, at a favourable moment, he would make the mountain his altar; and while the language of Tiber mingled with Gaelic prayers, and the murmur of wild rills, the host would rise like a moon against the sky, now bright as the hopes of heaven and the dreams of the past, and now dark as the fate of a people for whose wrongs its recesses seemed to hoard no vengeance. The son was tempted to turn against the father, but the Irish people have remained to this day examples of strong family affection. Poverty, compared with which the condition of the poorest peasant of to-day is opulence, was ordained by law, but the chastity of the poor Irish woman passed into a proverb. She is beautiful. She is not without the love of finery which belongs to her sex. She has the warmth of her race, but her purity has been proof against the trials of poverty and misfortune, and if in rare cases she falls, she is only half ruined; shame survives; chastity of soul outlives the degradation of the body.

Archbishop King maintained the divine right of kings until he felt the knife of James II.'s persecution. In the same way the Presbyterians supported the penal laws until they were made to suffer themselves. But the imposition of the sacramental test was well fitted to enlarge their views on the subject of liberty of conscience.\* By the enforcement of this test Presbyterian magistrates, military officers, members of municipal councils were deprived of their offices. In Londonderry, ten out of twelve aldermen, and fourteen out of twenty-four burgesses were declared incapable of civic trust because they would not submit to this test. Most of these had been prominent in the defence of the city during the celebrated siege. The *Regium Donum* was taken away under Anne, to be restored, however, under the House of Hanover.

The war of the revolution showed what the two great races in Ireland could do, and what the mixtures of these races could do.

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\* The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. By W. D. Killen, D.D., President of the Presbyterian College, Belfast. Dr. Killen, who speaks out against the penal laws, maintains strongly that the Treaty of Limerick was violated.

The siege of Derry is one of the most glorious things in the history of the world ; the siege of Limerick was not less glorious, and the besieged achieved a victory, though the fruits of it were, unhappily alike for Protestants and Catholics, England and Ireland, destroyed by bad faith. Yet the men who fought so splendidly at Limerick, who afterwards fought so splendidly on the Continent, fought badly at the Boyne. The coward James, forgetful of his own conduct, taunted the Irish with doing what he had done. But he had had experience, and he should have known that neither Irishmen nor Englishmen can do impossibilities, and it is impossible for raw levies to meet trained troops. The soldiers who had training fought at the Boyne as the men of their race have always fought, and those who ran away, ran away for reasons which, as William and Schomberg knew, would make Englishmen and Germans run. The main lesson to learn from this for our immediate purpose is, that Irishmen if they neglect to comply with the conditions of success cannot succeed. There is, perhaps, another lesson of a more general character but equally apposite, which may be gathered from that war and the penal laws. The loss which bigotry and oppression entail on the bigot and oppressor was never more signally shown. The bigotry of Louis XIV. sent the flower of his subjects to recruit, in the time of his utmost need, the armies of his deadliest foe. The penal laws swelled the French ranks with those heroic exiles before whose deadly charge even English valour quailed.

The jealousy of England was roused at an early period by the competition of her own colonists ; and the struggle for free trade and for emancipation from English dictation, gave the world a period fruitful of splendid eloquence, and of ardent patriotism,\* and it was under the spell of Flood and Grattan, the modern nation of Ireland was born. There was more of a national character about the rebellion of 1798, than of all the rebellions which preceded it. Like its predecessors, horrors ushered it in, and horrors followed in its wake. Grattan's great triumph was doomed to an early death, because inconsistent with the working of irresistible forces drawing Ireland closer to Great Britain, and making her the great liberalizer of the Empire.

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\* See Hallam.

Ireland has been the foremost assertor of popular rights, and an Irishman is the Chief Priest of constitutional liberalism.\* Her sufferings have given the world a clearer grasp of the principles of civil and religious liberty, as her heroism has helped to extend and sustain the Empire. While her sons in the Irish and English Parliaments have expounded doctrines, she has exemplified them in her own person. Catholic emancipation and the struggles leading up to it, had an incalculable effect on the progress of the world. The Incumbered Estates Act, though it dealt out hard measure to the gentry of Ireland, affirmed a valuable proposition. Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill will infallibly lead to the passing of a similar measure for England; and, in the fall of the Irish Church, outrageous abuse as it was, the English establishment heard its knell of doom. To Ireland is due the pregnant aphorism—"property has its duties as well as its rights." An Irishman was the first writer of the English tongue who denounced the traffic in slaves.†

When we reflect on the way in which this country was kept back, its poverty, and its disturbed state, we cannot but marvel at the number of great men it has produced; they have in the midst of trouble, which might well have hopelessly distracted, left monuments of their genius in every field of science and every walk of art, nor is there a cause sacred to human freedom for which they have not nobly toiled.

We shall have to refer by and by to what Irishmen, who were for the most part Protestants, have done; it will be well here to point out how Catholic Irishmen distinguished themselves, though I would fain hope that a day of enlightenment is fast approach-

\* "We see the different practical tendencies of the Irish and English race combined, yet distinguishable from each other in the political character of Burke, to whose writings we owe more than we are aware, the almost religious reverence with which we regard the constitution. . . . His feelings, diffused by his eloquence, have become those of our whole nation."—Goldwin Smith's "Irish History and Irish Character," p. 19.

† Southern. See Hallam. Thomas Southern, born 1659, died 1746, was a native of Dublin. Having studied law at the middle Temple, he entered the army, and held the rank of Captain under the Duke of York. His latter days were spent in retirement and in the enjoyment of a considerable fortune. He wrote ten plays, but only two exhibit his characteristic powers, "Oroonoko," and "Isabella." Southern's Oroonoko anticipated "Uncle Tom's Cabin."



ing, when it will be no longer necessary to dwell on these distinctions.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century Mountcashel's brigade, serving with Catinat in Italy, distinguished themselves on fields where their fathers fought two thousand years before under Hannibal. It is a waste of enthusiasm to grow dithyrambic over mercenary valour. But at this time a portion of the Irish people had no other resource. In a remarkable passage, in which Macaulay describes the crushing effect of the penal laws, he tells how Irish Roman Catholics of ability, energy, and ambition were to be found everywhere but in Ireland—at Versailles and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic and in the armies of Maria Theresa. Men who rose to be Marshals of France and Ministers of Spain, had they remained in their own country would have been regarded as inferior by all "the ignorant and worthless squireens who had signed the Declaration against Transubstantiation. In his palace at Madrid \* he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George the Second, and of bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George the Third. Scattered over all Europe were to be found Irish Counts, Irish Barons, Irish Knights of Saint Lewis and of Saint Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been ensigns of marching regiments or freemen of petty corporations." In 1698, six regiments were at the siege of Valenza. While Irish campaigns were going on in Italy, the garrison of Limerick landed in France and the second brigade was formed of which the greater number assisted at the siege of Namur. In seven days Namur was taken. On the 24th July, 1692, Sarsfield—as gallant a soldier and as stainless a gentleman as ever lived—commanded the brigade, and was publicly thanked at the close. In the March following he was made a Marshal de Camp. On the 28th July in the same year, he met a death which would have been the most enviable which could have befallen him, if the cause in which he was fighting was country or humanity. It was not even the cause of France. It was the cause of a tyrant, and the founder of a tyranny

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\* Wall, Minister of Ferdinand the Sixth.

which sowed the seeds of miseries for generations of Frenchmen, of a tyranny whose refusal to tolerate the Huguenots\* prevented the extension of toleration to Irish Roman Catholics. He fell on the field of Landen, leading his victorious troops. Sarsfield felt the sting of the situation. As he lay on the battle-field, he put his hand to his breast, and then looking at the palm, stained with his life-blood, he cried, "Oh, that this was for Ireland!" In 1701, Sheldon's cavalry behaved so well that Sheldon was made Lieutenant-General. In the following year Cremona was saved by a handful of Irishmen at the Po gate. Irish troops were present at the battles of Blenheim, of Oudenarde, of Malplaquet; Irish troops fought at Almanzo under Berwick. How they behaved at Fontenoy,† in 1745, and the exclamation of the king,—“Cursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects!” have given a more than common interest to that battle. It has been the theme of patriot song-writers, it has furnished a moral for Englishmen battling for justice for their Irish fellow-subjects and Irish brethren. From 1691 to 1765, more than 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France.

Under the Consulate and the Empire the Irish rose to high employment. As Louis found military genius among the exiles of the seventeenth, Buonaparte found among the expatriated of '98, two generals and five colonels.‡ On the restoration of the

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\* The offer was made to relieve the Irish Catholics if the French Protestants were tolerated.

† “Fontenoy, the greatest victory over England of which France can boast since Hastings.”—Alison's Marlborough, vol. II., pp. 434, 435.

‡ “I met Irishmen, indeed, or men of Irish descent, everywhere, and in every rank on the continent, and their position teaches a lesson from Europe which it will do us no harm to ‘inwardly digest.’ It is a signal illustration of the ultimate futility of sectarian quarrels and religious persecution, that some of the most prosperous and honoured families in Ireland are descendants of French Huguenots whom Louis XIV. drove out of France because they would not become Catholics; and some of the most prosperous and honoured families in France are descendants of Irish Catholics, whom penal laws drove out of Ireland because they would not become Protestants.

“In the drawing-room of the President of the French Republic, who is the natural head of the exiled families, I met descendants of Irish chiefs who took refuge on the Continent at the time of the plantation of Ulster by the first Stuart; descendants of Irish soldiers who sailed from Limerick with Sarsfield, or a little later with the ‘wild geese;’ of Irish soldiers who shared the fortunes of Charles Edward; of Irish peers and gentlemen to whom life in Ireland without a career became intolerable, in the dark era between the fall of Limerick and the rise of Henry Grattan; and kinsmen of soldiers of a later date, who

Bourbons, the Irish officers who had risen under Napoleon adhered, as we might expect in chivalrous men, to his fortunes; but in their place a new group of Franco-Irish made their appearance, the descendants of the men of the brigade. The last sword drawn for the Bourbons in 1791 was that of an Irish Count; their last defender in 1830 was an Irish general. Three times during the eighteenth century Spain was represented at London by men of Irish blood. An Alexander O'Reilly was Governor of Cadiz; he was afterwards Spanish ambassador at the court of Louis XVI. "It is strange," said Napoleon, on his second entry into Vienna in 1809, "that on each occasion on arriving in the Austrian Capital I find myself in treaty with Count O'Reilly." Napoleon met him on a different scene, for it was his dragoon regiment which saved the remnant of the Austrians at Austerlitz. Numerous Irish names with high rank attached to them will be found in the Austrian army list of the time. In the Peninsula the Blakes, O'Donnells, and Sarsfields, reflected glory on their race. An O'Donnell ruled Spain under the late reign, and to-day a MacMahon is President of France.\*

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began life as United Irishmen, and ended as staff officers of Napoleon. Who can measure what was lost to Ireland and the empire, by driving these men and their descendants into the armies and diplomacy of France? All of them except the men of '98, have become so French that they scarce speak any other language. There is a St. Patrick's Day dinner in Paris every 17th of March, where the company consists chiefly of military and civil officers of Irish descent, who duly drown their shamrock and commemorate the national apostle, but where the language of the speeches is French, because no other would be generally understood. I reproached a gallant young soldier of this class, whom I met in Paris, with having relinquished the link of a common language with the native soil of his race. "Monsieur," he replied proudly, "when my ancestors left Ireland, they would have scorned to accept the language any more than the laws of England; they spoke the native Gaelic." "Which doubtless," I rejoined, you have carefully kept up: *Go dha mor thatha?* But, I am sorry to say, he knew as little Gaelic as English. During my last visit to the City of Brussels, I saw in the atelier of an eminent painter, the wife of a still more eminent sculptor, a portrait occupying the place of honour, which exhibited the unmistakable features of an Irish farmer; and the lady pointed it out with pride as her father, who had been a United Irishman, and had to fly from Ireland in '98, when his cause lay in the dust."—From a Lecture by Sir C. G. Duffy, in Melbourne.

\* "The Marshal looks like an English rather than a French sportsman. His face, indeed, is not French, but Irish, and distinctly recalls the origin of his family. The MacMahons were Irish Catholics of good descent, who followed the fortunes of the Stuarts, and settled and became landed proprietors where the Marshal was born, viz., at Sully (Saone et Loire), some sixty-eight years ago. The MacMahons took kindly to

Within a century, the great Leinster House of Kavanagh counted in Europe an Aulic Councillor, a Governor of Prague, a Field Marshal at Vienna, a Field Marshal in Poland, a Grand Chamberlain in Saxony, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, a French Conventionist of 1793, Godefroi Cavaignac, Co-Editor with Armand Carrel and Eugene Cavaignac, sometime Dictator in France, and Edward Kavanagh, Minister of Portugal. Russia found among the exiles a Governor-General of Livonia. Count Thomond was Commander at Languedoc; Lally was Governor at Pondicherry; O'Dwyer was Commander of Belgrade; Lacy, of Riga; Lawless, Governor of Majorca. It would be wearisome to enumerate further, but dozens might be added to the above list.

These men, had the laws been what all admit, they should have been, would have done their part in consolidating and

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the Bourbons, and the Marshal's father became a peer of France under Charles X., and His Majesty's personal friend. The Marshal, moreover, married into a noble family of Legitimists. His youth was passed under lily leaves. He was a Saint-Cyrien while the elder Bourbons were at the Tuileries, and when he entered the army he went away for years of rough campaigning to that common cradle of modern French Generals—Algeria; so that he was fighting in Africa while the junior Bourbon was holding his *bourgeois* court at the Tuileries. A captain of chasseurs at the assault of Constantine, he had carved his way—in Algeria always—to the rank of general of brigade by the time the revolution of 1848 broke out. Then he rose rapidly, keeping the while apart from politics. General of division in 1852, Grand Officer of the Legion in 1853, in command of a division of infantry under Bosquet in the Crimea, created Grand Cross of the Legion and Senator for his part in the assault of the Malakoff; then again fighting in Kabylia in 1857, and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Algeria—MacMahon's services and rewards were many. The crowning glory of his military career was won in command of the second *corps d'armée* of the Alps in 1859, on the field of Magenta, when the Emperor created him Duke of Magenta and Marshal of France. The Marshal was deputed to represent his sovereign, which he did with extraordinary pomp, at the coronation of William III. of Prussia in 1861; and in 1864 he was Governor-General of Algeria, appointed to carry out the reforms on which the Emperor was bent. And lastly he led the army from Chalons to Sedan, where he was wounded in time to rid him of the responsibility of surrender. This wound, it has been often said, was not the least of Marshal de MacMahon's strokes of luck. But the time has not yet come for judgment on De MacMahon's part in the Franco-German war; and he is fortunate in this, that his countrymen bear him no grudge for it, calling him the modern Bayard, and the 'honest soldier;' while they cover his comrades of the fatal campaign with mud. His aristocratic and monarchical sympathies have whetted the edge of the weapons which the Left has used upon him; but the rage against him that simmers through the cheap Republican papers is provoked by the disdain with which he folds himself in his soldier's cloak, keeps his hand near his sword, and stands sentinel over the destinies of France, immovable to the last day of his *septennate*."—"The Rulers of France."—*London World*, Jan, 3rd, 1877.

enriching the Brito-Hibernian Empire. The two men to whom we owe it, that we have at this moment an Indian Empire, Henry and John Lawrence, who rescued our great Eastern dependency from anarchy, and gave it what bids fair to be an enduring and fruitful peace, were born in the County of Derry. Sir Robert Montgomery, who rose from a humble post in the civil service of the Bengal Presidency, to be Governor of the Punjaub, who distinguished himself as Director-General of the Police for that Province, who disarmed the native force at Lahore in 1857, who, for his services in restoring tranquillity, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and who retired after thirty-six years service with the Grand Cross of the Star of India on his breast, was born in the City of Londonderry. Sir James Emerson Tennent, who also did good service for India, and who won for himself a respectable place in literature and in politics, was a native of Belfast, as was Sir Henry Pottinger, who was Governor-General of Hong Kong, and who distinguished himself as a diplomatist. "Besides the gallant General Nicholson," says a writer in *Frazer's Magazine*, "Ulster has given a whole Gazette-full of heroes to India. It has always taken a distinguished place in the annals of war. An Ulsterman was with Nelson at Trafalgar, another with Wellington at Waterloo." It would not be easy to enumerate the Irishmen who were with Wellington at Waterloo. Wellington himself was an Irishman, and in enumerating the Irishmen who have distinguished themselves in India, it would be impossible to forget him or his brother. General Sir de Lacy Evans, who served with distinction in India and in the Peninsula; who was present at the capture of Washington, but returned to Europe in time to take part in the battle of Waterloo, where he had two horses shot under him; who commanded the British auxiliary Legion raised to aid the Queen of Spain against Don Carlos in 1835; who commanded the Second Division of the army in the Crimea, and distinguished himself at Alma and at Inkerman, after which he returned to England and received the thanks of Parliament; who, as a member of parliament from 1831 to 1841, and from 1846 to 1865, played an enlightened and a liberal part; this fine old hero was born at Milton, in 1787. Viscount Gough, a field marshal, who commanded

the 87th at Talavera, Barossa, Vittoria and Nivelles; who was wounded at the siege of Tariffa; whose regiment at Barossa captured the eagle of the 8th French, and the baton of a marshal at Vittoria; who commanded the land forces in the attack on Canton; who defeated the Mahrattas at Maharajpore, capturing fifty-six guns; who defeated the Sikhs at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon; who finally subdued the Sikhs in 1848-9; was born at Woodstown, Limerick, in 1779. General Rollo Gillespie, Sir Robert Kane, Lord Moira, the Chesneys, were all from Down; and General Wolseley, who does not need to be described for Canadians, takes his place side by side with the great warrior Irishmen.

Among travellers and explorers Irishmen have taken a distinguished place; Captain Butler, the author of "The Great Lone Land," who, as a traveller and a literary man and a soldier, deserves a high place in the world's esteem, is an Irishman. Sir John Franklin's second in command, Crozier, was from Banbridge. Ulster sent McClintock to find the great explorer's bones, and McClure to discover the passage seeking which Franklin fell.

When we come to statesmen and orators what country can show greater names? Even England has produced no man to equal Burke, nor could any other country produce the versatility of Sheridan. Lord Palmerston's Irish manner charmed the House of Commons first and the English people afterwards. George Canning, who discovered Wellington, was a son of a Derry man; and—but time would fail me to enumerate the Butts, the Duffys, the Plunkets, the Grattans, the Floods, the Currans, the Shiels, the Cairns and the Whitesides. O'Connell stands alone; in the great men of no country can you find a parallel for him and his extraordinary gifts.

Their preachers and divines have been equally great. The most eloquent as well as the ablest man on the English Bench of Bishops to-day is Dr. Magee. As a preacher, Father Burke has attained a reputation outside his own communion. The Episcopal Church in London has no more eloquent preacher than Mr. Forrest. The Rev. Dr. Cooke, of Belfast, among the Presbyterians; Carson, the great authority among the Baptists; Dr. Adam Clarke among the Methodists; John of Tuam, Dr. Doyle, Cardinal Cullen among the Roman Catholics are well known.

When we go into law we should be on ground on which Irishmen stand to too great advantage to make it necessary to dwell on their achievements as advocates and jurists. I remember when I was a student at the Temple, most of the leading men in Westminster Hall were Irishmen, and a half a dozen of the ablest judges. The greatest of modern Chancellors, Lord Cairns, was born at Cultra, Co. Down.

When we glance into the realm of art, the names of Barry, Mac-lise, Hogan, Foley, Crawford, at once strike on the memory. What troops of actors and actresses and singers! In the museum of Oxford as well as in the museum of Trinity, Dublin, the visitor's attention is seized by carvings wrought by Irish hands, which rival the work of Jean Goujon. When you enter St. Stephen's Hall in Westminster Palace, you see on either side marble statues of illustrious men. You cannot but do homage to Irish genius, not merely because Burke is before you as he arraigned Warren Hastings at the bar of outraged humanity, and Grattan emphasizing with outstretched hand his rhythmic sentences. Even in such company, the love of liberty will be asserted by the noble figure of Hampden, strength and balance in every line of the figure and every trait of the countenance, and the immortal love of right written on his noble brow. You look for the sculptor's name, and read "Foley," an Irishman, born in Dublin in 1818. Near is Selden by the same artist. If you walk down Patrick Street, Cork, you will see facing Barrack Hill, the statue of Father Mathew. In Dublin, portrait statues of Edmund Burke and Oliver Goldsmith, will challenge your admiration. The young civil servant from 'Old Trinity,' or the Queen's University, on entering Calcutta, is struck with wonder by the bronze group, "Lord Hardinge and Charger;" all these, with many another noble work and priceless gem have issued from the studio of the great Irish sculptor.

Among the many things which strike the visitor to Washington, nothing leaves so lasting an impress on his memory as the works adorning the Capitol; they are the work of Irish sculptors, McDowell and Crawford. The frescoes in Westminster Palace are by an Irishman. The honour of these, and kindred works, have frequently been given, either to Englishmen or Scotchmen, as the great men of our earlier period have also been at times filched

from Ireland. This is acknowledged with great candour by an eminent Scotch historian.\* These works are, therefore, referred to, not to prove that Irishmen have high artistic tastes. That all their history proves. It is written not merely on their literature. It has left ineffaceable footprints on many a lonely ruin. But it is not so generally known that to-day, as well as in the past, Irishmen are among the first in every walk of art, and are in not a few instances without rivals.

In the fields of pure literature and in the drama, it would be as idle to point out what Irishmen have done as to remind Canadians that Sir John Macdonald and the Honourable George Brown have lived amongst them. It is more to the point to remind the reader what Mr. Mathew Arnold has demonstrated, that the Celtic has supplied to English literature the noblest, the most subtle, and the most distinguishing features. The "Idyls of the King" are founded on Celtic poems and probably on Irish poems, certainly on poems with a large Irish ingredient. We owe the conception of the *Spectator* (of course I mean the *Spectator* of the 18th century), with all its boundless influence on English literature, to Steele; and the foundation of the great superstructure of the Scottish philosophy was laid by an Irishman, Francis Hutcheson.† I do not care to stop to enumerate mere examples of success in a given branch of literature, such as Lover as a humorous novelist, or Carleton, or Lever; nor need one dwell on the names of Edgeworth, Hamilton, Maxwell, Mayne Reid. The founder of the novel of character was an Irishman; the man to whose writings Thackeray gave his days and nights; on whom Dickens formed himself, and imitated but imitated in vain; the author whose chief work is Thomas Carlyle's great book;—the reader has anticipated the name of Lawrence Sterne. The genius of Swift stands unapproached and unapproachable; and in prose and poetry the genius of Goldsmith attained a grace and charm which have never been equalled. Moore did not do justice to himself, and he cannot, nor can Irishmen complain if less than justice has been done him of late years. He wrote much he should never have written; but when all the

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\* The Scot Abroad. By John Hill Burton; 2 Vols. William Blackwood & Sons Edinburgh and London, 1864. See pp. 1 to 12, Vol. II.

† Dr. McCosh.



rubbish has been sent to the pastry cook, there will remain enough to vindicate his claim to a place among writers whom posterity will not willingly let die. If his melodies could be destroyed, they would leave a far larger gap in literature than many suppose. He had not passion enough to be the national poet of Ireland, but that position he will maintain until a greater comes the way, and he may retain it for ever. Much that is most characteristic of Irishmen finds expression in his verse, but it wants breadth of feeling and intensity. If Moore had suffered more he would have been more sympathetic, as the bard of a people whose struggles and griefs have been without parallel; the passionate overwhelming love for woman he could not express, for he never experienced it; he had too much Anacreon in him for that; and in the great sob of grief of his people his less profound nature heard only "the deep sigh of sadness." For all that, blot him out of English literature and replace him if you can. Or seek to imagine that he had never existed, and you will begin to realize what is his charm and what has been his influence on literature. It was not unfitting that the last of the wandering race of harpers should have presented him with the harp of Erin. He exemplified the incomparable skill in music of the early inhabitants, and did immeasurable service in diffusing juster and more sympathetic conceptions of Irish character.

In journalism Irishmen have taken the very front rank. The editor of the greatest paper in the world is of Irish blood, and perhaps of Irish birth.\* His father was manager of the *Times* for many years. The foremost of correspondents, indeed the founder of the profession of correspondents, is an Irishman,† and in the popular literature of the day their busy energy and fertile genius are felt. If you were to take from English magazines and English newspapers—from English thought, in a word, the elements supplied by Ireland, you would leave behind only a splendid ruin.‡

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\* John Delane, the editor of the *Times*. The name is the same as Delany.

† William Howard Russell, LL.D., Special Correspondent of the *Times*.

‡ "We would probably detract from our greatness—from the richness of our national gifts, if the Keltic element of the united people, should be too much drained away by emigration."—Goldwin Smith's "Irish History and Irish Character."

The Irish intellect is not only gay and humorous but subtle and philosophical, with an aptitude for mathematical studies. The Irishman has all the subtlety, inquisitiveness, and fondness for the metaphysics of religion of the Celt, with a dreaminess which comes from the Teutonic infusion. To this inquisitiveness we owe the honour of having produced the first great heretical teacher of the Middle Ages, John Scotus Erigena; and Feargall, the Bishop of Salzburg, maintained, to the scandal of the Holy See, that the earth was round.

M. Martin, the French historian, speaking of the Celt of Gaul, says:—"From the beginning of historic time, the soil of France appears peopled by a race lively, witty, imaginative, eloquent; prone at once to faith and to scepticism, to the highest aspirations of the soul, and to the attractions of sense; enthusiastic and yet satirical; unreflecting and yet logical; full of sympathy yet restive under discipline; endowed with practical good sense yet inclined to illusions; more disposed to striking acts of self-devotion than to patient and sustained effort; fickle as regards particular things and persons, persevering as regards tendencies and the essential rules of life; equally adapted for action and for the acquisition of knowledge; loving action and knowledge each for its own sake; loving above all, war, less for the sake of conquest than for that of glory and adventure, for the attraction of danger and the unknown; uniting, finally, to an extreme sociability, an indomitable personality, a spirit which absolutely repels the yoke of the external world and the face of destiny."

Here we have many features of the modern Irishman and nearly all his characteristics, where he is purely Celtic, the strain of sadness excepted—that divine melancholy which gives so much grace and sweetness to the man. But there is more in the Irishman than meets you on the surface, and the light-hearted gaiety develops under responsibility into resolute efficiency, as "Hal" passes in a moment into the heroic Henry V., or, to take an illustration which is also a proof, as the "mischievous boy," Arthur Wellesley, the frivolous Aide-de-Camp of Lord Westmoreland, becomes in a few years, "the Iron Duke."\* There is, as John

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\* "The abilities of Arthur, the younger brother, were of much slower development

Stuart Mill used to point out, and Mr. Mahaffy has shown in detail, a great similarity between the old Greeks and Irishmen. All the delicate tact, the natural politeness of the Greek, he possesses; his love of art; his delight and skill in music; aptitude for oratory and acting; the literary faculty in high development. But he can boast of other and still nobler qualities to which the Greek was a stranger.†

In the lament of Andromache over Hector, in the Iliad, we have a heart-rending picture of the condition of unprotected children in Greece. If Hector's child escapes the "tearful war," nothing remains for him but ceaseless woe. Strangers will seize on his heritage. No young companions will own the orphan. He hangs on the skirts of his father's friends, and it is well if they do not spurn him. If they in pity at their tables

" let him sip a cup,  
Moisten his lips, but scarce his palate touch,  
While youths with both surviving parents blest,  
May drive him from the feast with blows and taunts:  
' Begone, thy father sits not at our board !'  
Then weeping, to his widowed mother's arms  
He flies."

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[than his brother's.] The late Earl of Leitrim, who was with him at a small private school in the Town of Portarlinton, used to speak of him to me as a singularly dull, backward boy. Gleig, late Chaplain-General, in his interesting 'Life' of the great Captain, says that his mother, believing him to be the dunce of the family, not only treated him with indifference, but in some degree neglected his education. At Eton, his intellect was rated at a very low standard; his idleness in school hours not being redeemed, in the eyes of his fellows, by any proficiency in the play ground. He was a 'dab' at no game, could handle neither bat nor oar. As soon as he passed into the remove, it was determined to place him in the 'fool's profession,' as the army in those days was called. \* \* \* It is a matter of notoriety that he was refused a collectorship of customs on the ground of his incompetency for the duties; and I have reason to believe that a letter is now extant from Lord Mornington (afterwards Lord Wellesley) to Lord Camden, declining a commission for his brother Arthur in the army, on the same grounds. When he became Aide-de-Camp to Lord Westmoreland, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, his acquaintance with the usages of society was as limited as could well be possessed by any lad who had passed through the ordeal of a public school. Moore alludes, in his journal, to the character for frivolity young Wellesley had acquired while a member of the viceregal staff. An old lady told me that when any of the Dublin *belles* received an invitation to a pic-nic, they stipulated as a condition of its acceptance that 'that mischievous boy, Arthur Wellesley, should not be of the party.'—"Fifty Years of my Life." By George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle, pp. 219-220.

† "The delicate tact with which unpleasant subjects are avoided in conversation, shows how easily men were hurt by them, and how perfectly the speaker could fore-

How different is the conduct of the Irish peasants to destitute children. The parents may be dead or they have perhaps emigrated. Do the friends of the absent or dead parents deal harshly with the helpless children? So far from this, they give the orphan a place at their scanty board.\* Thackeray well says that no Irishman ever gave a charity without adding a kind word which was better than the gift. Their sociability is indeed a charming talent, and it would seem that like the Greeks too, their heads are not made to bear much strong drink; and for that reason, if one word of preaching is permissible, they should avoid alcohol, especially in the form of ardent spirits.†

“From a combination of causes—some creditable to them, some other than creditable,” says Mr. Froude,‡ “the Irish Celts possess on their own soil a power greater than any other known family of mankind, of assimilating those who venture among them to their own image. Light-hearted, humorous, imaginative, susceptible through the entire range of feelings, from the profoundest pathos to the most playful jest, if they possess some real virtues, they possess the counterfeits of a hundred more. \* \* \* They have a power of attraction which no one who has felt it can withstand. \* \* \* Brave to rashness. \* \* \* Passionate

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tell it by his own feelings. In fact, so keenly alive are the Homeric Greeks to this great principle of politeness, that it interferes with their truthfulness, just as in the present day the Irish peasant, with the same lively imagination and the same sensitiveness, will instinctively avoid disagreeable things, even if true, and ‘prophecy smooth things,’ when he desires especially to please. He is not less reluctant to be the bearer of bad news than the typical messenger of Greek tragedy.”—*Social Life in Greece*. By the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, p.25.

\* See “*Social Life in Greece*.” By J. P. Mahaffy, pp. 31, 32.

† “It is a difficult problem to explain how the Greeks managed to get drunk. Three parts of water to two of wine was the usual proportion; four to three was thought strong, equal parts made them mad. I am unable to discover whether their wines were stronger or their heads weaker than ours. This is certain, that to them their wines were as strong as whiskey is to us. Their entertainments were about as orderly as our gentlemen’s parties, and intellectually, something like an agreeable assemblage of university men, particularly among lively people, like the Irish. This is, I think, a juster verdict than taking Plato for an historical guide, as some Germans have done, and talking bombast about the loftiness and splendor of Attic conversation. To my taste, indeed, the description of his feast (symposium) abounds far too much in long speeches, which are decidedly tedious, and which would certainly not be tolerated at any agreeable party in Ireland where this is the branch of culture thoroughly understood.”—“*Social Life in Greece*,” p. 319.

‡ Vol. I., page 21.

in everything, passionate in their patriotism, passionate in their religion, passionately courageous, passionately loyal and affectionate. \* \* \* They possess and have always possessed some qualities the moral worth of which it is impossible to over-estimate, and which are rare in the choicest races of mankind. \* \* \* Wherever and in whomsoever they have found courage and capacity, they have been ready with heart and hand to give their services, and whether at home in sacrificing their lives for their chiefs, or as soldiers in the French or English armies, or as we now know them in the form of modern police, there is no duty however dangerous and difficult, from which they have been found to flinch, no temptation however cruel, which tempts them into unfaithfulness.”\*

While such testimony can be found, and from such a quarter, an Irishman may stand aside. “The sums of money,” says Mr. Goldwin Smith, “which have been lately transmitted by Irish emigrants to their friends in Ireland, seem a conclusive answer to much loose denunciation of the national character, both in a moral and in an industrial point of view.” Sir John Davies testified that no man loved equal justice more than the Irish Celt, and this feeling would not be lessened by Norman and Teutonic admixtures. The crimes committed by Whiteboys had their counterpart in England, as Macaulay shows, under the Norman, and indeed England bears away the palm from Ireland in crime. The Irishman is singularly free from a class of loathsome offences which are common elsewhere; and shooting landlords, which is dying out or has wholly died out under wise legislation, was the offspring of bad laws and crying injustice. Agrarian conspiracy implies no propensity to ordinary crime, either on the part of the wretched peasant who reverts to the wild justice of revenge, or on the part of those who screen him from detection. But for agrarian out-

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\* The historian of Wyoming tells of an Irish settler, “an old man named Fitzgerald,” whose fidelity has the true ring. “The Indians and their allies placed him on a flax-brake and told him he must renounce his rebel principles and declare for the king or die. ‘Well,’ said the stout-hearted old fellow, ‘I am old and have little time to live anyhow, and I had rather die now a friend of my country than live ever so long and die a Tory.’ They had magnanimity enough to let him go.”—Miner’s Hist. of Wyoming, page 200.

rages \* the judges of assize in most parts of Ireland would often have had white gloves, the proportion of agrarian to all the other crimes being very large, something like seven to ten, and, as has already been indicated, agrarian crimes will soon be unheard of.

In Munster, in 1833, there were 627 whiteboy or agrarian crimes, against 246 crimes of all other descriptions. The influence of just laws, and the readiness of the Irish character to respond to them, is shown by the marked change wrought by Mr. Gladstone's legislation. In the years 1873 and 1874 the average number of agrarian crimes for all Ireland was 233, against 324 in the two preceding years, and in 1874 crimes of this class were 41 less than in 1873. But mere statistics do not convey the full effect produced within recent years, because they do not convey the improvement in the bearing and sentiments of the farmers and peasantry.†

When we come to ordinary offences, we find the state of things full of grounds for hope. The whole number of indictable offences in 1874 was 6,662, of which more than half were committed in Dublin.

In regard to crimes against property, the statistics show that Ireland stands in a more favourable position than England by 35 per cent., but riots and assaults are more common in Ireland, while indictable offences, disposed of summarily, are 17 per cent. more common in England; thefts 56 per cent.; aggravated assaults on women and children, 39 per cent. In the Province of Ulster, in 1874, the total of offences of all kinds was 59,976, whilst in portion of the population of Scotland, equal to that of Ulster, it was in 1873, 71,313, the balance being 19 per cent. in favour of Ireland.‡ Scotland consumes a much greater quantity of intoxicating liquors than Ireland, but the Scotchman can bear more

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\* "It would be unjust to confound these agrarian conspiracies with ordinary crime, or to suppose that they imply a propensity to ordinary crime, either on the part of those who commit them, or on the part of the people who connive at and favour their commission."—Goldwin Smith's *Essay*, p. 153.

† See "Remarks on a Recent Irish Election." *Frazer's Magazine*, August, 1875. The writer, an Ulsterman, settled in Tipperary, says a revolution has taken place in the feelings of the people.

‡ See Professor Hancock's *Statistics*.

alcohol, and he is more prudent in his cups than the Irishman, of which fact the lesson is obvious.

It is hard to speak of the events of '48, without doing more harm than good. The tone of England, the legislation of the Imperial Parliament, have changed since the dreadful years of which no Irishman can think without tears, whose miseries it would be hard for any man born wheresoever, to realize without pain and humiliation. The indictment which can be drawn up against the Irish gentry is a dreadful one. This does not prove that Irish gentlemen were worse than other men; it only proves what has been made too palpable in the history of humanity, that human greed is too strong for human brotherhood, and that no man can be trusted not to abuse power; for the Irish gentry were not unworthy of the great people of whom they should have been the leaders.\* A class more fruitful in great men has never existed in any country, but they, like the peasants, were the victims of bad laws. The duties of the nobles, who spent the fruits of Irish soil in Paris and in London, were, in an aristocratic country, thrown on them, and their lavish expenditure was the consequence; nor were they all wanting in sympathy for the tenant. To this day in England, even with the ballot, the tenant is so cowed that he is afraid to vote against his landlord; † nor is there any protection on which man can rely against the cupidity of his brother man, but equal laws equally administered.

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\* The following testimony to the Irishman from Mr. Froude's History, embraces all classes:—"We lay the fault on the intractableness of race. The modern Irishman is of no race—that is to say, he is of the Irish race, which is a distinct type, and most valuable to the world, a type as distinct from the Saxon as the Celt, so blended now is the blood of Celt and Dane, Saxon and Norman, Scot and Frenchman. The Irishman of the last century rose to his natural level, whenever he was removed from his own unhappy country. In the seven years' war, Austria's best Generals were Irishmen. Brown was an Irishman, Lacy was an Irishman, O'Donnell's name speaks for him; and Lally Tollendal who punished England at Fontenoy, was O'Mullally of Tollendally. Strike the names of Irishmen out of our own public service, and we lose the heroes of our proudest exploits—we lose the Wellesleys, the Pallsers, the Moores, the Eyres, the Cootes, the Napiers; we lose half the officers and half the privates who conquered India for us, and fought our battles in the Peninsula. What the Irish could do as enemies, we were about to learn when the Ulster exiles crowded to the standard of Washington. What they can be, even at home, we know at this present hour."

† See the London correspondent of the *Toronto Globe*, of Oct. 28th, 1876, on the Buckinghamshire election.

Since '48 the events of that time have been judged by the actors themselves, and it has been acknowledged that the relation between England and Ireland has changed for the better. If any one reads John Mitchel's diary, he will see how John Mitchel looked back on the fiasco with which he was connected, with feelings of exaggerated shame. In a book published for circulation among the Irish in the United States, the writer condemns in the strongest language the attempts of the Confederates to produce an armed revolution in Ireland.\* Many popular Irish papers shew by their moderation that the Irishman is not like the Bourbon who hrs learned nothing and forgot nothing.†

Since '48 two of the leaders have been servants of the crown, and one has accepted an imperial title.‡ '48 was a fiasco—which, as is sometimes the case, did more good than if the movement had been a success; if it deserves praise it deserves it because the aim was impossible. No momentary independence was attained, but a powerful lift forward was given to the cause which triumphed in 1868 and 1869. It added to the number of the national heroes; it inspired the muse of Davis, and the life and oratory of McGee.

In an English magazine of acknowledged power and influence,§ a writer, who describes himself as of "Scoto-Presbyterian descent, and born and educated in one of the most Presbyterian parts of Ulster," gives facts which it would be well to recall when it is even still the fashion to speak as if Irish insurrections arose from some unaccountable perversity of nature, instead of from the most vicious laws which have ever disgraced and degraded a country. It is Mr. Froude who tells us that "Lord Burleigh, who possessed the quality of being able to recognize faults in his own countrymen, saw and admitted that the Flemings had no such cause to rebel against the oppression of the Spaniards, as the Irish against the tyranny of England." It is a long step from Burleigh to

\* See the preface to "The Men of '48," by Col. James E. McGee.

† See an article in the *Irish Canadian*, Oct. 25th, 1876, warning the "men of action" that they might do incalculable harm to their country.

‡ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, sometime Minister of Agriculture and Emigration in Canada. Charles Gavan Duffy, at one time Prime Minister of Australia, and who is now Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.

§ See *Fraser's Magazine*, August, 1875. The article is "Remarks on a Recent Irish Election." The recent Irish election was that in which John Mitchell was returned.



Beaconsfield. Mr. Disraeli, in 1843, said a country in the condition of Ireland, had nothing for it but to rebel. And what does this man of "Scoto-Presbyterian descent" say of the events of '48? He tells us that his Ulster birth and Presbyterian prejudices have not been able to blind him to the excellencies of the Munster character. Nor can he understand why love of country should not be more generally appreciated in the Irishman. The German is praised for his love of Fatherland, the Frenchman honoured for devoting fortune and life to the service of his country, everything English is made the standard of perfection all over the world by the Englishman. "In this love of country," says the writer, "and the inherent gratitude of the Irish peasantry, will be found the true solution of the much misinterpreted, but unanimous election of the formerly expatriated John Mitchel."

The writer contends that there was nothing disloyal in the vote cast for Mitchel. Since the passing of the Land Act, the majority of the voters have "no desire to repeal the Union," as this would be "parting company with the best consumers of their beef and mutton, their oats and flour." The reason, then, why a solid vote was cast for Mitchel, was not because they would now approve of his policy of '48, but because they felt that when Ireland needed an honest voice, Mitchel supplied it; and also that in the improved state of things, when an alien church had been deposed, a great measure of justice done to the tenants, the daily wages of the labourer doubled, evictions for non-payment of rent almost unheard of, Tipperary become a model county of peace and quietness, a great government might have allowed the returned rebel to take his seat.

When D'Arcy McGee was taunted in the Canadian Parliament with having been a rebel, he answered it was true he had rebelled against the mis-government of his country, because he saw his countrymen starving before his eyes, while his country had her trade and commerce stolen from her. "I rebelled," he added, "against the Church Establishment in Ireland; and there is not a Liberal man in this community who would not have done as I did, if he were placed in my position and followed the dictates of humanity." It has been alleged in defence of the Government of the day that it did not cause the blight of that agreeable but ill-

starred root the potato; "but" says the Scoto-Presbyterian, "when the potato crop was gone, its laws did not permit the starving inhabitants to touch any other of the produce that their own hands had reared." Those laws permitted distraint of the stock, crop, and every species of produce. It was a common thing to put on the farm, when the crop was ripe, a keeper who was kept at the farmer's expense, "till the crop was reaped, thrashed, and converted into money," which passed directly to the pocket of the landlord, who frequently gave only a receipt on account. The people were starving, and plenty of food in the country. During the dreadful agony, famine filling the road sides and the hovels with gaunt victims, fever following on famine's heels, there was no break in the exportation to Great Britain of oats, flour, beef, pork and mutton. "Why did not the starving peasantry seize on these things—the produce of their own labour? Because they were guarded in safety from our shores, by British troops." The chief duty of the troops in the assize towns was to guard the flour on its transit from the mills to the port. It was against this monstrous state of things that the men of '48 uttered a wild, despairing cry. Wild, because despairing; and despairing, because the past gave no ground for hope. But thank God! those times are no more; the dark night is over, and the dawn of another day is bright with happy promise.

But the Imperial Parliament must not think that its work is finished, nor grow disheartened if, after centuries of wrong, just laws do not produce immediately all the results hoped for. Happily, all progress is slow; though the slowness entails many evils, yet worse evils would result from greater rapidity of movement. Property in land is like property in nothing else, and the sooner Irish landlords and Irish peasants cease to speak as if men could be absolute owners of the land, the better. No man, in a country as thickly populated as Ireland or England, has a right to draw revenue from land, the duties incidental to the possession of which he does not discharge. The time is at hand when as short work must be made of absentees as Henry VIII. would have made of them. Nor, of course, should any man be permitted to destroy a country's fruitfulness. If people will not do their duty as landowners, they must not be robbed; they must get the value of

their interest in the land, which must then be handed over at a proper price to those who will do the duty arising out of ownership.

In Ireland at the present moment there are not more than 40,000 persons owning the twenty million odd acres, and 5,806,000 acres are possessed by two hundred and seventy-four persons. Sixty-three proprietors have more than a fifth of the soil of Leinster; sixty-seven about a fourth of Munster; ninety a good deal more than a third of Ulster; and fifty-four about the same quantity of Connaught.

The course of Ireland for a century would suggest that special legislation would be for the benefit of that country. Free trade, as the statement of a great general truth, is unassailable; but when we come to apply it to countries in various stages of development, and differing in resources, we see at once that it gives advantage to one over the other. But for protection the United States of America would be sending across the Atlantic for their knives and forks and reaping hooks. Now they could probably hold their own in the markets of the world, and therefore ought to adopt free trade. Ireland is undoubtedly specially suited for pasture. But if her mineral resources, small though they are, were developed, she would be much richer, and the farmers would be still better off.

Ireland was, in the middle of the 18th century, a country of all but limitless pasturages. At the period of Arthur Young's visit, a century ago, a change had set in. Yet he found one grass farm of ten thousand acres, and not a few sheep walks of five or six thousand acres. It is important to note that it was not natural adaptability which brought about this state of things. One cause was the scarcity of labour consequent on the incessant wars of the 17th century. But there followed on the Treaty of Limerick three-quarters of a century of repose. Population increased, but still cattle farming was continued. The penal laws prohibited Catholics from buying or leasing lands. Competition between tenants was kept down. Thus the breaking up of farms was prevented. The markets of England and the Colonies were closed against the Irish farmer, and he had no motive for increasing production. Besides, the disqualification of Catholics lulled

the Protestants into a lethargic confidence. Complaints at last arose that there was not enough food grown for the population, which had greatly increased. The Irish parliament offered a bounty for all corn imported from the inland rural districts into Dublin. The effect was immediate. Arthur Young noticed in 1776 that the richest pasturages of Tipperary and Limerick were being broken up. The outbreak of the American war gave a new impulse to this movement. England, facing a world in arms, was forced to grow within the three kingdoms the food she required for her vast armaments by sea and land, and this raised enormously the price of corn. The extensive grass farms disappeared. The land was brought under tillage, and population increased, as it were, at a bound. The war against revolutionary France created a still greater demand for agricultural produce, and Ireland was completely converted into a tillage country. Waterloo suddenly put an end to the factitious demand, and intense distress was the result. To relieve the farmer, the corn laws were passed, laws, which having fulfilled their purpose, were abolished amid the hungry cries of a starving people.

Thus the agricultural economy of Ireland was completely revolutionized in something over half a century. A country of pastures became a country of tillage; a country of large farms a country of minute holdings; an independent yeomanry gave way to dependent peasant occupiers, and the population increased at an appalling rate from about two to eight and a half millions.

On the repeal of the corn laws the farmers of Ireland found themselves exposed to competitors on the coast of the Black Sea and the banks of the Danube. Ireland might have sustained the competition of Russians, Hungarians, and Roumanians, had not the United States entered the field and suddenly become a great exporter of grain. The Irish and German immigrations led to the rapid opening up and settlement of the corn fields of the Mississippi valley, and the additional competition proved too much for the Irish farmers who had, with a worse market, to pay more for labour, and the cultivation of wheat began immediately to decline. In 1847, though in that year, owing to the failure of the potato crop and the consumption of seed corn for food, there was a great falling off in cultivation, there were sown 745,000 acres of wheat,

while in 1875 only 159,000 acres were sown. The decrease in other grain crops, with the exception of barley, is equally marked, the demand for barley being kept up by whiskey-distillation. The decrease still goes on. South America and India are extending the area of competition, and it is thought not unlikely that the cultivation of wheat for sale may cease altogether. There is a great increase in cattle-feeding crops, but only enough to balance the decrease in acres under grain. The area under cultivation is now no larger than it was in 1841, while the number of horned cattle has nearly trebled and the number of sheep has nearly doubled. Thus the fiscal legislation of thirty years and the foreign competition it introduced, have undone the revolution in the direction of tillage, and almost restored the agricultural economy of the middle of the last century. The number of acres under crops of all kinds, in 1875, including meadows and clover was only 5,332,813; while 10,409,329 acres were given up to grass. The whole area under crops proper was only about 3,500,000 acres or about a sixth of the entire country.

Breeding and feeding cattle make very small farms impossible; sheep require extensive runs. Cattle give employment to very few hands. As we might expect, the population and holdings have decreased. The number of holdings of from one acre to five acres in extent, have diminished in thirty years from 310,436 to 69,098, or at the enormous rate of 77·7 per cent. In 1841, the number between five and fifteen acres was 252,799; in 1875 the number was 166,959, a decrease of 34 per cent. Those over fifteen, however, have increased. On the whole number of holdings the decrease has been one-fourth.\*

The great majority, perhaps all, of those who "own" the land are more or less inveterate absentees, and if they do not do their duty, they ought to be taught that others will. The drastic measure, the Incumbered Estates Act, must be followed by another dealing with worse incumbrances than debt. It is not just to leave the minerals unutilized; and when a large addition is made to the manufacturing population, then in the best and happiest way a check will be put on the present tendency, which bids fair

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\* I am indebted to the *Saturday Review* for the above facts.

if allowed free course, to make Ireland a land of grazing fields and a waste of sheep walks. The history of Ireland shows the reverse of the teaching of Goldsmith to be the truth. A "bold peasantry" can, by legislation, be called into, or blotted out of existence. The Irishman in Canada can rejoice that his adopted home is free from absentees and is rich in minerals.

Home Rule has had no influence on emigration to this country, and the scope of this book does not lead me to discuss it here. Nor, again, had Fenianism any effect on this country's population. The most miserable of all attempts ever made on the peace of a people, called out the patriotic feelings of Canadians of all classes, and of every nationality. It was a Fenian bullet which, all too soon, just when his great powers were really ripening, deprived the world of D'Arcy McGee. These are the two sinister events which connect Canada in any way with Fenianism, and they call for no comment. Even Thomas Clarke Luby, when brought to Toronto last St. Patrick's day to lecture on Ireland, could not withhold the expression of his shame at the conduct of the Fenian raiders, and emphatically declared he had no sympathy whatever with them.

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### CHAPTER III.

WHAT Irish and English statesmanship did for the United States is scarcely sufficiently recognized. The Irish Commons refused to vote £45,000 for the war against the American colonists. Burke, Barré, and Sheridan wrote openly in defence of their transatlantic fellow-subjects. In France, McMahan, Dillon, Roche, Fermoy, General Conway, and other experienced military men, were ready to volunteer into the American service. It was the victory of

Brito-Hibernian troops which made the United States possible;\* and when the citizens of the Republic look back to the dawn of her career of wealth and freedom and greatness, they will see clear, even through the mists of centuries, the romantic figure of the lover-soldier falling at the moment his charge broke the lines of Montcalm, and near him Irishmen whose names are only less illustrious than their English commander's.

Irish historians have dwelt with too much delight on legends. I shall avoid this mistake, nor be tempted to dilate on St. Brandon's discovery of America in A.D. 545.† We are on solid ground, however, when we remind the reader that in 1518, Baron de Léry,

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\* "The fall of Montcalm in the moment of his defeat, completed the victory; and the submission of Canada put an end to the dream of a French empire in America. In breaking through the line with which France had striven to check the westward advance of the English colonists, Pitt had unconsciously changed the history of the world. His support of Frederick and of Prussia, was to lead in our own day to the erection of a United Germany. His conquest of Canada, by removing the enemy whose dread knit the colonists to the mother-country, and by flinging open to their energies, in the days to come, the boundless plains of the West, laid the foundation of the United States."—Green, p. 737.

† The "Life of Saynt Brandon" in the *Gold Legend*, Published by Wynkyn de Worde, 1483, Fol., 357. The voyage was a favourite theme with the early romance writers. An English translation of an early French revision will be found in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. xxxix. Mr. D. F. McCarthy published, a quarter of century ago (Dublin 1850), an admirable poem on the subject. Mr. McCarthy, as will be seen from one or two stanzas, caught the music of an earlier century than the nineteenth.

At length the long-expected morning came,  
 When from the opening arms of that wild bay,  
 Beneath the hill that bears my humble name,  
 Over the waves we took our untracked way.  
 Sweetly the morn lay on tarn and rill;  
 Gladly the waves played in its golden light,  
 And the proud top of the majestic hill,  
 Shone on the azure air—serene and bright.

All that pathetic, half-unreasonable and wholly noble and beautiful love which an Irishman cherishes for the home of his race comes out in the following:

Over the sea we flew that sunny morn,  
 Not without natural tears and human sighs;  
 For who can leave the land where he was born,  
 And where, perchance, a buried mother lies,  
 Where all the friends of riper manhood dwell,  
 And where the playmates of his childhood sleep;  
 Who can depart, and breathe a cold farewell,  
 Nor let his eyes their honest tribute weep?

the blood in whose veins, like his name, was Irish, with a company of colonists landed on Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia.

In the eighteenth century, Irishmen were met on all sides in America. They were successful traders, successful sailors, successful soldiers, successful as interpreters; and some of them, if this will not sound like a bull, successful Indian chiefs.\* The Republic below the line should never forget what they did for that great free empire; nor should the Irishman in the second or third generation be other than proud of the rock whence he was hewn. The first naval capture made in the name of the United Colonies was made by five brothers, whose father, Maurice O'Brien, was a native of Cork. "This affair," says Cooper, in his History of the United States Navy "was the Lexington of the seas." There were dozens of Irishmen in command after 1775. †

The ban laid on Irish manufactures, in 1688, ‡ and the rack-rents, sent multitudes of Protestants and Catholics across the Atlantic. According to Dobbs, writing a few years after, three thousand males left Ulster yearly for the Colonies. In 1699, James Logan, of Lurgan, accompanied William Penn to Pennsylvania, and became one of the foremost men in the colony. He was a strong Protestant, and with a firmer grasp of the large views and liberal tolerance at the base of Protestantism than were

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Our little bark, kissing the dimpled smiles  
 On ocean's cheek, flew like a wanton bird,  
 And then the land, with all its hundred isles  
 Faded away, and yet we spoke no word.  
 Each silent tongue held converse with the past;  
 Each moistened eye looked round the circling wave;  
 And, save the spot where stood our trembling mast,  
 Saw all things hid within one mighty grave.

See D'Arcy McGee's "Irish Settlers," a book without which this chapter could not have been written in Canada.

\* "More than one Irishman was naturalized in the forest, like Stark and Houston, and obeyed as chiefs. Of the number was the strange character known as Tiger Rorke, at one time the friend of Chesterfield and the idol of Dublin drawing-rooms; at another, the tattooed leader of an Iroquois war party."—"The Irish Settlers in North America." By Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

† "All the other oppressions of the Irish were of no importance compared with the destruction of their trade for the benefit of English producers." p. 399. Mahaffey's "Social History of Greece."



general then. Even the Quaker Penn reproves him for his liberality. "There is," writes Penn from London, in 1708, "a complaint against your government that you suffer public Mass." Logan's example proved contagious, and so early as 1730, we find in the interior of the State, townships called Derry, Donegal, Tyrone, and Coleraine. In 1729, the Irish emigrants, who landed in Philadelphia, were ten to one of all the European nationalities, an influx which continued till the close of the century. Among the Irish emigrants, in 1729, was Charles Clinton, whose three sons were to play so prominent a part in the annals of New York. A large Irish immigration settled in Maryland, in Virginia, and in South Carolina. Among the Irish settlers in South Carolina occur the famous names of Rutledge, Jackson, and Calhoun. North Carolina also received the Irish contingent which contained a governor in James Moore, who headed the revolution in 1775. In the settlement of Kentucky Irishmen played their part. "For enterprise and daring courage," says Marshall,\* "none transcended Major Hugh McGrady," and he gives a list of others deserving honourable mention. If the reader wishes to know what a noble pioneer the Irishman of those days made, let him read the early history of Kentucky, and what Simon Butler did and endured. In Delaware also, several Irish families made their homes, and in the contests between the settlers, Colonel Plunkett and Thomas Neill are prominent. The United States owe all their celebrated Butlers to the cadets of the great Ormond stock.

In the colony of Massachusetts Bay, a meeting was held in 1725, at Haverhill, for settling the town of Concord, and with the view of excluding the Irish, it was resolved "that no alienation of any lot should be made without the consent of the community." Irish families who presumed to make a settlement were warned off. But they held their ground, and nothing came of the threat. In the capital of New England, in 1737, we find a body of "Irish gentlemen of the Irish nation banding themselves together in a charitable society, for the relief of such of their poor indigent countrymen, without any design of not contributing towards the

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\* History of Kentucky.

provision of the town poor in general, as usual." This was in the main a Protestant Benevolent Society, and the 8th article of the Constitution declared that none but Protestants were eligible for office or committee work. The Londonderry settlement took place in the spring of 1719.\* It consisted of sixteen families, who brought with them to the new world the stern fibre which would not surrender to death, armed with famine. They were all of the Presbyterian faith, and in process of time spread over Windham, Chester, Litchfield, Manchester, Bedford, Goffstown, New Boston, Antrim, Peterborough, Ackworth, in New Hampshire, and Barnett, in Vermont. Their descendants were the first settlers in many towns in Massachusetts and Maine, and they are now to the number of tens of thousands scattered over all the States of the Union.† Cherry Valley, New York, was in part peopled from Londonderry. A few families from Belfast, in 1723, established an

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\* "He (the Ulster man), pushes along quietly to the proper place, not using his elbows too much, and is not hampered by traditions like the Celt. He succeeds particularly well in America and in India, not because Ulster men help one another, and go on like a corporation; for he is not clannish like the Scottish Highlanders or the Irish Celts, the last of whom unfortunately stick together like bees, and drag one another down instead of up. No foreign people succeed in America unless they mix with the native population. It is out of Ulster that her hardy sons have made the most of their talents. It was an Ulster man of Donegal, Francis Mackamie who founded American Presbyterianism in the early part of the last century, just as it was an Ulsterman of the same district, St. Columbkille, who converted the Picts of Scotland in the sixth century. Four of the Presidents of the United States and one Vice-President have been of Ulster extraction, James Monroe, James K. Polk, John C. Calhoun, and James Buchanan. General Andrew Jackson was the son of a poor Ulster emigrant who settled in North Carolina, towards the close of the last century: 'I was born somewhere, he said, between Carrickfergus and the United States.' Bancroft and other historians recognize the value of the Scotch-Irish element in forming the society of the Middle and Southern States. It has been the boast of Ulstermen, that the first General who fell in the American war of the Revolution, was an Ulsterman—Richard Montgomery—who fought at the siege of Quebec; that Samuel Findley, President of Princeton College, and Francis Allison, pronounced by Stiles, the President of Yale, to be the greatest classical scholar in the United States, had a conspicuous place in educating the American mind to independence; that the first publisher of a daily paper in America was a Tyrone man, named Dunlop; that the marble palace of New York, where the greatest business in the world is done by a single firm, was the property of the late Alexander T. Stewart, a native of Lisburn, County Down; that the foremost merchants, such as the Browns and Stewarts, are Ulstermen; and that the inventors of steam navigation, telegraph, and the reaping-machine—Fulton, Morse, and McCormick—are either Ulstermen or the sons of Ulstermen." "Ulster and its people," —*Frazer's Magazine*, August, 1876.

† Barstow's New Hampshire, p. 130.

Irish settlement in Maine. Amongst them was an Irish schoolmaster named Sullivan, who, in 1775, founded Limerick, and whose sons rose to high employment, civil and military. Longford sent the Higgins's and the Reilly's, the cream of its population, to Connecticut. One of the former was the father of a numerous progeny, now flourishing in New England. Palmer and Worcester (Mass.), received early in the eighteenth century their share of Irish immigration.

In 1725, the amiable and acute author of the "Theory of Vision" conceived the project of founding a College in the Summer Islands for the conversion of the red race in the American colonies. The English parliament having voted him certain lands in the West Indies, and £10,000 to be paid over as soon as the scheme was in operation, Berkeley—as noble a specimen of Irish benevolence, enthusiasm, and genius as ever crossed the Atlantic—resigned the rich deanery of Derry, and having "seduced some of the hopefullest young gentlemen" of Trinity to accept professorships in the future College at £40 a year, embarked. The scholarly band arrived at Newport, R.I., in January, 1729. As one might expect, difficulties were raised in the way of handing over the money, and at the end of three years Walpole told Berkeley there was no chance of its ever being paid. While waiting, he farmed and wrote his "Minute Philosopher," and when in 1732 he determined to return to Ireland, he bequeathed his farm of ninety acres to Yale College, and presented it with his library.\* To this hour, not only in the

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\* "The finest collection of books that ever came at one time into America." Baldwin's annals of Yale College, p. 417. A son in the flesh as well as in letters was born to Berkeley, in America. His house "Whitehall" still stands. He loved to read and meditate in a snug retreat among the rocks which project over Narraganset Bay. It was while seated here those noble lines occurred to him, the first of which has become a household word :

"Westward the star of empire takes its way,  
The three first acts already past ;  
The fourth shall close it with the closing day,—  
Earth's noblest empire is the last."

Thus it is to an Irishman that this continent owes its most auspicious prophecy. Not only so, it was Berkeley who first brought an organ to New England to peal out praise to God. It was he brought there the first artist to paint the beauty of its shores and woods. This artist was the teacher of Copley. His name was Smibert. He was the architect of Faneuil Hall, and his picture of the Berkeley family is in Yale College.—See McGee's "Irish Settlers."

seat of learning with which his fame is connected, but all over the continent, his name is an inspiration, his memory a hallowed thing with all who love genius and honour worth. A story of the Indian frontier war is like a star breaking through a cloud of barbarism. In 1753, four hunters from Londonderry "wandered in quest of game" into the territory of the Canadian Aroostooks. The four were captured, and two having been scalped, the remaining two were forced to run the gauntlet. The elder of the two escaped from the ordeal barely with life; the younger, a lad of sixteen, the future General Stark, when his turn came, marched forward boldly, and snatching a club from the nearest Indian, attacked the warriors drawn up on either side. He mocked the savages into reverence of his noble nature. They then ordered him to hoe corn. He tore it up by the roots saying such work was only worthy of squaws. He won their hearts. They adopted him as a son. They called him their "young chief," and dressed him up in Indian splendour.\* The campaign of 1755 brought the "Irish Brigade" to the Canadian frontier.

In the accounts of Indian warfare on the Santee and Savannah, Irish names such as those of Governor Moore, Captains Lynch and Kearns, frequently appear as the champions of the whites. It was in this warfare the Guerilla host known as "Marion's Men" were trained, among whom were conspicuous, Colonels Harry and McDonald, Captains Conyers and McCauley.

In 1764, Dr. Franklin, referring to the enactment of the "Stamp Act" at London, wrote to Charles Thompson, one of the Irish settlers in Pennsylvania, that the sun of liberty was set, and that Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy. The answer sent back by Thompson was, "Be assured we shall light torches of quite another sort."

The folly of the English Government and the tyranny of George III., are now universally acknowledged. With such statesmen as were at that period presiding over the Empire, the Colonists had nothing for it but to rebel. John Rutledge, an Irish settler in

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\* He was one of the first captives given up to Captain Stevens. The original name of Stark was Starkey, and it is thus spelled on the monument of the General's father at Manchester, N. H. See Barstow's *New Hampshire*, p. 139, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Irish Settlers in North America," p. 40.

South Carolina, was the first man to rouse that State to resistance. It was a Langdon and a Sullivan who seized the guns at Newcastle, which thundered at Bunker Hill. In Maryland, Charles Carrol carried the popular banner, and bore down the leading royalist champion. Of the chiefs of the "Continental army" a full third were Irish by birth or descent, and the rank and file was very largely of Irish origin.\*

Richard Montgomery, who had served under Wolfe in the capture of Quebec, having meanwhile travelled in Europe and emigrated to New York, was elected by Congress brigadier-general, and when the sole command devolved on him, on the death of General Schuyler, conducted the campaign with rare judgment. Fort Chambly, St. Johns, Montreal, were taken, and with Irish energy he pressed on in the midst of a severe winter to Quebec. He was a born leader of men, and his curt pregnant eloquence and confident bearing, made the hearts of his freezing soldiers beat with high courage. By a chance shot on the morning of the first of January, 1776, the glorious rebel fell before Quebec. Although he fought against the flag of England, he fought in what all admit now to have been the cause of freedom. It was strange that he should have fallen near the ground where his old commander fell, whom he resembled in the purity of his character; in his gallantry; in his skill as a soldier; in his divided heart; for he had left behind him, at the call of duty, a gentle bride whom he passionately loved, and who was in all respects worthy of him. He might have penned the very verses which Wolfe wrote regarding the gentle girl who disputed with his country the empire of his heart. Here was liberty bleeding; there his weeping bride. Mr. McGee remarks on the strange fatality which gave to death on the rock of Quebec, three generals, alike in youth, in bravery, and chivalrous manly tenderness. "Three deaths" he cries, as if he felt the mantle of his favourite Ossian strong upon him, "three deaths, Quebec, do consecrate thy rock; three glories crown it like a tiara!"

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\* It is not necessary for my purpose to go into particulars. These can be found in Hist. Coll. of New Hampshire, vol. I, p. 291, and in McGee's "Irish Settlers in North America."

It was an Irish hand first hoisted the flag which has from the first been a refuge for the unfortunate and the oppressed. John Barry was born in Wexford in 1745. He pined for the stormy sea. He crossed the Atlantic in his fourteenth year, and sailing to and from Philadelphia, he learned the seaman's art, and at twenty-five was Captain of the *Black Prince*, first a fine packet, afterwards a vessel of war. When Washington was in Philadelphia, he met Barry at the house of Mr. Rose Meredith, and marked him for an ally. In 1775, Captain Barry was in command of the *Lexington*, lying in the Delaware, when the Union flag was chosen, and from his masthead the stars and stripes first flew. Towards the close of 1777, Washington publicly thanked him and his men for effective services. How he became Commodore, his captures, his engagements with three British frigates in West Indian waters, in 1782, is part of the general history of the war. From 1783, until his death, in 1803, he superintended the progress of the navy. "The Father of the American Navy," lies buried in Philadelphia. It is scarcely worth while to mention a characteristic which the hostile Froude admits to be a common-place in Irishmen,—his unbribable fidelity. Lord Howe offered him a vast bribe, and further tempted him with the command of a British ship of the line, in vain. Like every man of real power, he was proud of his country. After the peace of Paris, he visited his birthplace, the Parish of Tacumshane, County of Wexford. When hailed by the British frigates in the West Indies, and asked the usual questions, he did not forget to let them know he was an Irishman.\*

Naval officers of less note were Captains James and Bernard, McGee, McDonough, with many others. Murrin, Dale, Decatur, and Stewart, were trained under Barry.

Washington's favourite aide-de-camp was an Irish officer of the old Volunteer Blue and Buffs, Col. Fitzgerald, and Mr. G. Washington Custis, who makes us acquainted with his heroism, mentions many more of whom Irishmen have reason to be proud, and to whom the forty million dollar getters and breeders of dollar

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\* His answer was, "The United States Ship Alliance, saucy Jack Barry, half Irishman, half Yankee—who are you?"

getters have ample cause to be grateful. The Irish merchants of Philadelphia contributed half a million of dollars towards furnishing provisions for the United States. On the 19th of October, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered, and the following spring Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States of America: that independence was bought with no small amount of blood and treasure and heroism and valuable lives, and Irishmen contributed their share of the sacred purchase money.

It was only natural that there should have been considerable sympathy between the Irish patriots in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and the leading spirits in the revolutionary movement in the American colonies. Franklin visited Dublin in 1771. At the suggestion of the Speaker he was accommodated with a seat on the floor of the house. After the declaration of war in 1775, he addressed a letter to "The People of Ireland," urging them to refuse to join in the war against the colonies. Franklin was a bosom friend of Charles Thompson,\* who wrote out the declaration of independence from Jefferson's draft.

The first daily paper published in America—the *Pennsylvania Packet*—was issued by an Irishman, and it was in the *Packet* office the Declaration of Independence was first printed. It was an Irishman, Colonel John Nixon, who first read it to the people. Eight of the signers of independence were Irish or of Irish descent.† It was an Irishman who first published fac similes of the signatures. Six of the delegates by whom the Constitution was promulgated in 1787, were Irish. It was on an Irishman's farm freely offered to Washington, that the plan of the federal capital was laid, and the wealthy donor lived to see ten Presidents ruling in the "White House," surrounded by ever growing wealth and populous bustle and crowding chimney stacks, where once the smoke from his own dwelling flung a solitary reflection in the calm waters of the Potomac. The first governor of Pennsyl-

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\* Born at Maghera, County of Derry, 1730. He died 16th August, 1824, having spent the close of his life in translating the Septuagint.

† Matthew Martin, born in Ireland, 1714; James Smith, born in Ireland in 1713; George Taylor, born in Ireland in 1716; he was so poor that his services were sold on his arrival to pay the expense of his passage out. George Read was the son of Irish parents. Charles Carroll was of Irish descent. Thomas Lynch and Thomas McKean,

vania,\* after the adoption of a federal constitution, was a native of Dublin. We have seen that the first literary blow dealt slavery was given by an Irishman. One of the earliest legislative blows came from a like quarter.† In 1789 the Governor procured the passage of a law gradually abolishing slavery in the state named after the great Quaker.

In the succeeding years we find Irishmen and their descendants as representatives and senators. We find them establishing and conducting educational institutions; we see striking evidences of literary activity; our attention is arrested by the bold engineering plans of Irishmen who were in advance of their time, but who would have made a fortune to-day. Some were unlucky, like Christopher Colles, and died in want, while others were fattening on their ideas; others were more fortunate, like Robert Fulton, who launched the first steam-boat on the Seine, in 1803, running, in 1806, a more complete model on the Hudson. A native of Carrickfergus, Dr. Adrian, was distinguished as a mathematician; and Matthew Carey, the father of H. C. Carey, as a political economist.

The Irish leaning to the Democratic side in the United States, would seem to have a connection with the events of 1798 in Ireland. The British Government, in 1799 and 1800, agreed to let T. A. Emmett, and D. McNevin out of prison, if they would promise to quit the British Dominions for ever. The terms being arranged, Thomas Addis Emmett applied to Rufus King, the United States Minister at London, for passports for himself and his friends, but was refused; Mr. King adding, what must have been meant for a joke, that "there were republicans enough in America." Some few years afterwards, when Mr. King was a candidate for the vice-presidency, and Thomas Addis Emmett was the leader of the New York bar, the great advocate, by a striking narration of the circumstances in letters to the *New York Evening Post*, raised a feeling throughout the Union which blighted the hopes of the too clever ambassador of a few years before.

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were both of Irish parentage. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, makes up the eighth. All these men rose to high public employment.—"Lives of the Signers."

\* Alderman John Burns, of Philadelphia.

† George Bryan.



It was a native of Ireland, John Smilie, who reported a bill in 1812 in favour of war with Great Britain, and the man on whom his mantle fell, John Caldwell Calhoun, was the son of Patrick Calhoun, an emigrant from Donegal to South Carolina. In the naval engagements in 1812-15, the names of the Boyles, the Blakeleys, the Leavins, the Shaws, the Stewarts, the Gallaghers, the McGraths, tell their history. On land we meet everywhere the same Irish energy and valour. The hero of the victory of New Orleans, General Jackson, was, as Cobbett\* pointed out with indecent exultation, the son of poor Irish emigrant parents. In 1828, Jackson was elected president by a large majority, the “Irish vote” playing an important part. The Irish did not forget his origin, and they were charmed by his military characteristics.† “Old Hickory” had some of the most remarkable traits of the Irishman in strong development.

Contributions were raised in the States for repeal, and in 1847 large sums were sent to support the famishing in Ireland. The '48 movement excited great enthusiasm among the Catholic Irish, and thousands of dollars poured in to the directories, as they have more recently to head centre treasuries. Be the objects wise or unwise, such subscriptions show the noble generosity of the Irish heart.

\* See Cobbett's Life of Andrew Jackson.

† Jackson's partiality for Irishmen was strong, but not blind. His personal attendants were nearly all natives of Ireland, and he seems to have felt that kindly interest in them which makes the servant of an Irish gentleman feel himself a “humble friend.” Jackson's man-servant, Jemmy O'Neil, used to indulge a little too freely, and on such occasions assumed too much control over visitors and dwellers in the “White House.” Wearied out with complaints, Jackson decided to dismiss him, and having sent for him said, “Jemmy, you and I must part.” “Why so, General?” asked Jemmy. “Because,” replies the President, “every one complains of you.” “And do you believe them, General?” asks Jemmy with a mixture of surprise and reproach. “Of course,” answers Jackson, “what everyone says must be true.” “Well, now General,” cries Jemmy, “I've heard twice as much said against you, and I never would believe a word of it.” Jackson's military experience should have indeed had a hardening effect if this would not touch him. Mr. Lowell, the author of the “Biglow Papers,” has a genuine admiration for “Old Hickory,” and tells us of him:—

“He'd 'a' smashed the tables o' the law  
In time o' need to load his gun with.”

When the “White House” was threatened with a mob, he refused the volunteered guard of naval and military, and loading his own and his nephew's guns, prepared to meet his foes.

In Mexico, Irishmen and Irish names are as numerous as the Irishman, in a famous bull, said absentees were in Ireland.\* One of Scott's most efficient colonels was Riley. But neither to his achievements nor to those of minor note—of the Pattersons, the Lees, the Magruders, the Neals, the McReynolds—can justice be done here. Born in the same village as Major McReynolds,† James Shields won a record which might call for extended notice. On his return to the United States he was greeted with ovations, and Illinois elected him to the Senate. In the Session, 1850-51, he reported as one of Committee on Military Affairs, in favour of conferring the rank of Lieut.-General on his old Commander and comrade, Scott.

But why go into further particulars? If arithmetic goes for anything, Irish blood is the main-tide of the great country below the line. In 1848, the Irish immigration exceeded that from all other sources. In that year, 98,061 persons of Irish birth passed into the Union; in 1849, 112,561; in 1850, 117,038; as against in the same years respectively, 51,973; 55,705; 45,535 from Germany; 23,062; 28,321; 28,163 from England; and 6,415; 8,840; 6,772 from Scotland; and approximate proportions have continued. And what sort of stuff was this sent by Ireland? I have seen them on the quays of Queenstown, many of them young farmers and farmers' daughters, all of them as fine specimens of the human race, as ever pressed the earth. Within a century, the Irish in America have contributed to the ranks of war and statesmanship in the Union, distinction and efficiency, in as large proportion as they have strength and endurance to the equally noble field of labour. The Republic owes much to the Presidents Vice-Presidents the generals and commanders, the representatives and orators, the lawyers and scholars of Irish blood; she owes still more to the pure mothers of healthy instincts and faultless mould, which the green valleys and pure traditions of Ireland have given her, and to the unequalled hosts, wielding no sword and shouldering no gun, but armed with pick and axe and spade, who fought and fight

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\* The reader will have read the story. "And are there so many absentees?" asked an incredulous stranger of an Irishman, who had been inveighing against those renegades to duty. "Be gor the country is swarming with them," was the answer.

† Dungannon, County Tyrone.

the wilderness, and who have carried the starry banner where no flag ever floated before.

It is a noble work this subduing the wilderness. On no subject has more wretched stuff been talked than on emigration, and Irish emigration in particular. It was by emigration the world was peopled, and emigration must go forward until every corner of the world is fully inhabited. There is nothing unhappy about Irishmen crossing the Atlantic; the unhappy thing is that, in a great many cases, the circumstances which immediately led to emigration were cruel and oppressive, and among the bitterest fruit of oligarchic rule. But if Ireland's years had rolled on from the misty time of legend to this hour as happy as a maiden's dreams, her people would have had to emigrate, or eat each other, or else resort to immoral contrivances to limit population, sickening folly from which the pure, robust Irish nature has always turned away with disgust. When a country the size of Ireland is over-populated, duty and manliness bid the strong ones make for the wilderness, to face the hardships for which the aged and tender are unequal. It is a hard thing, indeed, to leave one's country, and all the harder because the intending emigrant fails to realize the fact that he will make for himself a new home. It is hard; but life is made up of hard things, and men must not grumble at hardness. Yet the regrets of an Irishman for his country is a feature in his character which commands admiration; it proves him to be made of the finest human clay; and we need not wonder it has inspired poets, and been fruitful of romance. "Do you find it hard to die?" asked some priests in Montreal, as they stood by the side of a dying student. The green valleys, the mountain side, his father's cabin, the mother's love, her soft musical voice, came before his fading fancy. His eye brightened for a moment, and then was drowned in one large tearful wave, "I do," said the dying man, "but not half so hard as I found it to leave Ireland."

When travelling in the United States, I found the opinion universal that a "smart" Irishman was the smartest man in the world. When the emigrants go into the country, they are the most industrious of all the population. In the south, west, and east, you find the Irish workman strong and successful. The

Irishman who started a quarter of a century ago with a dollar in his pocket, and who has in the interval climbed to wealth and influence, is met everywhere.\* The idea that Irishmen do not make prosperous merchants is common in England, in the face of the existence of such men as the late Mr. Graves, M.P., of Liverpool; and it obtains on this continent, though Stewart was an Irishman. In Tennessee and Mississippi, where Irishmen, owing to the talisman of such names as Jackson, Carroll, Coffee, Brandon, are held in the highest favour, mercantile success has attended the labour and enterprise of hundreds. In Virginia, the largest fortune ever made by commerce was made by Andrew Beirne, an Irishman. In Missouri, Brian Mullanphy headed the list of millionaires. His son, a lawyer and a judge, who died in 1850, bequeathed \$200,000 for the benefit of emigrants entering the Mississippi. John McDonogh died in the same year, at New Orleans, leaving behind him the largest single property in the Southern States. Daniel Clarke's great wealth has been made widely known by the Gaines Case.

In California, a fourth of the farms are in the hands of Irishmen. They constitute one-fourth of the population of San Francisco. With the exception of four persons, six Irishmen are the highest rated in that City.†

According to Mr. Maguire, the Irish stand well in the public esteem of the people of the United States. We sometimes hear the contrary. That they should stand well is only natural. Mr. Maguire devotes many pages of his book to Scotch-Irish, a class to which D'Arcy McGee applied his heaviest lash. On people who would try by the use of such a meaningless phrase to deny their country I would not waste a word. They are despised by those whom they try to conciliate; and while men, the most illustrious and the worthiest our race has produced, were and are proud of being Irish, the Ireland and the great people they revered can afford to leave the sneaks of passing favour unrecognized. The misfortune is that such conduct reflects on the country the discredit of the individual. ‡

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\* The Irish in America. By John Francis Maguire, M.P., p. 258.

† Ibid.

‡ I once asked a servant at an hotel what part of Ireland she came from. Her rich

No race has ever given a truer test of its bottom and genuineness than the Irish have done by their grateful remembrance of friends and relatives. It would be as vain to deny them the high virtue of generosity, as to question their valour or dispute their intellectual brilliancy. They have sent vast, almost fabulous sums across the Atlantic to bring out their friends, and they never ask for repayment. "The Irish are a grand race," said one who had lived much with them and in reference to this very matter, "and" he added, remembering how much the poor servant girls have done, and the temptation they have braved, "the Irish women are an honour to their country." The returns of the Emigration Commissioners lead to the inference that the amount of money sent by settlers on this continent to Ireland, for emigration purposes, cannot be less than \$120,000,000.\*

Female purity is a high test of the quality of a race as well as of a civilization. "In the hotels of America the Irish girl is admittedly indispensable. Through the ordeal of these fiery furnaces of temptation she passes unscathed."† The answer Mr. Maguire received from the prominent hotel proprietors of the United States, when he asked why all the young women in their establishments were Irish, was that "The Irish girls are industrious, willing, cheerful and honest; they work hard, and they are strictly moral." After every deduction is made, this testimony remains substantially intact.

Nothing has been said about the great war. The part played by those of Irish descent and Irish birth is too well known. When a few men, the remains of Irish regiments, march through New York on great public occasions, with their tattered banners and green cockades, one part of their story is told. They were faithful on both sides, according to their sympathies. But, thank God, the great mass, and all of those who enlisted in Ireland, sided with the North and struck for human freedom. "The war has tried the Irish," said a well-known General, "and they

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brogue, if placed on a narrow gauge, would trip up the train. "Oi'm not Irish," she said, "Oi'm Scotch." Such degradation will of course be found among inferior specimens of all peoples.

\* Maguire. *The Irish in America*, page 331.

† Maguire.

stood the test well as good citizens and soldiers." Thomas Francis Meagher, a great orator, used all his amazing powers of persuasion, and his spell of fiery inspiration, calling young Irishmen in thousands to fight for the Union. Nor did they hang back. Their

"Faith and truth  
On war's red techstone rang true metal."\*

When I saw, during the Franco-German war, the German victorious soldiers respecting women, and falsifying all the traditions of the brutality of war, my heart warmed to them. The southern people had reason to be thankful that Irishmen made so large a portion of the army. The Protestant Bishop of New Orleans, told Mr. Maguire that "in every assault made upon a defenceless household, the Irish soldier was the first to interpose for the defence of the helpless, to shield them from insult and wrong," They protected families from "the cruel wrath of their (the family's) countrymen;" and where helpless women were in a menaced house, an Irish soldier has taken his place as sentinel at the door, keeping back the infuriate crowd. Of the prominent men of Irish descent and birth in that war, it would fill a volume to speak. But two great names stand out in the first rank,—Meade and Sheridan.

In Australia, as we have seen, an Irishman rose rapidly to the first place. Only one honoured name need here be mentioned,—a name known to law and statesmanship, and dear to literature and education. Sir Redmond Barry, who has been Solicitor-General for the colony of Victoria, and who, in 1851, became one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, was born in the County Cork, in 1813. He has taken a deep interest in education; and his inaugural addresses, delivered as Chancellor of the New University of Melbourne, mark him as a man of wide views and high culture. Sir Redmond Barry was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. The

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\* Lowell. In March, 1867, Meagher wrote a letter in which he bore testimony to the chivalrous devotion of his countrymen. "Many of my gallant fellows left comfortable homes, and relinquished good wages, and resigned profitable and most promising situations, to face the poor pittance, the worse rations, the privations, rigour, and savage dangers of a soldier's life in the field." Meagher seemed to have proved himself as brilliant a soldier as he was an orator. All the '48 men had great stuff in them.

Order of Knighthood was conferred on him in 1860 by letters patent.

In the South American Revolutions, Irishmen played a prominent part. During the fifteen years which elapsed from 1808, until in 1823, when the last Spanish soldier left Caraccas, there was a striking succession of events, which only await the pen of a Tacitus to emerge into due prominence. The contest had three divisions, Bolivar's, in Columbia; O'Higgins's, in Chili; and that of the Argentine Republic, on the Rio de la Plata. By Bolivar's side were numbers of Irish soldiers. In 1817, an Irish brigade, under the command of General Devereux, a native of Wexford, went to his aid. We learn from the memoirs of a distinguished Englishman\*, that his physician, Dr. Moore, was an Irishman who had followed the Liberator from Venezuela to Peru, and who was devotedly attached to him. Bolivar's first aide-de-camp was a nephew of the celebrated Dr. O'Leary; Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, was also an Irishman.† Equally, if not more important, was the rôle allotted by fate to the Irish in Chili. Under the hand of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, the last Captain-General, towns had sprung up, trade flourished, canals were opened, rivers and harbours were dredged. His son, Don Bernardo, born in Chili, felt for the country an enthusiastic patriotism, and as Supreme Director, struggled and struggled successfully for its independence. His heroism was only surpassed by his generalship. The second brigade was for a time commanded by General Mackenna, an Irishman, who was killed in

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\* Memoirs of Genl. Miller, vol. II., pp. 233-234.

† When a mere youth, Ferguson quitted a counting house at Demerara, and joined the patriot standard. During the war of extermination, he was taken by the Spaniards. He was led with several others, from a dungeon at La Guayra, for the purpose of being shot on the sea-shore. Having only a pair of trowsers on, his fair skin was conspicuous amongst his unfortunate swarthy companions, and attracted the attention of the boats' crew of an English man-of-war, casually on the strand. One of the sailors ran up to him and asked if he was an Englishman. Ferguson said—"No, I am an Irishman," "I too am an Irishman" said the tar, "and by — no Spanish rascal shall murder a countryman of mine if I can help it!" Whereupon he ran to his officer and urged him to intercede with the Spanish Governor, and Ferguson's life was spared. Ferguson related this incident to General Miller. We have Ferguson's name, but the other hero's, the generous Jack who snatched his life from Spanish tyranny, is lost. Ferguson, of whose merit General Miller speaks in the highest terms, fell on the night of the conspiracy of Bogota, September, 1828, in the defence of Bolivar. "Memoirs of General Miller."

a durl at Buenos Ayres, in 1814. Colonel O'Connor's name is inseparably bound up with Peruvian independence, from the first attempt to the final battle of Ayachuco. The only Irishman on the Royalist side was General O'Reilly.

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## CHAPTER IV.

SOME seventy years after Jacques Cartier had sailed up the "fair flowing"\* St. Lawrence—

"That northern stream  
"That spreads into successive seas,"

Champlain founded the colony, and the French régime commenced. This régime, having for a century and a half been illustrated by men whose energy, fortitude, sagacity and accomplishments would have made them remarkable in any theatre, fell with Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham.

When Wolfe proceeded to take Quebec, he left in charge at the Island of Orleans, with the 2nd Battalion of Royal Americans and some marines, a man who was to prove at once the founder and

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\* *Ευπέλατο καναδου* as a modern writer, discovered by Dr. Scadding, has it, adapting an epithet originally applied to far smaller rivers.

[Authorities :—The newspapers : "Constitutional History of Canada," by S. J. Watson : "Correspondance de la Bibliothèque Canadienne," M. François Cazeau : "Hansard : " "Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la Domination Anglaise," par M. Bibaud : "History of Canada," MacMullen : "The Bastonnais," by John Lesperance : "The Settlement of Upper Canada," by Dr. Canniff : "Life of Col. Talbot : " Mrs. Jameson's "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles : " "Family Records of the Gambles of Toronto." I am deeply indebted to Mr. Charles Lindsey for placing his library at my disposal, and to many other friends for the loan of books. I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. Fraser for giving me access to the Library of the Ontario Legislature at all hours.—N. F. D.]



saviour of Canada. This was Col. Guy Carleton. Carleton was born at Strabane in the County Tyrone. Strabane to-day is a busy market town with a population of five thousand. It is connected by a line of railway with Derry and Enniskillen. It stands on the right bank of the Mourne near the spot where that stream joins the Finn at Lifford, from which place it is called the Foyle.\* A century and a half ago it was a scene of sylvan beauty. Then as now it was famous for its salmon.

Guy Carleton was born the year Marlborough died. The renown of the great captain was long after his death a common topic. Blenheim and Ramillies were as familiar in men's mouths as Alma and Inkerman were a few years ago. As young Carleton plied his rod in the Mourne a wish rose within him which was to shape all his after-life, which was to lead him to honour and usefulness, which was to connect his name for ever with Canada and this great continent—he longed for a soldier's career.

While yet a youth he entered the Guards, and in 1748 became lieut.-colonel of the 72nd regiment. In the German campaign of 1757 he was aide-de-camp to Cumberland. In the following year he served under Amherst at the siege of Louisbourg, and in 1759, as we have seen, under Wolfe. He was wounded at the siege of Belle Isle. Having become a colonel he served in the Havana Expedition in 1762, and in the successful assault on the Moro Castle he was again wounded.

Meanwhile the articles of capitulation were signed in the camp before Montreal, September 8th, 1760. By the 27th of these articles, Vaudreuil proposed that the French Canadians should be assured the free exercise of their faith. He asked further that the English Government should secure to the priesthood the tithes and taxes the people had hitherto been obliged to pay under the rule of the King of France. To the first of these proposals, Amherst felt at liberty to accede; the second would depend on the King's pleasure. On the 10th of February, 1763, was signed the Treaty of Paris, by the fourth clause of which France ceded to England, Canada with all its dependencies, George III. granting the inhabitants the "liberty of the Catholic religion," and the

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\* Montgomery, his most formidable foe, was born at Convoy, about seven miles distant from the same spot.

oppressed peasant exchanged the rigorous vassalage of French feudalism for the security and freedom of British citizenship. To the reign of violence succeeded the reign of law.\*

There were no towns of any consequence save Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers. At St. Johns, L'Assomption, Berthier, and Sorel there were military establishments surrounded by scanty settlements. What we now know as the flourishing Province of Ontario was wilderness. The population at the time of the conquest has been estimated at from sixty to sixty-five thousand. Some of the wealthier residents of the towns returned to France. The bulk of the people, however, remained in Canada. A number of the soldiers who had brought about the change of flag settled in the country. The government gave them grants of land. They married French wives. The children spoke the tongue of the mother. Hence we find in Lower Canada to-day men bearing German, English, Scotch and Irish names and speaking a Latin dialect. The Battle of the Plains had given an impulse to emigration to Canada. In a few years we find an English-speaking population important enough to lead an enterprising firm to publish a newspaper.†

In the autumn following the Treaty of Peace a Royal Proclamation was put forth, announcing that the King had granted letters patent under the great seal to erect Quebec into a government, and defining the boundaries of that Province to be the St. John (Saguenay) on the Labrador coast, from the head of which river a line was drawn through Lake St. John to the south end of Lake Nipissim, whence crossing the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain in 45 degrees of N. latitude, it passed along the High Lands which divide the rivers emptying themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, sweeping by the north coast of the Baie des Chaleurs and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by the west end of the Island of Anticosti, and terminating at the river whence it set out. The proclamation declared that the King had given power and direction to the Governor, when the circumstances of the colony would permit,

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\* Speech of M. Papineau to the electors of Montreal, 1820.

† The *Quebec Gazette*.

to summon a general assembly. It promised that until such an assembly could be called, the inhabitants should enjoy the full benefit of the laws of England. General Murray was appointed governor immediately after the proclamation. He was instructed, until an assembly could be called in accordance with the proclamation, to nominate a council to aid him in the administration of the government. A Court of King's Bench and a Court of Common Pleas were established, and shortly afterwards a Court of Chancery. We need not be surprised if the French population grew dissatisfied with laws to which they were unaccustomed and a method of procedure wholly novel, and carried on in a language of which they did not understand a word. Still less need we be surprised that when officials were chosen from the ranks of British-born subjects who did not number one hundred and fiftieth part of the population, extortion and oppression were the rule.

In 1767 Carleton was rewarded for his distinguished services by the lieutenant-governorship of Quebec. In 1768 he was already popular because of his humanity, and the people with a true instinct turned towards him as a protector. His demeanour has been variously judged, some attributing the wisdom and gentleness of his rule to the native goodness of his heart, others to a far-seeing policy. According to one view he was a friend of the French Canadians because he took the trouble to know them. He wished to redress their grievances because he had diligently inquired into their situation. Being a virtuous man, he sought with activity and constancy to do right in behalf of those to whom he stood in the light of a shepherd. According to another view, he foresaw the rupture of the thirteen colonies with the mother country, and determined to conciliate the favour of the people of Canada. We shall not detract from the claims of Carleton on our admiration, nor be untrue to the probabilities of the case, if we say we think both views are necessary to give the complete truth, as blending stars make one light.

One of the first acts of Carleton was to erase two influential names from his list of councillors, and to appoint two other councillors in their place. Remonstrances were addressed to him from the English portion of the population. He replied that the new councillors had been appointed by the King—that he would in

conducting the government consult those of his councillors whom he believed capable of giving him the best advice—that in matters not coming strictly within the domain of government, he would seek advice outside his council, and confer with men of sense whose characters challenged confidence, men who placed before private interest the public good and their duty to the King—that after hearing advice, he would then act in that manner which he believed most advantageous to the service of the King and to the well-being of the Province—that the number of his council was a dozen, and that those nominated by the King should have precedence over those nominated by General Murray. In 1766 representations had been sent to England against the system of judicature recently introduced. Carleton, who was a statesman as well as a soldier, saw that this system was quite unsuited to a people with all whose prejudices and traditions it was at war. He therefore caused the leading French lawyers to compile the civil laws of France for him, and armed with this compilation he proceeded in 1770 to England. He wished to see the “*Coutume de Paris*” re-established, but abridged and edited so as to be better adapted to the needs of Canada. The compilation having been revised by the law officers of the Crown, became the principal authority in cases relating to land and inheritance. In other matters English law ruled, much to the disgust of the old French gentry, who did not understand tradesmen and labourers sitting in judgment on gentlemen. And though we smile, it must have seemed hard to them.

There was great dissatisfaction among the British at the delay which had taken place in granting them an Assembly. The French were also in favour of an Assembly. But, like the extreme Protestants and the extreme Roman Catholics of to-day, they could not act together in politics, with the result that both suffered. The discontent was increased by the fact that in 1772 Prince Edward Island was given a Lieutenant-Governor, a Legislative Council, a Legislative Assembly, a Custom-house, and a Court of Vice-Admiralty. But the difficulty was to decide on a plan of united action. The British desired a Parliament composed exclusively of Protestants: the French wanted the complete re-establishment of their former laws and customs in all civil mat-

ters. The former invited the latter to attend their meetings ; but when these heard that they were to swell a petition for a system by which they themselves should be deprived of full citizenship, they naturally stood aside. The British were forced to act alone. On the 3rd of December, 1773, they presented to Lieutenant-Governor Cramahe a request that he would, in accordance with the Royal promise, and the powers given him by the proclamation of 1763, convoke an Assembly. M. Cramahe replied that he would transmit their request to the Minister of the Colonies. The petitioners then addressed themselves to the King. The French Canadians acted separately, and contented themselves with asking for the re-establishment of their former civil jurisprudence. Carleton was examined on oath before a Committee of the House of Commons. He stated that an Assembly composed exclusively of the British inhabitants would give great offence to the Canadians. To such an Assembly they would prefer the rule of a Governor and a Legislative Council. Several French Canadians had told him that assemblies had drawn upon the other colonies so much distress, riot, and confusion, that they wished never to have one of any kind. M. de Lotbinière, a native French Canadian nobleman, deposed that the French would like to have an Assembly, provided they might sit in it.

Carleton, in pressing his views on the Committee, was naturally more anxious about the one hundred and fifty thousand French Canadian Roman Catholics under his charge than about the handful of English-speaking Protestants. When we remember the ignorance and political incapacity of the mass of the people, we shall probably be inclined to doubt whether they were ripe for popular institutions. But the Home Government owed some consideration to the British inhabitants, and the Quebec Act, even in the face of impending war, must be pronounced a vicious, short-sighted measure. The framers of the measure had no prophetic hint of the extent to which English-speaking Canada was to grow, and from their limited vision those who despair of this country may learn a useful lesson. In the House of Commons, Irishmen whose names have become household words opposed it. Col. Barré and Edmund Burke gave it strenuous opposition. Burke pleaded for delay. He contended for the rights of the

English-speaking inhabitants. One day he brought all the weight of his powerful dialectics and mighty rhetoric against the bill. On another he ridiculed it until his hearers roared with mirth. On June the 8th, he "ran on in such a vein of humour that the House was in a continual laugh during the whole of his speech." On the 10th, he was equally happy. "Little did I think," cried Townshend, "when I called for a Government for Canada, that I was invoking a despotism." In the House of Lords, the Earl of Chatham, speaking from the brink of the grave, denounced the bill as a cruel, oppressive, and odious measure. He went so far as to say that it would shake the affection and confidence of the King's subjects in England, and Ireland, and lose him the hearts of all the Americans. However the bill passed.

And what was this Act against which Fox in the ripening glory of his morning in one house, and Chatham in another, in the paling splendours of his setting, thundered? It revoked the Royal proclamation of 1763, with its promise of an Assembly. It granted the Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion, subject to the King's supremacy as defined by the Act of Elizabeth. It guaranteed to the Roman Catholic clergy their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to Catholics only, but out of such dues and rights the King held himself at liberty to make such provision as he might deem expedient for the Protestant clergy. The Catholics were relieved of the oath of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, and thus a barrier against their holding office under the Crown was removed, an oath of simple allegiance to the King being substituted. In all matters relating to property and civil rights, the French laws were re-established. In regard to criminal matters, on the other hand, the English law was established for ever. A council of not more than twenty-three, and not less than seventeen, was to be appointed by the Crown. Local and municipal taxes, and the administration of internal affairs, were within its jurisdiction; over imports and exports the British Parliament kept a jealous control. The bounds of the province were extended on the one hand over Labrador, and on the other as far as Ohio and the Mississippi. It deprived the colonists of trial by jury in civil cases, of the Habeas Corpus, and, in a word, of constitutional government. The French Canadians did not regret

trial by jury, and they had known little of the advantages of the Habeas Corpus. Indeed, to the French gentleman it seemed monstrous that tradesmen and labourers and mechanics should sit in judgment on any issue in which he was interested. But to the British residents the Act was a cruel blow.

Carleton returned to Canada in the autumn of 1774, and was hailed by the people as a protector and friend. The Legislative Council was inaugurated, and was composed of one-third Catholics and two-thirds Protestants, some of these being natives of Jersey, and using the French language. The Congress met at Philadelphia addressed a letter to the French inhabitants of Quebec, urging the Canadians to throw in their lot with them. But this produced no effect. The leaders of the people, the clergy, the *noblesse* and the better class of *bourgeoisie* thought that they had more to lose than gain by a change. "The man," says a French historian,\* "to whom the administration of the government had been entrusted, had known how to make the Canadians love him, and this contributed not a little to retain at least within the bounds of neutrality those among them who might have been able, or who believed themselves able, to ameliorate their lot by making common cause with the insurgent colonies."

On the 19th April, the battle of Lexington took place, and the insurgent colonists, believing the French Canadians were held in check by the Canadian fortifications, determined to take them. Early in May, Allen and Arnold, at the head of about three hundred men, crossed Lake Champlain, and landed under cover of night near Ticonderoga. The fort contained only a few men, and was surprised next morning, and captured without shot being fired. Crown Point, garrisoned by a sergeant and twelve men, surrendered a few days afterwards. Saint Jean, which was equally weak in garrison, fell in the beginning of June. The command of the lake had now passed out of British hands. The situation was critical. The gateways of Canada were in the hands of the Americans. Carleton at once determined to recover the forts, and proceeded to raise a militia on the basis of French feudal law. He might well think that he had more than common claims on the

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\* M. Bibaud.

French Canadian population. It seemed only just as he had been the means of restoring them their civil law, that he should now, in an extremity, reap the benefit of their feudal customs. But a dozen years of British rule, even in the most objectionable form it could assume, with no redeeming feature but the accidental greatness of soul of the Governor, had taught the peasants a lesson in freedom. They had half broken with a history of odious oppression. The chords of liberty in their hearts had vibrated to the hesitating touch of a new era. What at a later period, the night of the 4th August, was to the German peasant of Alsace, the proclamation of 1763 was in a sense to the French Canadian. But the proclamation of 1763 was the incomplete work of a narrow statesmanship. It was natural that the Alsatian peasants, who had leaped at a bound from serfdom into the position of landed proprietors and freemen, should have flocked to the standard of the republic. It was equally natural that the French Canadian peasant should have refused the appeal of Carleton, coming in the shape it did. Many of the seigniors took his view. But this only made the appeal more ominous. The poor people had not forgotten the hardships of the last war, nor the oppression which preceded it.

Carleton had all that wonderful power of attraction which Froude has marked as native to the Irishman. But loved as he was, he could not persuade the peasants that it was their duty to act offensively against the Americans. The seigniors assembled their tenants, and explained to them the service expected of them, and the risk of confiscation which they would incur by holding back. Some were from old habit inclined to obey, but the great majority declared that they did not feel themselves bound to be of the same opinion as their seignior, that they owed them no military services, and that they would not fight against the armies of the revolted provinces. They knew neither the cause nor the result of the present difference. They would prove themselves loyal and peaceable subjects. They could not be expected to take arms. Their position is not difficult to understand. It was but the other day that the English invaders, fighting against their own soldiers and besieging their capital, had extorted from them a strict neutrality on pain of exemplary punishment, or, as they expressed it, of sum-



mary military execution. Who could complain if they remained neutral? Their resolve placed Carleton in a difficult position. Of regular troops he had but two regiments, and these so dispersed that they could not act with efficiency. Nor was all indifference in Canada. Many sympathized with the rebels, and were determined to aid them.

To repel attack and suppress treason, the Governor resolved on the incorporation of the militia. On the 9th of June he issued a proclamation in which he said that there existed a rebellion in several of the colonies of His Majesty; that a part of the forces bearing arms had made an incursion into the province, and held the language and wore the attitude of invaders; that, therefore, he had judged it proper to proclaim martial law, and to call out the militia to defend the country and awe down revolt. Instead of producing the desired effect, this proclamation produced discontent where there had been indifference, and transformed lukewarm sympathy into active co-operation. Nor, it seems, could the people persuade themselves that the King of England would act like the military chief of a despotic state. Voluntary enrolment, the people said, was the only means to which the Governor could legitimately have recourse.

Carleton had the perseverance and fertility of resource which have never been wanting in his countrymen in times of emergency. Unable to succeed by force, he tried persuasion. He turned to the Bishop of Quebec. That prelate addressed to the curés of his diocese, to be read in their churches, a charge in which he exhorted the people to take up arms for the defence of the country.

The charge had no more effect than the proclamation. The French Canadians had as yet developed no loyalty to the British crown strong enough to be the parent of action. Such loyalty as they had was only equal to a passive negative result. Moreover, the people, fond of their little farms, and with strong family affections, felt that if they took up arms for the defence of the country, they would be forced to wage war on any part of the continent where the Empire might need assistance, and this in a struggle the end of which, at that time, no man could foresee. If their homes were threatened, they would defend them. Their

public spirit was confined within the narrowest view of their own interest.

On the 17th of June, 1775, Bunker Hill was fought. On the 6th July the Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America was published. Carleton, unable to overcome the popular determination to rest neutral, sought to raise a body of volunteers by offering to each volunteer two hundred acres of land, two hundred and fifty if he was married, and fifty for each of his children. His engagement to serve under arms was to terminate at the close of the war, and his lands were to be exempt from all charges for twenty years. Even this measure failed. Only a few volunteered.

In this emergency Carleton had no choice but to appeal for aid to the Indians. The Iroquois were then in the ascendant, and whatever course they took would be followed by the other tribes. Their objections to take up arms were overcome by persuasion, and a large number repaired to Montreal to engage themselves for the following year. Carleton's preparations for a war, offensive and defensive, proceeded with his usual activity and energy. But the reinforcements which he had been promised from Europe were delayed. His plan was to relieve the Boston garrison by invading American territory on the south of the St. Lawrence.

Informed of this design, and believing the French Canadians were favourable to their cause, Congress resolved to anticipate him. A considerable force under General Schuyler was ordered to invade Canada and advance against Montreal, while Arnold was to penetrate the colony by way of Kennebec and Chaudière, and operate against Quebec. Schuyler, having made himself master of Isle-aux-Noix or Fort Lennox, put forth a proclamation not unlike that which King William addressed in 1670 to the French peasantry. The invaders did not come to make war against the French Canadians. Their quarrel was solely with the British troops. The lives, property, the liberty and religion of the habitants would be respected. These appeals influenced a mere fraction of the people.

Schuyler took ill, and Montgomery assuming chief command, prosecuted the siege of St. Johns with vigour, and despatched Colonel Allen to surprise Montreal. But Carleton was now in

Montreal, and it was not easy to surprise him. He called together about one hundred soldiers and two hundred volunteers, under Major Carsden, who, coming on the Americans, defeated them, killing fifty, and taking as many prisoners, including Colonel Allen. The rest, among whom were some habitans, escaped to the woods, or to the American camp.

Chambly fell, or was rather given up, and Montgomery, whose powder had been nearly exhausted, with ammunition obtained from a fort which, I need not say, had not been defended by an Irishman, carried forward the siege of St. Johns with renewed vigour. The garrison expected Carleton to raise the siege. Carleton knew that want of provisions would not permit the garrison to hold out long. He sent to Colonel McLean, commanding at Quebec, to raise as many men as he could, and to come up to Sorel, where he proposed to join him. McLean had raised about three hundred men, for the most part French Canadians. The Governor assembled at Montreal nearly a thousand men, consisting of Indians, French Canadians, and regulars, enrolled with desperate exertions. Instead, however, of joining McLean, knowing how pressing was the necessity to relieve St. Johns, he crossed the St. Lawrence but, on arriving near the shore, he found that the other Irishman had anticipated him. An American force, with two field pieces, advantageously placed on shore, waited until Carleton arrived within pistol shot, and then opened a deadly fire, forcing him, with a sad but an undaunted heart, to retreat. Meanwhile McLean, on his way to Montreal, was stopped by another party of Americans, when he was deserted by most of his men, and compelled, with a remnant of the three hundred, who were determined not to recall Thermopylæ, to fall back on Quebec. The brave Preston, apprised of these events, and his garrison in want of food, saw nothing for it but to surrender, and he and his little band marched out with the honours of war.

The Governor was now in a critical position. It was impossible to defend Montreal. The retreat to Quebec was beset with formidable difficulties. Yet only by retreating on Quebec could he avoid being made a prisoner. Should he fall into American hands, all hope of saving Canada would be gone. He destroyed as much of the public stores as he could not take with him, and

with Brigadier Prescott, about one hundred soldiers, and such of the inhabitants as chose to accompany him, embarked on board the "Gaspé" and other smaller vessels.

Almost as they quitted the city the Americans entered it. The principal citizens, among whom was John Blake, prepared a series of articles, to which Montgomery replied that he and his army had come for no other purpose but to give liberty and security, and that he hoped to assemble a Provincial Convention who would adopt measures calculated to establish on a solid basis the civil and religious rights of the colonies. "Montgomery," says Mac-Mullen, "treated the people of Montreal with great consideration, and gained their good will by the affability of his manners, and the nobleness and generosity of his disposition."

The stars in their courses had fought against Carleton. At this moment all the chances are on the side of Montgomery. The gateways of Canada are his. He is master of Montreal. A formidable force under Arnold is marching on Quebec. Carleton, the hope of the Province, has but a slender chance of escape. The very winds conspire against him, and he has not sailed two leagues from Montreal when he is obliged to weigh anchor opposite Lavaltrie, a village called after the uncompromising Jesuit Laval, who had himself fought so many battles. The forced delay, under any circumstances, would have been perilous. But what are we to think of the situation when our eye rests on the batteries erected by the Americans on a rising ground near Sorel, and the floating batteries on the bosom of the stream. Here are lions in the Governor's path. Montgomery has heard of his situation, and prepares to attack him, and in anticipation he rolls under his tongue the sweet morsel of glory, making Carleton prisoner, putting a happy end to the war, and placing a coping stone on his own renown. While Montgomery's Irish brain is thus cogitating, unmindful of fate, unknowing that he is doomed never to leave Canadian soil, the Irish brain of Carleton is fertile in expedients. He assumes the disguise of a French Canadian peasant, or, if we are to believe M. Adolphus, of a fisherman, and with the brave Bouchette, his aide-de-camp, and an old sergeant, he enters a little boat, and with muffled oars they glide down stream. Row carefully now, Joseph Bouchette, for you carry in your frail boat

the fate of Canada. They slip down, almost angry with the phosphorescent light struck from the silent oars. They come opposite Sorel. They are in the midst of the floating batteries. A whisper may undo them. There are the dark forms of the batteries. They can hear in the silent night the tread of the watch. The solemn stars in the dark-blue canopy overhead, seem at one time to peer with discovering eyes, and at another they infuse the confidence, the deliberate valour, the heroic strength, which great hearts drink in from contemplation of the vast and enduring works of God. The oars are shipped and Captain Bouchette and Sergeant Bouthillier paddle with their hands. Sorel and the islands guarding the entrance to Lake St. Peter are passed. They now betake themselves afresh to the oars. The shallow lake is crossed, and they arrive at Three Rivers only to encounter fresh dangers. The hotel was full of American troops. Carleton's disguise, his own and Bouchette's familiar manner prevented all suspicion. Two armed schooners, from whose mastheads floated the English flag, were in the offing. Having partaken of some refreshment, Carleton reembarked in his little boat, and gained one of these schooners. Then ordering the other to accompany him, he made for Quebec. Prescott and his one hundred and twenty men were forced by the floating batteries before Sorel to surrender.

While these events were taking place, a body of men fifteen hundred strong had left Boston, and, in the face of incredible difficulties, mounted the Kennebec to its source. On a beautiful morning in September full of hope, and under the inspiring eye of Washington, they had marched out of Cambridge. Eleven transports conveyed them to the mouth of the Kennebec. Carpenters had been sent on before, and two hundred boats were ready to receive them. Between them now and their destination lay the primeval forest. After six days they arrived at Norridge-wock Falls, where they had their first portage. It took them seven days to drag their boats over rocks, through the eddies, and even along the woods. Arrived at the junction made by the Dead River with the Kennebec, one hundred and fifty men were off the rolls, owing either to desertion or sickness. When they set out the world was beautiful in the glows and glories, the delicious atmosphere of the Indian summer; the salmon trout

bounded in the glittering stream ; the forest was a glimmering mass of gold and fire. But the October winds despoiled the trees and hurried the helpless shivering leaves into stream and along narrow, devious forest paths. One day a mountain of snow rose before them. An officer ran up to the summit in order to catch a glimpse of Quebec. But instead of the ancient city, with its fortress-crowned rock, he saw bleak forests, through whose desolate branches the frosty winds howled, and wintry inhospitable wastes. Hauling boats, wading fords, trudging knee-deep in snow, but slow progress was made. A whole division grew faint-hearted, and returned to Cambridge. The expedition still pressed on. They had passed seventeen falls, when, through a blinding snow-storm, they stepped on to the height of land which separates New England from Canada. A portage of four miles brought them to a stream on which they floated into Lake Megantic. Here they encamped. On the morrow, Arnold, with a party of fifty men on shore, and thirteen men with him in his boats, proceeded down the Chaudière to obtain provisions from one of the French settlements. The current was swift and boiled over rocks. The boats were, nevertheless, allowed to drift with the stream. Soon the roar of falling waters smote on the ear. Before they could resolve the cause, they were drifting among the rapids. Three of the boats were dashed to pieces. Six of the men hurled into the water, were saved with difficulty from drowning. After seventy miles of falls and rapids they reached Sertigan, where they received shelter and provisions. Meanwhile the bulk of the army which was left behind was in a miserable condition. They killed and cooked their dogs, devoured raw roots, drank the soup of their moose-skin mocassins. They had been forty-eight hours without food before they received flour and cattle from Sertigan. On the 9th November, two months after they had set out with so much hope and lightness of heart, in the glad sunshine, from Cambridge, they reached Point Levi, having learned something of the perils of the wilderness and the rigours of a Canadian winter.

Their approach was not unheralded. An Indian to whom Arnold had entrusted a letter for Schuyler had taken it to Lieut.-Governor Sieur Hector Théophile Cramahé, commander of the

forces in the capital during Carleton's absence. Arnold had hoped to surprise Quebec. But some days before he arrived opposite Quebec, orders had been given to strengthen the fortifications, to organize the militia, and to remove the boats and shipping. In Mr. John Lesperance's "Bastonnais," Cramahé is made to entertain his friends, the Barons of the Round Table, on this evening. In their claret-coloured coats, lace bosom-frills and cuffs, velvet breeches, silken hose, silver-buckled shoes, and powdered wigs, they greeted the Governor. The dining-room, lit with a profusion of wax candles, looking like a piece of Versailles, even as Quebec itself was like a city transported from Normandy. But the banquet is broken up by news of the contiguity of those brave fellows who are talked of by the Canadian peasantry of to-day as the "Bastonnais."

On the 10th, a council of war was held, and it was resolved to defend Quebec while the least hope remained. Outside in the streets the cry was heard "The Bastonnais have come," and from the ramparts Arnold's men could be seen on the heights of Levis. On the 12th, Colonel McLean, who had retreated from Sorel, arrived at Quebec with a body of Fraser's Highlanders, who having settled in the country, were now re-enrolled. The Canadian militia was four hundred and eighty strong. There was also a militia composed of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, which boasted five hundred men. There were a few regular troops and some seamen. The "Hunter" sloop-of-war, commanded the river. Nevertheless, Arnold succeeded on the night of the 13th in crossing the river, and landing at the very spot where Wolfe had landed in July sixteen years before. Like Wolfe he marched on to the plains of Abraham. His men gave three cheers, which were responded to by counter cheers from the city and a few discharges of grape. He had failed to surprise it. He had not enough of troops to attack it with effect. He therefore, on the 18th, retired up the left bank of the river, as far as Pointe-aux-Trembles, where he arrived immediately after Carleton had quitted it, and where he determined to await the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal. On the following day, General Carleton, escaping, as we have seen, so many dangers, arrived at the one fortress which was not in the grasp of the Thirteen Colonies, the

strong and beautiful city for which the Empire had paid with the life-blood of Wolfe, the queenly, rock-throned citadel, which at that moment was the Thermopylæ of British power on this continent.

Irishmen never resort to half measures. Hence they make such good generals and such efficient rulers. The first thing Carleton did, on taking the reins out of Cramahé's hands, was to strengthen the hands of the loyalists, and practically increase his provisions by expelling from the city all who were liable to serve in the militia, but who refused to do their duty. The population numbered about five thousand, of which three thousand or more were women and children. Provisions were abundant, but fire-wood was scarce. Happily the winter was not severe. The venerable Jesuit College in Cathedral Square was the principal barrack, and the chief outposts were at the St. Louis, St. John, and Palace Gates. Palisades were raised where Prescott Gate was afterwards erected. In the Lower Town there were batteries in Little Sault-au-Matlot, and at the western end of Près-de-Ville. The French militia, who guarded the Lower Town, sang as they went and came, just as the French Mobiles did during the siege of Paris. But instead of "Aux Armes, Citoyens," the Canadian militia chanted, if we may believe Mr. John Lesperance—

"Vive la Canadienne,  
Et ses jolis yeux doux."

There was, I doubt not, the same light-heartedness—the same tendency to lay hold of the humour of all things and persons—the same gossip—the same curiosity among the women, with their voluble tongues, and half-real half-feigned alarm, as I saw in Paris during the Franco-German War. The siege lasted eight months—twice as long as that of Derry, twice as long as that of Paris, four times as long as that of Limerick.

Montgomery arrived at Pointe-aux-Trembles on the 1st December. Their united forces amounting to about two thousand men, he proceeded to attack Quebec. After three days' march, he arrived before the fatal city, and sent a flag to summon the besieged to surrender. Carleton, acting with the strictest logic, refused to admit that rebels had any right to the usual laws



of war, and ordered the gunners to fire on the herald. A letter brought by a woman was burned, and Carleton said that he would treat every message from the Americans in the same manner, until they craved mercy of the King, and became loyal subjects. Nevertheless, during the following days letters were thrown into the city, some addressed to the Governor, others to the citizens. These last rarely fell under the eyes for which they were intended, for as soon as they were seen by the soldiers, they were carried to the residence of the Governor. The weather was intensely cold. Nevertheless, Montgomery constructed batteries, but his guns were too small to make any impression on the fortifications, from which a destructive fire blazed continually. He determined to take the place by storm. But Carleton was fully informed of his determination, and the attacks of Arnold and himself failed in consequence. Montgomery paid with his life for his temerity. Arnold was wounded while attacking the first barrier on the side of Sault-au-Matelot. Captain Morgan took the command, and drove the guard back to the second barrier. But Carleton was soon on the spot, and owing to his promptness and skill, the Americans were surrounded and driven out of a strong building at the point of the bayonet. Their loss in killed and wounded was about a hundred. Four hundred and twenty-six, including twenty-eight officers, surrendered. Carleton would now, under ordinary conditions, have sallied out on the Americans. But these had sympathisers both without and within the walls, and the Governor wisely waited for the succours which would come with the opening up of navigation. He had those houses, in which the enemy might take up his quarters, burned. His vigilance, his activity, his great capacity, let no advantage slip. Pre-occupied, as he was, however, he took care to seek out amid the winter snow, the body of General Montgomery, and place it in the earth with military honours.

Early in May, the "Surprise" frigate and a sloop of war, with one hundred and seventy men and some marines, arrived in the harbour. The moment these men were landed Carleton resolved to attack the enemy, who, disheartened and already demoralized, fled precipitately, leaving behind cannon, stores, ammunition, and even the sick. These were treated as one might expect by Carleton,

of whom humanity was a distinguishing feature. Every kindness which could alleviate the suffering of the sick, or make the life of the healthy prisoners more pleasant, was lavished on them. For his services during the siege, Carleton was knighted.

Meanwhile, Captain Foster, having had some successful engagements with the Americans on the lakes, was pushing towards Lachine, when he was compelled to defend himself against Arnold, with a force thrice as strong as his own. The defence was so stout that the Americans had to retire to St. Anne's.

The American troops retreating from Quebec, having lost at Sorel their commander, General Thomas, who had taken Arnold's place before Quebec, were joined at the confluence of the Richelieu by about four thousand men. General Sullivan was chief in command.

A body of troops arrived from England, all of that type which made a French General say it was well English soldiers were not more numerous. There was no longer anything now to prevent Carleton taking a vigorously offensive attitude. Brigadier Fraser, with the first division, he sent on to Three Rivers. Sullivan thought he saw an opportunity of surprising the town, and inflicting serious damage on part of the British army. He accordingly sent General Thompson, with eighteen hundred men, against Three Rivers. But he was met by Fraser, who had been informed of his design, and sustained a signal defeat. Five hundred prisoners, including Thompson himself, were taken, and the retreat of the main body was cut off. These repaired for shelter to a swampy wood. There they spent a night of misery, and might have died there of want and ague, had not Governor Carleton, with a rare chivalrous pity, drawn the guard from the bridge spanning River du Loup. They were thus allowed to make their escape, and rejoin Sullivan at Sorel. No longer equal either in the quality or numbers of the British troops, Sullivan mounted the Richelieu, and was joined by Arnold at St. Johns. They then retreated to Crown Point. Thus ended the American invasion, which, says a French writer, was wholly fruitless, save in affording an opportunity to the colonists of showing their courage, and bringing out the military and civil virtues of Richard Montgomery. From our point of view it may be remarked that it emphasized the qualities of another hero not

less distinguished for military and civil virtues, Guy Carleton.

Carleton, after several naval actions, made himself master of Lake Champlain, and had beaten the Americans along their whole line, by the time it was necessary to go into winter quarters. The Canadians gladly received the troops quartered on them, for they had learned to regard the Americans as invaders and enemies, owing to the necessities laid on all troops in a foreign country.

Meanwhile, the Declaration of Independence had been adopted by the Continental Congress, July 4th, 1776. The British, in other directions, had not been so successful. They had evacuated Boston. They had been repulsed before Charleston. But they had gained an important victory at Long Island, taken possession of New York, and driven Washington across the Delaware. But Washington's victories at Trenton and Princeton left the result of the campaign in favour of the colonists.

General Burgoyne, when he went back to England, closeted himself with ministers, and drew up the plan of a campaign by way of Lake Champlain. He arrived at Quebec the 9th of May, 1777, endowed with the chief command. Carleton was deeply wounded by the slight which had been cast upon him. He had saved Canada, and his reward was to be superseded by a man whose claims were not fit to be mentioned in the same breath as his. Nevertheless, he contented himself with demanding his recall, and proceeded to second the plans of Burgoyne with all his might. There is a lesson in subordination of priceless value. Burgoyne having opened the campaign prosperously, was compelled, a few months later, to surrender his whole army at Saratoga.

Of the conduct of Carleton during the invasion, Mr. J. M. Lemoine, in his "History of Quebec," says: "Had the fate of Canada on that occasion been confided to a Governor less wise, less conciliating than Guy Carleton, doubtless the 'brightest gem in the colonial crown of Britain,' would have been one of the stars on Columbia's banner; the star-spangled streamer would now be floating on the summit of Cape Diamond."

Carleton, relieved from military duty, was able to devote more time

to the peaceable administration of the Province. The first Legislative Council, under the Quebec Act, was held in the spring of 1777. Sixteen Acts were passed. Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas and Probate were erected. The Governor, the Lieut.-Governor, the Chief Justice, and any five of the Council constituted a Court of Appeal. A Militia Act was passed, which made, with few exceptions, all Canadians arrived at the required age liable to military service. This Act created great dissatisfaction, and it has been bitterly attacked by French Canadian writers. But we have come to live in times when the most enlightened English thinkers have advocated a like system for the mother countries.

Major-General Haldimand, a man perfectly ignorant of the laws and customs of Canadians, or, for that matter, of the empire, arrived in July, 1778, to assume the government of the colony. Carleton was followed with many regrets and many kind wishes on the part of the people of Canada, and the people of Quebec presented him, as he was about to embark, with addresses which showed what had been the character of his rule. Haldimand was in all respects a contrast to Carleton; he was, if we may believe the writings of the time, cruel, inquisitorial, iniquitously extortionate, in a word, a tyrant, without either sagacity or self-respect. The burdens of the peasantry were increased until they became not burdens but scourges. One of the judges was a retired captain of infantry on half pay; another an army doctor; and it may well be believed that not having had legal training, they often allowed undue weight to their own prejudices and preferences. All the defects of the Act of 1774 were brought into striking relief under the rule of Haldimand. It was seen that the delusive constitution was no protection against tyranny. M. du Calvere, the forerunner of men like Gourlay, Maekenzie, and Baldwin, went to England to demand the recall of General Haldimand.

In the November of 1782, the independence of the United States was acknowledged, and this had a momentous effect upon the character of the Canadian population. Thousands of U. E. Loyalists left the States for Nova Scotia and Canada. They founded the town of St. John, on the St. John River; they swelled the population of Halifax; they settled along the Bay of Fundy; they faced the wilderness in Ontario, settling along the

upper St. Lawrence, around the Bay of Quinte with its thousand beauties, and on the Niagara and Detroit Rivers.

Among these U. E. Loyalists were not a few Irishmen. Luke Carscallian, having served in the British army, had retired and emigrated to the American colonies prior to the rebellion. When the war broke out, he desired to remain neutral, but the rebels insisted as he was a military man that he must join them or be regarded as one of the enemy. He replied: "I have fought for the King and I would do so again." An order was issued for his arrest. He hid, and ultimately made his escape to Canada, leaving behind him all his personalty and twelve thousand acres of land. What did the rebels do? With atrocious cowardice and cruelty, they seized his son, a lad of tender years, and threatened to hang him unless he betrayed his father's hiding place. The son was not unworthy of the sire. His reply was—"Hang-away." The cowards, unimpressed by this noble conduct, hanged him three times until he was almost dead. Three times they put the question to the half fainting boy. Three times he returned a defiant "no." When taken down the third time, and repeating his determination, the monsters killed the half-strangled lad.

Of the same type was Willet Casey, born of Irish parents in Rhode Island. The war in which his father was killed ended, he settled near Lake Champlain, thinking he was putting down his stakes in British territory. He discovered after making considerable clearing that herein he was mistaken, whereupon he removed again. He set his face towards Upper Canada, accompanied by his wife and his old mother, who died three months after the migration. Dr. Canniff saw the couple when they had grown old, and he says, "two nobler specimens of nature's nobility could not be imagined."

One of the great soldier settlers was William Bell, born August 12th, 1758, in the County Tyrone. When the revolutionary war broke out, he was a sergeant in the 53rd regiment of the line. In 1789 he came to Catarauqui, and commenced trading in the port of Sidney, Ferguson being his partner. In 1792 Bell gave up trading, and became a school-teacher to the Mohawks; but he seems to have done business in the way of trading in 1799. In 1803 he is found settled in Truro. He had meanwhile received a

captain's commission in 1798, a major's in August, 1800 ; and in 1809 he became lieutenant-colonel. He was an active public man, well known in Thurlow, where he served as magistrate, coroner, and as colonel of the Hastings Battalion. He died in 1833, having done the country good service.

Captain Peter Daly, who resided in New York, was called home to Ireland before the rebellion, and at the earnest solicitation of a bachelor friend, named Vroman, he left his son Peter behind him. Vroman was wealthy, and called himself lord of many a fair acre on the banks of the Mohawk about where Amsterdam now stands. He promised to make Peter, whose genial Irish manners had won his heart, his heir. When the war broke out, Peter was sixteen years of age. But the blood of heroic fathers ran in his veins—fathers who had fought under the flag which it was sought to tear down. Wealth was on one side—honour on the other. Prosperity here—toil and hardship there. He did not hesitate. He turned his back on wealth, and joined a company, following the flag of his fathers along the shores of Lake Champlain, where, in one night, he assisted in scaling three forts. He was instrumental in taking Fort Ticonderoga. When the war was over, in company with other loyalists, he came up the Bay of Quinté. Having married, he settled down in the second concession of Ernestown, near the Village of Bath, where he made a comfortable livelihood, and did his share of the work of laying the foundation of the great Canadian nation of the future. Mr. Daly was a Presbyterian. He never heard anything from Vroman, and his grandson says, with some natural bitterness, that he cared but little for the land that had driven him to dwell among the wild beasts of the unbroken forest. He left behind him a numerous and respected family. Two of his sons, Thomas and Charles, were still living on the old farm near Bath in 1869. Philip, the eldest, died at Oak Shade, in Ernestown, in 1861, having attained to one year more than the period allotted to man. His eldest daughter became Mrs. Aikens ; another daughter married Asal Rockwell, of Ernestown ; another, Jacob Shibley, ex M.P.P. ; another, Joshua Boatle ; and the descendants of the brave Peter are numerous.

Another remarkable Irishman, who lived to over a hundred

years of age, was James Johnson, a soldier in Rogers' Battalion. He was captain of the cattle drivers who came with the first settlers of Ernestown. "He got his location ticket," says Dr. Canniff, "at Carleton, Ireland." The doctor adds, that he had a family of seven sons and six daughters.

John Canniff, a U. E. loyalist, was a member of an Irish Huguenot family. An oil painting of the grand-uncle of Dr. Canniff bears on the back of its frame the statement that he was born at Bedford (New Rochelle), State of New York, in the year 1757. One or more persons of the name of Canniff were among the Huguenots who were expelled from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. in 1685. Many of these exiles found a home in Ireland, and became naturalized. Among them were the Canniffs. The name may now be found in Ireland. The Canniffs were among the first settlers in New Rochelle, all of whom were Huguenots.

At the breaking out of the American rebellion, the Canniffs were divided. Most of them remained loyal to the Empire. At the close of the war, John Canniff was a refugee in New Brunswick, from which place he came to Canada in 1788, being one of the first settlers in Adolphustown. About the beginning of the present century he removed to Thurlow, Hastings Co., which was then a wilderness. He was a pioneer in the erection of saw and flour mills. The settlement made by him ultimately received the name of Canifton.

James Canniff, brother of John, and grandfather of Dr. Canniff, came to Canada some years after his brother. The incidents attending the journey of the family from Dutchess County, on the Hudson, in batteaux, would supply material for an interesting narrative.

It was with no small regret he left his beautiful home on the Hudson, and that enchanting river—the River of the Mountains, as the Spaniards called it—with the queenly dignity of the Catskills; the picturesque heights—the sublime Highlands, where the noble stream strolls, like some mighty lord through his ancestral halls, between rock-ribbed hills, whose cheeks were browned before the days of Adam; all the grandeur of a wall of unbroken rock extending for miles; all the repose of sloping hills and

sleepy hollows. To-day the steamer pants along those waters. The scream of the railway whistle is heard. On either side of Poughkeepsie, there are now handsome villas and stately residences.

“By woody bluff we steal, by leaning lawn,  
By palace, village, cot—a sweet surprise  
At every turn the vision breaks upon.”

Lovers wander up broad maple avenues, and young ladies' schools take their constitutional walk over beautifully-kept grounds, while the silver Hudson goes, gladder for their laughter and smiles, to the sea. A world of wealth and poetry and legend have gathered around those banks in a century. But though they had no monster hotels, no shining cities, no Irving, when Canniff took up his stakes, the moon did not look down less sweetly on Old Cro Nest; the star lingered near its summit, as it lingers this night; the grey form threw its silver cone on the wave as it throws it now. All the beauty of nature was there, and the voice of God in the leafy, solitary woods, on the river's breast, with its abounding loneliness, was heard clearer than it is to-day. The rocky caverns of Luzerne were, for all purposes of comparison, as deep then as now; and as full of meaning, as at this moment, would be the question:

“Pray tell me, silvery wave, in murmur low,  
How long ago the light first saw thy face?  
Who saw thee, when, in all thy rushing might  
And strength, thou burst the highland chain, and forced  
Thy rugged way on to the sea?”

Yet James Canniff preferred the British flag to the stars and stripes, and happily for him, in settling in Adolphustown, he only passed from one beautiful river to another. Richard, another brother, was likewise one of the first settlers in the County of Hastings.

James Canniff's wife was a native of Ireland. Her maiden name was McBride. They had two sons, John and Jonas, and a number of daughters, all of whom married in the Bay of Quinté region. The two sons settled in Thurlow, near where the city of Belleville now stands, by the banks of the river Moira. John was drowned at an early age in attempting to cross the swollen stream in a canoc.



Jonas, the father of Dr. Canniff, was married, in 1811, to Letta Flagler, a descendant of the Knickerbockers of the River Hudson. When war was declared, in 1812, Jonas volunteered, leaving his young wife in a half-finished log hut in the woods. He served as a non-commissioned officer in Captain Dorland's company of Adolphustown, under Colonel Cartwright, of Kingston. He was present under arms when the American fleet approached Kingston, with the intention of attacking the place, and with his company, followed the fleet, as, in order to escape the warm reception of Kingston, it moved down the waters of the Bay.

At a comparatively early date he erected a saw mill; and afterwards a very large stone flour mill. He had three sons, James, Philip Flagler, and William; and six daughters. The sons survive. Dr. Canniff is the youngest of the family. His father is still alive, and in his 88th year. Dr. Canniff occupied for a time the position of President of the Medical Section of the Canadian Institute. A journalist, he was for a number of years corresponding editor of the "Canada Medical Journal," published at Montreal, and he is now associate editor of the "Sanitary Journal," Toronto. He has been an active pamphleteer on medical and other subjects, and has taken a very decided stand in opposition to the antiseptic treatment of wounds, as presented and advocated by Professor Lister, professor in the University of Edinburgh.

He was one of the originators of the Canadian Association in connection with the "Canada First" Party, and of the National Club. Finding, however, that the tendency of the association was adverse to his principles as a conservative, he withdrew, and shortly after explained his action in a tract. He is a strong advocate of "Canadianism," and opposed to the existence of national societies, which perpetuate principles and feelings originating in the Old World, and which, he believes, retard the growth and development of a hearty Canadian nationality. He is intensely opposed to anything approaching the appearance of annexation to the United States; and, while wholly devoted to Imperial connection, holds that, even should England cast off her colonies, Canada would never form a political union with the States.

Dr. Canniff has been a busy author,\* and an active member of various associations.

In 1867 he received an invitation from the Medical Faculty of Paris to attend, as a delegate, the first International Medical Congress. He read a Paper on this occasion upon the "Indians of Canada," in connection with the subject of "Tuberculosis." In October of the same year, he busied himself, with others, in the organization of the Canadian Medical Association at Quebec, and was appointed the first secretary for the Province of Ontario. In 1868 he returned to Toronto, and resumed the Chair of Surgery in Victoria Medical College.

We have been kept very near Kingston for some time. At a very early date, the King's township must have been surveyed and settled, for Dr. Canniff tells us, Collins, the surveyor, used the name in 1788. During French rule, a settlement was begun at Kingston, under De Courcelles, as early as 1672, and called Cata-raqui. A fort was erected, and named after a distinguished French count, Fort Frontenac, a fort which was made much use of by the French and the Indians, until it was destroyed in 1758 by the expedition commanded by Colonel Bradstreet. The place fell into the hands of the British in 1782. The King's township was mainly settled by U. E. Loyalists, some of whom, as their names indicate, were Irish. According to Cooper, the town was laid out in 1793. It was then confined to the eastern portion, and the log hut kept its neighbour, the Indian wigwam, in countenance. In its early, as in its later, days, the Irishman was well represented.

Our business is not with antique *bric-à-brac*. We may, however, record that there is at present a pewter dish in existence which a person addicted to making bulls would declare to be entitled to the dignity of being ranked as an Irish settler, with a Palatinate ancestry. Barbara Monk, who was born in Ireland, married one Gasper Hover, who settled in Adolphustown. The ancestors of Barbara had carried this dish with them from the Palatinate to Ireland; one of their descendants carried it to New

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\* Among Dr. Canniff's works are "Principles of Surgery," and "Settlement of Upper Canada."

York, whence it was brought by Barbara with the company of Major Van Alstine.

In that company were several persons with more claim to the name of Irishman than the pewter plate. Amongst them, pre-eminent in years, was John Fitzgerald, who died in 1806, at the ripe age of 101. In the same company was William Casey, who, with Willet Casey, mentioned above, represented fourteen souls. All the men, who came from Ireland in those early days, must have been men of fine stamina. If we travel into another township, we find William Anderson, who was alive in 1869, aged eighty-eight, having come to Canada in 1803. Three years afterwards he settled at Mississauga Point, having meanwhile married a Miss Way, a descendant of U. E. Loyalists. Those men brought with them from Ireland that sturdy love of justice for which Sir John Davies, in his day, declared the Irish to be remarkable. Once Judge Cartwright, holding his court at a tavern at Ernestown, convicted and sentenced to be hanged a man accused of stealing a watch, the only evidence against him being that the watch was found on him. The accused declared that he had bought the time-piece of a pedler. Nevertheless, the judge would not re-consider his verdict. Dr. Connor, of Ernestown, stood up in open court, and appealed against the monstrous injustice of taking a man's life on such evidence. In those early days, that dignified demeanour which distinguishes our courts, did not exist. He was hissed down, and the man was hanged. Subsequently the pedler turned up, and justified the unfortunate man.

Dr. John Gamble was born near Enniskillen in 1755. Having studied medicine and surgery at Edinburgh, he emigrated, in 1779, to New York, where he at once entered the King's service as assistant-surgeon to the General Hospital. He was subsequently attached to the Old Queen's Rangers. After the peace, he went to New Brunswick. In 1784, he married and practised his profession at St. John. He subsequently joined the Queen's Rangers as assistant-surgeon. In 1802 he settled down to practise in Kingston, where he died in 1811, leaving behind him his wife and thirteen children. His wife removed to Toronto with her nine daughters and four sons, in 1820. The descendants of the pair

already exceed by a good many, two hundred. Mrs. Gamble, who had been a Miss Clarke, was the daughter of a U. E. Loyalist, and was ninety-two years old at the date of her death. Mr. Clarke Gamble is one of the descendants. J. W. Gamble, who died a few years ago, was the eldest son of Dr. John Gamble. He was born at the garrison, York, in 1798; was elected for the South Riding of York in 1838, and re-elected for the same riding in 1851, by a majority of 600. In 1854 he was again re-elected, and indeed a large portion of his life was passed in the discharge of public duties.

Some ten years prior to the revolutionary war, Dennis Carroll, a native of the County Down, crossed the Atlantic, with his wife, and settled in Maryland. He had several sons, all of whom, with the exception of Joseph, adhered to the revolutionary side. Joseph joined the British army. He drew land in Nova Scotia. After suffering shipwreck, of which he was one of the few survivors, he arrived in St. John. Having lost his property by endorsement, he, in 1809, set out with his wife and a family of eight sons, to renew his search after fortune in the wilds of Upper Canada. He was living on an Indian farm, near where Brantford now stands, when the war of 1812-15 broke out. He and his three eldest sons joined the army. The close of the war found the family, a Presbyterian one, notwithstanding the name, at York. One of his sons became a successful physician; another, a well-to-do commercial man. One of his descendants is well known as a Methodist minister, the Rev. John Carroll, D.D., a man of distinguished piety, who has written much and well.

The greatest factor in civilization is religion. When an emigration settles down in a new country, its success, its progress, and its happiness will greatly depend on the character of the fauna of that country. If injurious animals abound, population may be kept down, and civilization retarded. The wolf and bear were the principal enemies the emigrant had to encounter in Canada. But worse than wolf or bear or tiger are the lusts of man. Endowed with infinite desires, nothing can keep him from degenerating, but communion with the Absolute; nothing but Eternity can outweigh his vast and turbulent passions, in which earth-born and earth-bounded resolutions are as straw and drift

in the grasp and coil of roused-up seas. And the same country which was, in the eighth and ninth centuries for Europe, the lamp of truth and the ark of civilization, sent men here to Canada to root hard by her foundations, the gospel.

The Methodist Church is one of the most useful and numerous denominations in Canada. It numbers in Ontario alone nearly five hundred thousand. In Quebec it numbers thirty-four thousand one hundred; in New Brunswick, nearly seventy thousand; in Nova Scotia, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-one. This church is traceable to the Irish Methodist Church as child to parent.

In 1766, Embury and Barbara Heck emigrated from Ireland, and founded Methodism in the States. Embury died in 1773. His widow married John Lawrence, who, like herself, had emigrated from Ireland. On the breaking out of the revolutionary war, this couple, together with David Embury, Paul Heck, and Barbara Heck, and many more of the Irish Palatines, removed to 'Lower' Canada, settling first about Montreal, whence they afterwards removed to Augusta, in 'Upper' Canada. Here they pursued their work with zeal. In the house of John and Catherine Lawrence, the first "class" of Augusta was held. They thus anticipated and prepared the way for the itinerant Methodist preachers, and, as some think, for the ultimate universality of Methodism in the Dominion.\*

Another man whose name, at this period, should not be forgotten, was George Neal. George Neal wielded not only the sword of truth, but the sword of steel. He belonged to that curious race of soldiers who unite fervent religious feeling to a warlike instinct, such as Havelock, Hedley Vickers, and hundreds of others, whose names will readily occur. A major of a cavalry regiment in the British army, he was a local Methodist preacher. He crossed the Niagara river at Queenston, and commenced preaching. The same results followed as have always followed the preaching of the Gospel by warm-hearted men. The story of immortal love, of purity, and rectitude, that had no harsher word for impurity and error than "sin no more;" of that mysterious

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\* See Goldwin Smith in "Fortnightly Review" for March, 1877.

person who went through the world, like a breeze of balm and healing through a fever-stricken town ; of one so great that the power of empire seems trifling compared with His ; of one so tender, and withal so sorrowful, that He seemed the incarnate sigh of Heaven over human woe ; this divine tale, when told with the Irish warmth of Major Neal, was, says Dr. Bangs, " blessed to the awakening and conversion of many souls," and the bluff Christian soldier, whose house became afterwards a home for the preachers, and who lived to see large and flourishing societies established throughout all the district where he lived, " was always spoken of by the people with great affection and veneration, as the pioneer of Methodism in that country." For some years he was the only Methodist preacher in Canada. But in 1788 another pioneer came into the field, James M'Carty, who was destined to win the glory of martyrdom. A convert of Whitfield's ministry, he crossed over from the United States to Kingston, and passed on to Ernestown, where he began to hold religious meetings in the log-cabins. He was a man of attractive manners and speech. Large numbers attended his preaching. A great impression was made. Many were awakened. His success provoked hostility among churchmen, who were, as we may be sure, without any claim to be considered religious men. ' The word " Methodist " is even now used by some foolish people as a term of reproach. In England, the church-doors had been closed in the face of John Wesley, and he and his followers were often subjected to indignity. We need not wonder, then, that a sheriff, a militia captain, and an engineer, should combine to rid the country of this " pestilent fellow." Four armed men entered the house on Sunday morning where M'Carty was dwelling in that peace which man can neither give nor take away. Their object was to drag him to the Kingston prison ; but the congregation resisting, and one Perry offering bail for M'Carty's appearance before the magistrate, they retired. The next day the Sheriff of Kingston refused to interfere with him. Nevertheless, the three ruffians, before night, had him in prison on some frivolous pretext. Perry succeeded in bailing him out. On his being returned for trial, his enemies seized him, thrust him into a boat, and had him landed on one of the small islands in the rapids near Cornwall, where he perished.

Among the U. E. Loyalists was a man of Irish blood, the Rev. John Stuart, who escaped, in 1781, to Canada, where he was destined to win the title of the Father of the Church of England in Upper Canada. He was born in 1740. Though his family were Presbyterians, his predilections led him to the Church of England. He became a missionary in the Mohawk Valley, and translated the New Testament into the language of the Mohawks. In Canada he proved himself a zealous missionary, and was indefatigable in laying the foundation of the Church among the Indians and the whites. In 1785 he took up his permanent abode at Cataraqui, where he resided until his death, which took place in 1811.

Though not unmindful of success he was a true missionary. "I shall not regret," he wrote in 1783, "the disappointment and chagrin I have hitherto met with, if it pleases God to make me the instrument of spreading the knowledge of His Gospel among the heathen." In 1784 he visited the new settlements on the St. Lawrence, the Bay of Quinté, and the Niagara Falls. In a church which stood ninety miles from the Falls, and which was the first church built in Upper Canada, the Mohawks received him with enthusiasm, and crowded the windows to catch a glimpse of their old pastor. In 1785 he wrote: "I have two hundred acres within half a mile of the garrison—a beautiful situation. The town increases fast; there are already about fifty houses built in it, and some of them very elegant. It is now the port of transport from Canada to Niagara. We have now, just at the door, a ship, a scow, and a sloop, besides a number of small craft, and if the communication lately discovered from this place by water to Lake Huron and Michilmachinac proves as safe and short as we are made to believe, this will soon be a place of considerable trade." The way he mingled the pioneer settler with the pioneer divine is shown in the following sentences:—"I have been fortunate in my locations of land, having 1,400 acres at different places in good situations, and of an excellent quality, three farms of which I am improving, and have sowed this fall with thirty bushels in them. \* \* \* We are a poor, happy people, industrious beyond example. Our gracious King gives us land gratis, and furnishes provisions, clothing, and farming utensils until next Sep-

tember, after which the generality of the people will be able to live without his bounty." In May, 1786, he opened an academy. In 1788, he went round his parish, which was two hundred miles long. With six Indians, commanded by Captain Brant, he coasted along the north shore of Lake Ontario; went twenty-five miles by land to New Oswego, a Mohawk village just established on the Grand River, and beautifully situated. It contained seven hundred souls. In the midst of a number of fine houses stood a handsome church, with a bell swinging in its steeple, the first bell which made the air vibrate in Upper Canada. Brant had collected money when in England, and had expended it to advantage. Stuart returned by Niagara, and visited that settlement. Here he found no clergyman. The population had greatly increased, and he was so pleased with the people and country, that he was tempted to remove his family thither. "You may imagine," he writes, "it cost me a struggle to refuse the unanimous and pressing invitation of a large settlement, with the additional argument of a subscription, and other emoluments, amounting to nearly £300 York currency per annum more than I have here. But, on mature reflection, I have determined to remain here." He explains to his correspondent that he is not rich, as he might be inferred to be, when he refuses such an offer. He adds: "I do not intend to die rich. \* \* I had a commission sent me as first judge of the Court of Common Pleas. But for reasons which will readily occur to you, I returned it to Lord Dorchester, who left this place a few days ago."

In 1789 he was appointed Bishop's Commissioner for the settlements from Point au Baudette to the western limits of the Province. In 1792 he became chaplain to the Upper House of Assembly. In 1799, his *alma mater*, the University of Pennsylvania, conferred on him the degree of D.D. At the same time he became chaplain to the Kingston garrison. He was in the seventy-first year of his age, when called away. He was six feet four inches high, and was hence humorously known as "the little gentleman." His sermons were vigorous and persuasive. He seems to have been a handsome man. His character was a lofty one. We need not be surprised, therefore, when we are assured that he was held in the highest esteem by his fellow-citi-



zens. An agreeable clergyman has seldom to complain of neglect. Mr. Stuart was a good deal more than a merely agreeable clergyman. He had five sons and three daughters borne to him by Jane O'Kiell. His sons all occupied prominent positions.

It is, as the reader has seen, hard for me to treat Newfoundland as not within the scope of this book. In 1784, the Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, a native of Tipperary, availing himself of the toleration of the Roman Catholic Religion, as set forth in the Royal Proclamation relating to Newfoundland, led an Irish settlement thither. In 1796 he was appointed bishop of the island, and he received for some years, until his death, an annuity of £50 for his services in suppressing a mutiny among the troops. From Dr. O'Donnell's time, the Catholic bishops have played an important part in the island, not only as prelates—as witness the careers of Bishops Lambert, Scallan, Fleming, and Mullock—but as elements of government and material progress.

The Irish priest followed his people wherever they went, and had, sometimes, preceded them into the wilderness as missionaries to the Indians, as was the case with the Rev. Edmund Burke, the Bishop of Halifax.

At Quebec, in 1804, the English Cathedral was built by Mr. Cannon, an Irish Catholic. Prior to this, a mass was said specially for the Irish Catholics; and at Montreal the Bonsecours and the Recollet Church were placed at their disposal.

Haldimand was recalled, and Henry Hamilton sent out as governor in his stead. Hamilton called the Legislative Council together, and having got them to introduce Habeas Corpus into the statute law of the Province, was succeeded by Colonel Hope, who, after a few months, made room for General Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, who, in addition to the governor-generalship of Canada, was nominated commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces in the colony. For some years loud complaints of misgovernment had been sent across the Atlantic, and in 1787 Lord Dorchester instituted an inquiry which brought to light a state of things worse than any one had imagined. The administration of justice was tainted; Judges refused to hear evidence. Letters from persons interested in suits were allowed the weight of testimony, without being sifted by cross-examination. It was shown that Governor

Haldimand had made the judges instruments of political oppression. Not only so. The English judges looked to English precedents; the French judges administered civil law; and the judges who knew as little of English common law as of the French civil law, did what was right in their own eyes. Education was in a deplorable state. The English-speaking inhabitants had increased, and were increasing. This deepened the note and increased the volume of the demand for a Legislative Assembly.

In 1787 the Legislative Council amended and made perpetual the militia ordinance of ten years before. A French historian, Bibaud, says the only way to account for this conduct is by supposing that Lord Dorchester and a majority of his Council were persuaded that a rigorous military despotism was the form of government which best suited Canada. The measure, from whose provisions were exempted councillors, judges, public officers, seigneurs, clergy, nobles, professional men, and all specially excluded by order of the commander-in-chief, and which ordained that captains and other officers of militia, in the country districts, should be justices of the peace, was a despotic one, and not defensible on the ground of the dangers to which the country was exposed. Yet, owing to Lord Dorchester's capacity, and charm of manner, discontent diminished, and, if we judge by the eulogies on the Governor in the addresses presented to Prince William Henry, we shall conclude that everything was held to be satisfactory. In 1788, the Council turned its artillery against unlicensed practitioners of medicine. In 1789, provision was made for the more effectual administration of justice. A committee of the executive council appointed to inquire into the best means of advancing elementary and the higher education, communicated with the Bishop of Quebec, M. Jean François Hubert, and his coadjutor, M. François Bailly. The responses of the two bishops were in singular discord. M. Hubert thought the country too little advanced, too thinly populated, and too poor, for the foundation of a university in Quebec, while M. Bailly said it was high time a university was established in Canada. Neither prelate pointed out a solution of the difficulty. The letter of the Bishop of Quebec is valuable, however, as showing the condition of education. Excepting the Quebec seminary, there was not a school

in the province where more was done than teach reading, and writing, and arithmetic. The committee reported in favour of establishing free schools throughout the province, a free school for higher branches in the principal town of each district, and a university. The scheme, which was a secular one, was regarded with hostility by the clergy, and it was found impossible to put it into execution.

The governor also nominated a committee to report on the advantages and disadvantages of the feudal tenure, and of free and common socage. The committee reported against the feudal system, and the report was followed by the draft of a bill or ordinance which greatly alarmed the seigneurs and those having like interests. One seigneur, however, Charles de Lanaudière, had already, in 1788, addressed the governor, and shown that it was the interest of the seigneurs that a change of tenure should take place, for without emigrants their lands were valueless, and it was folly to expect emigrants to settle under a system of laws they abhorred. The census showed the population of the province at this time to have been 150,000, and M. de Lanaudière's land could accommodate them all.

Difficulties now began to arise out of the differences in tradition and character between the old and the new settlers; and the Home Government prepared a bill which was sent out to Lord Dorchester, to specify any changes his more intimate knowledge of the country and the people might suggest. The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the Province of Quebec into two provinces, to be known as Upper Canada and Lower Canada, each of which should have an elective legislative assembly and a legislative council, and governor appointed by the Crown; the seignorial tenure and French law, in civil cases, to be retained in Lower Canada; British law, civil as well as criminal, to be established in Upper Canada. Provision was made for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy, one-seventh of the land being reserved for this purpose, and one-seventh for the crown. Those members of the legislative council who should have titles were to have an hereditary right to sit in the upper chamber. The Act was thought by some too aristocratic, by others the reverse. Its popular elements were to prove delusive, and the provisions for the clergy

were destined to retard the progress of the country, and to give rise to much trouble. Lord Dorchester, with the instincts of a statesman, recommended that the reserves of the crown and of the clergy should be in separate jurisdictions. But the ministers, knowing that the lands mixed up with those of private individuals, would be more valuable, rejected his advice, and thus, as Smith says, struck a blow at the progress of the population, and the prosperity of the province.

While this measure was passing through parliament, it was warmly debated by the House of Commons. Charles James Fox, more than any statesman of the time, saw the bill in its true character. It appeared to be founded on generous principles, which vanished the moment it was examined in detail. The people of Canada would infallibly make dangerous comparisons between the limited and aristocratic system about to be established, and the popular constitution of the United States. They should give to the Canadians a popular assembly, not in appearance, but in reality.

On one point raised in the debate, there would probably be a difference of opinion now—namely, the division of the province. Many would think to-day that the object should have been to bring the peoples more together; that it was a mistake, to permit two systems of laws, and that, if measures had been devised by which the English and French-speaking portions of the population should have been mixed, and the foundation laid for a homogeneous nation, there would have been more than was shown of that rare statemanship which goes to make a country. Fox, with that wisdom and foresight which never deserted him, pointed out the true course to take, and Lord Dorchester was even more opposed to the division of the province. Pitt was no less convinced of its expediency. He foresaw the state of things which led Mr. Brown and Sir John A. Macdonald patriotically to sink their differences to bring about confederation.

Lord Dorchester, having obtained leave of absence, left for England in the autumn. General Alured Clarke, on the 17th December, opened the first parliament of Lower Canada; while on the 17th December, 1792, Lieutenant-Governor J. G. Simcoe, opened the first Upper Canada Parliament at Newark (Niagara).

In Lower Canada, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke divided the province into counties, cities, and boroughs; and Edward O'Hara was returned for Gaspé. D'Arcy McGee boasted, in 1866, that henceforward Lower Canada was never without an Irish representative in its legislative councils, and I believe the boast might be made to-day. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe divided Upper Canada into nineteen towns, which only sent sixteen members to parliament. The upper province was very thinly populated, and we were on the eve of a European war which was destined to scatter on Continental battle-fields strong hands and brave hearts, that might otherwise have made war on the wilderness in Canada. We were destined, however, to snatch one great prize from the maw of that war, for the founder of the Talbot settlement was the youthful secretary of the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

That brilliant period, comprising the closing decades of the eighteenth century, and the opening quarters of the nineteenth, was distinguished by an extraordinary number of remarkable men. Amongst them all—statesman, soldier, scholar, wit, poet—we doubt if there was one more deserving of study—one who, in his career, presents more strikingly original features—than Col. the Hon. Thomas Talbot, the founder of the Talbot Settlement.

Born at Malahide, in the County Dublin, on the 17th July, 1771, he was the son of Richard Talbot, Esq., and Margaret, Baroness Talbot. The Talbots of Malahide spring from the same source as the Earl of Shrewsbury. Among the great barons who accompanied William the Conqueror was Richard de Talbot. "His grandson, Richard," says Lodge's "Peerage," "was father of Gilbert, ancestor of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who settled in Ireland in the reign of Henry II., and was invested with the ancient baronial castle of Malahide, and the estate belonging thereto."

Thomas Talbot was educated at the Manchester Public Free School. But his knowledge could only be elementary. In 1782, when only eleven years of age, he received a commission. It does not follow that he was taken away from school. He must, however, have left school before he had completed his sixteenth year, as we find him, in 1786, one of the aides-de-camp to the Marquis of Buckingham, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His

holding this position is explained by the fact that the Marquis was related to the Talbot family. His brother aide-de-camp was that "mischievous boy,"\* Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington. Both lads were destined for fame—widely different, indeed, in lustre and magnitude. Both were destined to lead useful lives; and, perhaps, in his humble sphere, wielding the axe amid Canadian forests, Talbot's usefulness may, in the sum of things, prove as great as that of Wellington, throwing his sword into the balance against the French Cæsar. It is pleasant to think that the acquaintance of the two early friends continued through life, and that the backwoodsman was entertained by the great Duke at Apsley House. Sir Jonah Barrington did not find the first soldier in Europe so approachable.

The man who would have predicted the fate of the two young aides-de-camp would have certainly sketched a brighter career for Thomas Talbot than for Arthur Wellesley. Talbot had more lively parts, and was equally well-connected. But happily for Canada, he early left the path of fame for that of usefulness—the drawing-room and the tented field for the wilderness and the shanty.

Many a hero dates his predilection for the life of a soldier from the hour he read the life of Alexander the Great. The life of Nelson sends scores of youths to the yard-arm. Reading Charlevoix's history, while secretary to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, Talbot was filled with an enthusiasm to drive out the wild beasts, and to people the shores of Lake Erie with an industrious population.

In the year 1790, Mr. Talbot joined the 24th regiment as lieutenant, at Quebec. Three years afterwards he received his majority. In 1796, he became lieutenant-colonel of the 5th regiment of foot, which regiment he immediately joined, and did good service on the Continent, commanding two battalions. After the peace of Amiens, he retired from the army; came to Canada, and settled at Port Talbot, on a spot which had attracted his fancy during one of General Simcoe's expeditions. On arriving here, Talbot erected a tent on the top of the hill; turned host; met the

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\* See "Fifty Years of My Life." Albemarle.

governor at the tent-door, and, with that dignity which was part of his inheritance, invited his Honour to the Castle of Malahide. "Here, General Simcoe," he said, "will I roost; and will soon make the forest tremble under the wings of the flock I will invite by my warblings around me." On the following morning they stood at the Forks where London now stands, when General Simcoe said: "This will be the chief military depôt of the west, and the seat of a district. From this spot I will have a line for a road run as straight as the crow can fly, to the head of the little lake"—where Dundas stands to-day.

"He remained in my family four years," wrote General Simcoe to Lord Hobart, in 1803, "when he was called home as major of the 5th regiment, then ordered to Flanders. During that period, he not only conducted many details, and important duties, incidental to the original establishment of a colony in matters of internal regulation, to my entire satisfaction, but was employed in the most confidential measures necessary to preserve that country in peace, without violating, on the one hand, the relations of amity with the United States, and, on the other, alienating the affection of the Indian nations at that time in open war with them."

"In this very critical situation, I principally made use of Mr. Talbot for the most confidential intercourse with the several Indian tribes, and, occasionally, with his Majesty's Minister at Philadelphia. These duties, without any salary or emolument, he executed to my perfect satisfaction."

Thus an Irishman played a very important part in settling the new order of things.

When Talbot returned to Europe—on the march, or pacing the rock of Gibraltar, or sharing the chagrin of the disastrous expedition of the Duke of York—he dreamed another dream than that of military glory; and, amid the roar of battle, mused on founding a settlement in the silent wilds of Canada. The peace of Amiens bears date, the 27th of March, 1802. Immediately Colonel Talbot, having determined to lay aside the sword for the axe, made some visits of friendship, and then turned his face to the boundless ocean, and the almost equally boundless forest.

He wished to take with him a companion, who should help

him in founding a colony in Canada.\* This companion was not a lady, for against the charms of the gentler sex Talbot seems to have been proof, but a young man, who was afterwards to be well and favourably known as Lord Dacre. Mr. Brand had been educated in Germany. He had studied in the philosophical school of Kant. A young, imaginative, generous enthusiast, he was in love with liberty—his imagination took fire at progress. “The political, as well as the social and intellectual system of Europe appeared to him, in his youthful zeal, for the improvement of his fellow-beings, belated, if not benighted, on the road to it; and he had embraced, with the most ardent hopes and purposes, the scheme of emigration of Colonel Talbot for forming in the New World, a colony, where all the errors of the Old were to be avoided. But his mother died, and the young emigrant withdrew his foot from the deck of the Canadian ship, to take his place in the British peerage—to bear an ancient English title, and become master of an old English estate—to marry a brilliant woman of English fashionable society—and to be thenceforth the ideal of an English country gentleman.” From that Arcadia which was to revive under the auspices of Talbot and himself, he turned away at the call of fortune, leaving Talbot to pursue his course alone. He little knew from what hardships he saved himself when he took his hand from the plough of a pioneer.

Talbot landed at a point afterwards known as Port Talbot, on the 21st May, 1803. With characteristic eagerness, the dashing Irish soldier immediately set to work with his axe, and cut down a tree. Where now stands the settlement which should always bear his name, was the primeval forest. To the west was unbroken and undisturbed wilderness; to the east there was no sign of civilization nearer than sixty miles. Where London now sits, like a queen, in the midst of the finest agricultural region of Canada; rich in branch banks, telegraph agencies, and daily papers; with its fine buildings, large hotels, numerous churches, foundries, breweries, petroleum refineries, tanneries, boot factories, factories for making furniture, musical instruments, carriages, candles, soap; with its population of nearly twenty

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\* See “Old Woman’s Gossip,” by Fanny Kemble. “Atlantic Monthly,” Feb. 1877.



thousand ; green boughs of trees, which were young when Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, dipped into the river as yet un-named the Thames, and where there is now the busy hum of commerce, the tap of the wood-pecker broke the solemn silence, and echoed down the wooded aisles. Where the corn-fields and orchards of the most favoured townships of Middlesex, Elgin, and Bothwell, on the side of Eric, flourish—there, in 1803, the forest, in all the richness of Canadian vegetation, reigned supreme.

Port Talbot must then, as well as now, have been a charming spot. The creek winds round the hills amid rich flats. The approach from the east presents to the delighted eye of the traveller, every variety of woodland scenery—of hill and dale. On rounding the acclivity, Lake Erie, stretching away to the horizon, breaks upon the vision. We are here two hundred feet above the lake, and the view, wherever we turn, is of the grandest.

While in England, Colonel Talbot had made an arrangement with the Government, by which he obtained a grant of five thousand acres : in this way. For every settler the colonel placed on fifty acres of land, he was entitled to two hundred acres, until five thousand acres were reached. He afterwards obtained for such of the settlers, as desired it, one hundred acres of land each. Some idea of the means of the pioneers may be gathered from the fact, that some of them had not, in thirty years, completed the payment of the moderate dues, £6 9s. 3d. ; and many of the old farmers, at this hour, acknowledge their obligation to Colonel Talbot's liberality. Talbot and his fellow-workers endured great privations.

One of these was George Ward, a native of the Queen's County, who joined the British army about the close of the last century. His regiment was ordered to Quebec, and while there he made Talbot's acquaintance, and ever after they remained fast friends. Ward settled on the banks of the River Thames, about fifteen miles east of where Chatham now stands. When the war of 1812 broke out, he had four sons—William, James, Alexander D., and Talbot St. John. William and James volunteered into the Kent Militia, under Captain John McGregor. James was attacked by a severe cold, in the camp on Burlington Heights, from which he died. William fought under McGregor, at the Battle of the

Longwoods. Captain Alexander Ward and his younger brother were then small boys, running through the camp of Tecumseh and his warriors, before he took his position on the battle-ground at Moravian Town. The captain loved to describe the hero's attitude haranguing his warriors, and the breathless silence with which they listened to his eloquence. In 1837, Captain Ward raised a company of volunteers, marched to the front, and remained under arms until the rebellion was put down; after this he lived on his farm near Wardsville, a quiet and retired life.

As with all early settlers, one of their difficulties was to get their corn ground. They were obliged to hollow out with fire the stump of a large tree, until it was converted into a serviceable mortar; a wooden beetle being used as a pestle, the corn was rendered fit for use. But this was a clumsy method, and in 1808, Col. Talbot built a mill at Dunwich. He seems also to have made an effort to supply them with religion. He assembled them on Sunday for religious worship, and like a patriarch read divine service to them. He ensured punctuality and a large congregation by sending the whiskey-bottle round after the service. Not only did he thus seek to lead their minds to heaven, he united them in the bonds of matrimony. He also, it is said, baptized the children. Yet at no time of his life was he what is understood by a religious man. When a young man he was full of jocosity, and some have affirmed wit; it is certain that after dinner, like many other men, he was given to retailing stories which are better left untold.

His mode of transferring land was peculiar. He was accustomed to pencil down the name of the settler, and this rough-and-ready way of giving a title was aided by his memory. A transfer was effected, not by elaborate conveyance, but by a piece of india-rubber and a stroke of the pencil.

Things progressed slowly. Not until 1817 was there anything like a shop or store in the settlement; the wants of the settlers were often supplied from Col. Talbot's stores. In those days the settler had to pay eighteen bushels of wheat for a barrel of salt; a yard of cotton cost one bushel. The cotton may now be had for sixpence. The same quantity of wheat would to-day buy eight or ten barrels of salt.

The tract settled under the superintendence of Col. Talbot, —a superintendence extending over half-a-century,—comprises twenty-nine townships, containing from 160,000 to 180,000 inhabitants. The townships are the following:—Raleigh, Zone, Howard, Maidstone, Rochester, Tilbury East, Houghton, Mersea, Howard, Sandwich, Carradoc, Southwold, London (together with the city), Eckfrid, Yarmouth, Romney, Oxford, Harwich, Westminster, Bayham, Mosa, Middleton, Tilbury West, Blandford, Gosfield, Malahide, Dunwich, Aldboro', Walsingham.

The settlers or their descendants, with a few exceptions where the whiskey bottle was allowed to kill foresight and thrift, are the proprietors of fine farms, well stocked, with good barns, and each worth from \$2,500 to \$25,000. These yeomen, as we have seen, had no more than the axe on their shoulders, when they made the acquaintance of Thomas Talbot.

Talbot was one of those men who make men. He made Burwell. He made Mr. John Rolph who affected great love and reverence for the Colonel, and liked him so much that he would have been glad to have given him one of his sisters. But the Colonel seemed impervious to female charms. He said he had been in love and that the lady refused him, but those who knew him best thought this was uttered in jest.

He was a man scrupulously exact in monetary transactions. The large sums received from the settlers were duly accounted for to the Government, at a period not distinguished for that honour which feels a stain like a wound. The only notes he would take were those of the Bank of Upper Canada. He made an annual visit to Toronto (Little York) and gave in his returns and money to the Government. On these occasions he travelled in a high shouldered box sleigh, wrapped up in a sheep skin coat and covered with buffalo robes. The sheep skin coat soon became an object of reverence.

Colonel Talbot was a man of liberal views, and gave the land to any good settler, whether English, Scotch, or Irish. To avoid personal encounters, he had one of the panes of glass in his window made to open and shut, and here all negotiations took place. He did not like being disturbed after dinner, and devoted of late years the forenoon of each day to business. A good idea of the extent

of his transactions with emigrants may be gathered from papers laid before the House of Assembly in 1836. The Colonel had, in addition to the original agreement, made another, and, under Orders in Council, settled a vast tract of country far in excess of anything he had originally contemplated. From an abstract in the above papers headed "Statements of Lands in the London and Western Districts, which have been placed in the hands of the Hon. Thomas Talbot, under Orders in Council and Orders from the Lieutenant-Governor, for the time being," it appears that the enormous amount of 518,000 acres lying in twenty-nine townships had been placed at his disposal. In 1831, the population settled in these townships was estimated by the Colonel himself as nearly 40,000 souls.

In 1826, he became straitened in means, owing to his exertions to push forward the settlement. He wrote a letter to Earl Bathurst saying that after twenty years devoted to the improvement of the Western Districts of Canada, he found himself in difficulties. Having established twenty thousand souls without any expense for superintendence to the Government or the settler, and at a sacrifice of \$100,000 to himself, he woke up to the unpleasant conviction that he was wholly without capital. In response to this appeal he obtained a pension of \$2,000 per annum. He deserved this on public grounds. He was a father to his people, and protected them from the fangs of men in office who cared only for the fees. What power he exercised may be inferred from the fact that in a minute of the Council addressed to His Honour S. Smith, Administrator of the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, Mr. W. D. Powell complains as follows:—"It is" he says, "apparent under this latitude that the Province is at the disposal of Colonel Talbot, by being allowed to receive 150 acres for himself for every settler he placed on 50." But Colonel Talbot, acting under Orders in Council, was beyond his spleen. The secret of the animosity to the Colonel was that his powers interfered with the fees. Nor need one be surprised that the emigrant preferred to flee from an insolent official to one who was paternal in his protecting kindness.

The land on which he had laid his hand was seen by the Little York Officials to be the most valuable in the country. But the

Colonel defeated their sinister aims. Hence large tracts of fertile land, which might have lain untilled, are now occupied by prosperous farmers. We need not wonder that the settlers kept for many years the day of his first arrival in the country as a feast. "The day and all who honour it!" was received with enthusiasm, and the "Hon. Thomas Talbot, the founder of the Talbot settlement!" was drowned in bumpers. After the first few years, the anniversary always took place in the beautifully situated Town of St. Thomas, called after the Colonel, and continued until fashion and strangers drove away the sturdy yeomanry.

In 1818 the town of London was surveyed and laid out in lots. These were given out to actual settlers, by Colonel Talbot, on condition of the performance of settlement duties, and the building a house.

The Castle of Malahide, at Port Talbot, where the first men in Canada, and noble and distinguished men from the old country, were frequently entertained, was built like an eagle's nest on a bold high cliff overhanging the lake. It was a long range of low buildings, formed of rough logs and shingles. The main building consisted of three principal apartments, of which the dining-room was a really handsome room. The kitchen was large, and the fire-place designed by a man on hospitable thoughts intent. Under ground were cellars for storing wine, milk, and provisions. To the east was the granary and store-rooms, on the west the dining-room, and between these two an audience-room. In front of the building was a Dutch piazza, where poultry of all kinds sunned themselves and dozed. The rafters had never been touched with any implement but the axe. In the audience chamber, where visitors were received and business transacted, the furniture was very plain. A solid deal table, a few chairs with skin bottoms, a cupboard, a couple of chests—that was all. The only thing imparting an air of comfort to the room was the ample fire-place. The colonel drank good wine, and if his fare was homely, it was of the best.

Near to the main building was another, containing a range of bedrooms. In latter years a suite of rooms of more pretensions was added. Around the house rose a variety of outbuildings of various shapes, unharmonious in dimensions, and unsymmetrically disposed. One of these was the log hut which first sheltered

the Colonel. Many of these outbuildings were for the geese and fowl, of which he reared a sufficient number to supply a county. From this cliff-upheld castle the blue lake was seen spreading away like a large mind dreaming of all it has read and thought in sunny hours. On the left was Port Stanley ; and it was pleasant to sit and watch the schooners sail by, or some little skiff, with full-bellied canvas, plough through the bright waves. Behind the house was an open tract of land, prettily broken, where many head of cattle grazed, and large flocks of sheep browsed. There were sixteen acres of orchard, and a beautiful flower garden. House, grazing grounds and cliff, all were framed in luxuriant woods, through which in summer steals a gentle stream into the lake, and in winter roars a raging torrent. "The storms and the gradual action of the waves," wrote Mrs. Jameson, forty years ago, "have detached large portions of the cliff in front of the house, and with them huge trees. Along the lake shore I found trunks and roots of trees half buried in the sand, or half overflowed with water, which I often mistook for rocks. I remember one large tree which, in falling headlong, still remained suspended by its long and stray fibres to the cliff above ; its position was now reversed—the top hung downwards, shivered and denuded. The large spread root, upturned, formed a platform on which new earth had accumulated, and new vegetation sprung forth of flowers and bushes and sucklings. Altogether it was a most picturesque and curious object."

Up to the introduction of responsible government into Canada, the Governors regularly made tours as far as Port Talbot. No man of rank felt he had "done" Canada without making this visit, and ladies were anxious to see the man who could resist their charms. Among the Colonel's visitors were the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Labouchere, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir J. Colborne, Lord Aylmer, Chief Justice Robinson, and others. Hundreds of less note called to pay their respects. There was open house for all, and while the gentlemen were entertained in the dining-room, Jeffrey, the confidential servant, made the poor deserving settler happy in the kitchen. The Colonel had often to preside over the culinary department himself.

Sometimes he met with a snob, and treated him as he deserved. Mr. Parkins, at one time Sheriff of London, England, was invited

to dine with him. During dinner, he made use of offensive language about one of Col. Talbot's friends. "I do not permit such language to be made use of at my table," said the host. Parkins, lifting the edge of the tablecloth and discovering a pine board, cried: "Your table! Do you call this a table?" "Jeffrey," said Col. Talbot, "let Mr. Parkins' horse be brought to the door."

"My dogs don't understand heraldry," said he to a countryman, who sought to influence him by an imaginary pedigree. A Yankee, who preferred to live under the British flag, applied for land. The Colonel asked him, whether he had got a good character. His reply was in the affirmative. "From whom?" "From the Almighty." "And what does He say?" "Why, He recommends me to take care of myself, and to get as much land as I can." "Very well," said the Colonel, "that is a good recommendation and you shall have a lot." Like most men of humour, he was benevolent, and a love of justice was the predominant feature of his character.

Mrs. Jameson grew enthusiastic over Port Talbot. She found the Talbot District containing twenty-eight townships and 680,000 acres of land, of which, at that time, some forty years ago, 98,700 acres were cleared. The inhabitants, including the population of ten towns, amounted to 50,000." "You see," said Talbot gaily, "I may boast, like the Irishman in the farce, of having peopled a whole country with my own hands." All the agreements were in his own handwriting.

He was then about sixty-five years of age, but did not look so much. "In spite of rustic dress, his good humoured, jovial and weather-beaten face," writes that fascinating authoress, "and the primitive simplicity, not to say rudeness of his dwelling, he has, in his features, air and deportment, that 'something' which stamps him gentleman. And that something which thirty-four years of solitude has not effaced, he derives, I suppose, from blood and birth—things of more consequence, when philosophically and philanthropically considered, than we are apt to allow. He must have been very handsome when young; his resemblance now to our royal family, particularly to the King (William IV.), is so very striking, as to be something next to identity. Good natured people have set themselves to account for this wonderful likeness in various ways possible and impossible; but after a rigid comparison of dates and

ages, and assuming all that latitude which scandal usually allows herself in these matters, it remains unaccountable, unless we suppose that the Talbots have, *par la grâce de Dieu*, a family knack of resembling kings. You may remember that the extraordinary resemblance which his ancestor, Dick Talbot (Duke of Tyrconnel) bore to Louis the fourteenth, gave occasion to the happiest and most memorable repartee ever recorded in the chronicle of wit.”\*

Mrs. Jameson was delighted with his flower garden covering over two acres neatly laid out and enclosed and evidently a hobby and a pride to the old man. It abounded in roses, the cuttings of which he had brought from the gardens of England. “Of these he gathered the most beautiful buds, and presented them to me with such an air as might have become Dick Talbot presenting a bouquet to Miss Jennings. We then sat down on a pretty seat under a tree, where he told me he often came to meditate. He described the appearance of the spot when he first came here, as contrasted with its present appearance, and we discussed the exploits of some of his celebrated and gallant ancestors, with whom my acquaintance was (luckily) almost as intimate as his own. Family and aristocratic pride I found a prominent feature in the character of this remarkable man. A Talbot of Malahide, of a family representing the same barony from father to son for six hundred years, he set, not unreasonably, a high value on his noble and unstained lineage; and in his lonely position, the simplicity of his life and manners lent to these lofty and not unreal pretensions a kind of poetical dignity.

“I told him of the surmises of the people relative to his early life and his motives for emigrating, at which he laughed.

“‘Charlevoix,’ said he ‘was, I believe, the true cause of my coming to this place. You know he calls this the ‘Paradise of the Hurons.’ Now I was resolved to get to Paradise by hook or by crook and so I came here.’”†

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\*In a note Mrs. Jameson recalls the reply of Talbot when sent Ambassador to France. Louis XIV., struck by the extraordinary likeness to himself, said, “Monsieur L’Ambassadeur, est-ce-que Madame votre Mère a jamais été dans la cour du Roi mon Père ?” The witty Irishman replied with a low bow, “Non, Sire —mais mon père y était !”

† Winter Studies. vol. ii., pp. 197, 198, 199.



He said, seriously, he had accomplished what he had resolved to accomplish, but he would not for the universe again go through the horrors he had gone through in forming the settlement. He broke out against the follies and falsehoods and restrictions of artificial life in bitter and scornful terms. Yes—he was happy and the old man sighed as he said so. He was alone—a lonely man. His sympathies and affections had been without natural outlet. “But,” says Mrs. Jameson, forgetting all she had ever read about the vanity of fame and human ingratitude, “he is a great man who has done great things and the good which he has done will live after him. He has planted at a terrible sacrifice an enduring name and fame, and will be commemorated in this ‘brave new world’ this land of hope, as Triptolemus among the Greeks.

“For his indifference and dislike to female society, and his determination to have no settler within a certain distance of his own residence, I could easily account when I knew the man; both seem to me the result of certain habits of life acting on a certain organization. He has a favourite servant, Jeffrey by name, who has served him faithfully for more than five-and-twenty years, ever since he left off cleaning his own shoes and mending his own coat. This honest fellow, not having forsworn female companionship, began to sigh after a wife—

‘A wife! oh! Sainte Marie Benedicé!  
How might a man have any adversité  
That hath a wife?’

And like the good knight in Chaucer, he did

‘Upon his bare knees pray God him to send  
A wife to last unto his life’s end.’

“So one morning he went and took unto himself the woman nearest at hand—one, of whom we must needs suppose that he chose her for her virtues, for most certainly it was not for her attractions. The Colonel swore at him for a fool; but, after a while, Jeffrey, who is a favourite, smuggled his wife into the house, and the colonel whose increasing age renders him rather more dependent on household help, seems to endure very patiently this addition to his family, and even the presence of a white-headed chubby

little thing, which I found running about without let or hindrance."

What a sad picture and how beautiful it is at the same time made by the presence of a child with its fearless innocence and the hint it gives of womanly care and kindness. There is always some unhappy explanation for indifference or dislike to the society of women. Either the man has a small, narrow nature, or else a woman has been the instrument to him of a great sorrow and he reasons by a sweeping generalization from one woman to her sex generally, or he has so high an ideal of the female character that experience fills him with disgust. Yet as the existence of hypocrites does not prove there are no saints, so the fact that we see in some women treachery and greed, miserable intrigue and villainous plotting to plunder or ruin, is no reason why we should forget the lessons taught us by the noble bearing of a mother, and by the chaste dignity of a sister. A young lady once, on hearing a gentleman quote the following words of Tennyson,—"No angel but a dearer being all dipt in angel instincts," and apply them to women generally, said very wittily:—"But the trouble is they are not dipped deep enough." Some are dipped deep enough, though they are perhaps not the majority. They, however, furnish the ideal towards which all women should strive. When we remember how high a chivalrous and noble-hearted man places a woman for whom he has the least tenderness, and the petty, selfish, ravenously lucre-loving character of multitudes whose face and form are like those we dream of in angels, when above all we reflect on the hideous contrasts furnished by haughty professions and humiliating practice, we need not wonder when we see a large-natured man like Talbot banish himself from the solace of love and gentle companionship. The inconsistency of inconsistent women has tainted a whole literature, and made the men of genius of France libellers of half its population. It is better that disgust should take the form it took in Talbot's case than that we should grow satisfied with the hasty, low, and utterly false conception of the character of woman we form, when the wings drop from the angel, and the heroine sinks in the moral scale to the level of a lap-dog, and revenge ourselves during the rest of our lives by breaking

epigrams on the better half of the human race.\* For all the vain and bad ones there are plenty of good women whose smile has no betrayal in it, and in the vivacity of whose eye there is no death; who can literally double our joys †; whose approbation is to genius as a draught from Helicon itself ‡; whose sympathy is like the dew, as

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\* Even the character of Lucretia has not escaped the sneers of French writers—"Ah ! dit le Marquis de Riberville, Je ne pense pas que ce soit ce Monsieur le Conseiller appréhende, et js crois qu'il est bien assuré de Madame son épouse. Ma foi, dit bon vieillard, il n'y a qu'heur et malheur à cela, et les femmes sont fidèles ou infidèles selon les occasions. Lucrèce étoit la plus cruelle femme de Rome, et elle ne laissa point de se rendre avant que de se tuer."—"La Fausse Clélie." The date of the volume is 1718, and it was published "avec permission du roi."

† The toast of "The Ladies," as given by a wit will probably be familiar to most of my readers—"Here's to the ladies, who halve our sorrows, double our joys and treble our expenses."

‡ The power of women—their presence—their conversation—their encouragement in stimulating the literary faculty—has not been sufficiently dwelt on, and is little understood. The mind works better if a woman is in the room. She throws into the air some subtle electricity. All strong minded men and all great races (witness the Jews) breathe through the nose entirely—the mouth being kept for its proper functions of eating and drinking and talking. The brain is braced and stimulated by the air passing through the nose. It is possible that the very air breathed by either sex is more stimulating to that sex if members of the opposite sex breathe it at the same time. This is felt so keenly by persons highly organized that we need not be surprised that the world saw exaggeration or wild love in the terms in which John Stuart Mill spoke of his wife. The power of Caroline Michaelis over the mind of Schlegel is one of the most interesting studies in literary history. Both before and after she becomes his wife her influence was on him like an inspiration. Nor would he ever have been the man he grew to be had it not been for her. But Caroline Schlegels do not grow like blackberries on every hedge. She writes to her little sister, a young affianced bride, "When the Hm's Hm's (the dandy students) pass under your eyes, do you really do absolutely nothing for vanity's sake? It would be impossible for you entirely to annihilate its movements, for this is the most involuntary of all original sins, and one we need as little to be ashamed of as corns or toothache. *Only we ought never to move a step, either backwards or forwards, towards encouraging the failing. You cannot help its being pleasant to you if your veiled cap suits you; but beware how you set it more at one person than another.*" When her first husband died she returned to her parents' roof. She writes to Meyer—"I do not trouble myself concerning the future. \* \* \* One aim alone do I consider myself obliged to pursue with unflinching step—that of my daughter's welfare. All the rest lies stretched before me like the vast expanse of the troubled ocean. If at times I find myself turning giddy at this spectacle, and feel my head whirl I just close my eyes and still trust myself on it without fear," and she compares herself, after the first great burst of grief, to an invalid "restored to life, slowly regaining her strength, and inhaling anew the pure, balmy spring air." In this mood August Wilhelm Schlegel found her and loved her, as how could he do else? I could mention dozens of cases, which have come within my own experience, where the woman inspired and helped, and was content that the husband should receive all the praise.

gentle and as refreshing; whose spirit in a house fills it with harmony and peace, and makes it a region of beauty, a realm of delight; whose voice is music; the touch of whose hand is rest; and it is treason to them and treason to ourselves to forget that such exist, and challenge our homage. While filling our lives with pleasure and melting the heart, they have a celestial strength by which they brace character and purify the soul. And if a woman whom fate relegates to what is sneeringly called "single blessedness" deteriorates, and from happy dreams, "castles in Spain," her mind is driven to ruins where it cowers amid broken arch and shattered column and desolate hearth, the grey loneliness of dismantled uninhabited halls—disappointed anticipations, a heart whose desire has failed, a life whose charm has evaporated—and bitter takes the place of sweet, and the wine of her ample nature becomes vinegar; not less unhappy, as we shall see in Talbot's case is the effect on man of despising the wisdom of the sacred utterance that it is not good for him to be without the tempering conditions of woman's society.

"O woman! lovely woman! Nature made thee  
To temper man; we had been brutes without you!"

But to return to Mrs. Jameson's sketch of a great and singular man.

"The room," she writes, "into which I first introduced you, with its rough log walls, is Colonel Talbot's library and hall of audience. On leaving my apartment in the morning, I used to find groups of strange figures lounging round the door, ragged, black-bearded, gaunt, travel-worn and toil-worn emigrants, Irish, Scotch and American, come to offer themselves as settlers. These he used to call his land-pirates; and curious and characteristic and dramatic beyond description were the scenes which used to take place between the Grand Bashaw of the wilderness and his hungry unfortunate clients and petitioners.

"Another thing which gave a singular interest to my conversations with Colonel Talbot was the sort of indifference with which he regarded all the stirring events of the last thirty years. Dynasties rose and disappeared; kingdoms were passed from hand to hand like wine decanters; battles were lost and won; he nei-

ther knew, nor heard nor cared. No post, no newspapers, brought to his forest-hut the tidings of victory and defeat, of revolutions of empires, 'or murmurs of successful or unsuccessful war.'

"When first he took to the bush Napoleon was consul; when he emerged from his solitude the tremendous game of ambition had been played out, and Napoleon, and his deeds and his dynasty, were numbered with the things o'er past. With the stream of events had flowed by, equally unmarked, the stream of mind, thought, literature, the progress of social improvement, the changes in public opinion. Conceive what a gulf between us! But though I could go to him, he could not come to me. My sympathies had the wider range of the two."

It must have been like talking to an ancestor. Partly necessity, partly a true instinct, led Talbot thus to bury himself in the forest. Had he kept up his interest in the real world, he could not have held his purpose of playing the part of the greatest of Canadian pioneers. He, at long intervals, made trips to England; and these trips, and the occasional visits of distinguished people, were the epochs from which he dated. From these flights he returned like an old eagle to his throne on the cliff, whence he looked down with contempt and indifference on the world he had quitted, and with much self-applause and self-gratulation on the world around, which under his auspices had been called into existence.

Among those Irish emigrants and settlers who failed in foresight many were drawn from the educated class; for alas! at that time education was a class distinction. Those men who came to the Talbot settlement side by side with the sturdy Gael from the Highlands of Scotland, and from all parts of Ireland, had two things which are often found together, solid pride and a vacuous purse. An interesting and prominent man of this class was John Harris. This gentleman had a dispute with another as to whose part of the province had received most respectable settlers. "Why" said Harris, "in the London district we have one township all gentlemen." He referred to the Township of Adelaide, where a large number of old soldiers who had commuted for their pensions sought to settle. These included many members of most respectable Irish families. A nephew of Curran, Captain Curran found himself among them. But it is not for the Irish settlers alone,

but also for Scotch and English, that the country is indebted to Colonel Talbot. What was felt by all for him, by English and Scotch as well as Irish, appears from a correspondence which took place in 1817. On the 5th of March, 1817, James Nevills, secretary of a meeting held respecting the anniversary, writes, transmitting an address. He said he was further directed to say that a chair was to be left perpetually vacant in Colonel Talbot's name to be filled by him or "by his descendants in future ages." How we do dream, as clouds may dream of building themselves into solid towers. The address signed on behalf of the meeting by J. Wilson, President, and L. Patterson, Vice-President, breathes a spirit of filial gratitude. They presented him with a tribute of the high respect they collectively cherished and individually felt. "From the earliest commencement of this happy patriarchy, we date all the blessings we now enjoy; and regarding you as its founder, its patron and its friend, we most respectfully beg leave to associate your name with our infant institution. To your first arrival in Port Talbot we refer as the auspicious hour which gave birth to the happiness and independence we all enjoy and this day commemorate." The address went on to say that in grateful remembrance of the Colonel's unexampled hospitality and disinterested zeal in their behalf, and because they contemplated with interested feelings the astonishing progress of their increasing settlement under his friendly patronage and patriarchal care, they had unanimously appointed the 21st of May, for the Talbot anniversary. They added that the public expression of happiness and gratitude, they transmitted through their children to their latest posterity.

The answer of Colonel Talbot was in keeping with his character. It was frank and manly and simple. It was fit to be signed "Your faithful friend." Having thanked them, he says it highly gratified him that they were not insensible to the exertions he had made to advance the welfare of that part of the Province. For these exertions he was amply compensated by witnessing the assemblage of so large and respectable a body of settlers. He had no doubt but that in a few years the country would exhibit in a striking manner the superiority of the soil and thoroughness of their labours. The surest way to ensure this was to persevere as

they had begun, in industry and harmony. There should be wanting nothing on his part to promote their interest. They did him infinite honour by associating his name with their infant institution, which he ardently hoped might be productive of social and virtuous enjoyment, and never become the vehicle of calumny and party intrigue. This was dated the 10th March, 1817. Mr. J. Rolph was delighted with what had been done, and makes a note which has an historical value now. "The secretary to the Talbot anniversary, Mr. Adjutant James Nevills, should prepare a statement to be published, and he should keep on record all the proceedings of the day. Should pen, ink and paper be scarce, the Adjutant knows where he can get as much as he wants by riding up for it—J. Rolph." The poorest man in the whole twenty-eight townships could now boast of his ability to supply an Adjutant with paper and ink. On the 17th Lieutenant-Colonel Burwell, who was jealous of Rolph's influence with Colonel Talbot, put forth an address deprecating an anniversary. The people could ill afford to pay cash for attending far-fetched anniversaries. But he admitted the great claims and noble character of Colonel Talbot. Burwell's address was a curiosity from the point of view of style: "If," he said, "the worthy personage to whom the address was presented had departed this life. If, he was no more—I will not now inform the world nor insult his sense of delicacy by saying what part I would take in the foundation of such an institution. At present he is among us—we know his exertions to get the fine tract of country we inhabit settled. And he knows what our exertions have been to settle it. Without saying anything more respecting him — we know him. And from the progress we have made, not in fine anniversary addresses, but in meliorating the rude wilderness; the world may judge whether we have not such feelings and understandings as we ought to have. And whether we can appreciate its worth without proclaiming it on the house-tops—and making ourselves ridiculous." Of course the burden on the people would be just as great if Colonel Talbot were dead. It is easy to see that Burwell was an envious, ill-conditioned man.

On the 21st May, 1817, the anniversary was held at Doctor Lee's Hotel, Yarmouth. Seventy-five persons attended. Not one

of them but had tasted of the Colonel's bounty and had experienced his directing kindness. Colonel Búrwell's address was condemned for its bad taste and intrusiveness.

Towards the close of his life, there is little doubt the Colonel was not temperate. But he had acquitted himself well during his long career, and in what he went through in the solitude of his life must be found the excuse, if excuse can be made. A very small worm will spoil a good apple, and a trifling weakness mar a fine character. But for this blemish, what a proud figure Colonel Talbot would make in our history. Perhaps, notwithstanding it, his form will stand out great and venerable to the eye of future generations. He lived to see his work accomplished. Before he went down to the grave, London was a flourishing capital, and the prosperity of the whole settlement was assured. He succeeded in all his projects regarding his settlers. His design to found a great family estate proved abortive. For some time prior to his death, his mind suffered an eclipse.

Wishing to bequeath his large estate to a male descendant of the Talbot family, he had, at a comparatively early period, invited to Canada one of his sister's sons, Mr. Julius Airey. This young gentleman took up his abode at Port Talbot. But the dulness of the life, the Colonel's eccentricities, and the want of congenial companions, rendered existence unbearable; and, after a residence of a few years with his uncle, he relinquished all claims to Port Talbot and returned to the society for which he pined. Colonel Airey military secretary at the Horse Guards, succeeded to the expectations of his younger brother. Throwing up his attractive and important position, and turning his back on the capital of English civilization, he removed with his family to Port Talbot. From this time Colonel Talbot's infirmities increased. He was doubtless worried. Colonel Airey, instead of living in a house of his own on some part of the estate near "the rookery," took up his residence with his uncle. Differences ensued. Colonel Talbot had been accustomed to dine at noon. Colonel Airey introduced a new order of things; dinner at seven o'clock, and dressing for it indispensable. Not only so, the liquor was locked up. The old man kicked. He determined to keep a separate establishment. But he had been disturbed at a time when new habits cannot be formed. He grew



sick and discontented. He resolved to leave Canada. He would, he thought, draw out the remainder of his days in England, or on the continent. He left Port Talbot. But taken sick at London, Canada West, he lay there, the old man, nigh eighty years of age, in a dangerous condition for weeks. He was, however, in the midst of kind friends in the house of Mr. John Harris.

He recovered but henceforth he was a mere tool in the hands of George McBeth. He set out for England, where he remained a year and then returned to lay his bones in the country to which he had devoted his life. It was a distressing thing to see the old man settle down in a humble cottage on the outskirts of his magnificent estate. The man who had once been lord of Port Talbot was fain to lodge in a small room in the house of Mrs. Hunter, the widow of his friend and servant Jeffrey. He had made over to Colonel Airey the Port Talbot estate, worth \$50,000, and 13,000 acres in the adjoining Township of Aldboro'. This was not a moiety of the estate which Colonel Airey had had reason to expect would descend to him; but now it was evident it was all he would get from the Colonel. He therefore rented what he had got to Mr. Saunders and returned with his family to England, where he resumed his post at the Horse Guards. The remainder of the estate, worth \$250,000, was bequeathed to George McBeth, who married a daughter of Mr. Saunders. With McBeth the Colonel removed to London and resided in the house of his former servant and sole legatee, until the day of his death which occurred on the 6th February, 1853.

His remains were removed from London on the 9th of February, the day previous to interment, and were placed for the night in the barn of an inn-keeper at Fingal, to the indignation of the old settlers. One old man, Samuel Burwell, begged with tears in his eyes to have the body removed to his own house. But this would have disturbed McBeth's arrangements. On the following day the corpse was removed from Fingal to Port Talbot and rested for a short time within the mansion once owned by the deceased. The hearse was followed by the leading men of London to the church at Tyrconnel. The day was bitterly cold, but a few fast friends had come to see him interred. He lies in a grave near the church. On the oak coffin ran the simple inscription—"Thomas

Talbot, Founder of the Talbot Settlement: Died 6th Feb., 1853." It may truly be added now that here rests one of the founders of Canada.

In 1796, after playing a great part in Canada for an exceptionally long time and proving himself a true friend to all the colonists, and not least to the French Canadians, Lord Dorchester, amid the heartfelt regret of the people, took his departure from our shores. He died in 1808, in his eighty-third year.

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## CHAPTER V.

WE have seen an Irishman prove himself the saviour of Canada, and watch with parental anxiety and care, with efficiency and far-sighted wisdom, her infant years. We have seen another Irishman turn his back on love, on high position, on all the charms of civilization, on the most attractive of all professions, on the most fascinating of all careers, to come to Canada to play a patriarchal part, amid hardships which would have appalled a less unconquerable soul, and turned the edge of a less finely tempered will. We are now to watch Irishmen in a sphere other than that of politics, and on a less grandly heroic scale. In earlier chapters I pointed out what a great people had done throughout the world.

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[Authorities:—Original Sources: "Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia": "Nova Scotia Archives": Mrs. Moodie's "Roughing it in the Bush": "The Atlantic Monthly": Haliburton's "Nova Scotia": Old Files of Newspapers: Anspach's "History": Bonneycastle's "History of Newfoundland": Mackintosh's "Parliamentary Companion": "St. John and its Business": "Early settlers of Bowmanville, Darlington, Clarke, and the surrounding country," by J. T. Coleman: Poole's "Early settlement of Peterborough": Campbell's History of Prince Edward Island: "Historical and General Record of the Irish Settlement of Colchester County, down to the present time," by Thomas Millar, Halifax, N. S.: "Ireland and the Centenary of American Methodism," by the Rev. William Crook: "Case and his Contemporaries," by the Rev. Dr. Carroll: "The Irish Position," by D'Arcy McGee.]

Any other word than world would be too small. For on what shore have they not left monuments of their energy and genius. They have gone forth from a little island and made the wide earth their mausoleum.\* A branch of that people exist here in Canada

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\* While I write these lines there comes the account of the death of a man who was distinguished at a time ere a generation already past had come into existence. Field-Marshal Sir John Forster-Fitzgerald, G. C. B., died at Tours, on the 24th of March. The French military authorities of that city—perhaps MacMahon remembered the thread which apart from military renown bound them both—received instructions from Paris on the 26th to give the dead hero a military funeral. Mr. Disraeli's government made a mistake in not taking to itself the glory of giving fitting sepulture to the old hero. He was the oldest soldier the Empire had, and he had risen to the highest rank in his profession. He entered the army in 1793. He served in the Peninsula where he commanded a light battalion and a brigade, and was present at most of the engagements which culminated with Napoleon's overthrow at Waterloo. He took a prominent part in the assault on Badajos and fought gallantly at the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria and the Pyrenees, receiving the Gold Cross for personal bravery and distinguished services. He was owner of the large estate of Carrigoran and he was as considerate to his tenantry as he was brave in the field,

Some verses in *Truth*, April 5th 1877, may be quoted :

He was the oldest warrior England had  
 And from a fighting family had sprung ;  
 He won his spurs when he was yet a lad,  
 And fought when the old century was young.

At Badajos the fatal breach he scaled ;  
 He lived through Salamanca's bloody fray ;  
 Was at Vittoria where a monarch quailed,  
 And lived to tell of Talavera's day.

Bravely he fought through the fierce campaign,  
 That brought the beaten Frenchmen to their knees,  
 When just from their last holding-place in Spain,  
 They turned to bay amongst the Pyrenees.

Bravely he fought and well ; he wore  
 The golden cross for valour on his breast,  
 Until he died upon a foreign shore,  
 And found at length from life's long struggle rest.

The writer then upraids England for her parsimony in not sending over to Tours some of his old comrades. The least, he says, England could have given him was a tomb.

And so it happed ; for all the honour payed  
 To our field-marshal at his long life's close  
 And military demonstration made  
 Was by the Frenchmen, his old gallant foes.

But was it meet to treat a soldier thus ?  
 Who'd gained the highest rank our army knows ?

to-day, and has been here from the beginning of British rule. It is in no spirit of unworthy rivalry or small boasting that I say their hands have done more than those of any other to clear the wilderness. If we look at the census alone it proves this. But the census does not tell all. There are thousands of flourishing acres here in Canada on whose yellow harvests an owner looks who is not Irish, but which acres were cleared by Irishmen. These in some instances dropped like soldiers in the battle and fell into unknown graves, truly the unremembered brave. On lands where their names are unknown they planted the first civilizing foot they grappled with the wilderness; and then they passed away as we all shall, the best of us, and the most successful. And what more can be said of us than of them? If it can be said we did our day's work it will be well.

I shall show, by-and-bye, that we owe our present constitution in great part to Irishmen. I have already dwelt on their character and genius and on part of their achievements, and if the tale is continued it is not that I may here in Canada draw my countrymen aside from other people; above all it is not that I may fan illogical, unhistorical, and unchristian hatreds in their breasts. Better that patriotism should be torn from a man's heart, and all the love which swells in it when he thinks of that land which for centuries has lain on the waves like a beautiful sorrow, if that patriotism and that love could not co-exist with sweet human charities for other people.

Was it noble, was it generous  
That thus a gallant history should close?

The close of such a career is a sad and splendid illustration of the speech of Ulysses to Achilles when he would persuade the sulking hero to leave his tent and once more measure his brand with Hector:—

Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back  
Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,  
A great sized monster of ingratitude;  
Those scraps are good deeds past: which are devour'd  
As fast as they are made, forgot as soon  
As done: Perseverance dear, my lord,  
Keeps honour bright: To have done, is to hang  
Quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail  
In monumental mockery.

Above all, I would guard against the misconception that I would divert Irishmen's minds from their duty as Canadian citizens. An eminent Presbyterian divine, when preaching on St. Andrew's day, declared it to be his conviction that the interest of Scotchmen in one another, and in their mother country, had in no way hindered their identification with Canada.\* The claims of Canada can be paramount, though the Scotchman remembers with pride his rugged storied hills; though the Englishman's fancy roams amid the gardened beauty of English greeneries and English landscapes, and takes fire at English struggles for constitutional freedom; though the Irishman's heart beats quicker, when he recalls the loveliness of his country, her heroism, and all she has done for "the Empire" and for the world. Nor will he be the less true as a Canadian citizen, if the springs of a noble sympathy flow, when he reflects that her loveliness is still defaced by recent grief, and her beauty overshadowed by memories of the past.

My countrymen have had too much of the inspiration of hatred. They have been too much misled.† Those who misled them did not know that they were misleading them. I have shown them that the Saxon, and Celt, and Norman, and Roman and Greek, are all brethren, that all come from one parent race. To-day, England is probably far more Celtic than Saxon.‡

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\* If the existence of national societies in Canada were to have the effect of dividing the community into hostile sections and sowing seeds of strife between men of different origin, then it would be unquestionably an evil; but I have yet to learn that any such result has been produced. With all confidence, I assert that the interest of Scotsmen in one another and in their Mother Country, as expressed through the St. Andrew's Society, has not diminished their readiness to identify themselves thoroughly with Canada in all that concerns her material, social, and religious progress.—*Sermon on St. Andrew's Day, 1876, by the Rev. D. J. Macdonell.*

† There are some words I frequently repeat to myself, which express a view all my countrymen must take, before they can do full justice to themselves:

" Let merry England proudly rear  
 Her blended roses bought so dear;  
 Let Scotland bind her bonnet blue,  
 With heath and hare bell dipped in dew;  
 On favoured Erin's crest be seen,  
 The flower she loves, the Shamrock green."

‡ "It has been fashionable to sneer at zealous Irish writers for their propensity to

The people of England are not responsible for the wrong done by their rulers in the past ; and it is neither just nor wise to write violent diatribes, or cherish vindictive feelings against them. What would be wrong anywhere would be doubly wrong here, where we are showing what Irishmen have done for Canada, not alone, but assisted by Scotchmen and Englishmen and Frenchmen and Germans. It is a saddening work, in some respects, I am engaged on, for it brings vividly before me how little the dim vast masses of all nationalities get out of life ; and yet, dark as seems their fate, when we look into their lives, there are starry brightnesses and glimpses of a tender, indescribable beauty, which thrill and touch and purify like the stars, or the delicate crimson of morning, or the pensive tints of "dewy eve." There is a halo round the head of humanity, only our eyes are too dim, too pre-occupied, always to discern it ; but when we do see it, whether in the wilderness or the crowded city, we are conscious of the divine fire in the heart, and the heavenly nimbus which wraps the care-worn head.

Mrs. Moodie does not place the settlers too high :—

" Those hardy sires who bore  
The day's first heat—their toils are o'er ;  
Rude fathers of this rising land,  
Theirs was a mission truly grand.

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find traces of the Kelts everywhere. But there can be no doubt whatever that the Kelts were once a very widely diffused people. They have left names for rivers and mountains in almost every part of Europe. The name of the river *Don* in Russia, for example, is one of the common Keltic names for water, and so we find a river *Don* in Yorkshire, a *Dean* in Nottinghamshire, a *Dane* in Cheshire, and a *Dun* in Lincolnshire. The same name appears in the *Rho-dan-us*, or *Rhone*, in Gaul, the *Eri-dan-us*, or *Po*, in Italy, as well as in the *Dn-ieper*, *Dn-iester*, and *Dan-ube*, and even in the *Are-don* in the Caucasus. This is one example out of hundreds, by which we trace the former ubiquity of the Kelts, who as late as the Christian era were present in large numbers, as far east as Bohemia.

"The second series of invading Aryan swarms consisted of Germans, who began by pushing the Kelts westward, and ended by assuming a great part of their territory, and mixing with them to a considerable extent. There is some German blood in Spain, and a good deal in France and Northern Italy ; and the modern English, while Keltic at bottom, are probably half Teutonic in blood, as they are predominantly Teutonic in language and manners." "The Races of the Danube," by John Fiske, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, for April, 1877, p. 404.

See also an Essay by Mr. Goldwin Smith, on "Canada's Political Destiny." He says : "The Anglo-Saxon race is far less prolific than the Irish, who are even supplanting the Anglo-Saxons in some districts of England."

Brave peasants whom the Father, God,  
Sent to reclaim the stubborn sod ;  
Well they perform'd their task and won  
Altar and hearth for the woodman's son."

The settler who clears the country is its true father. He makes all possible. Without his axe, his log cabin, his solitude, his endurance, his misery, we could not have the abundant appliances of civilization, the stately temple, the private mansion, the palaces of law and legislation, the theatre, the enjoyment of social intercourse, refinement, all, in a word, he forewent. A hard lot even when the settler, owing to some peculiar advantages, was able to take with him into the wilderness some of the conveniences of civilized life. Under the happiest circumstances there were hardships and difficulties. The exclusion, was drear enough during the later spring and summer and autumn, when activity was possible ; but indescribable, not to be realized, when barred on all sides by the snows of a Canadian winter, and the atmosphere at times freezing the mercury, so that it could be used as a bullet. Where they were near a town or something capable of being held, by a stretch of fancy, in that light, the sleigh or cariole with its charming bells would bear them over the snow to the social centre. But for those far withdrawn into the heart of the forest, in miserable huts, what a life ! Field labour suspended, no employment outside or inside, none of the comforts of a home, hundreds of miles from a doctor\*, far removed from the church-going bell, without

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\* " It was a melancholy season, one of severe mental and bodily suffering. Those who have drawn such agreeable pictures of a residence in the backwoods never dwell upon the periods of sickness when far from medical advice, and often, as in my case, deprived of the assistance of friends by adverse circumstances, you are left to languish, unattended, upon the couch of pain. The day that my husband was free of the fit, he did what he could for me and his poor sick babes ; but, ill as he was, he was obliged to sow the wheat to enable the man to proceed with the drag, and was, therefore necessarily absent in the field the greater part of the day. I was very ill, yet, for hours at a time I had no friendly voice to cheer me, to proffer me a drink of cold water, or to attend to the poor babe ; and worse, still worse, there was no one to help that pale, marble child, who lay so cold and still, with ' half-closed violet eyes,' as if death had already chilled his young heart in his iron grasp. There was not a breath of air in our close burning bed-closet ; and the weather was sultry beyond all that I have since experienced. \* \* \* I had asked of Heaven a son, and there he lay helpless by the side of his almost helpless mother, who could not lift him up in her arms or still his cries. \* \* \* Often did I weep myself to sleep and wake to weep again with renewed anguish. Roughing it in the Bush, such and greater suffering was the fate of thousands."—*Mrs. Moodie.*

the soothing ministrations of religion, exiled from all the sweet human relations, those of the family alone excepted; no school for the children, a dreary monotony in which note of time is lost, the news of the world heard of but fitfully, no hope save of the most humble kind, ambition impossible, an existence not much more intellectual than that of the wolf which dogs the settler's footsteps of an evening, stealthy as one of the gathering shadows or the hog that burrows for an acorn near his shanty. The sacrifice of thousands of lives in such an existence is the price we pay for a country made a clear stage for the civic man to play his part. Occasionally we see great force of intellect and character assert itself in spite of the benumbing surroundings. But to most Fate says—go work and die and of your fallen bodies make a bridge over which other men may travel to the fair cities and country towns, law courts and parliaments, well written newspapers, fame and power, and all the noble conflicts of political manhood. If the settler was refined, as he often was, Scotch and Irish and English, he found himself brought in contact with coarse human as well as other coarse conditions.

The settler who never went near the woods, but took up his place in some small town, he too was a pioneer, and often made great sacrifices, and whether he made sacrifices or not, if he played his part manfully, deserves to have the debt of gratitude paid.

When we first ask ourselves what are the qualities which make a man a good settler, we think chiefly of stern perseverance, and scarcely give a thought to the softer and more winning human characteristics. Yet very little reflection would have convinced us that kindness, generosity, good humour, sprightliness and nobleness, are of almost more importance in the bush than in the crowded city. In the city you can hire attention; in the wilderness you must look to the heart of those you are brought in contact with for it. In the town you can buy amusement and distraction; in the wood you are thrown on the bent and genius of those who happen to be your neighbours, your allies, or your servants.

What sort of a settler should we expect the Irishman to make? What work of difficulty and adventure has he ever shrunk from? We might hope to see in him more than patient toil and family



love, and that his gay heart, his wit, his cheerfulness under misfortunes, as well as his generosity in prosperity, would accompany him to the wilds. Nor did the Irish settler in Canada belie such hopes. Most of my readers will have read Mrs. Moodie's graphic account of her sufferings in the bush. Her gallant husband was a Scotchman; she is an Englishwoman. Her testimony is, therefore, that of an impartial person. From what class of settlers did she receive most assistance and most consolation? It is not too much to say that seven-eighths of those who helped her husband and herself efficiently were Irish, and while she had to complain of the conduct of many, amongst the many there was not one with Irish blood in his veins. A friend of hers, one Tom Wilson, is accustomed to put on a false nose. As he walks through the town with this false nose on, the people cry out:—"What a nose! Look at the man with the nose!" But she tells us that a party of Irish emigrants pass, and, "with the courtesy natural to their nation," they forbear laughing until the disfigured man, as they think him, has gone, and then they give full vent to their sense of the ludicrous. They were gentlemen by nature.

What servants the Irish have proved themselves to be. Many persons don't like to dwell on the fact that the poor Irishman and woman have had to earn their bread sometimes by the lowest service. But I feel no humiliation about that, because all work seems to me noble, if nobly performed. Did not Apollo serve as a slave? Did not Christ say that He had been among His disciples, not as a master but as one that served? Was not Epictetus a slave? And Æsop? No! there is nothing disgraceful in serving, if men serve well and with loyalty, not with eye service, but with a genuine determination to perform what they do, well. Such a servant was Jack Monaghan, who did all in his power to supply for Mrs. Moody the loss of a maid-servant; lighting the fires; milking the cows; nursing the baby; cooking the dinner, and endeavouring "by a thousand little attentions to show the gratitude he really felt for our kindness;" attaching himself to little Katie "in an extraordinary manner;" spending all his spare time in making little sleighs and toys for her, or dragging the sleigh he had made and the beloved burden in it, wrapped in a blanket, up and down the steep hills in front of the house; his great de-

light to cook her bread and milk at night, and feed her himself; then he would carry her round the floor on his back, and sing her Irish songs. Touching picture! This dark-haired, dark-eyed untutored Irish Celt, and the fair-haired Saxon child who always greeted his return from the woods with a scream of joy, and running forward to be lifted by him and to clasp his swarthy neck with her white arms. "I could lay down my life for you," he would say to her, as he spoke of her love for him and his love for her. It would be hard to show nobler work done by any emigrant than was done by honest, loving Jack Monaghan. In the wilderness, over the stump of his neglected life, the flowers of the heart broke forth luxuriantly. The movements of his life were like melodies; as is so often the case, the fingers which touched the rude keys, and brought out all the music of this apparently rough nature, were the fingers of a child. There is something truly God-like about a child in its tenderness and purity, its freedom from petty care and superiority to our small prejudices, its spontaneous goodness and its love; its unwrinkled forehead and unclouded eye look out on us from eternity on this shore of time, soothing the distressed spirit and sweetning the brackish waters of the heart.

Then Jack is brave as a lion, and attacked by an enemy of his and of the Moodies, one Uncle Joe, he springs on his foe, and makes the big man roar for mercy. His kindness of heart, and what Mrs. Moodie calls his reckless courage, left him no strong instinct of self-preservation, and when a tree is to be felled, the feller of which carried his life in his hands, he raises the axe and cries: "If a life must be sacrificed, why not mine?" and he commends his soul to God, and plies the axe with vigour.

At the logging bee, who behaved best and were, after they had done a good day's work, most amusing? The Irish settlers; and Malachi Chroak takes a pair of bellows and, applying his mouth to the pipe, works his elbows to and fro as one playing on the bagpipes; then he sings a song. "We certainly did laugh our fill," says Mrs. Moodie, "at his odd capers and conceits."

Was there ever a more beautiful episode than that trip to Stony Lake? And could there be a more charming family than the Irish Roman Catholic family we are introduced to? What kindliness and pluck and bravery in the men and women! And

“Ould Simpson,” or the “Ould Dragoon!” No wonder Mrs. Moodie exclaims: “Happy he who, with the buoyant spirits of the light-hearted Irishman, contrives to make himself happy even when all others would be miserable.” The old dragoon, with his wife Judy, lived in bliss, and went on doing his day’s work singing—

“With his silver-mounted pistols, and his long carbine,  
Long life to the brave Inniskillen Dragoon.”

He at once accompanied the stranger who had met with such different treatment from others, to help to blaze the side-lines of a lot of land received as part of a military grant. First, however, he asks her into the house to take a drink of milk and some bread and butter. The house! It was a rude shanty, in which all the hinges were made of leather. There were no windows. The open door supplied their place in the day-time. His wife gives the visitor a cordial welcome, and is delighted at the notice taken of the children. The whole day was occupied with the job, but the kindly Simpson gave his services with “heartly good will,” all the time, “enlivening us with his inexhaustible fund of good-humour and drollery.” When they got back to the shanty his wife had an excellent meal prepared for them.

One Irish girl after another proves “invaluable,” both in the house and in the harvest and hay-field.

These hurried references will enable the reader to realize what kind of qualities, the love, the devotion, the nobleness, the generosity, the high spirits and good humour, the Irish settler brought to Canada. And we may well rejoice that such are the characteristics of the Irishman when we ponder the following facts.

While Carleton was busy as a statesman, countrymen of his were elsewhere, in humbler but not less useful spheres, occupied with the work of laying the foundation of what Canada is to-day, and of the greatness which is in store for her. If we turn to the “Origins of the People” we find the grand totals to be as follows. In the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia there are 706,369 of English, 549,946 of Scotch, and 846,414 of Irish origin; while the numbers professing various religions are thus classified: Methodists, of which eight kinds are specified, 567,091; Baptists, 237,450, though the Baptists proper

number only 165,238, as the Wesleyans proper number but 378,543; the Catholics 1,492,029; the Christian Conference, 15,153; Church of England, 494,049; Congregational, 21,829; Evangelical Association, 4,701; Irvingites, 1,112; Lutherans, 37,935; Presbyterians, a good deal more than 500,000; Jews, 1,115; Brethren, 4,760. Out of a total population in the four provinces of 3,485,761, the Protestants number 1,993,732 or a clear majority of over half a million.

To be more particular. The population of Ontario is 1,620,851, of which Catholics represent 274,162; the Church of England, 330,995; the Baptists something like 100,000; the Presbyterians, 375,000; the Methodists, 370,000; the Protestant majority being 1,346,689. Of the 846,414 of Irish origin 572,252 are Protestants.

In the English there is a Celtic element. That element predominates in the Irish and Scotch. It also predominates in the French; it is pure in the Welsh. Now what are the facts? The people of French origin in Canada numbered in 1871, 1,082,940; of Welsh, 7,773. Thus more than three millions of the population of the four provinces are mainly Celtic, without counting the large Celtic element in the English, and the Spaniards. These last, however, number only 829, while Switzerland has given us 2,962; Scandinavia, 1,623; Russia, 607; the Italians, 1,035; the Germans, 202,991; the Dutch, 29,662.

If we go over the districts in Ontario we get the following facts. In the peninsular county, called after the old Saxon colony of East-Sexe, and having, like it, its Colchester, and for the Thames and the North Sea, the Detroit River, and Lakes St. Clair and Erie, in Essex, the proportions of the population, according to origin, show the English element leading the van, the figures being, Irish, 5,746; English, 7,672; Scotch, 2,604: religion, Catholic, 13,955; population, 32,697. In Kent again the English element is in advance, giving 7,743, as against 5,714 Irish, and 4,343 Scotch; the Catholics out of a population of 26,836 numbering 5,698. In Bothwell the relative precedence is held: Those of English origin numbering 6,745; of Irish, 5,463; of Scotch, 4,375; the Catholic element in a population of 26,836, numbering 1,854. But when we come to Lambton, Lambton of the rich cornfields, and pleasant Huron shores, the county represented by Mr. Mac-

kenzie, the Irish come to the front. The figures are, Irish, 10,389; English, 9,581; Scotch, 8,534: the Catholics numbering 3,467. In Elgin, St. George once more rushes ahead of St. Patrick and St. Andrew, and the figures show for those of English origin 8,734; of Irish, 4,074; of Scotch, 3,572; the Catholics numbering 715. Here there is a considerable representation of the great Teutonic race, the German element numbering 3,512, as against 1,342 in Lambton, 1,407 in Kent, and 2,156 in Essex. In West Middlesex the figures are: English, 6,420; Scotch, 5,678; Irish, 4,981; the Catholics being only 978. North Middlesex, 5,610; 7,044; 7,481; Catholics, 3,322. East Middlesex, 9,741; 4,750; 8,728; and the Catholics figuring up to not much more than a fourth of the Irish population, their number being 2,024.

Thus in the north the Irish head the list, while in the east and west the lead belongs to the English, who properly hold the first place in London, the numbers being, English, 6,693; Irish, 5,379; Scotch, 2,882; the Catholics being something between a fourth and a sixth of the population, the exact number being 2,024. In Norfolk (South), the figures are: English, 6,060; Irish, 2,502; Scotch, 2,119; of the Catholic religion, 701: in Norfolk (North), 6,979; 2,778; 1,666; of the Catholic religion, 916. The German element is strong in the two divisions of Norfolk, aggregating 5,384. In South Oxford the English element is represented by 10,196; the Irish by 5,356; the Scotch by 3,861; of the Catholic religion, 1,897; while in the north the thistle leads, the figures being Scotch, 9,013; English, 8,600; Irish, 3,035; of the Catholic religion, 946. In Brant (South or West), the English count for 9,153; the Irish, 4,190; the Scotch, 3,184; of the Catholic religion, 1,896; while in North or East Brant the report is, English, 4,596; Irish, 2,626; Scotch, 2,768; of the Catholic religion, 1,118.

Now I will run over the districts, giving first the number of Irish, then the number of Scotch, then the number of English, only pausing to comment on something remarkable. It will be observed that without any further analysis, merely giving the number of Catholics shows, as compared with the number of Irish, the relative strength of the two divisions of Irishmen. Haldimand—Irish, 5,855; Scotch, 2,688; English, 6,406; Catholic religion, 1,765. Monck—Irish, 2,685; Scotch, 1,461; English,

4,647; Catholic religion, 1,017. In Monck the German element surpasses either of the other, and is represented by 5,628 souls. Welland—Irish, 4,878; Scotch, 2,094; English, 6,223; German, 5,916; Catholic religion, 3,046. Niagara—Irish, 1,193; Scotch, 546; English, 1,403; German, 414; Catholic religion, 653. Lincoln—Irish, 6,073; Scotch, 2,438; English, 5,981; German, 4,844; Catholic religion, 3,525. South Wentworth—Irish, 2,672; Scotch, 2,803; English, 4,787; German, 3,957; Catholic religion, 2,560. North Wentworth—Irish, 5,165; Scotch, 3,682; English, 4,670; German, 1,309; Catholic religion, 2,560. Hamilton—Irish, 8,900; Scotch, 3,930; English, 9,697; Catholic religion, 5,659. South Huron—Irish, 7,793; Scotch, 7,301; English, 772; German, 3,389; Catholic religion, 2,698. North Huron—Irish, 15,947; Scotch, 12,087; English, 8,786; German, 1,831; Catholic religion, 3,604. Bruce (South)—Irish, 9,828; Scotch, 11,426; English, 3,677; German, 5,525; Catholic religion, 4,779. Bruce (North)—Irish, 4,750; Scotch, 7,694; English, 2,910; German, 875; Catholic religion, 415. Perth, which has given a name to the Convention which Edward II. fondly thought the completion of the Conquest and settlement of Scotland, when Caledonian chivalry rose under Robert Bruce to rout the English at Bannockburn, reappears in Canada, and oddly enough contains more Irishmen than Scotchmen; in South Perth, the Irish element numbering 6,870, and in North, 9,701; while the Scotch is represented by 5,222 in the Southern division, and 4,820 in the Northern; the extent of the English element being 6,520 in South, and 2,819 in North Perth; the Germans aggregating in the two divisions, 7,716; Catholic religion in the two divisions, 5,902. Waterloo, North and South, is strong mainly in the great Teutonic stem of the Aryan race; in the two divisions, the German element numbering 22,050; while the Irish, Scotch and English, respectively, 3,220; 7,315; 5,056; Catholic religion, South, 2,493; North, 3,603.

In Wellington the Irish lead once more. For South Wellington the figures are,—Irish, 3,764; Scotch, 4,962; English, 4,503; German, 906; C. R., 2,787. Centre Wellington, Irish, 8,447; Scotch, 8,314; English, 5,986; German, 1,171; C. R., 2,318. North Wellington, I., 11,770; S., 5,281; E., 5,896; G., 1,057; C. R., 3,731. In the thriving Town of Guelph, the Irish element is represented

by 2,125 (of which only 566 are Catholics), as against 1,750 Scotch, and 2,755 English. By an odd coincidence, just as in Wallace, in Perth, the Irish element is 1,852, to 383 Scotch, so in Erin, in Centre Wellington, the Scotch outnumber the Irish, the figures being 2,160 and 1,492. In South Grey we have I., 10,931; S., 9,225; E., 4,928; G., 3,790; C. R., 3,275. In North Grey, I., 12,580; S., 8,326; E., 7,350; C. R., 1,650; Halton, I., 8,074; S., 5,108; E., 6,993; G., 1,282; C. R., 1,512. Peel, I., 7,484; S., 2,146; E., 6,037; C. R., 1,509. Cardwell, I., 11,465; S., 1,823; E., 2,876; C. R.; 2,758. Simcoe, like Cardwell, is very strong in the Irish element, as the following figures show:—Irish in South Simcoe, 14,593; S., 2,738; E., 5,248; C. R., 1,869. North Simcoe, I., 11,247; S., 8,468; E., 9,161; G., 1,254; C. R., 6,885. North York, I., 6,826; S., 3,228; E., 10,504; G., 2,223; C. R., 2,328. West York, I., 5,559; S., 2,398; E., 6,636; G., 1,359; C. R., 2,180. East York, I., 4,682; S., 3,206; E., 8,806; C. R., 1,502. Toronto, the Queen City of Western Canada, is nearly half Irish, the figures being,—Toronto West, Irish, 13,001; Scotch, 4,644; English, 11,946; C. R., 5,914. Toronto East, I., 11,100; S., 3,568; E., 9,259; C. R., 5,967. In the two divisions the strong German race numbers 985. In the two Ontarios the English are first:—South Ontario, I., 4,698; S., 3,550; E., 10,298; C. R., 2,005. North Ontario, I., 7,400; S., 6,417; E., 8,992; G., 811; C. R., 3,072. Durham (west), I., 6,496; S., 2,095; E., 9,205; G., 247; C. R., 2,497. Durham (east), I., 10,746; S., 1,141; E., 6,630; G., 241; C. R., 819. In Durham there is appropriately a Cavan which contains 3,197 persons with the rich Irish blood in their veins, and of which only 26 are Catholics.

In South Victoria the Irish element swells to 10,519; the Scotch, 2,702; the English, 5,129; C. R., 4,165. In North Victoria the figures are, I., 23,638; S., 3,777; E., 2,920; C. R. 912. West Northumberland, I., 6,811; S., 2,944; E., 6,557; C. R., 2,796. East Northumberland, I., 6,583; S., 3,209; E., 6,714; G., 2,894; C. R., 2,781. West Peterborough, I., 5,794; S., 1,612; E., 3,354; C. R., 3,125. The Town of Peterborough contains no less than 2,066 of Irish blood, and 1,338 Catholics. East Peterborough, I., 7,774; S., 2,772; E., 3,137; C. R., 3,902. North Peterborough, I., 1,709; S., 563; E., 1,458; C. R., 481. Prince Edward, I., 5,906;

S., 1,378 ; E., 6,649 ; G., 4,866 ; Dutch, 634 ; C. R., 1,566. Hastings (west), I., 4,797 ; S., 1,572 ; E., 3,990 ; C. R., 3,350. Hastings (east), I., 8,324 ; S., 1,348 ; E., 3,678 ; C. R., 4,879. Hastings (north), I., 7,287 ; S., 2,200 ; E., 3,875 ; G., 1,266 ; Dutch, 1,014 ; C. R., 2,375. Lennox, I., 5,244 ; S., 1,478 ; E., 4,349 ; G., 4,649 ; C. R., 1,418. Addington, I., 9,429 ; S., 1,738 ; E., 3,459 ; G., 5,453 ; C. R., 4,333. Frontenac, I., 7,886 ; S., 1,958 ; E., 4,082 ; G., 1,040 ; French, 997 ; Dutch, 169 ; C. R., 4,479. Thus in Frontenac the Irish are nearly twice the number of English, and more than four times the Scotch. In the charming City of Kingston, the figures give I., 6,611 ; S., 1,621 ; E., 3,271 ; G., 199 ; French, 363 ; African, 102 ; C. R., 3,986. Leeds, lying snugly by the St. Lawrence, has a noble Irish population of 11,202 ; the Scotch numbering 2,416, and the English, 4,885 ; the German, 1,195 ; the French, 693 ; the Dutch, 101 ; C. R., 3,635. In pleasant Brockville the figures stand—I., 5,106 ; S., 1,579 ; E., 3,621 ; C. R., 1,904. Grenville, I., 6,761 ; S., 1,907 ; E., 2,939 ; G., 408 ; F., 626 ; D., 297 ; C. R., 3,064. Leeds and Grenville, I., 9,458 ; S., 1,272 ; E., 1,817 ; G., 322 ; F., 291 ; D., 141 ; C. R., 2,332. Dundas, I., 6,541 ; S., 2,485 ; E., 1,921 ; G., 5,563 ; F., 1,031 ; D., 1,112 ; C. R., 2,382. Stormont, I., 2,708 ; S., 3,571 ; E., 864 ; G., 2,220 ; F., 1,266 ; D., 1,203 ; C. R., 2,366. Cornwall, I., 1,483 ; S., 2,658 ; E., 757 ; G., 905 ; F., 967 ; D., 119 ; C. R., 3,370. Glengarry has properly a large Scotch population, the figures being,—I., 1,279 ; S., 15,899 ; E., 509 ; F., 2,607 ; C. R., 10,404. Prescott, I., 4,055 ; S., 2,546 ; E., 1,256 ; G., 147 ; F., 9,623 ; C. R., 11,774. Russell, I., 7,745 ; S., 2,870 ; E., 1,551 ; F., 5,600 ; C. R., 8,831. Ottawa, I., 8,021 ; S., 2,285 ; E., 3,721 ; F., 7,214 ; C. R., 12,735. Carleton, I., 16,774 ; S., 2,162 ; E., 1,700 ; C. R., 6,028 ; South Lanark, I., 11,007 ; S., 5,334 ; E., 2,026 ; F., 455 ; C. R., 4,313. North Lanark, I., 5,500 ; S., 5,539 ; E., 1,194 ; F., 410 ; C. R., 2,346. South Renfrew, I., 6,616 ; S., 4,077 ; E., 1,287 ; F., 1,266 ; G., 620 ; C. R., 6,347. North Renfrew, I., 6,949 ; S., 2,070 ; E., 1,371 ; F., 1,616 ; G., 1,698 ; C. R., 4,712. Nipissing (north and south), I., 509 ; S., 92 ; E., 122 ; F., 473 ; C. R., 778 south, and 640 north. Muskoka, I., 1,631 ; S., 1,027 ; E., 2,235 ; G., 321 ; C. R., 239. Parry Sound, I., 461 ; S., 266 ; E., 306 ; C. R., 247. Manitoulin, I., 110 ; S., 127 ; E., 132 ; C. R., 1,329. Algoma, I., 276 ; S., 552 ; E., 237 ; C. R., 2,027. Totals for Ontario, Irish,



559,442; Scotch, 328,889; English, 439,424. C. R., 274,162. Thus in Ontario, the Irish are as five to three to Scotchmen and persons of Scotch descent; and as five to four as regards those of English blood; and the Protestant Irish are nearly double the Catholic.

When we come to the Province of Quebec we find the Irish element the strongest after the French. Pontiac (south), I., 8,239; S., 1,897; E., 910; F., 3,195. Pontiac (north), I., 123; S., 68; E., 44; F., 260. Ottawa (west), I., 8,665; S., 1,298; E., 1,508; F., 11,531. Ottawa (centre), I., 1,376; S., 320; E., 556; F., 7,054. Ottawa (east), I., 1,119; S., 614; E., 286. Argenteuil, I., 4,080 S., 3,213; E., 1,443; F., 3,902. Deux Montagnes, I., 770; S., 348; E., 96; F., 13,972.

It is unnecessary to go much further into details as regards Quebec. In Montreal, the Irish element is very strong. In Montreal (centre), I., 969; S., 341; E., 479; F., 3,224. Montreal (east), I., 5,013; S., 1,580, E., 3,307; F., 35,569. Montreal (west), I., 19,394; S., 7,974; E., 9,099; F., 18,063. Thus in Montreal west, the Irish element is stronger than the French. In Huntingdon also, those of Irish, are more numerous than those of French blood. Huntingdon, (east), I., 4,112; S., 1,292; E., 825; F., 2,383. Huntingdon (west), I., 2,274; S., 1,892; E., 208; F., 2,541. In Quebec, as indeed in most cities the Irish are again numerous, the figures being I. 12,345; S., 1,861; E., 3,974; F., 40,890. The totals for the Province of Quebec show I., 123,478; S., 46,458; E., 69,822; F., 929,817; G., 7,963; C. R. 1,019,850. Of the 71,666 protestants, 62,449 belong to the Church of England.

In the Province of New Brunswick the Irish element ranks first. St. John I., 20,128; S., 5,785; E., 13,772; C. R., 17,829. In the City of St. John separately I., 15,605; S., 3,284; E., 8,557; C. R., 9,999. Charlotte, I., 10,154; S., 4,319; E., 10,783; C. R., 3,828. Kings whose undulating hills and green valleys recall Ireland, the figures are I. 10,841, S., 2,705; E., 8,279; G., 1,136; C. R., 3,522. Queens, I. 5,469; S., 2,142; E., 4,842; C. R., 1,331. Sunbury, I., 2,655; S., 552; E., 2,839; C. R., 1,031. York I., 9,695; S., 3,917; E., 9,577; C. R., 4,388. Carleton, I., 7,541; S., 2,570; E., 8,197; C. R., 2,416. Victoria, I., 1,696; S., 955; E., 1,509; C. R., 8,270. It is not necessary to go further into particulars. Enough to state that the totals of New Brunswick are as follows; I., 100,643; S., 40,858; E., 83,59

44,907; G. 4,478; Dutch 6,005; Welsh 1,096; Africans 1,701; C. R., 96,016.

In Halifax City the Irish predominate, the figures being I., 11,665; S., 4,817; E., 9,726; G., 1,469; C. R., 12,431. The totals for the whole of Nova Scotia are I., 62,851; S., 120,941; E., 113,520; G., 21,942; F., 32,833; Dutch 1208; African 6,212; C. R., 102,001.

In Prince Edward the number of persons of Irish blood is 31,060; S., 25,484; E., 21,878. In Manitoba the Irish element is not yet strong. But in due time, side by side with the Scotch and English, men of Irish blood are destined to possess those fertile regions. In British Columbia there are no statistics to hand. In Newfoundland the number of persons born in Ireland is nearly double that of those born in Scotland or in England. The population is 146,536, and what the proportion of Irish blood is it is not easy to say, but it is safe to assume that it is very large.

Newfoundland, which will, I hope, soon make part of the Dominion, is the first British colony established on this continent, and is supposed to have been discovered in the tenth century by Bjarne, son of Heriulf Bardson.\* But the first discovery, generally considered historical, is that of Cabot, whom King Henry VII

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\* Newfoundland is the oldest Colony of Great Britain in America, having been taken possession of by John and Sebastian Cabot for King Henry Seventh, in the year 1497 and called *Baccalaos*, the word used for cod fish by the natives. There is every reason to believe, however, that it was discovered long before, viz., in 1001, by Biron or Biorn who named that part where he landed Winland; he was a Norman; on his return he told of his discovery. "Lief," son of "Eric Redhead," immediately fitted out a vessel with thirty-five men, and taking Biorn with him, set out for the newly-discovered country. Afterwards settlements were made from Greenland and Iceland; it even appears that a Bishop was stationed there. Eric, Bishop of Greenland, having gone to Winland in 1121, where it is supposed he died. Subsequent adventurers discovered Latin books in possession of one of the chiefs, supposed to have belonged to the Bishop. The Island was subsequently called Estotiland. According to Anspach's History there is no doubt that Winland, Estotiland, and Newfoundland, are the same country. The native Indians, now extinct, or nearly so, are supposed to be degenerate descendants of the Norman settlers! In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of the harbour of St Johns, in the presence of all the ships there, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and established a colony. Colonies were afterwards established there by Sir George Calvert in the reign of James First—one of his (Calvert's) principal men, Daniel Powell, was, an Irishman; by the Marquis of Hamilton, in time of Charles First. Lord Falkland (Cary), in 1620, sent a colony of Irishmen there, but one cannot find their names. John Gray, a merchant of Bristol, made a good settlement in 1608; but then the great and chief inducement was the fisheries; gradually the country was found not to be the barren spot represented.—See *Anspach's History*.

chagrined at his own want of adventure in refusing to aid Columbus, despatched in the May of 1497 on a voyage of discovery. Then follow the visits of the Portuguese Cortereal in 1500; of the French Verazzani in 1525; of Jacques Cartier in 1534. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the most interesting of English adventurers, who had the gallantry and charm of his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, landed at St John's, took possession of the island in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and ere returning on that voyage, in which he was to meet his doom, promulgated laws. In 1610, Guy attempted to establish a colony at Conception Bay, and in 1615 Captain Whitbourne took steps to introduce law among the population. Other settlements followed, and in 1728 Newfoundland, released from the nominal control of Nova Scotia, was erected into a separate province. In most of these settlements there must have been a proportion of Irish, as in 1753, out of a total population of 13,112, part of which, however, was migratory, there were 4,795 Catholics, chiefly Irish.

In 1784, a great stimulus was given to Irish emigration to Newfoundland by the Rev. Father O'Donnell, a native of Tipperary, who had been educated at Prague, and who was attracted by the toleration prevailing on those shores to leave his native country, and settle with his people, beyond that ocean, which seemed to the men of those days so dividing. This learned divine was appointed, in 1796, Roman Catholic Bishop of the island. For aiding General Skerret in putting down a mutiny among a regiment raised there—a mutiny which was only part of a wide-spread disaffection, instinct with the principles and feelings of 1798—the bishop was granted by the Imperial Government an annuity of £50 sterling. Among the Irishmen who have risen to prominence here, D'Arcy McGee mentions the Hon. L. O'Brien, who administered the Province, Chief-Justice Brady, the Hon. Mr. Kent and the Hon. Mr. Shea, both of whom became premiers.

Bonnycastle writes that "more than one-half of the people are Irish; so much so indeed as, considering the verdure of the earth, the absence of reptiles, the salubrity of the air, and peculiar adaptation of the soil to the growth of the potato, to tempt one very often to call it 'Transatlantic Ireland.'" The same author

says: "The Irish are an excitable race, which they themselves do not affect to deny; they are easily led, but difficult to drive. But the good qualities of the Irish peasant abroad are very prominent, and here in Newfoundland they are so busily employed during a great part of the year, in very small and detached sections, that they have no time to think about politics, or about anything else but getting their bread for themselves and their families, to provide in time for a long, severe and serious winter. I declare, and I am sure I shall be borne out by every class of people in this country, and by all those whose domicile is a mere transient one, that a more peaceable, respectable, loyal, or a kinder-hearted race than the Newfoundland English and Irish, whether emigrants or native born, I never met with,"

Party political and religious spirit, however, ran high in the island. Many old country merry-making customs were kept up by the Irish population, amongst others, Bonnycastle particularizes that of the boys on St. Stephen's Day, going round from door to door with a green bush decorated with ribbons, &c., and containing a little bird to represent the wren, while they sing—

"The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,  
On St. Stephen's Day was caught in the firs."

St. Patrick's Day is also regularly celebrated. Both Protestants and Catholics generally unite, in compliment to each other, in observing the days of their respective saints, namely St. George and St. Patrick. "But the devotion," says Anspach, "with which the latter is honoured by the sons of Erin is by far the greater of the two." They also kept up the Sheelagh's Day. This is the day for getting sober.

The religious bodies in Newfoundland consist of the Church of England, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Independent, and the Methodist Churches. The Church of England and the Roman Catholic are by much the largest. The former was established by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and the mission in Newfoundland was one of the original objects of its care. William III., Prince of Orange, was the father and founder of this Society, which has since spread and done so much good. In the list of clergy of the Church of Eng-

land, in 1842, several Irish names appear. Amongst the names of governors of the island are a few Irish ones, and the most prosperous administration, up to 1842, was that of Sir Thomas Cochrane, who was appointed in 1826. His administration was a vigorous one, and he has the merit of having opened roads in the vicinity of the capital, and of directing great improvements in the town itself, whilst the cultivation of the soil consequent upon his indefatigable zeal in forming internal communications, began to be attended to, the wheat began to yellow the landscape, and good pasturage was provided for horses, cattle, and sheep. He built a Government-house of solid stone. Vigilant, farseeing, politic and princely, he retained his office until 1834, bestowing upon it great and unwearied attention, and displaying a magnificence in his vice-regal functions before unknown. In 1835, he obtained a new commission with very extensive powers, and was constituted, in point of fact and law, the first civil governor.

In 1830, the venerable and much beloved bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, the Irish Dr. Scallan died, universally lamented. He was succeeded by Dr. Fleming.

The first newspaper in Newfoundland was printed by an Irishman. *The Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser* was published on the 27th August, 1807, by Mr. John Ryan, and continued up to 1842 at all events, (the date of Bonnycastle's History) as the official Government paper under the title of the *Royal Gazette*. Mr. Ryan had then Mr. Withers associated with him at St. Johns.

The oldest Benevolent Association on the Island is the Benevolent Irish Society, which was founded in 1806.

Soon after the cession of Nova Scotia to the British Crown, at the pressing request of the New England Colonies, the British Government offered free grants of land to those military men who should elect to settle there; a free passage, together with tools, arms and rations for a year, being proffered as an inducement. On the 21st of June, 1849, four thousand disbanded soldiers, under Governor Cornwallis, arrived in Chebucto Harbour, and commenced the settlement of that town, which has since grown into a great city, with churches and cathedrals, with banks and school-houses, spacious public buildings, a score or more of hotels, stores which would take rank as specimens of architecture

in London, great manufactories, and a dockyard which covers fourteen acres. Over the splendid harbour alive with shipping, frown eleven different fortifications. It is the chief naval station of Canada. Two regiments of the line, besides artillery and engineers are always stationed here. Opposite the city stands the Town of Dartmouth, one of the prettiest in the world. The scenery is beautiful, and the natural beauty is enhanced by pretty villas along the shore. An extensive steam communication connects Halifax with various parts of Continental Canada, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, the United States, the West Indies and Great Britain. From east and west run admirable lines of railway. It has a population of some thirty-three thousand, and the value of its assessed property cannot be much less than \$20,000,000. The aggregate of its imports and exports is not at present much below \$18,000,000. Of the four thousand veterans, who thus early laid the foundation of the Liverpool of the Atlantic coast, a considerable number were undoubtedly Irish. The foundation of the City of Halifax was laid in 1749. Ten years after this, it was described in a contemporary account as divided into "Halifax proper, Irishtown, or the Southern, and Dutchtown or the northern suburbs." At this period the inhabitants numbered three thousand, one-third of whom were Irish. The President of the Irish Charitable Society was in 1755 appointed one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Nova Scotia.

If we examine the old books we shall find the fact that Nova Scotia was largely settled by Irishmen made clear. A book called "Nova Scotia Archives," gives a long list of the first settlers and among the names we find Neil, O'Neil, Fitzgibbon, Flynn, Cavanagh, Casey, Ryan, Fitzgerald, Whelan, Blake, Mooney, Connor, Owen, Magrath, Moore, Donahoe, Doyle, Sullivan, Kennedy, Farrell, Plunkett, Connolly and many others, undoubtedly Irish. Murdoch in his "History of Nova Scotia," gives many Irish names some of them belonging to men who played a prominent part in the government of that Province. Amongst the Justices of Peace and Agents to assign lands to settlers at Shelburne, appear the names of James McEwan, Peter Lynch, William C. White, Patrick Wall and Michael Langan; amongst the Privy Council for 1789

we find the Hon. Thomas Cochran and the Hon. Charles Morris. Either Morris or his son was afterwards President of the Irish Society. Mathew Cahill was Sheriff of Halifax that year, and a levee was held at the Government house on St. Patrick's day. Hon. Thomas Cochran amongst others was appointed a trustee of a Grammar School to be forthwith erected. This was, without doubt the first ever built in Halifax. Wm. Cochran, of Trinity College, Dublin, was chosen its first master.

On St. Patrick's day in 1796 a levee was held at the Government House. About 5 P. M., the Irish Society's dinner took place at Gallagher's. H. R. H. Prince Edward, Sir John Wentworth, some members of the Council, the Speaker and several members of the House attended as guests.

In the *Halifax Journal* of November, 1799, we learn that the Rev. J. Murdoch died at Musquodoboit, on Thursday, 21st of November, aged 55 years, that he was a native of Ireland and came over to the Province 32 years before, in 1767, as Presbyterian minister for Cumberland. He had been settled about eight years at Musquodoboit. His death was much lamented by the inhabitants of that settlement and by his family, he having left a widow and ten children. The historian mentions in a note that the old gentleman was his grandfather.

Rev. Geo. Wright, aged 67, who was long the Head Master of the Halifax Grammar School, died in 1819. He was Missionary of the Round Church, North Suburbs, and Chaplain to the Garrison of Halifax. He was an Irishman, and, says the obituary, "a most assiduous and conscientious instructor of youth." He had been trained at Trinity College, Dublin.

On St. Patrick's day, 1811, the members of the Irish Society celebrated the anniversary of the Saint, by dining with a large number of guests at the Masonic Hall. His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Major-General Balfour, with their respective suites, Commissioner Inglefield, the Hon. the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, the Commissary-General, the Captains of the Navy, the Garrison staff, and others were among the guests. The company sat down to dinner at half-past five. The Hon. Charles Morris, President; S. H. George Esq., acting as Vice-President. After the cloth was removed, upwards of forty toasts

were given, mostly bumpers, among which were: "The memory of the Pious St. Patrick;" "Our Venerable King, may the prayers of his loyal people be heard;" "The Prince of Wales and the British Constitution;" "The Duke of Clarence and the Navy;" "The Duke of Kent and the Knights of St. Patrick;" "The Queen and the rest of the Royal Family;" "The land we live in, and may it long be governed by its present benefactor, and may health and happiness ever attend him."

His Excellency thanked the Company for the honour done him. He considered the prosperity of the Province due, next to the industry of its inhabitants, to the effects of the wise and beneficent instructions of his Sovereign, which it was his happy lot to execute, and after representing in glowing colours the achievements of the British army in Spain and Portugal, and the heroic virtues of its commander-in-chief, gave as a toast "Lord Wellington," which was drunk with three times three, and the most enthusiastic applause. After that came, "The General and the Garrison;" "Admiral Sawyer and the squadron under his command."

His Excellency and most of the principal guests retired at nine o'clock. "The rest of the company," says the reporter of the *Halifax Gazette*, "sat to a very late hour." It is to be feared they had a bad head-ache the next morning.

The Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Burke, who died in 1820, in the 78th year of his age, was an Irishman, having been born in the County Kildare. He was Parish Priest of the Town of Kildare, which he vacated at the frequent and earnest solicitations of some of the Professors of the Seminary of Quebec, and arrived in Lower Canada the 2nd of August, 1780. There he officiated as a clergyman, and taught the higher branches of mathematics and philosophy, with great credit to himself and benefit to the students who crowded to hear the lectures of a man celebrated in the University of Paris as exceeding most men of his day in mathematical science, as also in the classics. He was particularly strong in the Greek and Hebrew languages. He taught in Quebec until Lord Dorchester appointed him, as a faithful and capable person, to reconcile the many powerful tribes of Indians inhabiting the country about Lake Superior and the back of the Ohio and Louisiana, who at that time manifested dispositions very hostile to the British



Government. Among these savage tribes of Indians he resided six or seven years, suffering great privations, nor did he return until he had fully accomplished the object of his mission. He instructed the benighted Indian in the principles of the Christian religion, and impressed on his mind a knowledge of the true God, by whose assistance he inculcated into his savage mind sentiments of loyalty, obedience, and lasting friendship for his great, worldly father, King George the Third. Government rewarded those important services by granting Dr. Burke a pension for life. His vanity would have been excited, if he had any, by the sincere and cordial friendship of the Duke of Kent, as also of every military and naval officer who successively commanded in British America during his time, all of whom entertained such an opinion of his sound judgment and zealous loyalty, as to consult him on the most important points of their intended operations before they put them into execution. His advice and opinion during the war of 1812 were greatly acknowledged by the two men who were then in command, and by them honourably reported to His Majesty's Ministers; who, in approbation of Dr. Burke's loyalty and learning, used their influence with the See of Rome to appoint him Bishop of Sion and Vicar Apostolic in Nova Scotia. The historian describes him as a tall, handsome, grave-looking man. Latterly he stooped a little in walking. His manners were cheerful, urbane and easy.

In 1821, Lawrence Kavanagh was returned to the Assembly for Cape Breton. He was a Roman Catholic, and would not subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, although willing to take the State oaths. He therefore did not take his seat. The following year, 1822, on the 25th February, a resolution was moved to the effect that a large number of the inhabitants of Cape Breton were Roman Catholics, and that Lawrence Kavanagh, one of the two members they had chosen to represent them, was of that creed; that though willing to take the State oaths, he could not conscientiously subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation; that he should be permitted on taking the former oaths to sit in the House until His Majesty's pleasure should be known, provided the Lieutenant-Governor approved.

This resolution was lost, 13 voting for and 17 against it.

Amongst the nays were the names of Roach and O'Brien. These voted against the motion fearing their friends were too precipitate. In 1827, Lawrence Kavanagh was again elected and still refused to sign the declaration. The Assembly met 1st February, but he was absent. On Feb. 26th, the Catholic petition, praying that an address be presented to His Majesty by the House to dispense with the declaration and test oaths, was presented by Mr. Uniacke, member for Cape Breton, and a resolution moved by him in accordance therewith was seconded by Judge Haliburton and ably spoken to by both. This no doubt had some effect. But the King's message absolving Catholics from the declaration was on its way. Accordingly we find that Lawrence Kavanagh was sworn in on 2nd April. The Roman Catholic petition was headed by one Mr. Carroll, who is referred to in Judge Haliburton's speech as his "old friend." The draft of the petition is in the hand-writing of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle.

We have just seen in what a liberal and enlightened manner the Catholics were treated in Nova Scotia. Their religion, proscribed by statute, was long tolerated by Governors more sagacious than the law. In 1763, a large and prosperous colony from the north of Ireland settled in Nova Scotia, and brought with them their household gods. They were Presbyterians to a man, and named the new settlement Londonderry. In the following year, large numbers of Irish Presbyterians were expelled from New England. The traveller who sails along the indented coast of the County of Cumberland, will see many a white sheet spread to the wind. He will enter spacious harbours. When he explores the country, he will be struck by pleasant homesteads, to which the Cobequid mountain forms a picturesque back-ground. He will visit a large and thriving mining population, who work the richest coal mines of the Province. He will observe thousands of grindstones manufactured from the underlying rock, and exported in vast quantities to the United States. He will discover that the country abounds in gypsum. If it is summer, the eye will rest on fields white with a hay crop, yielding annually \$1,500,000. He will find here flourishing, a population of twenty-four thousand. The rugged ridge shuts out the sea from the levels of Colchester, supporting a population equally large. Hants with its beautiful mountain, and smiling

valleys, and its hills of gypsum, supports a population of twenty-two thousand. An equal number subsists and flourishes amid the scenes of Longfellow's "Evangeline," the rich agricultural county of King's, with its comfortable and wealthy farms, its charming scenery, its commanding views, all the glory of Grand Pré, all the picturesque sublimity which fills the soul as we gaze from the top of Horton. One hundred and ten years ago, these great and thriving counties were a wilderness, when the expelled Irish Presbyterians from New England, axe and Bible in hand, set about the work of transformation. Later on, at the outbreak of the first American war, Irish loyalists came to their aid. Later still, when the guns of the second were being stowed away in armouries, Irish military men, the officer and the private, were impelled by the love of independence, when their regiments were disbanded at Halifax, to betake themselves to the bush. The Irish, including both Presbyterians and Catholics, formed in 1827, at the very lowest, a full half of the population. According to the census of 1861, the total population of Nova Scotia was 330,849, of which 80,281 were Catholics, all of Irish descent. 75,788 representing Colchester, Cumberland, Hants, and King's, were the descendants of the great fathers, who grappled with the wild a century before. Thus, looking at Presbyterian and Catholic Irish alone the proportion was sustained. We can only guess at the Irish element in the remainder of the population, but it could not be contemptible. In the census of 1871, the total given as of Irish origin is 62,851; figures which show how untrustworthy the table entitled the "Origins of the People" is, considered in any light of accuracy. The foible of many persons to describe themselves as of English descent, and similar foibles are well known. The absurdity of these figures, in the light of historical facts, will be made more clear, when we state that the number given as of Irish origin in the City of Halifax alone, is 29,098. D'Arcy McGee loved to point out that a large proportion of the first names in Nova Scotia belonged to either Protestant or Catholic Irish. Among the former, lead the Inglis, Cochrans, Heads, Uniackes; among the latter, the Kavanaghs, Boyles, Tobins, Kenneys, O'Connors, Doyles, and others. Long before the Emancipation Act, Michael Kavanagh's sitting for Cape Breton, was connived at. Mr.

O'Connor Doyle was admitted to practise as a barrister. Since those days, such names as Walsh in law, and Compton in literature, appear.

We are able, owing to the industry and research of Mr. Thomas Millar, of Truro, to give something like an accurate idea of the part the Irish took in building up, at least, one county; and from one case a general inference must be drawn. On the 9th October, 1761, Colonel Alexander McNutt, agent of the British Government, arrived in Halifax, with upwards of three hundred settlers from the north of Ireland. In less than a week they were landed on what is now called McNab's island. Throughout the following months they remained about Halifax. Having, during the winter, endured considerable hardship, in the spring of 1762 some went to Horton, some to Windsor, some to Londonderry, some to Onslow, and others to Truro. In the year, 1765, the inhabitants of Truro obtained a grant of land from the Government, among the grantees being Alexander Millar, the grandfather of the author of the book referred to above, and the youngest son of Alexander Millar, who, with his wife and children, emigrated from Belfast, in the year 1718. The Millars are a large family now in Nova Scotia. Alexander Millar, born in Truro, April 22nd, 1769, was one of the first and ablest advocates of Total Abstinence, in Nova Scotia. In his address in 1834, to the Society of which he was Vice-President, he said: he wished to put on record what he had witnessed in regard to the traffic in the use of ardent spirits. In 1773, there was one barrel of rum sold in Truro; the next year, one puncheon; the next, three puncheons; the ratio of increase going forward, until in 1831, sixty puncheons were sold. In the early days, the people of Truro were famed for their sobriety; they were sober, orderly and hospitable; but as the trade increased, and with it the use of ardent spirits, the people generally sank in reputation, and many of the most respectable among them fell before the destroyer. Total abstinence was the only way of defeating the "adversary." Two years before, only eighteen persons were found to embrace this principle. A year after the commencement of the movement, the number stood at 133; the figures rising in twelve months more to 175. The evidence of thousands who had made the experiment, was conclusive against moderate drinking. It was presumption for any man to

think he could follow with impunity that path of ruin. Nor was he without help from other Irishmen. In 1756, three brothers, Samuel, Matthew, and Francis Creelman, emigrated from Ireland to Nova Scotia. Samuel settled in Upper Steviack, County of Colchester; the other two elsewhere; and all grew prosperous. One of the sons of Samuel was called after himself. He had six sons, the second of whom, William Creelman, was the father of the Hon. Samuel Creelman, and the fourth, the grandfather of one of the law firm of Macarthy, Hoskin, Plumb, & Creelman, Toronto. William Creelman was a delegate in 1832, from Upper Steviack, asking the county sessions from the County of Colchester not to grant a license to any person to sell spirituous liquors. When the petitions were read, there was a majority of the justices in favour of not granting licenses. But the presiding judge was dissatisfied with the opinion expressed by the justices.

In 1762, the founders of the Archibald family arrived from Ireland. David Archibald was a leading man in society, and was the first Justice of the Peace settled in Truro. He was also the first who represented the Truro Township in Parliament. He took his seat, June 5th, 1766. His name stands at the head of the list of elders of the Presbyterian Congregation, chosen in the summer of 1770. He seems to have been of a somewhat stern character. When a man was brought before him for theft, his sentence was "that the thief should be tied to a cart and driven from the hill across the river-dam round the parade and back to the hill again, and that the driver should use the whip more freely on the thief than on the horse." He was forty-five years old when he arrived in Nova Scotia, having been born in Londonderry on the 20th September, 1717. He was married to Elizabeth Elliott on May 19th, 1741. His eldest son Samuel was born the following year.

This man's career was somewhat varied and unhappy, though he must have had a happy humour. Born, like his father in Londonderry, he became member for Truro Township in the House of Assembly, was indeed elected twice in 1775, and again in 1777. "He was," says his biographer "full of sport," and we get the following instance. On one occasion, when a number of men were engaged dyking in the marsh, the men, as was the cus-

tom in those days, took their dram in the middle of the afternoon, and lay down to have a little rest. They all fell asleep, whereupon Archibald took every man's spade, and fastened each one of them down to the marsh by the queue of his hair. In 1779 he started for the West Indies with a cargo of boards and horses. When on his way to the Bay he rode up to the shop door of one John Smith, and said to him: "Come, Smith, let us take a parting drop." When Smith was about to take the drop, Archibald snatched the bottle away, and rode off laughing. In fact the bottle contained fish oil. "While he was in the West Indies," we are told, "he received foul treatment from a British officer, and died there suddenly, leaving a widow and six young children."

David Archibald, the father of this man, and whose career has been already glanced at as the founder of the Archibalds, was assisted in this work by three brothers. How much they and their descendants must have done for Nova Scotia may be gathered from the fact that it takes nearly eighty pages demi-octavo to recount the number and exploits, the marrying and giving in marriage, of the Archibalds.

Among those who came in the ship "Hopewell," under the guidance of Colonel McNutt, was Robert Barnhill, with his wife, his son, and three daughters, with their husbands and families. This family also contributed their share to peopling the waste, as is evidenced by their descendants, the Barnhills, Deyarmonds, Bairs, &c. Another family brought out by the "Hopewell" was that of James Crow, consisting of six sons and one daughter.

Earlier than the "Hopewell," came what is known as the "starved ship." She arrived in 1760, having many Irish emigrants on board. She was so scantily supplied with provisions that, long before the voyage was over, each passenger was put on an allowance of one pint of oatmeal and a little water. A Mr. Fisher begged from the mate a tablespoonful of water, which was refused him, there being but two thirds of a bottle on board. The man used to moisten a spoonful of oatmeal with salt water, and so eat it. In this manner passengers and crew existed for fourteen days. At last they saw with hideous joy death seize on the weaker ones among them. Fisher must have recalled all he had

heard of the Siege of Derry, as over the covetous repast he and his fellows hung.

“ Part was divided, part thrown in the sea,  
 And such things as the entrails and the brains  
 Regaled two sharks, who followed o'er the billow —”

Sailors and passengers ate the rest. At last even this resource failed. In fact, the weak did not die quick enough. Then

“ The lots were made, and mark'd and mix'd and handed  
 In silent horror, and their distribution  
 Lull'd even the savage hunger which demanded,  
 Like the Promethean vulture, this pollution ;  
 None in particular had sought or plann'd it,  
 'Twas nature gnaw'd them to this resolution,  
 By which none were permitted to be neuter —”

and the lot fell on our poor friend Fisher, only nineteen years of age. Just at the moment when the butcher was lifting his knife to slay, a vessel hove in sight and responded to their signals of distress. Fisher was saved for other worms than his own kind. So deep an impression did the horrors of the voyage make on him that throughout his whole after life he could never see without pain the least morsel of food wasted, nor a pail of water carelessly cast to earth. He was a religious man. He married three times, had twelve children, eleven of whom arrived at adult age, and four of whom lived to an average age of ninety-one years. His descendants, in 1850, numbered nine hundred and fifteen, scattered through nearly all the States of the Union, through Nova Scotia, and through Ontario and Quebec. He himself died in New Hampshire.

Other families which came about the same time, were those of James Johnson and John Johnson, whose descendants are numerous in Nova Scotia to-day. In those days also came the Hunters, as did the Teas', the Dickeys, the McConnells. There was another Fisher besides the one mentioned above—William Fisher, who was born in Londonderry in 1716; and who, having married one of the Archibalds, removed to New Hampshire, in 1743, only again to return to Truro in 1762. He represented Truro for five years. Other Irish families were the Moores and Downings, the O'Briens and Hamiltons, the Fultons and the Creelmans. To these last I have already referred. It takes thirty pages to recount the

descendants of the three brothers. Hon. Samuel Creelman, who holds the most prominent position of any person of his name in Nova Scotia, is, as we have seen, the grandson of Samuel Creelman the emigrant. His mother was the great-granddaughter of David Archibald, with whom I have already dealt. The Hon. Mr. Creelman is the President of the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance, and Vice-President of the Young Men's Christian Association for the Maritime Provinces. He has been Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Grand Division Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia; Financial Secretary and a member of the Executive Council, Nova Scotia, from 1851 until 1856; Chief Gold Commissioner from 1862 until 1863; a second time a member of the Government in 1867; sat for Colchester in Nova Scotia Assembly from 1847 to 1851; for South Colchester from 1851 to 1855, when he was defeated; appointed to the Legislative Council in 1862; resigned the same year on being appointed Gold Commissioner; he was re-appointed to the Legislative Council in 1867; he has been a justice of the peace since 1843. Mr. Creelman is a "Liberal" in politics.

A fine specimen of the energetic Irishman was the late Hon. James Cochran, a member of the Executive Council, whose name has not yet disappeared from the Parliamentary Companion. He first saw light in Granard, Longford, in 1802. He emigrated to Halifax in 1825 and immediately commenced to build up his career as an enterprising young colonist. He possessed energy, judgment sound and vigorous, and soon began to take a position in the van of his contemporaries. In 1829, he married Miss Catharine Walsh, of Wexford, Ireland. She died in 1874. By energy, perseverance and integrity, Mr. Cochran soon built up a good fortune. He was a director of the People's Bank and also of the Acadia Fire Insurance Company. Twice he was chosen President of the Charitable Irish Society.

Mr. Cochran was long identified with the political struggles of Nova Scotia. He belonged to that influential class of Catholics in the Province of Nova Scotia who act with the Reform party. His direct active political history commenced in 1867, when he became a candidate for the Local Assembly in the interests of the Anti-confederate party. He added undoubted strength to the party, as was seen on the 15th of September, 1867. When a Govern-



ment was formed in 1867 by the Anti-confederates, Mr. Cochran was selected for a seat in the Executive. In 1871, he preferred to retire from the more exciting scenes of the Lower House, and was therefore appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council. Perhaps the Union Party had meanwhile made menacing progress.

“ This,” says an obituary notice in the *Acadian Recorder*, “ is a summary of the outer life of the great man whose memory we are seeking to honour. His private charities—his benevolent acts—his kindly sympathies, his pious endeavours, his private virtues, these are only recorded by the All-seeing Searcher of men’s hearts. It is not necessary for us to dwell on this side of the departed’s life. His career is known to all. No man ever ventured to impeach his honour or call in question his integrity of purpose. For over three score years and ten the deceased has gone in and out day after day among his fellow-citizens. In his mercantile, political, social and religious relations, his life has been open to every one, and there is no one in Halifax to stand up and prefer a charge against him in any of these relations. As a merchant he was honest and generous ; as a politician he was sincere, faithful and scrupulous ; as a citizen he was kind, just and beneficent ; as a Catholic he was devout, pious and devoted. He has gone ; another of that race of veterans whose enterprise has helped to build up this city, and whose wisdom and sagacity have aided in moulding our institutions. He was an example for his own and for all times. His career stands out clear and bright for the imitation of all men. We know not where his place is to be filled. Unfortunately we have too few men of the stamp of James Cochran. Let us prize his worth and cherish the memory of his eminent virtues.” Making all allowance for the latitude of an obituarist, such statements regarding matters of fact in a community where Mr. Cochran was known, could only be made where a man had deserved the eulogy.

A brother Senator, who happily survives, the Honourable Peter Smyth, was born the same year, 1802, in Ireland. He emigrated to Nova Scotia early, and was educated there. He was married twice, in the first instance to a Miss O’Grady, in the second instance to a Miss Helen Keating. Unlike Cochran, Smyth is a Conservative.

In the Legislative Assembly we have William Henry Alison, of

the Donegal Alisons; Donald Archibald, J.P., the son of Samuel Archibald, on whose joyous career, with its fatal close I have just dwelt; John B. Dickie; E. Farrell, M.D., of the Waterford Farrells; Philip Carteret Hill (the Provincial Secretary), the son of Captain N. T. Hill, of the Royal Staff Corps, who was stationed at Halifax after the war of 1812. While there he married and left the service. The father of Captain Hill was Major Hill, of Cork, who was for some time the Quarter-master General at Waterford. Mr. P. C. Hill, was born at Halifax, in 1821, educated at King's College, Windsor, and called to the bar in 1841. He married the grand-daughter of Chief Justice Haliburton, and daughter of the late Hon. E. Collins. He was elected Mayor of Halifax, for three consecutive terms. He is the author of the "Unity of Creation," a lecture, and "The United States and British Provinces contrasted from personal observation." Mr. Hill is a Liberal Conservative.

In the Dominion Parliament we find Patrick Power, M.P. for Halifax, who has been Alderman and Commissioner of Schools, President of the Charitable Irish Society, &c. He is an independent supporter of the Reform party. The son of this gentleman is in the Senate.

When we come to New Brunswick, the "Origins of the People" put down as of Irish origin 100,634, out of 285,594, a little more than the same proportion as the Catholics, though it is well known there have been many Protestant settlements, and the proportion of French origin is only 44,907. Still we have in New Brunswick more than a third and less than one-half.

Until 1784, New Brunswick formed part of the old French Province of Acadia, afterwards, under English rule, called Nova Scotia. In the August of that year information was received by the packet from Falmouth that the Province of Nova Scotia was to be divided, and the lands lying on the north side of the Bay of Fundy were to be erected into a new Government, under the name of New Brunswick. Colonel Thomas Carleton, brother of that great Irishman Guy Carleton, was appointed first Governor.

The division was hailed with delight by the inhabitants of the new Province. The new Governor, on his arrival, was presented with an address. Murdoch, in his History, says he was ad-

dressed by His Majesty's exiled loyalists from different parts of the American continent resident on St. John's river. They call him "the brother of our illustrious friend and patron Sir Guy Carleton," and designate themselves "a number of oppressed and insulted loyalists." They were they said formerly freemen, and again hoped to be so under his auspices. They congratulated himself, his lady and family, on his "safe arrival to this new world to check the arrogance of tyranny, crush the growth of injustice, and establish such wholesome laws as had ever been the basis of the glorious British Constitution." They also alluded to him as having been Colonel of the 29th Regiment, in the late rebellion. To this address he replied in modest and moderate terms. "The expressions," says Murdoch, "used in this document appear to be tinctured with resentment against the Government of Nova Scotia." Murdoch himself, a Nova Scotian, does not admit there were any causes of complaint. He says: "Great allowance should be made for men who, by the events of the civil war, were forced to exchange their once happy homes for a country in a wilderness state, a milder climate for a more rugged one, and who were in a manner drifting on a disastrous current."

It is evident that New Brunswick, when set apart, was almost altogether composed of settlers from the rebellious colonies of America. That afterwards there was a large Irish emigration there can be no doubt. If you look over the files of New Brunswick papers, you will find them full of Irish names. In the County of Gloucester, New Brunswick, there is a settlement originally of about eighty families, from Bandon—"merry Bandon town"—from which their town has been called "New Bandon." The representation in the House of Commons ought to be a pretty good criterion to go by; which, according to the speech of Mr. Waller is as follows:—Scotch, five; English, seven; Irish, four.

Among the loyalists there were men who could boast of Irish birth. The most noted of these was Colonel John Murray, of Rutland, Massachusetts, one of those colonial noblemen who lived upon their estates after the traditions of the mother country. He was, in addition to being a colonel in the militia, a Mandamus Councillor, and a member of the General Court. On the night of the 25th of August, 1774, he abandoned his house and fled to Bos-

ton. He accompanied the royal army to Halifax. In 1779 he lost his extensive estates under the Conspiracy Act. He subsequently settled in St. John, where he built a residence on Prince William Street. A part of the lot is now the well-known Chipman estate. His grandson, a member of the Executive Council, has his portrait by Copley. There is a bayonet-hole through the wig, and the family tradition runs that having been disappointed in finding him, the rebels, who had suddenly attacked his house, pierced his portrait with a bayonet. In person he was tall being six feet three inches, and well proportioned. One of his daughters married the Honourable Daniel Bliss, who was Chief Justice and Executive Councillor of the Province. Her daughter Hannah was mother of the Honourable Samuel Allan Wilmot, ex-Governor of New Brunswick. Another married the Honourable Joshua Upham, Judge of the Supreme Court, and a member of the Council. Frances Chandler, wife of Honourable John W. Weldon, Speaker of the House of Assembly, was the daughter of Mrs. Upham and grand-daughter of Colonel Murray. Her son,—the Reverend Charles Wentworth Upham, late pastor of the First Church at Salem, Massachusetts, is the author of the well-known biography of Sir Henry Vane.

At St. Martins, a number of Irishmen are settled; notable among them being the Skillens—Andrew and Robert, natives of Killyleagh, County Down, who came to this country in 1847. Their handsome residences within half a mile of each other, add to the appearance of the village, and betoken a spirit of improvement in the owners.

This spirit of improvement does not end in the private residences, but is also noticeable in public improvements. Foremost here, stands the Masonic Hall, a credit at once to the village and to the fraternity who occupy it. The lower part is used as a public hall. The village owes to Andrew Skillens a debt of gratitude for his enterprise in building this beautiful hall, and furnishing a magnificent room for public meetings.

Not satisfied with erecting comely buildings, finding a great want of communication with the outside world, Andrew Skillens has built a steamboat called the "Earl Dufferin," to ply between St. Martins and St. John for the accommodation of the public.

This new enterprise, the Government recognised as a necessity, and voted a subsidy of \$1,000 per year, to make it a success. The wharf accommodation at St. Martins being entirely private property, and not being all that was required for a sea-going steamer, Mr. Skillens built wharves, warehouses, coal-sheds, offices, &c. There are many other Irish families in the vicinity, who have made their mark.

When you take up a St. John business directory, you find it full of Irishmen—Dunns, from Londonderry; Carvills, from County Down, and the like.

William Parks, the founder of the first New Brunswick cotton mill was born in Ireland, in 1800, and emigrated to New Brunswick in 1822, with a stock mostly of linen. He went into the grocery and shipping business, and subsequently into dry goods. In 1846, he associated with himself, his son, Samuel Parks, under the style of William Parks & Son. Samuel died in 1863. William having some business connected with his shipping interest to transact in England, embarked on the steamer "City of Boston," in 1870, which was never heard from. He had been for seven years President of the Commercial Bank. He was President of the Western Extension Railway from its organization to its completion to McAdam, and up to his death. Boldly speculative he had for some time entertained the project of manufacturing cotton goods, and made it a subject of careful study, and, in 1861, he entered upon the great enterprise. He was joined by his second son, John H. Parks, who, as a civil engineer, had for several years been in the service of the Intercolonial Railway Company. This gentleman is now sole proprietor of the works.

A brick mill, 110 x 50 feet, and three stories in height, was at once erected, and the requisite machinery was selected in England by the present proprietor for the manufacture of the ordinary cotton grey cloth, to which they confined their operations for a year or two. Twenty-four looms were first set up, the number being soon increased to fifty-two. The cotton yarn was at that time all imported. When a great opportunity occurred Parks was ready to use it. With the American war, cotton became so dear that manufacturers abroad were forced to use the cheapest qualities, and the cotton yarn they produced became so inferior and un-

satisfactory, that Messrs. Parks & Son decided to enter upon the manufacture of a good article in whose production they used the best American cotton, improved machinery and skilful workpeople. The success exceeded their expectations, and they were able to put their yarn upon the market at but a slight advance over the inferior English article. With Confederation they found their goods so much in demand, that they devoted all their attention and machinery to the production of yarn, which soon attained as high a reputation in the Dominion, as it enjoyed in New Brunswick.

The success of this manufacture has been remarkable. Twelve years ago all the cotton yarn used in the Dominion was imported. Now scarcely any is brought over, and three-fourths of all used in the Dominion is made at this establishment. The works now cover nearly an acre with substantial brick buildings. The quantity of cotton used at the mill is over two thousand bales annually, and the production of yarn about fifteen thousand pounds per week. The number of workpeople employed is about two hundred.

Guy Stewart & Co., from Newry, are large lumberers. John Boyd is a great merchant, who emigrated to New Brunswick, or rather was brought by his mother there, in 1833, when he was three years old. In 1838 he entered the house, in which he became partner. Mr. Boyd has a good oratorical faculty. John Hegan emigrated from Belfast in 1828; James McNichol, from the County Tyrone, in 1807; R. C. Scarl from the King's County; the Hutchinsons, of Londonderry; Rev. P. Butler, of Dublin; the Haywards, of King's County; Carson Flood, Thomas Furlong, and Alexander McDermott. John W. Nicholson, from the County Down, the large ship-owner and general commission merchant, is one of St. John's wealthiest and most solid men. John Anderson, only son of the late James Baird Anderson, was born in Belfast, on the 20th of February, 1812, and came to St. John in 1840, where he was a prosperous merchant for twenty-five years, retiring from business in 1865. In 1835 he was elected a member of the Belfast Society, a club established for local and municipal purposes. In St. John, he has been for many years connected with the St. John Mutual Fire Insurance Company; was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1865, and has been an active member of the sessions.

In the Legislative Council, we have Hon. William Lindsay ; in the Assembly, Butler ; Elder ; T. M. Kelly, a member of the Executive Council ; Robinson, Rogers, Ryan, Willis.

In the Dominion Parliament, the son of Mr. John Costigan is well known. The latter, a cousin of the late Francis Meagher, was a native of Kilkenny, and brought up to mercantile pursuits in the office of Meagher's father. In 1830 he moved to Lower Canada, bringing with him his family, settling at Quebec. Here he was almost at once employed as agent for Sir John Caldwell, who, before the era of responsible Government, was Treasurer for the Imperial authorities, and was, privately, an enterprising speculator. In 1840, Mr. Costigan left Quebec for the Province of New Brunswick, to take charge of extensive mills Sir John Caldwell was erecting there. He took with him his family, among whom was his younger son, John, born in Quebec, 1835. This son is the gentleman who now represents Victoria and Madawaska Counties, New Brunswick, in the Dominion House of Commons. John Costigan, the younger, received all his education in Victoria College, New Brunswick, with the exception of two years spent at St. Anne's College, Province of Quebec. He began his political career in 1860, when he was returned for the Provincial House, and held his seat there until Confederation, since which time he has represented the same constituency in the House of Commons. He was at first opposed to the Confederation scheme, but when it was carried he gave it his full support. Mr. Costigan has for some time been regarded as the spokesman of the Irish Roman Catholics of New Brunswick in the House of Commons, and though pressing their claims in some delicate instances, he has, it is said, always been able to retain his popularity with the large body of Protestant electors which exists in his constituency.

Mr. Costigan has contested seven elections, and been defeated but once, which was owing to his opposition to the Confederation scheme. Of the family of the elder Mr. Costigan, four daughters and two sons survive.

A legal luminary is the Hon. Charles Walters, of St. John, County Judge, and Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court; he was born at St. John, on the 26th November, 1818. He is the son of

Wicklow parents who came to this country about the year 1800. Judge Walters was educated at St. John County Grammar School, where he distinguished himself as a classical scholar, and was awarded the corporation gold medal for that branch of study. In 1840 he began the study of law under Judge Ritchie, and was enrolled a barrister in 1847. In 1854 he entered on his political career, but was defeated. In November, the following year, he was elected to represent the County of Victoria, for which constituency he was again returned in 1857. In November, 1855, one month after his first election, he was called to a seat in the Executive, and was the first Roman Catholic in the Province who enjoyed that distinction. In 1857, he was appointed Solicitor-General, an office he held for many years. In 1861, he and the present Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Tilley, were returned for the City of St. John, in the Liberal interest. Like D'Arcy McGee, Judge Walters was a warm advocate of Confederation. A fluent and logical speaker, firm in his principles, but liberal in his ideas, and courteous in his manner, he embodies all that need be looked for in a representative Irishman. A St. John journalist writing of him in 1865, says: "Through his exertions the criminal code is now in an excellent state, being almost the same as the English law, so that in its execution our judges and legal men have the advantage of the criminal judgments of the English Bench." A good draughtsman, the Intercolonial Railway Act of 1863, the Militia Act, the Railway Facility Act, and various local laws, were all the production of his pen. In the Legislature Mr. Walters was emphatically a working man. Judge Walters received his appointment as County Judge in 1867, and was made Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court, October, 1876.

We have not mentioned a hundredth part of the names we might mention. There are still the McGaws, the Philips, Patrick Robinson and family, U. E. Loyalists, and many others.

It is a significant fact that the political press of New Brunswick is mainly controlled by Irishmen. The most distinguished of the editors is the Hon. Timothy Warren Anglin, Speaker of the House of Commons. Mr. Anglin came to St. John in 1848, and in the following year started the *Morning Freeman*, first as a weekly, and shortly after as a tri-weekly. Both issues still con-



tinue. He sat in the Provincial Assembly for St. John County from 1861 till 1868, and has represented Gloucester in the House of Commons since the confederation of the provinces in 1867. He was elected Speaker in 1874.

The *Evening Globe* became the property of John V. Ellis and Christopher Armstrong, in 1861—the latter being an Irishman, and the former born in Nova Scotia, being of Irish parentage. Mr. Ellis is now Postmaster of St. John, Mr. Armstrong remaining sole editor. The *Daily News*, the oldest paper in the city, is the property of the Hon. Edward Willis, an Irishman, and a member of the New Brunswick Government. He has represented the City and County of St. John since 1870. The *St. John Telegraph* was started by John Livingstone, son of Mr. Livingstone, for many years Customs Officer at Richibucto, N. B., (an Irishman) in 1862, since which time it has become one of the leading organs of the Maritime Provinces. He sold the *Telegraph* in 1871, and began the *Watchman*, which has already taken its place in the front rank of Canadian journals. Mr. Livingstone is one of the most pithy and spirited writers in Canada. William Elder, at present member of the Provincial Parliament, an Irishman, started the *Morning Journal* in 1865 as a tri-weekly and weekly, which, at a subsequent period was merged in the *Telegraph*, of which journal he is now the proprietor. New Brunswick is greatly indebted to this gentleman who has stimulated its business activity, and promoted general intelligence.

Among the clergy you find the Rev. James Bennet, now minister of St. John Presbyterian Church, who was born in 1817 in Lisburn, County of Down. The first of the family, with two brothers having come from France, and being of Huguenot faith, had settled among the Irish Presbyterians. From these, the most, if not all of the Bennets of the North of Ireland are descended. Mr. Bennet finished his education in the classical school of the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast, under the head-mastership of the Rev. Thomas Dix Hincks, father of Sir F. Hincks. On March 30th, 1843, he was ordained to the charge of a church, County of Armagh. Having been invited by the Presbyterian Church, St. John, to become their pastor, he arrived there on the 3rd March, 1854, and was duly inducted by the Presbytery of St. John, in the

June following. In this church he has continued to officiate ever since.

He has written a great deal for the public, especially since coming to St. John. His unacknowledged pieces are very numerous. He edited the *Canada Presbyterian*, started by the Rev. Wm. Elder, for some time. In that periodical many of Mr. Bennet's sermons have appeared. His sermon preached as Moderator of the Synod of the Church of the Lower Provinces on "The Divinity of Christ, deduced from his character and claims," is an admirable specimen of close reasoning and pulpit eloquence, and added considerably to his fame as a preacher. His "Wisdom of the King" is a delightful book.

Rev. David Montgomery Maclise, D.D., was born near Finvoy, County Antrim. His parents were members of the Presbyterian Church there. From childhood, he was trained up under the influence of religious principles, and very early in life resolved by God's grace to become a minister of the Gospel.

He was for a time classical teacher in the West Jersey Collegiate School, conducted by the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., son of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, of Princeton Seminary; was head master in Bath Academy in Ontario, then Canada West, preaching always on the Sabbath, and many other occasions; lecturing on Temperance, and doing a vast amount of gratuitous labour. Having thus had a theoretical and practical training for the work of the ministry, he determined to devote himself exclusively to it. He had two of what is called "calls," the one to Hopewell, and the other to Montgomery, Orange County, New York, the latter of which he accepted.

Another ornament of the Presbyterian Church is Dr. Irvine. By him the question of "Instrumental Music," was first introduced into the General Assembly of Canada. He got an overture which he penned, carried by the Session of Knox Church, Montreal. He introduced the overture to the Presbytery of Montreal, which was duly licensed and transmitted to the General Assembly. By the Supreme Court it was sent down in terms of the "Barrier Act" to Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions, and after a severe contest spreading over several years, his overture became virtually the law of the General Assembly as it now exists. He was very

much worried and severely criticised, especially by some of his warmest friends.

The Rev. Alexander McLeod Stavely, was born in the Parish of Loughguile, County Antrim. He studied at the Belfast Academical Institution. Afterwards, he went to the University of Edinburgh. He attended the prelections of such professors in the Philosophical and Theological classes as Professor John Wilson, and Dr. Thomas Chalmers. In the Moral Philosophy class presided over by the former, known to literature as "Christopher North," he gained a leading prize. Having finished his literary course, Mr. Stavely received license in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and preached for a short time to congregations in the Province of Ulster. He then accepted an invitation to go to New Brunswick, and was ordained by the Northern Presbytery at Kilraughts, County Antrim, in the month of May, 1841, to the office of the holy ministry, and pastoral charge of the missionary station at St. John, New Brunswick.

He arrived at St. John, the place of his future and present labours, in the fall of the same year, and is now the senior minister of that city. Several sermons, addresses and speeches by Mr. Stavely have been published, amongst them, "The Perpetuity of the Gospel," "Redeeming the Time," "The Life and Times of John Knox," "A Word for the Reformed Presbyterian Church."

Prince Edward Island was one of the first discoveries of Cabot, who named it St. John, after the day of its discovery. It was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, still retaining its name of St. John. It was not largely settled by Irish, but mainly by the Scotch and French. A census of the province, taken in 1798, shows but few Irish names. Still there are some, such as Cochran, Wholan, Flynn, Burke, Moore, Flannigan, Carroll, &c.

The first governor appointed was Captain Walter Patterson, an Irishman, and the grand-uncle of Mr. A. T. Todd, Toronto. He arrived, with other officers, in 1770.\* He was one of the largest landed proprietors, and had an Act passed by the Assembly in

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\* A younger brother settled at Baltimore, U. S., and his daughter Elizabeth was married on 27th Dec., 1803, to Jerome Bonaparte. This marriage was afterwards declared null by his brother, the Emperor Napoleon. Madame Patterson Bonaparte is still alive, as also a son by the marriage, who is a colonel in the French army.

1780, changing the name of the island to "New Ireland." This was without petitioning the Imperial Government. The Home Government, however, took umbrage at the high-handed manner in which the Act was passed, and disallowed it. He applied again in 1783, by petition, for a change of the name, and got for answer that it would be taken into consideration. Campbell declares that had the first application been made by petition to the King, it is extremely probable that the proposed change of name would have been adopted. The name was changed to Prince Edward in honour of the Duke of Kent, in 1798. Governor Patterson was not at all popular, at least he had a good many enemies, who placed his conduct in an unfavourable light before the Home Government; questions connected with the land, which had always been a fruitful source of trouble in the Province, being the main ground of complaint against him. He was certainly inclined to be arbitrary in some measures; but his motives seem to have been honest. His letters to his friend Stuart, also one to Lord Sydney, define matters from his point of view. During his rule of seventeen years he laid out the principal part of the island. He was recalled in 1787, and General Edmund Fanning appointed in his place. Governor Fanning was of Irish descent. His grandfather came to America with Earl Bellemont in 1699. The Honourable T. Des Brisay, another Irishman, was administrator of the government during the temporary absence of Governor Patterson in England. There must have been at least one Irish settlement in the island, to account for the "District of Belfast."

One of the most popular governors of the island was Sir Dominick Daly, of whom we shall see a good deal when treating of the struggle for responsible government in Canada. He arrived 12th June, 1854; his administration was marked by great progress and success; several important Acts were passed, the only difficulty being the vexed land question, which always was a trouble. Sir Dominick left about 1859. In his speech proroguing the House previous to his departure, he expressed his gratification at the harmony which had subsisted between the executive and the other branches of the legislature during the whole course of his administration, to which the uninterrupted tranquillity of the island during the same period might in a great measure be attributed.

The Rev. Theophilus Des Brisay was a native of Thurles, County Tipperary, and was born October, 1754. He arrived in the island in 1775, having been appointed by royal warrant the year previous to "the parish of Charlotte," of which parish he remained rector till his death, which occurred in 1823. He was the only Protestant clergyman on the island till the year 1820. A man of sterling character, and a faithful servant of his Divine Master, he was subjected, in the discharge of his sacred duty, to privations of which the present generation have happily no experience. The Rev. Dr. James Macgregor writes of him: "I was always welcome to preach in his church, which I uniformly did when I could make it convenient. His kindness ended not but with his life."

The Honourable Edward Whelan died at his residence in Charlottetown, on the 10th of December, 1867. He was born in County Mayo, in 1824, and received the rudiments of education in his native town. At an early age he emigrated to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Shortly after his arrival he entered the printing office of the Hon. Joseph Howe, then a newspaper publisher in that city. Here he gave such proofs of that great facility for newspaper writing, which distinguished him in after life, that he was occasionally employed to write editorial articles for Mr. Howe's newspaper, during the absence or illness of the latter. At the age of eighteen he went to Prince Edward Island, which was then ruled by persons who could scarcely be said to be amenable to public opinion. Mr. Whelan, ranging himself on the side of the people, threw the weight of his influence as a journalist into the struggle for popular rights.

Apart from Mr. Whelan's oratorical power which was considerable, the great lever of public opinion obeyed his masterly hand as often as any fair occasion arose to resort to its agency. He never abused the power of the press. He knew how to combine a singularly consistent political career with conciliatory manners. Although he died comparatively young, he lived long enough to see, to a large extent, the results of his labours in the extension of civil liberty.

Mr. Whelan was a Roman Catholic. The writer of a sketch of his life which appeared in the *Examiner*, says that "his words

and thoughts in the hour of death were those of a Christian gentleman."

Among the Irishmen who emigrated to Prince Edward, was Daniel Brennan, a poor lad, who, by his energy and perseverance, succeeded in acquiring the profession of a Provincial Land Surveyor, at which he worked for some time, but finally entered into mercantile life in Charlottetown. He became a leading merchant. He married twice, but left no family. He was a Roman Catholic. He died in 1876, aged 80, a very wealthy man.

Owen Connolly emigrated when a mere youth, a very poor man. On his first arrival, he used that old threshing machine, the "flail," amongst the farmers in the settlement. By indomitable pluck and perseverance he gradually pushed himself forward, until he established himself in a large business in Charlottetown. Some years ago he extended his business, and opened a branch establishment in the Town of Souris, King's County, both of which houses he still carries on. He was mainly instrumental in opening a branch of the Bank of Halifax, in Charlottetown, and another branch of the same Bank in Souris. He is one of the wealthiest men in the Province of Prince Edward Island.

He is still alive; a man of about 65 years. He is a Roman Catholic. He is married, but has no children.

Lower Canada was all but exclusively French in its settlements; Upper Canada was dedicated to the sole possession of the U. E. Loyalists, and "German and other foreign Protestants." In 1791, however, we find Edward O'Hara returned for Gaspé, since when Lower Canada has always had an Irish element in its representation. In 1799, Felix O'Hara was appointed "Provincial Judge," at a salary of £200 a year, and among the subscribers to the "benevolence of His Majesty" for carrying on the war with France, was £27 from one Judge O'Hara. The existence of an extensive Irish settlement on the north of the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Three Rivers, would seem to be indicated by the County of Leinster, with its Townships of Wexford, Kilkenny and Kildare. As the years rolled on, the Irish found their way into Ontario.

The first settler in Clarke was Mr. Richard Lovekin, who, accompanied by his family, left Ireland in the September of 1795, sailing

from the Cove of Cork. For four months they were tossed on the ocean, the sport of adverse winds. They landed at St. Bartholemew on the 26th of January, 1796, and arrived at New York on the 9th of the following April. In less than a hundred years what progress the world has made, even from the emigrant's point of view! Lovekin, with two hired assistants, went on to Canada to locate his land, leaving his family behind him. He settled, and built his shanty at the mouth of what was afterwards known as Baldwin's Creek. While engaged some distance up the creek in cutting grass for their beds, they heard the distant howling of wolves. Soon the wolves became bolder, and approached within a short distance of them. Becoming alarmed, Lovekin and his assistants pulled for the outlet. As they passed into open water, forty or fifty wolves howled along the bank. Arrived opposite their shanty, they did not land until they had seen the last dusky figure fade into the wooded gloom. They kept up a large fire for the remaining part of the night.

Another incident or two are worth relating. Having built his house and cleared some land, Mr. Lovekin thought of returning for his family. He had, with other money, one hundred and fifty dollars in silver. This, on account of its weight, he determined not to take with him, but to hide it in the hollow of a tree. He put it in a stocking and hung it up in a scooped trunk. When he and his family came "home" the next summer, they found an old bear had made the house his abode during the winter. On going to the tree for his money, he was not a little disappointed to find it—gone! His mind hovered round his money, and he haunted the tree, which at last he determined to cut down. At the base, hope revived when he saw portions of the paper and stocking cut up fine, forming, together with grass and leaves, a wood-mouse's nest. That wood-mouse was a thief and also a banker in his way. Beneath the nest was the hundred and fifty dollars in the midst of mould and rotten wood.

Lovekin drew his land, took the oath of allegiance, and was appointed chief magistrate of the Home District, which embraced the country, from Cobourg to Toronto.

Another settler was John Burk, the grandfather of one of the members for West Durham. John Burk built his house on the

bank of the lake on the southern portion of the farm owned by his grandson, W. K. Burk. At a later period came the McLaughlins, the Browns and the Spinks, now among the wealthiest farmers in the county. The Township of Cartwright was almost entirely settled by Irish Protestants.

General Simcoe had originally intended that Newark should be the capital of Ontario. But finding that the Home Government did not retain possession of the fort on the American side of the Niagara River, he said: "The chief town of a Province must not be placed under the guns of an enemy's fort;" and having spent a summer prospecting, fixed on the site of Toronto. In 1795, the infant capital contained twelve houses, and the barracks wherein Simcoe's regiment was quartered. In the summer of 1793, shortly after he had fixed on the site for his capital, news came of the surrender of Valenciennes to the allies, under the Duke of York. In honour of the Duke and of the surrender, the place was named York. It was declared the capital of the Province in 1797.

The troubles of '98 led to a large emigration not made up solely of peasants and farmers. "From Ireland," says McMullen, "where the troubles of '98' had left many a hearth desolate, and many a heart seared and crushed with sorrow, came most of the old country people. Better a free land, even though it were the rudest shanty of the backwoodsman in the sad and sombre forests of Canada, than the cottage in old Erin, where any moment the Whiteboy might cruelly thrust the crackling turf into the thatch, or the minions of Castlereagh level its walls to the ground. And thus settlements gradually spread on every side."

In 1799, Robert Baldwin, of Knockmore or Summerhill, in the parish of Carrigaline, near Cork, came to Canada, bringing with him his eldest son, Dr. William Warren Baldwin, who had been practising for a year or two, his youngest son, John Spread Baldwin, still quite a boy, and four daughters. He settled on a farm in the township of Clarke, at the mouth of a creek which has since been known as Baldwin's Creek. Here he remained until about the time of the war, when he came to Toronto, where he died in 1816, and where Dr. Baldwin had already settled, at first practising medicine. After a few years he entered the profession of the law,



to which he devoted himself with great energy. He was for many years Treasurer of the Law Society. In 1803 he married a daughter of Mr. William Willcocks, who had at one time been Mayor of the City of Cork. He had come to Canada some years before, and had done a good deal to promote emigration, having probably been induced to emigrate by his cousin, the Hon. Peter Russell, who held several offices of trust in the Province, who was for a time administrator of the Government, and who had first come to America as Secretary to Sir Henry Clinton.

Dr. Baldwin had five sons, three of whom, however, died young. His eldest son, the Hon. Robert Baldwin, and Mr. W. A. Baldwin, of Mashquoteh, survived him. Mr. John S. Baldwin, the youngest brother of Dr. Baldwin, became a prominent merchant in the place, and left a numerous family, among whom was the late Rev. Canon Edmund Baldwin, of Toronto; also the Rev. Canon Maurice Baldwin, of Montreal; the Rev. Arthur H. Baldwin, of Toronto, and Alderman Morgan Baldwin.

In 1817, Captain, afterwards Admiral Baldwin, another son of Robert Baldwin, of Summerhill, came to Canada, and a few years later, his brother, Captain Henry Baldwin, of the merchant service, followed him,

In 1819, Mr. Daniel Sullivan, of Bandon, and his wife, who was the eldest child of Mr. Robert Baldwin, of Summerhill, came to Canada with a numerous family, among whom were Robert Baldwin Sullivan, afterwards distinguished as politician and statesman, and as a judge of the Court of Queen's Bench; and Dr. Henry Sullivan, afterwards a Professor in the University of King's College, Toronto.

The ordinary and obvious acts of administrative legislation of Canada's early years need not be referred to particularly. A word of pleasure may be uttered that one of the first acts of the Upper Canada Legislature, was to abolish slavery. At first there were no parties, and therefore no opposition, and of course, everything went on well? Not at all. There was, both in Lower and Upper Canada, an irresponsible Executive with all the official arrogance and tyranny, all the nepotism and jobbery which belong to irresponsible power. A weak governor, knowing little about the country, was helpless in the hands of a few leading

individuals. No matter how the popular Assembly voted, the same men would hold power. Both Provinces were under the rule of an oligarchy. Poor gentlemen, half pay officers, the peniless scions of old Irish and Scotch houses, Englishmen of culture with more enterprise than money, came to the Province. Haughty, and unfit for the hardships of the bush, and eminently fit to supply what Canada very much needed, ready pens and educated heads, they naturally got all the public offices, and as naturally gave themselves the airs of an aristocracy, with a double claim on men's homage, the blue blood claim and the bureaucratic. This Government class acted together and intermarried, and drew to themselves privileges and advantages, and so the foundation of party was laid. One set of the community had special favours given it, which were resented and envied by the rest of the community. Lieber says, with justice, that where there are no great grounds of division, party is apt to degenerate into faction. Canada for some years at all events was to be saved from this danger.

Simultaneously in Lower and Upper Canada we see signs of political life. At a dinner which was given at Montreal at the end of March, 1805, in honour of those members who had spoken in favour of British principles of taxation, toasts were proposed and drunk in honour of the members who were "friendly to constitutional taxation," and opposed to a tax on commerce for building gaols, as contrary to "the sound practice of the parent State." One of the toasts was directed at "local prejudices." Another ran:—"Prosperity to the Agriculture and Commerce of Canada, and may they aid each other as their true interest dictates by sharing a due proportion of advantages and burthens;" another: "The City and County of Montreal, and the Grand Juries of the District, who recommended local assessments for local purposes." These resolutions seem not only harmless but wise. They touched however, a majority of the Assembly on the raw. After the prorogation of Parliament they were printed in the *Montreal Gazette*. Nevertheless, they were taken into consideration the following session. On March 6th, 1806, it was resolved that the *Gazette* contained a false, scandalous and seditious libel. The president of the banquet having escaped to

the United States, nothing was done against Edwards, the editor of the *Gazette*. Four days afterwards the Sergeant-at-arms was ordered to bring Thomas Cary, the editor of the Quebec *Mercury* before the House to answer for his conduct in giving the public a report of its proceedings. Cary had to apologise in a most humble fashion. But as we might expect, he did not cease to attack people who had acted against him so vindictively. The result was the establishment in the opposite interest in 1806 of *Le Canadien* and the controversy of journals commenced with its stimulus to thought, and its unequalled safeguard to liberty.

Up to this, liberty of the press could not be said to exist in Canada. Little over twenty years before an Irishman had fought a great battle for freedom of the press in the mother land. "Even a hundred libels," said Sheridan, "had better be ushered into the world than one prosecution be instituted which might endanger the liberty of the Press of this country." At another and a later period he cried in words which produced a great effect on Parliament:—"Give them a corrupt House of Lords, give them a venal House of Commons, give them a tyrannical prince, give them a truckling Court, let me have but an unfettered Press, I will defy them to encroach a hair's-breath upon the liberties of England." When in 1808 *Le Canadien* commented adversely on the intrigues of the Government—Sir J. H. Craig's view of his duty as a Governor, being to act with a party—M. Panet, as supposed proprietor of that journal, was stripped of his rank as Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia. Other officers were in like manner degraded for having used their influence in favour of M. Panet's candidature. At a later period Sir James Craig thought fit to condemn the conduct in very unmeasured terms, of a portion of the Assembly, which was opposed to the election of judges as members of Parliament. The menacing state of things in the neighbouring republic made him (he not having the wisdom of Carleton) lean too openly on the inhabitants of British origin. When the election took place the *Canadien* attacked His Excellency with unmeasured violence, and the most part of those who had taken a course offensive to him were elected. Parliament was opened on the 20th January, 1810. The Assembly passed a resolution that it was a violation of the

Statute by which the Assembly was constituted, an infraction of its privileges, and a menace to the liberties of the subject for the Governor or the other branch of the Legislature, to censure its proceedings, especially when that censure took the form of approving the conduct of a part of the House, and condemning that of another part. After some discussion on financial questions they came to the conclusion that the Province was in a position to pay all the expenses of Government with which they readily charged themselves. There was a dead lock. The Legislative Assembly expelled the single judge who sat as member of it. The Governor dissolved the Chamber. During the election, which was a violent one, six members of Parliament and the proprietor of the *Canadien* were thrown into prison. They were released ultimately; the judges were disqualified; and so the crisis was got over.

In New Brunswick, the dead-lock came in the closing years of the eighteenth century, though the brother of Lord Dorchester, Colonel Carleton, administered its affairs with great tact from 1782 to 1802.

We return to Upper Canada. There was but one newspaper in the Province, the *Upper Canada Gazette*, the honour of establishing which, with so much else, belongs to Governor Simcoe. It was, however, a government organ; and started by a governor and supported by government, and without competition it could have no life. The Rev. Dr. Carroll speaking of this paper for Nov. 13th, 1801, describes it as a coarse, flimsy, two-leaved paper of octavo size, the department of news large, but the "news much older than their ale." Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe having been recalled in 1796, the Province was administered by Mr. Russell, senior member of the Executive, until the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, in 1799, who was succeeded six years afterwards by Mr. Gore, the country having been, during a brief interregnum, governed by Mr. Alexander Grant. The administration of justice had fallen into a disgraceful condition, and despotic power had, as it never fails to do, rendered its possessors impatient of opposition. To use our party watchwords now, and apply it to the events of those days would be misleading. There is, for instance, no Conservative to-day who is not more "advanced" than the

leader of the Reform Party in 1841. How impossible then to use the party designations of the present in 1806. The ground was being broken up for the seed of party, but the present struggle was between the people and an oligarchy.

At this period, Mr. Thorpe, an English lawyer, was sent out as one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench. His impartial administration of justice had made him popular. Grand juries entrusted him with their grievances to be laid before Mr. Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor, who naturally fell into bureaucratic hands, and conceived prejudices against the judge, who unfortunately, considering his office, allowed himself to become a candidate for a seat in parliament. An Irish gentleman, Joseph Wilcox, voted for him and was deprived of the Shrievalty of the Home District. He then started, practically, the first real organ of public opinion in Upper Canada—the *Upper Canada Guardian*—the legitimate forerunner of the *Globe*, the *Mail*, the *Leader*, the *London Advertiser*, the *London Herald* and their contemporaries. He opposed the Government and was prosecuted for libel, but acquitted. He became popular, and was returned to parliament where he was equally outspoken. The result was, he was arrested and thrown into York gaol. When liberated, he became leader of the opposition and had a majority in the House. When the war of 1812 broke out, he gave up his paper, and went into that war to defend his adopted country, and fought gallantly at Queenston. "Still," says McMullen, "Government treated him harshly, and at length, thoroughly disheartened and disgusted, he deserted to the enemy, taking a body of Canadian militia over with him." The Americans rewarded him with a Colonel's commission, and he fell at Fort Erie, while planting a guard, a musket-ball finding its billet in his restless frame. Had he remained true to Canada, he might occupy a proud place in our bead roll of heroes. No excuse could be made for the harsh conduct of Government. Still less could anything be said to palliate the treason of this pioneer of an independent press, this forerunner of our popular tribunes. Parliament made provision for appropriating £809 for the salaries of masters of grammar schools, in the eight districts of Upper Canada. The patronage being vested in the Government, and £100 a year being an object to a "gentleman" with nothing par-

ticular to do, and full capacity to do that, some abuse arose in consequence. This led to trouble in the case of another Wilcocks, also an Irishman, whom we have already mentioned in connection with the Baldwins. He was member for the First Riding of the County of Lincoln, the West Riding of the County of York, and the County of Haldimand. In a private house he seems to have made use of some strong language regarding his brother members. For this he was "tried" before the house on the 30th of January, 1808, found guilty, and committed to the Common gaol of the Home District, there to remain during the sitting of Parliament. He had given notice that he would bring in a bill to repeal the District School Act. The day after he obtained leave to bring in the bill, he was sent to a dungeon. No wonder the two things were put together. He was placed in a cell where there were none of the conveniences which the baldest decency requires. It seems, he was also opposed to some other bills which it was thought desirable to pass.

The population has been increasing, the work of government going forward, wealth accumulating, political ideas ripening, and as we have seen an Irishman here and there and everywhere, doing his part of the work. Mind only his part. But it is not my province, the title of the book precludes me from mentioning particulars regarding other nationalities, and yet I have in passing, perhaps, done them some small share of justice. For there has been no Carleton sent us save from Ireland, and Col. Talbot stands without parallel, working away there in the west, letting out London in lots, and superintending the planting of the rich and extensive acres placed by Providence under his auspices. Let us turn once more to the arduous religious field of that day, and see whose hands are at work clearing it.

In 1790, the first Methodist Circuit in Canada was defined, and in 1792, at Adolphustown, the first Methodist chapel in Canada was built. In 1802, the honoured name of Nathan Bangs was on the minutes for Canada, and he soon had as fellow-labourers, William Case and Henry Ryan, all of them men of apostolic mould. In 1855, the venerable Mr. Case addressed a letter to his old co-labourer, Nathan Bangs, which, as Mr. Crook says, sheds "a beautiful light upon Canadian Methodism in Canada in early times." In this letter he

recalls the scenes and changes through which they had passed ; how they assembled in private houses and barns ; how they toiled on horseback through wild forests from two-and a-half to four miles an hour, and he asks him to revisit these scenes before leaving for the fairer clines.

How beautiful and cheerful does religious faith make the aged ! It lights up with glory their grey hairs. It compensates with a nobler fire for the loss of the glory of youth within the eye. It is as though a traveller should come on others benighted, and while with them illumine the darkness with a strange unexpected light of a mysterious morning, and break the sombre silence with voices of distant melodies, having nothing mortal in their notes of subtle stimulation.

Mr. Case goes on to tell how he had made a journey through Hallowell, Belleville, Kingston, Elizabethtown, Brockville, Augusta, Matilda, Bytown (Ottawa City), Perth, Walford, and home to Alnwick, through a portion of the northern new settlements. Only a few of their former friends were living. A poet, whose inspiration was remorse, and whose mighty magnificent song so full of noble feeling, so disfigured with mockery, a song which was the cry of a nature at war with itself, the wail of a man who loved what was good, and could not be that which he loved and fain had been, that poet writes :

“ What is the worst of woes that wait on age ?  
 What stamps the wrinkle deeper on the brow ?  
 To view each loved one blotted from life's page,  
 And be alone on earth, as I am now.”

No such cry breaks from the old Methodist preacher gazing round on the tombstones of those he loved, for, for him, there was no bowing with despairful head—

“ O'er hearts divided and o'er hopes destroyed.”

No indeed. He had a talisman against gloom and could sing with a happier poet—

“ On the cold cheek of death smiles and roses are blending,  
 And beauty immortal awakes from the tomb.”

He found one or two or three of his old friends of long ago living,

from eighty to ninety years of age. But most were gone. "Yet," he adds, "they live in their examples of piety, integrity, hospitality, and Christian benevolence." The progeny bore a striking impress of their patriarchal fathers. He finds the grandchildren following in the steps of their grandsires and sires. The Emburys, Detlors, Millers, Maddens, Switzers, of the Bay of Quinté, are described as numerous and pious, and justifying their Irish training on Mr. Wesley's knee. Old Mrs. Detlor, forty years ago, told him when a child in Ireland Mr. Wesley took her on his knee, when she sang—

"Children of the Heavenly King,  
As we journey let us sing."

Mr. Crook says the impression the life of Nathan Bangs made on him was, that a hundred of such men would turn the world upside down.

Mr. Crook, after going over many interesting facts, concludes that the estimate is far too low which would connect one-fourth of the Methodists of Canada, directly or remotely, with Irish Methodists, and he goes on to speak of Garret Miller and others. Of one extraordinary man he seems to have forgotten the claims; Henry Ryan, an Irishman of the Boanerges type, an O'Connell in the garb of a Methodist preacher, who was, in 1805, appointed with the Rev. William Case to the Bay of Quinté circuit. The inhabitants of Kingston were at this time, according to Carroll, very irreligious. Ryan and Case determined to rouse the people. Ryan had a powerful voice, and on a market day they would lock arms and go singing down the streets and ultimately into the market-place,—

"Come let us march to Zion's hill."

They were sure on reaching the market-place to have a good congregation, to whom Ryan preached. His voice was like O'Connell's in power of reaching far. It rose like a clarion, and was heard over the adjacent waters. They were tripped off the butcher's block; pins were inserted into their calves; their hair was set on fire; if they preached at night their candle was put out; but they preached away, and their preaching bore fruit.

In 1810 Ryan was presiding elder, and his duties as such were to visit every part of the Province from Detroit to Cornwall. He tra-



velled about 4,000 miles annually, and the entire allowance of this extraordinary man was about £60 a year, \$300! At the first camp meeting held in Canada, Ryan was present, as were Case, Keeler, Madden, and Bangs. It was held in 1805, on the south shore of Hay Bay. The last night is described by Dr. Bangs as impressive beyond description. The sky was without a cloud. Every star came out. To the enthusiastic minds and visioned eyes of those earnest men, the camp was filled with a glory not of earth. The neighbouring forest, reposing in the enchanted starlight, vibrated to and fro with echoing hymns. When the parting came, the scene was most affecting. Bangs and Case and Keeler and Madden hung on each other's necks "weeping and yet rejoicing." Some of the people parted, as they knew, to meet no more here. As these happy hosts dispersed to their different and distant homes, along the high-ways rolled victorious chants of praise.

The man who is regarded as the father of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada—a Church mainly supported by men of Irish blood, was oddly enough a Scotchman, though he belonged to the great Celtic race. Bishop McDonnell was born in the third quarter of the last century, in Glengarry, educated at Valladolid—full of old-world romantic and warlike, Roman and Moorish memories, where Christopher Columbus died—a place well fitted for the training of one who had the seeds of greatness in him. Having been ordained, he returned to his native country, where he officiated as a priest until 1789, when he joined the Glengarry Fencibles, ordered on duty to Ireland, a regiment raised by his exertions, and composed entirely of Catholics. In 1802, the regiment was disbanded, and after much negotiation their chaplain and friend, obtained for every one of his people who chose to go to Canada two hundred acres of land. A year afterwards he had settled on Canadian soil a splendid race of men with patents in their pockets for 160,000 acres of land.

He had well nigh unbounded influence with the Government, and obtained for his Church nearly all the land it possesses in Upper Canada. Nor can any one doubt that he had a true eye for the best situation in a district. He was for many years, together with Bishop Strachan, a member of the Legislative Council. When he arrived here in 1804, he said, speaking with pride, "there

were," "but two Catholic clergymen in the whole of Upper Canada. One of these clergymen soon deserted his post, and the other resided in the Township of Sandwich, in the Western District, and never went beyond the limits of his mission; so that upon entering upon my pastoral duties I had the whole of the Province limits in charge, and without any assistance for a space of ten years." He spoke thus in 1836, when he could boast that by his exertions five-and-thirty churches had been built, and that twenty-two clergymen were zealously at work, the greater number of whom had been educated at his own expense. He added, to attest his services to the Crown, that he had been "instrumental in getting two corps of my flock raised and embodied in defence of their country in critical times. The first Glengarry Fencible Regiment was raised by my influence as a Catholic corps, during the Irish Rebellion, whose dangers and fatigues I shared in that distracted country. I contributed in no small degree to suppress the rapacity of the soldiers and bring back the deluded people to a sense of their duty to their sovereign and submission to the laws." The second Glengarry Fencible Regiment was raised in this Province, when the government of the United States of America made war on the Colony. "It was planned by me," said the Bishop, "and partly raised by my influence." He was the first clergyman of his Church who preached in Belleville. But the first clergyman permanently settled at Belleville was an Irishman, the Rev. Michael Brennan, who did not arrive, however, until 1829.

The Church of England, which was the established Church of Canada, was meanwhile, doing its own work, as was the Presbyterian Church, each having, as at this hour, bright ornaments and sustaining pillars from Ireland.

In Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, there was a counterpart to the Methodist energy which we have seen in Upper Canada, or, as we should now say, Ontario; for as Dr. Stevens writes in his *History of Methodism*, "Irishmen have warred a good warfare, and died triumphantly on almost every important Methodist field of the world," and he goes on to say that they founded it in the British North American Provinces, as well as in the United States, in the West Indies, in

Africa, and in India. Laurence Coughlan unfurled the Methodist banner in Newfoundland, in 1765, a year before Embury preached in New York. He was converted in Ireland, in 1753, and several of his letters to John Wesley are reproduced in Mr. Crook's book. On November 4th, 1772, he wrote a letter to Wesley, telling him what success he had met with during seven years of missionary labour. He had then two hundred communicants. He was, he said, a thorough Methodist. Nor did he believe his preaching would do much good without "discipline, which," he adds, "I consider, under God, has been the preserving of my society." The Church of England clergy were up in arms against him. He was prosecuted. He was accused of every conceivable crime in letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by which he was employed. He went on unheeding. His enemies hired a physician to poison him. If I may parody Goldsmith—who came to poison remained to pray. The physician became a Methodist, and revealed the plot. A revival took place. Classes were formed. Persecution grew fiercer. He was summoned before the Governor. The Governor not only decided in his favour, but made him a Justice of the Peace.

Master Laurence did not feel himself able to stand going over his vast parish solely by water, and was thinking of returning home or turning to some new field. But Wesley writes to him under date of August 29, 1768, in a manner which shows strong grasp of the foundation of all greatness, that the writer had imbibed the spirit of the early apostles, and had borrowed more than perhaps he suspected from the Roman Catholic Church. "Dear Laurence," he writes, "by various trains of Providence you have been led to the very place where God intended you should be. \* \* \* In a short time how little will it signify whether we have lived in Summer Islands, or beneath

'The rage of Arctos, and eternal frost.'

How soon will this dream of life be at an end? And when we are once landed in eternity, it will be all one whether we have spent our time on earth in a palace, or had not where to lay our head."

Here Mr. Grumbler, be you Methodist or what else, is a phi-

losophy to calm your perturbed spirit, and give you something of dignity and greatness. Providence has sent you here to do your duty: do it like a man. However strong your constitution you must die, and that soon, and then what do the vanities, the pomps, the little ambitions, the vile injustices of unjust men matter. How bracing it is in a world of money grabbers to read these great words. They come to us like a breeze of power from the hills of the Absolute. There is medicine for discontent, for worry, for effeminate longings after ease. What does it matter to you whether you lie hard or soft? And so our friend Coughlan laboured on in Newfoundland.

When he went there, Newfoundland is described as sinking into heathenism. But his preaching wrought a great change. Coughlan's hands were soon strengthened by an Irish merchant, one of his converts, Arthur Twomey, and by the arrival in 1770, from Waterford, of John Stretton, son to John Stretton, of Limerick, "a prominent friend of Methodism in the early day." He built at Harbour Grace, the first Methodist chapel in the Lower Provinces.

Mr. Crook also gives letters from Wesley to Stretton. This was in 1785, when Coughlan had returned to England to die. Wesley had sent one of his lieutenants to go through the heart of America, "visiting the flock," and "settling them on the New Testament plan, to which they all willingly and joyfully conform"; and he concludes in words of authority which sound, like those of a great captain: "Go on in the name of the Lord, and in the power of His might! You shall want no assistance that is in the power of your affectionate friend and brother—John Wesley." Keeping a promise made in the body of this letter, Wesley, at the ensuing conference, appointed an Irishman as a missionary to Newfoundland. In 1804, Ireland gave Newfoundland another missionary in the person of John Remington, and later on sent Samuel Ellis and Samuel McDowell.

About twenty years ago everybody was reading a book which had a curious fascination for my boyish fancy, though I could not understand the character portrayed, half soldier half religious enthusiast. It was a book which especially laid hold of the minds of religious women. As the Athenian got tired of hearing Aristides called the Just, so some lads in those days got tired of hear-

ing Hedley Vicars "cracked up." Curiously enough, his name is connected with Newfoundland, with Canada, as well as with Ireland, and therefore he has a double claim to be briefly dwelt on here. Captain Vicars, of the Royal Engineers, then stationed at St. John's, was induced to attend the preaching of a Methodist, the Rev. George Cubitt. From being trifling and sceptical, he became earnest and religious. Dressed in full uniform, he used to preach. He fell in love with a fair young Methodist. They were married. Captain Hedley Vicars, of the 97th, was the fruit of this union. Many years after this, Captain Vicars, with his Newfoundland wife, resided at Mullingar, Westmeath, where he, his wife and son were accustomed to attend the Methodist Church. In New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward, the Methodists made their mark, nor could one conceive better missionaries for a new country than the strict followers of Wesley. As missionaries they take rank side by side with the Jesuits, in self-denial, in zeal, in energy, and in persuasiveness; though they have not the same imposing air of turning their back on the world, and giving up life, and love to go at a sombre, cold, cheerless, perilous, obscure achievement, with a help-meet who herself frequently makes no bad missionary.

And what of the work of education in those early days? The majority of the refugees, according to Dr. Canniff, possessed but a limited education. The culture of a small number was good, but, he says, the greater portion of Loyalists from the colonies in revolt "had not enjoyed opportunities for even a common education." Where parents are uneducated and in the midst of the uneducated, they do not care to educate their children. Mr. Ruttan said he picked up what knowledge he had acquired from his mother. But school teaching was gradually introduced. The first school teachers were discharged soldiers, and generally Irish. We have seen how the Rev. John Stuart set up a seminary. But when he settled at Cataragui, he said: "The greatest inconvenience I feel here is that there is no school for our boys." The following year he opened a school himself. Another pioneer teacher at Kingston, was Donevan. Colonel Clark, of Dalhousie, received part of his education at Kingston, and he speaks of three Irishmen, Myers, Blaney, and Michael, as teachers. Two other pedagogues, well re-

membered, are Edward O'Reily and McCormick, who seemed to think boys could be made to learn only in the way one of George Eliot's characters declares babies can be made good. Later on Mr. Whelan taught.

In 1799, Mr. Strachan, who was afterwards to occupy so great a place in the history of Canada, arrived here from Scotland. Dr. Chalmers, as has been the case with many another Scotchman since, was invited to come. But Chalmers, though his greatness was not yet known to the world, and perhaps, only half suspected by himself, refused, and in refusing, suggested the name of his friend, Strachan, who came to carry out a scheme of education projected by Simcoe. But by the time he arrived, Simcoe had been recalled. However, in the following year, a school was established by the Hon. R. Cartwright for his sons, having Mr. Strachan for teacher, who had the privilege of taking ten other scholars at £10. each, per annum. Three years afterwards, Mr. Strachan removed to Cornwall. In those early years he did a great work in imparting the higher education and training future statesmen.

"Antiquarian research," says Professor Wilson, in his interesting Essay,\* calling attention to Dr. Scadding's "Toronto of Old," "seems peculiarly out of place in a new colony, and is lucky if it escapes the sneer of the busy trader in his zeal for wealth and material progress. Nevertheless," he continues, "to one gifted with the slightest powers of fancy, there is something fascinating in the attempt to recall the infancy of comparatively modern cities." And surely it is not less fascinating, while fraught with instructive lessons, to recall the early stages and struggles of a community and to point the sources whence it drew mental and moral food, more precious than any which even the bountiful bosom of our mother, the earth, can yield.

We have seen Colonel Simcoe choose Toronto for his capital, when "dense and trackless forests lined the margin of the lake, and reflected their inverted images in its glassy surface," and gave the shelter of luxuriant foliage to the wigwam of the Mississaugas. On the heights above the Don, he erected the first Gov-

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\* *Canadian Monthly*, August, 1873.

ernment House, a rustic building, to which he gave the name of Castle Frank. He was recalled. Meanwhile, a house was erected here and a house there, and the first white child born in the infant city was of Irish parents, Edward Simcoe Wright, who afterwards kept an inn known as the Greenland Fishery, at the foot of John Street. Wright is still alive, and must be a very old man, for he was born of parents in the service of General Simcoe, who stood godfather to him, and from whom he received his second name. If we suppose him to have been born the year prior to the Governor's recall, he would now be eighty-two.

Among the Irish families, who came in to help to lay the moral and material foundation of Toronto was that of Mr. Joseph Rogers. They came from Cookstown, County Tyrone. Mr. Rogers carried on the business of a furrier in King Street, and his descendants are in the same line of business to-day, and, like him, strong in all the points which make good, useful citizens.

At an early period an Irishman visited, or rather flitted by, our shores, who made a brief stay lower down the St. Lawrence, but whose name—such is the power of genius—is inextricably bound up with the thought and history of Canada. Nor is it possible to write about Toronto's early days without mentioning his name and musing over his words. Indeed, Moore is not only the laureate of Ireland, but of Canada. His "Canadian Boat Song" has as yet found no successful rival. Dr. Scadding and Dr. Wilson declare that it has "become alike in words and air a national anthem for the Dominion." You cannot produce poetry as you produce fat oxen, by offering a prize. The verses of Moore are known to every Canadian school-boy, and echo every summer along our lakes and rivers. Sometimes the voice is that of the captain of a raft, sometimes the notes are those of a lady who would be equal to a selection from Mozart. "It could scarcely be heard," says Dr. Wilson, "by any Canadian wanderer, when far away among strangers, without a thrill as tender and acute as ever the 'Ranz des Vaches' awoke on the ear of the exiled Switzer, or 'Lochaber No More,' on that of the Highlander languishing for his native glen."\* In an epistle written to his coun-

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\* Moore wrote the words to an air sung frequently by the boatmen. In descending the river from Kingston to Montreal the wind was so unfavourable that they were ob-

trywoman, Lady Charlotte Rawdon, and dated "from the banks of the St. Lawrence," he gives his impression of Niagara, the St. Lawrence, and Toronto.

I dreamt not then that, ere the rolling year  
Had filled its circle, I should wander here  
In musing awe ; should tread this wondrous world,  
See all its store of inland waters hurl'd  
In one vast volume down Niagara's steep ;  
Or calm behold them, in transparent sleep,  
Where the blue hills of old Toronto shed  
Their evening shadows o'er Ontario's bed ;  
Should trace the grand Cataraqui, and glide  
Down the white rapids of his lordly tide,

liged to row all the way. The journey took five days. During the day the sun was intense. At night they were forced to take shelter on the banks in any hut whose owners would receive them. "But," cries the poet, "the magnificent scenery of the St. Lawrence repays all these difficulties." He added that there was not a note of the air which did not recall to his memory "the dip of our oars in the St. Lawrence, the flight of our boat down the rapids, and all those new and fanciful impressions to which my heart was alive during the whole of this very interesting voyage." I hope this book of mine will fall into a great variety of hands, and as some of my poorer countrymen too often content themselves with an edition of the *Melodies* only, at the risk of being accused of bringing coal to Newcastle, I reproduce the stanzas :—

#### A CANADIAN BOAT-SONG.

WRITTEN ON THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE.

*Et remigem cantus hortatur.—Quintilian.*

Faintly as tolls the evening chime,  
Our voices keep tune and our oars keep time.  
Soon as the woods on shore look dim,  
We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn.  
Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,  
The Rapids are near, and the daylight's past !

Why should we yet our sail unfurl ?  
There is not a breath the blue wave to curl !  
But when the wind blows off the shore,  
Oh ! sweetly we'll rest our weary oar.  
Blow, breezes, blow, the stream runs fast,  
The Rapids are near, and the daylight's past !

Utawas' tide ! this trembling moon  
Shall see us float over thy surges soon.  
Saint of this green isle ! hear our prayers,  
Oh ! grant us cool heavens and favouring airs.  
Blow, breezes, blow, the stream runs fast,  
The Rapids are near, and the daylight's past !



Through massy woods, 'mid islets flowering fair,  
 And blooming glades, where the first sinful pair  
 For consolation might have weeping trod,  
 When banished from the garden of their God."

Here is a fine night picture on the St. Lawrence :

Among the reeds, in which our idle boat  
 Is rock'd to rest, the wind's complaining note  
 Dies, like a half-breathed whispering of flutes ;  
 Along the wave the gleaming porpoise shoots,  
 And I can trace him, like a watery star,  
 Down the steep current, till he fades afar  
 Amid the foaming breakers silvery light,  
 Where yon rough Rapids sparkle through the night !  
 Here, as along this shadowy bank I stray,  
 And the smooth glass-snake, gliding o'er my way,  
 Shows the dim moonlight through his scaly form,  
 Fancy, with all the scene's enchantment warm,  
 Hears in the murmur of the nightly breeze,  
 Some Indian Spirit warble words like these.

Then follows the Song of the Spirit, very fanciful and beautiful, in which many a Canadian picture is woven with Indian legends. The description the Spirit gives of himself, sitting on the edge of Niagara in winter time, is magnificent :—

Oft when hoar and silvery flakes  
 Melt along the ruffled lakes ;  
 When the grey moose sheds his horns,  
 When the track at evening warns  
 Weary hunters of the way  
 To the wigwam's cheering ray,  
 Then, aloft through freezing air,  
 With the snow-bird soft and fair  
 As the fleece that heaven flings  
 O'er his little pearly wings,  
 Light above the rocks I play,  
 Where Niagara's starry spray,  
 Frozen on the cliff, appears,  
 Like a giant's starting tears !  
 There, amid the island sedge,  
 Just upon the cataract's edge,  
 Where the foot of living man  
 Never trod since time began,  
 Lone I sit, at close of day,  
 While, beneath the golden ray,  
 Icy columns gleam below,  
 Feathered round with falling snow,  
 And an arch of glory springs,  
 Brilliant as the chain of rings

Round the necks of virgins hung,—  
 Virgins who have wandered young  
 O'er the waters of the west,  
 To the land where spirits rest !

The Song of the Spirit, which he composed during the night, over the epistle to Lady Rawdon, is taken up :—

Thus have I charmed, with visionary lay,  
 The lonely moments of the night away ;  
 And now, fresh daylight o'er the water beams !  
 Once more embarked upon the glittering streams,  
 Our boat flies light along the leafy shore,  
 Shooting the falls, without a dip of oar  
 Or breath of zephyr, like the mystic bark  
 The poet saw, in dreams divinely dark,  
 Borne, without sails, along the dusky flood,  
 While on its deck a pilot angel stood,  
 And, with his wings of living light unfurled,  
 Coasted the dim shores of another world !

Yes! Moore belongs to Canada as well as to Ireland in that special sense which links a poet's name with a locality. Of course, as a poet with a genuine gift of song, he belongs to the world, and will be read and studied when Hazlitt's criticisms are forgotten and those who were befooled by the malicious glitter of epigrammatic trifling have been succeeded by a wiser generation.

The spot is pointed out at Kingston where he wrote, "I knew by the smoke that so gracefully curled." He stayed a few days at Montreal, where he seems to have been treated with that hospitality and attention he loved. He repaid his hostess with a few verses full of compliments turned with graceful exaggeration, and then left our shores for ever.

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## CHAPTER VI.

A FEW sessions ago the Parliament at Ottawa voted a small sum, \$50,000 to be distributed among the surviving warriors of 1812, and the two following years. More than half a century had passed since the Treaty of Ghent put a stop to hostilities in which the strong and unrighteous had shown only weakness and won but disgrace, in which the weak, fighting in a righteous cause, engaged in the noblest of all struggles, the struggle for home, for honour, individual and national, had displayed dignity and strength; and as the great, joyous, unselfish hero of antiquity, when ere he attained his eighth month, ignoble but powerful jealousy sent two serpents to destroy him, was in no way terrified but seized the reptiles one in each infant hand and squeezed them to death: so Canada, assailed in the cradle by the two great enemies of national existence, was nothing daunted, but anticipated maturity and crushed what seemed the resistless instruments of easy ruin. More than fifty years had passed since a glow other than that of Indian summer flared along the tranquil bosom of Lake Erie, and Izzard, leaving the fort which sentinelled its waters a smoking ruin, crossed with 8,000 men to American territory. What changes had taken place, what great things had been achieved, what candidates for reward and renown had fought and disappeared, what forces had arisen and dashed themselves against the rocks of doom! There had been a rebellion, great constitutional changes, phantasmagoric invasion, and many who took part in these were as sound asleep as Brock, had passed as completely beyond censure or applause as Fitzgibbon beyond neglect. The intention was to give

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[Authorities:—Alison's "History of Europe;" Auchinleck's "History of the War of 1812-14;" David Thompson's "History of the Late War;" Col. Coffin's "Chronicle of the War of 1812;" "The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.;" "Historical Sketch of the War of 1812;" by Miss A. M. Machar. "A Poetical Account of the Campaigns of 1812 and 1813," by An Acadian. "Life of Colonel Talbot," by Edward Ermatinger. McMullen's "History of Canada." Surviving Veterans of 1812-14 and their friends.]

each man a hundred dollars and it might well have been thought that the sum was large enough. But those men of 1812 were a sturdy race and the number of well authenticated surviving warriors was large enough to reduce the share of each to twenty dollars. The old soldiers were, however, well content. They valued the recognition of their services, tardy though that recognition was. It is the privilege of old age to be garrulous, and especially of the old age of soldiers, and we need not be surprised that the faded and wrinkled heroes seized the opportunity to show how fields were won in those days of wilderness, before railways and breechloaders, when nobody dreamed we should send rifle teams to Wimbledon, and the most prophetic soul had no touch of intuition to body forth the railway magnate, either in his tadpole state of bonus-beggar or in the coarse importance of later years of pompous success. On the present the veterans looked with rheumy eyes; the adventures and perils of sixty years ago, with all their incidents, the brightness of the morning of the fight, the bracing keenness of an early frost as they rushed into one of the autumn engagements, the hue of the landscape in which the bloody picture was framed, the light in the glance of the leader giving his last command, all was for them vivid as ever. Over the scenes of those days for them time's curtain could never fall. To talk of that stirring period did the old men good, for this brought with it a breeze of power, a thrill of youth, the rainbow light of hope. Some were bowed under the hand of time. Others were erect and bore their ninety years as if it was a small thing. This one had grown prosperous; to that fortune had been less kind. But prosperous or not they were all glad of public acknowledgment of their services, and it exhilarated the heart of them to greet and grasp the hands of companions in arms of long ago. Samuel Clements, eighty years of age, formerly of Crook's Flank Company, who was present at Queenston Heights, who fought under the solemn stars at Lundy's Lane, would have made a good central figure for a historical picture as he told with uplifted finger how he saw Brock fall. Such a picture well executed might be placed by the side of Miss Thompson's Roll Call.

Every winter the society of York Pioneers founded by an Irishman, and presided over by a noble specimen of the United Empire

Loyalist, Colonel Denison, celebrates the anniversary of Chrysler's Farm. We live in days when perhaps anniversaries are over-done, when too many seek distinction, not by deeds, but by talking about the deeds of others, when energy is apt to exhaust itself in sparkle and froth. But the deeds of 1812-14 can never pass from men's hearts while Canada is Canada. From whatever point of view we regard the part played by Canada in those years, it is calculated not merely to win sympathy, but to challenge enthusiasm. The struggle was cruelly unequal. All the right and nearly all the valour was with the weaker side. Eight millions were arrayed against two hundred thousand. To-day the United States are only ten times our number. Then they were forty times. Aided by a handful of regular troops, we had to defend a frontier of 1,700 miles, menaced at three critical and vulnerable points. What wonder if there was a momentary sinking of heart? It was but a passing spasm. The people of the Lower Province, the United Empire Loyalists, the sturdy Canadian yeomen, the militia, men of Irish, Scotch, and English blood, all proved themselves worthy of their fathers. Volunteers flocked into the garrison towns. In default of guns and swords, they pressed the peaceful implements of husbandry into the service of war. There is no mood, however solemn, in which we cannot look with complacency on the little bands repulsing a cruel and impolitic invasion. In their hands the sword was something more than an instrument of justice; it was drawn with the choicest blessings of Heaven, and wielded with the force of sacred passions. The defender of his country does not fight for plunder or renown; he is not thinking of stars and crosses; he is no soldier of fortune; no knight errant doing wanton battle in the name of a fantastic honour. He is fighting for home, for the mother who nursed him, for the wife who makes the starlight of his dwelling, for the child who lisps his name, and is impatient at his absence. When the trumpet calls him, these things sweep across his fancy, and he is aware of a sublimed strength, and conscious of an unwonted fire; he feels as the ancients felt in supreme moments of battle, as though the immortals fought beside him, and gave him the victory. And when, with weary hands and heavy eyelids, he sinks into repose, the infinite

solace, which belongs to self-sacrifice, is around him, like hovering wings.\*

The people of Great Britain and Ireland cannot be blamed if the important events which at that time took place on the rivers and lakes of Canada, amid forest shadows and opening margents, received from them but scant attention; a just view has been neither so common nor so emphasized, as is desirable, amongst ourselves. It would be hard to expect men to turn their gaze from Moscow in flames, from Leipsic and the great Napoleon's beaten columns, from the moving spectacle of the Allies entering Paris, and the master of the world a prisoner in a petty island, to Queenston, to Burlington Heights, to the glorious struggle at Chrysler's Farm, to the victorious twenty-fifth of July at Chippawa. Yet though on a smaller scale than those which studded Europe with memories of wasted valour, our fights had a greater influence on the future; they had in them the seeds of things. We have lived to see a revolution in the foreign policy of England, and an Anglo-French alliance with a Napoleon ruling at the Tuileries. But during nigh upon three-quarters of a century, Canada has advanced steadily towards the goal of a national existence.

Nor, as we shall see, were our campaigns poor in individual heroism, or wanting in the picturesque. As long as Canada has a history and a name, so long will the story of Mary Secord walking twenty miles of wilderness, in danger of savage beasts and more savage men, to warn Fitzgibbon of an intended surprise on the Beaver Dam, be told. When in our national gallery of the future, miles of canvas attest the progress of Canadian art, no picture will compel more attention than Brock erect in his canoe leading the way to battle at Detroit, or the same gallant captain, shouting while the fatal lead whizzes to his heart: "Push on the brave York Volunteers." The tenacity of the two privates of the Forty-first who kept the bridge in the western marshes, though these swell the mass of undistinguished valour, stirs the heart as surely as the heroism of men more fortunate in renown. Centuries hence men will turn with admiration to Tecumseh, shaming by his determination the timid Proctor, or later, telling

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\* In the above and the following paragraph, there are a few sentences which have already appeared in a periodical.

him to have a "big heart," or still later, falling, like a hero fighting to the last. There was wanting to us no form of suffering; war was brought to our hearths, and we tasted the bitterness of devastation and defeat as well as the dear-bought joys of victory.

The history of Irishmen in Canada would not be complete without an account of this war, necessarily within easily understood limits. The greatest feat performed during the three campaigns was performed by an Irishman—a man, too, who was a true hero in more senses than being a brave soldier entitles a man to that name. If Scotland sent her share of men in the gallant Glengaries and others, and England hers, Ireland was represented by the 100th Regiment, and by a large proportion of the 49th, while all had a relative place in the Canadian Yeomanry, who did such splendid service.

Napoleon having become Emperor of France—having been crowned King of Italy—having beaten three empires on the field of Austerlitz—having scattered the glories of Frederick and of Prussia at Jena—advanced to Berlin, whence he hurled a thunderbolt at the commerce of England. This was a measure which could have occurred only to a man insane from success, and the excited consciousness of stupendous genius, which, having lost all sense of perspective, felt omnipotent, and thus like the thunder cloud, held within itself not only ruin for others, but the secret of its own dispersion. A great warrior, Napoleon was not a statesman; and though he could look up at the stars, and ask flippant atheists who made them, he was himself the worst kind of Atheist; he failed to recognise the fact, that no force can be permanent which cannot, in the hour of trial, fall back on God; he did not see that justice and truth are stronger than genius and armies; that morality, in the long run, beats might; that principles are above principalities and powers; that all is cloud and spray, and shifting sand and changing form, except the Absolute, who is the core and pivot of all things material and moral, the sole imperishable rock in the infinite abyss of everlasting mutation. By the Berlin decree, the British islands were placed in a state of blockade. Every species of commerce with them was forbidden. Every letter addressed in English was to be seized, and

interdicted all circulation. Every British subject in countries occupied by the French troops, or by those of the allies of France, was to be made a prisoner of war. Every species of property belonging to a subject of Great Britain, in any part of the world, was declared to be good prize. English goods bought by a French subject were placed in the same category. No vessel from England or her colonies, or which touched at a British port, was, whatever her distress, to be received in any harbour over which the tyrant had power. If a vessel, in stress of weather, or needing food, put into any harbour of France, or her allies or dependents, she was declared liable to seizure, even though she did not belong to England, if she had barely called at Liverpool or Belfast or Halifax.

There was not a country in the world, however small, if her merchant marine consisted of a single schooner, but should have resented this barbarous decree, which apart from all other follies committed by great soldiers, ought to make men for ever qualify their admiration of the military genius. How was it treated at Washington? The war of independence had left behind it a bitter feeling towards England, the danger of which did not escape the sage glance of Washington, that unique hero whose perfect balance makes the impression of faultless sculpture. It was natural that the French revolution should excite the sympathies of the American people. All that was generous and enlightened, the world over, saw in that revolution the stormy dawn of a better and nobler day for the world. War with Great Britain and a French alliance became a passionate popular longing. The tide rose so high that it threatened to sweep even Washington into helpless privacy, or even worse. Washington stood calm like a great tower when the rivers have broken over their banks, and all the land is a turbulent turbid sea, hurrying one way. The follies and crimes of the Revolution brought about reaction; the floods subsided, and a commercial treaty was established with Great Britain. Again, however, the anti-British feeling rose, nor did the hostilities between the United States and France in 1798, sensibly abate it. A treaty of peace ensued. The election of Jefferson to the Presidency, and the ascendancy of the Democratic party assured, there was nothing to check the jealousy and



dislike of whatever was British. It seemed at one time as if a people loud in their boast of freedom would ally themselves with a despot. When, the continent at his mercy, Napoleon penned the Berlin decree with the view of striking at liberty in her last asylum in the old world, England retaliated by the "Orders in Council," prohibiting trade with the ports occupied by the French, vigorously blockading all the ports of France or her allies, and declaring the manufactures or produce of the hostile countries or their colonies, good prize. These Orders in Council necessarily struck a blow at American commerce, for the British fleet swept the seas. Not merely did they interfere with the vast carrying trade of the United States. There was not a poor operative in England or Ireland, who did not suffer in consequence of the mad tyranny of Napoleon, for it was Napoleon who was surely responsible in the first place. The wisdom of the Orders in Council may be questioned. But so far as they were an evil, the moral responsibility rested with the ruler of France, and indeed at the time of the whole continent. Jefferson, unjustly and unpatriotically and unscrupulously seized the opportunity, to still further inflame animosity against England. He refused to ratify a treaty of amity commerce and navigation, between Great Britain and the United States, negotiated by the American Minister at the Court of St. James. He sent a message to Congress inveighing against the Orders in Council. Not a word did he utter against the Berlin decree. The Democratic party, as insane as Napoleon, forbade American vessels to leave their ports.

The right insisted on by England of searching for British deserters in American ships aggravated the delicacy of the situation. The breach between the two countries became wider. The broadside from the *Leopard* bringing the *Chesapeake* to, in order to search for deserters, had, though, the English Government disavowed the act, no tendency to make the relations more amicable. Meanwhile the mad embargo on outgoing American vessels, produced the natural result—distress. Massachusetts demanded its repeal. Mr. Madison was elected President. The edict was repealed in the spring of 1809, an Act being substituted prohibiting all intercourse with France and England, but providing that the Act should be a dead letter in regard to either or both nations

once their hostile decrees were repealed. Things looked more favourable now.

Mr. Erskine, son of the celebrated advocate, was sent out with express instructions from Mr. Canning, which he somewhat exceeded, in consenting to consider the suspension of the non-intercourse Act a fair equivalent for the lapse of the Orders in Council, and thus failing to insist that so long as the French decrees were in force, the United States should renounce all pretensions to carry on any trade with the colonies of belligerents not allowed in times of peace, and that British ships of war should be allowed to enforce, by capture, the American non-intercourse with France and her allies. There was great rejoicing among the moderate party at the settlement, which had, it was supposed, been effected by Mr. Erskine and Mr. Madison. The federal press had articles headed "Triumph of Federal Policy;" "No Embargo;" "No French Party;" "A Return to Peace, Prosperity and Commerce," and the like.

All this exultation was destined to receive a rude shock. Depression and indignation followed joy, when on the 20th July, more than a month after it was thought the obnoxious measures had become dead letters, news came that Mr. Canning had declared in the House of Commons, that the arrangement made by Mr. Erskine was wholly unauthorised by his instructions. Mr. Erskine was wrong to have gone beyond his instructions. Mr. Canning was more of a bureaucrat than a statesman, however, in refusing to ratify his arrangement. The non-intercourse was soon re-established, and the situation was more unsatisfactory than before. Every hour made it more tense. Mr. Jackson, who succeeded Mr. Erskine was studiously insulted. In the spring of 1811, the American minister took formal leave of the Prince Regent. A rupture was felt to be inevitable. Intercourse with France was resumed. The French flag flew in American harbours and from French vessels, many of which were fitted out as privateers, to prey on British commerce. The train was all ready. The match was applied by the collision between the *Little Belt* and the *President*, the former an English sloop of war of eighteen guns, the latter an American frigate of forty-four guns. The following January, by an overwhelming majority, Congress passed resolutions

to increase the regular troops to 25,000, and raising an immediate loan of \$10,000,000.

How the Americans hastened hostilities in order to capture the British homeward bound West India fleet; how Madison sought to work on the warlike feeling by placing before Congress worthless papers sold him by Henley for the enormous sum of \$50,000; how, on the 19th of June, Congress passed an Act declaring war against Great Britain; how shortly afterwards the Orders in Council were repealed; how notwithstanding Congress did not recede from its hostile position, need only be referred to. Madison was anxious to distinguish his presidency by the conquest of Canada. The great mass of the American people hungered for more territory, and they longed to humiliate England by driving her from the Valley of the St. Lawrence, and raising the stars and stripes over every stronghold from Fort Malden to Quebec.

The United States acted at this time, as they have frequently done, as if they did not believe in justice or honour, and only cared about profit and expediency. But there have always been thousands who would not bow the knee to Baal, and the most influential and reflecting raised protests against the war as unjust, unnecessary, and impolitic, as indeed hardly decent, seeing that it meant having for an ally a man, whose whole career showed him to be the enemy of freedom.

Not only was the war objected to in itself. The method by which Canada was to be conquered was placed in its true light. One Virginian gentleman said the plan was to make the Canadians traitors as a preliminary step to their becoming American citizens. Honourable men shrank from the tactics of tricksters. But unfortunately the sinister policy prevailed, as it has often prevailed since, not to the advantage of the world at large or the American people themselves. The men of New England would have nothing to do with the invasion of a people who had given no provocation. In Boston on the day war was declared, the flags were hoisted half-mast high, as though some great national calamity had occurred. On the other hand, extreme men from Germany, French enthusiasts, with no political experience save what they had gained during the reign of terror, Irish sympathisers with, and refugees from the Irish rebellion, swelled the cry of war. These last had

been, in most cases, deprived by bad laws of that education which would have enabled them to make just distinctions, or they would have turned with disgust from an attack on a peaceable population for a cause of quarrel which had occurred on the other side of the world. I do not find, however, that on this occasion the American army was in any great proportion Irish, and amongst the Generals we look in vain for a Montgomery.

But in truth the Americans thought taking Canada would be an easy task. With an ignorance and a vanity which provoke a smile, it was believed that the Canadians themselves, would gladly exchange the union jack for the stars and stripes,\* and if they were not so wise in their election, they must be taught wisdom. How could they resist indeed? The odds were overwhelming. Apart from the vast population they had to draw on, they had twenty-five thousand regular troops and one hundred thousand militia, against five thousand eight hundred men in the two Canadas, and a small militia badly equipped.

In Lower Canada parliament had passed a liberal Militia Act, and voted considerable sums. A regiment of French-Canadian *voltigeurs* was raised. I cannot but pause here to think how different things might have been in Ireland if the people had had privileges such as those wisely accorded to French Canadians in 1775, and had been trusted. In Upper Canada an effective Militia Bill was passed, and Brock, fully aware of the danger, was exerting all his energy and ability to meet it. There were few troops in the province and not sufficient arms for half the militia. From England, where it was thought the repeal of the Orders in Council would settle everything, no aid could be expected for months.

There are two prominent heroes in the war of 1812-14. To one ample justice has been done. Neither alive nor dead has the other been properly rewarded. Both were intimately associated in their lives. Perhaps it was well for the one he fell in battle urging on the brave York volunteers, or he might have experienced the fickleness of popular favour, and the dire ingratitude

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\* Even to-day we sometimes hear Americans talk in a strange way on this head. When coming back from the Centennial, I fell into conversation with an intelligent American, who said to me - "I guess over in Canada you feel at times that you are not free enough, and that old mother England keeps you down a little too much."

which seems inseparable from free communities. Both were genuine heroes. The less fortunate was the more romantic of the two. We must go a little back in time in order to trace the early acquaintance of two remarkable men.

Isaac Brock was born in Guernsey in 1769, the same year in which Napoleon and Wellington were born. His family was one of some local importance. He was tall, robust, and though a gymnast, remarkable for his extreme gentleness. He entered the 8th regiment as an ensign in 1785. Five years afterwards he was promoted to a lieutenancy. At the close of 1790 he obtained an independent company by raising the requisite number of men. He soon after exchanged into the 49th, and joined his regiment at Barbadoes. There was in the regiment a confirmed duellist, who took advantage of his being a dead shot. Brock soon proved to his brother captain that he was not to be bullied nor intimidated. He was challenged as a matter of course. On the ground Brock pointed out that it was not fair, he being so large a man, to stand at twelve paces, and producing a handkerchief, insisted on firing across it. This the duellist declined, and the consequence was, the regiment got rid of him. On the 24th of June, Brock purchased his majority. In 1797 he purchased his lieutenant-colonelcy, and soon after became senior lieutenant-colonel of the 49th. He was then in his twenty-eighth year.

On the 6th of August, a young Irishman enlisted in the 49th, on Barham Downs, near Canterbury. In less than two months he was fighting under Brock at Egmont-op-Zee, where his colonel was wounded, and had his holsters shot through. The merits of James Fitzgibbon were soon discovered by General Brock, who, a few years afterwards, made him sergeant-major, and in 1806 procured him an ensigncy. After the deployment of the 49th on the sand hills, Fitzgibbon separated from Colonel Brock with that part of the regiment detached under Lieutenant-Colonel Sheaffe. Soon after they commenced firing, the soldiers covering themselves behind the sand hills and firing over the summit. While thus engaged he noticed the paymaster, Savery Brock, passing from the top of one sand hill to another, directing and encouraging the men. He watched every moment to see him fall. But two hours passed away and the paymaster remained untouched.

"Being at this time," says Fitzgibbon, "only eighteen years of age, and not nine months from my parents' fire-side, in a remote village in Ireland, I did not venture, although a sergeant, to give any orders or instructions, lest I should do wrong. But after witnessing Savery Brock's conduct, I determined to be the first to advance every time at the head of those around me, and I soon saw that of those who were most prompt to follow me, fewer fell than of those more in the rear." He then, this raw lad of eighteen, made up his mind to think no more of his own life, but leave the care of it to Divine Providence, and to strain every nerve to do his duty. At five o'clock on that day, while in his eagerness pressing forward, he went too far ahead of his men, was cut off and taken prisoner.

On the 27th February, 1801, the 49th embarked on board Nelson's squadron at Portsmouth. On the 30th of March the fleet proceeded through the Sound, with a topsail breeze from N. W. Fitzgibbon was in the *Monarch*, the 49th acting as marines. This ship had 210 men killed and wounded. The next year the regiment was ordered to Canada. In the fall, at Montreal, an educated soldier named Carr was observed by Colonel Brock to salute him with less manliness than usual, and he suspected that he would desert as the ice bridge was on the river. Brock ordered Fitzgibbon, now a sergeant-major, to bring the man before him. The Colonel directly charged Carr with intending to desert. "Manfully tell me the truth!" roared Brock. Carr stammered out a denial. Brock stepped up to him, and putting his clenched fist forward, cried in a firm voice: "Don't prevaricate. Tell me the truth like a man. You know I have always treated you kindly!" The awed wretch confessed that he and others had determined to desert. "Go then," rejoined the Colonel, "and tell those deluded men all that has passed here, and that notwithstanding what you have told me, I will still treat every one of you with kindness, and you may then all desert from me if you please."

In the following summer, when the 49th were at York (Toronto), the sergeant of the guard informed the sergeant-major (Fitzgibbon), that three of his men were missing, and that a boat had been taken from a shed in charge of a sentry, who had likewise disappeared. Fitzgibbon instantly reported this to the Col-

onel, who ordered him to man a boat forthwith with a sergeant and twelve privates of the light company. In half an hour Brock and Fitzgibbon were sitting together muffled up in the stern, while the oars dipped rapidly, and the little craft shot through the waters for Niagara, which was reached in the morning. The Colonel then despatched a party of the detachment stationed there to run along the American shore of Lake Ontario, while he and Fitzgibbon rowed round by the west end of the lake, with the view of intercepting the deserters should they have taken this course. But they had taken the other direction, and were captured by the party sent east by Colonel Brock.

In the following year a serious conspiracy in which some Irishmen were implicated was discovered. The object of the mutiny was the life of Col. Sheaffe, who seems to have been a tyrannical martinet. A servant of Major Wulff, of the Royal Artillery, who was stationed at Niagara, was returning home across the common from fort St. George when he met a soldier of the 49th, one Fitzpatrick, running towards the Fort. He asked the time, and on being told, cried: "Thank God, I will not be too late for the roll-call or dinner, for if I were that tyrant — would send me to knapsack drill for a week. But, by — !" and he muttered a threat. The servant struck by Fitzpatrick's manner went over to the Fort and described the interview to Col. Sheaffe. Fitzpatrick was sent for. He confessed nothing, but showed what were considered unmistakeable signs of guilt. He was put in irons and sent to the cells, whereupon a soldier named Daly confessed he was one of the conspirators, having been seduced from his duty by Sergeant Clarke. Daly had been enlisted by this sergeant in Ireland in the year previous. A meeting of the conspirators had taken place that morning, at Knox's tavern, from which place Fitzpatrick was returning, perhaps having taken a glass or two when his manner betrayed him.

Word of the conspiracy was immediately sent to Colonel Brock, at York. The Colonel and Fitzgibbon, his "young and devoted Sergeant-Major," embarked in the schooner which brought the report. Fitzgibbon was told to remain below deck and out of view until sent for, while Brock walked over alone to the east gate of the fort. He crossed the square to the guard which he

found commanded by Sergeant Clarke. It was part of the plan that the mutineers were to take to their arms on some night when Sergeant Clarke and Corporal O'Brien were on guard. They were now on guard. The guard presented arms. Colonel Brock advanced and said: "Sergeant, let your guard shoulder arms." It was done. "Come here, Sergeant," he said, authoritatively, "lay down your pike." The pike was laid down. "Corporal O'Brien, bring a pair of handcuffs and put them on this sergeant and lock him up in the cells and bring me the key." This was done. "Come here, Corporal, lay down your arms, take off your accoutrements and lay them down also." Obeyed. "Come here you grenadier"—addressing the right hand man of the guard—"bring a pair of handcuffs and put them on this corporal, and lock him up in another cell and bring me the key." They were brought, and Brock cried: "Drummer, beat to arms." Just then Lieutenant Williams was seen issuing from the nearest building: "Williams," cried Brock, "go and instantly secure Rock, and if he hesitate to obey, even for a moment, cut him down." Williams ran up stairs and told Rock to come down. "Yes, sir, when I take my arms." "No you must come down without them." "I must have my arms, sir." "If you touch your musket I will cut you down instantly; go down before me." Thirteen conspirators were taken, and they and seven deserters were sent on to Quebec where they were tried by Court-Martial. Four of the mutineers—Clarke, O'Brien, Rock, and Fitzpatrick, and three deserters were condemned to suffer death.

Why do I recount this circumstance which can shed no lustre on Irishmen? Because, as I have already said, Irishmen can afford to have the truth told, and incidentally it shows that the 49th had been recruited in part, in Ireland.

In a letter, dated Quebec, March 17, 1807, and addressed to the adjutant-general of His Majesty's forces, Brock speaks of the 100th regiment in a contradictory manner. He says: "The winter has passed without a single instance of neglect or misconduct having occurred among the 100th regiment, and it is a pleasing task to report that so exemplary have the men behaved, that even regimentally, only one corporal punishment has been inflicted for the last three months." So far so good. He adds with singu-



lar absurdity : " I am now speaking of men, who, being nearly all Irish, are of all others the most volatile and easily led astray \* \* The men were principally raised in the north of Ireland and are nearly all Protestants. They are robust, active and good looking." By the returns of the 100th regiment, dated 16th March, 1807, it appears that only one officer was an Englishman, Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, one—the assistant surgeon—a Scotchman, while twenty-six were Irish ; eight unknown, being absent on leave or not having joined ; two vacancies ; making a total of 38 officers. Of the non-commissioned officers and privates, out of 468, the Irish numbered 458 ; there being nine English and one Scotch.

Fitzgibbon, always the right hand man of Brock, became, as already indicated, Lieutenant in 1809.

The curtain must now rise on war. We cannot, nor is it necessary, to mention the names of all the Irishmen engaged in it. The Wards, such men as Edward Wright and Mr. Rogers, had their comrades and counterparts. There is one prominent Irish hero ; perhaps, by and by, we shall have to admit a poor private to that position—James O'Hara, better known as " Jimmy " O'Hara, of whom more anon.

The Americans commenced hostilities by taking Mackinaw, a small military outpost for the protection of the fur trade, an advantage of which they were soon deprived. Meanwhile, General Hull, an officer of the war of independence, on the 12th July crossed the river Detroit, with a force of two thousand five hundred, and a strong park of artillery. He planted the American standard on our shores, and issued a bombastic proclamation, in which he said, that the standard of the Union waved over the territory of Canada, that it brought no danger to peaceable unoffending inhabitants, that he came to find, not to make enemies, to protect, not injure Canadians. He reminded them that they had felt the tyranny of Great Britain and seen her injustice. But, he magnanimously added, that he did not ask them to avenge the one or redress the other. The United States were powerful enough to do both and much more. " Had I any doubt of eventual success," he went on, " I might ask your assistance. But I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I

have a force which will break down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater." After more stuff of the same sort, he declared that no white man found fighting by the side of an Indian would be taken prisoner; "instant death will be his lot." A few weeks afterwards, General Hull had retreated across the river, and had surrendered Detroit.

An unknown author using the *nom de plume*, "An Acadian," writes with great bitterness in his "Poetical Account." But as the poem was written as the war progressed and published in 1815, it is valuable as expressing the sentiments of the hour.

The publisher, John Howe, jun., dedicates the letters to the people of Canada. The last lines are dated "United States of America, December, 1813." It is clear the author was an enforced exile amongst a people for whom he had a special, I had almost said, an exaggerated antipathy. As he wrote nothing about 1814, I gather either that he died, or else that he obtained his freedom, and was a bird who could only sing when caged.

Adieu! the wintry wind blows hard around  
And nature in an icy chain is bound,  
May Spring revive in England's happy isle  
With cheering hopes and most propitious smile,  
And may the war and my sad exile end,  
Prays with sincerity thy faithful friend.

And so he disappears over the snow crusted landscape. It may be that he was conscious that he had not in supreme measure the divine afflatus. Yet the verses dealing with the surrender at Detroit are not without spirit, though they scarcely fulfil the conditions of poetry.

Brock led them\* through the deep rolling flood,  
And at Detroit the fearless body stood:  
Around the towns in slender lines they spread;  
And through the columns whistled English lead,  
Hissing too loud to please a Yankee's ear,  
Soon wild disorder *imitated* fear.  
"Capitulation" whispered every way,  
And on the fort gleamed in the sunny ray  
The flag of peace, white as the thorn of May.

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\*The Indians.

Parley the trumpet spoke, the strife was still,  
 And slaughter stayed against the Indians' will,  
 For in *their* ears, these words revibrate loud,  
 "No quarter give—but massacre the crowd!"

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On the first gate, Hull's proclamation spread,  
 Just as that captive general show'd his head,  
 The Indian chief stepped forward from his band,  
 And pointing to the line with lifted hand,  
 Where Hull had promised death to all his race,  
 He flings his hatchet with indignant face,  
 And from the paper struck its every trace.

It does not come within my task to point out how Sir George Prevost tied Brock's hands, or to describe the most irritating of all spectacles, a superior mind controlled by an inferior one, a swift intuition and a strong will reined in by blundering and vacillation. The American plan embraced a combined attack. Hull was to enter Canada at the west by crossing the Detroit River; Van Ransallaer at the Niagara River; Dearborn by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu; all aided by harassing incursions at minor points along the frontier.

Van Ransallaer at Queenston, made Captain Dennis, with two companies of the 49th retreat to the north end of the village. Here he was met by Brock, who dismounting from his horse, put himself at the head of a company of the 49th, resolved to take the heights, now in possession of the Americans. Under a heavy fire, he advanced at double quick time, crying out as he waved his sword to "push on the brave York volunteers." He fell as the words escaped his lips. A cry rose, which be sure was swelled with Irish voices, to avenge the General, and regulars and militia, though so much outnumbered, drove the enemy from its strong position on the crest of the hill. The enemy being reinforced they were obliged to retire. Then Major-General Sheaffe on whom the command devolved, came up with reinforcements; the conflict was renewed; regulars and militia, though still outnumbered, charged again and again, until they turned the left flank of the Americans, and the day was won. Among the officers mentioned in the report of General Sheaffe as having distinguished themselves, were at least two Irishmen, Lieutenant-Colonel Butler

and Lieutenant Thomas Butler. The British loss did not exceed one hundred men, while that on the American side was not less than two thousand. Among the former was the gallant provincial aide-de-camp of Brock, Colonel McDonald. This battle was the Thermopylæ of the war. Brock, as he entered among the shades, might have greeted Leonidas as his brother; and the men whose blood enriched those heights, whence to-day the eye drinks in a scene of such varied beauty, the green slopes, the pretty town, the bright waters of Ontario; Brock's monument, and the union jack giving a British character to the whole; might speak to the traveller who visits this spot of heroic associations, sending Canadians a parody of the immortal message:

Tell the Spartans, at their bidding,  
Stranger, here in death we lie.\*

There could indeed be no nobler resting place for a hero than near the measureless grandeur of the Falls; material sublimity near moral sublimity; and yet when contrasted with this the myriad might of the watery plunge into the boiling chasm seeming so small. Ages upon ages have elapsed since the waters commenced to cleave a way through the rock, and when a like period has passed away, this thunderous voice may still be heard, and the name of Brock be mingled with its legends when his column shall be a shapeless fragment, and the language he spoke a curious study for the learned.

Brock's mausoleum, distant worlds shall tell,  
And paint Niagara where the hero fell.  
Time spurning flood! When nations are no more,  
Thou wilt relate the tragic story o'er;  
And show that grave, beside his on the hill  
Where brave Macdonald holds his station still;  
For as in life—in fortune's hours they sped,  
So side by side are laid the heroes dead.

Nor until Brock has ceased to be historical will be forgotten, as one of the noblest features in his career, that he early discovered the genius of the brave and simple Fitzgibbon.

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\* Lines composed by Simonides and inscribed on the monument erected at Thermopylæ in honour of the defenders of Greece.

Van Ransallaer, disgusted with the conduct of the American militia—who, after they had seen what Brito-Hibernian valour meant, pleaded the “constitution” when he wanted them to advance into Canadian territory—resigned, and was succeeded by Brigadier-General Smyth in the command of what may be called the American army of the centre.

If we had to discuss the generalship of the British commander and the armistice, disapproved of even by Prevost, which he concluded, we should in justice to him bear in mind that the prisoners he had taken greatly outnumbered his little army.\* But Brock had he survived would have followed up the advantage. As it was, what happened? The enemy availed themselves of the opportunity to recruit and reorganize their army, as well as to collect a flotilla at the lower end of Lake Erie.

A bleak, cold, cheerless November blew its icy breath over the colony at whose gates still watched the aggressors, soon to retire into brief winter quarters, baffled and beaten at all points. Harrison, with his Kentucky forest rangers and sharpshooters from that State, which makes half the southern boundary of Lake Erie, and rests in the lap of the Ohio, hurrying to swell the majestic volume of the Mississippi, rolling to the Gulf, threatened the small force under Proctor in the west; Smyth, with five thousand men, strutted on the eastern shore of the Niagara River; Dearborn, at the head of ten thousand men, hung on the confines of the Lower Province; for though beaten on land the successes of the Americans at sea kept up their spirits. The same good fortune did not attend them on our lakes, though they pounced upon Canadian shipping under the guns of the forts at Kingston, York, and Niagara. An attempt on a British advanced post near Rouse's Point called forth all the ardour of Lower Canadians, of whatever origin, and the Montreal militia rose as one man.

To the feeling in Lower Canada, as well as all over the country, all historians bear witness. Through the kindness of Mr. A. Thornton Todd, I have been put in possession of some valuable correspondence of his grand-uncle, Isaac Todd, an eminent Irish merchant

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\* Neither Sheaffe nor Prevost were English or Scotch or Irish. Prevost was born in New York and his father was a Swiss. Sheaffe was born in Boston and was of German descent.

in Montreal, whose brother was one of the leaders of the North-West Fur Company, after whom the first ship to the Columbia River on the Pacific was called. In a letter dated Montreal, 20th of October, 1812, he writes to his correspondent at Liverpool, that, as he knew, his object in coming here was to sell property, "but the unfortunate war makes property of no value here, nor does there appear any business but soldiering." In a previous letter dated the 23rd September, 1812, he says: "There seems a determination and spirit in English and Canadians to defend their Province. The Americans are advancing with ten thousand men (Dearborn's) by report, and are now near the line which separates this Province and the United States, about thirty miles from the opposite side of the river. What may be the event God knows, or what can influence the President to persist in a war when the great part of the pretended cause (the Orders in Council) is done away, and when he must know it is reprobated by almost all the good men in the United States. There is still hope that he will not be re-elected President, or that when Congress meets there will be a majority for peace." Having pointed out that the two countries should, though separated in government and laws and empire, be united "from nature and interest," he goes on to say: "Although at my time of life I can do little good as a soldier, yet as this place is threatened with invasion I don't like to leave my friends. I have therefore determined on waiting the event and wintering here."

Smyth had meanwhile issued a proclamation to the men of New York, and addressed his soldiers in a melo-dramatic style; had embarked and re-embarked, irresolute one should say, rather than resolute to conquer; and terrified by a bugle horn, had given up the enterprise. "I must not be defeated," he said, when putting himself at the head of his troops. Nor was he. To fight is as necessary a preliminary to defeat as to victory. The people of the United States nicknamed Smyth, General Van Bladder, and the tavern keepers thinking him unworthy even of a cock-tail, shut their doors in his face.\*

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\* In his address to the men of New York, this braggart had said: (the italics are mine) "The valour of the American people has been conspicuous; but the nation has

"Acadian" pours forth all the vials of his scorn on the unfortunate General:—

The welkin now was still—the air serene,  
 The General roused once more his sleeping spleen,  
 His courage rose—"for Canada push on,  
 The way is clear—the heavy clouds are gone,"  
 He spoke, as bray'd along the distant range  
 The haughty bugle with its warlike change.  
 Still stood the knight, of all his honours shorn  
 Forgetful hero—why not have spiked the horn?  
 "Back! back!" he cried, "Row! row! with speed away,  
 That Canada, I cannot take to-day."

When the armies had gone into winter quarters, the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada was formed to provide for those on whom the brunt of the war had fallen. This fund was warmly supported in Canada, in the West Indies, in the old country, and in Nova Scotia, a statement in which Irishmen may feel a personal pride as well as their brethren of the same blood from England and Scotland. By the Legislatures of both Provinces large votes were passed for equipping and embodying a strong force of militia. Recruiting was responded to so readily that for the campaign of 1813 the offensive force, including regulars and militia, amounted to 8,000, which had, however, to face three times their number—making a combined movement on the three keys of Canada's safety, Amherstburg, the Niagara frontier, and the St. Lawrence. Early in the year Proctor gave a good account of Harrison in the Far West; the Highland Glengarries,

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been *unfortunate in the selection of those who have directed it*. . . . Must I turn from you, and ask the men of the Six Nations to support the Government of the United States. Shall I imitate," he asks with admirable Pistol eloquence, "the officers of the British king, and suffer our *ungathered laurels* to be tarnished by ruthless deeds—shame where's thy blush—no—advance then to our aid—I will wait for you a few days—I cannot give you the day of my departure—but come on—come in companies, half companies, pairs or singly—I will organize you for a *short tour*; ride to this place if the distance is far—and send back your horses."

In his address to the soldiers, he told them they were about to conquer Canada; that they were superior in number and in personal strength, and activity to the British; that the British soldiers were old and sickly, and quite unfit to endure their charge. He little knew he was speaking of men, who, if Napoleon's picked troops were charging them, would not reel.

In his despatch, he said; "The affair at Queenston is a caution against relying on crowds who go to the banks of Niagara to look at a battle, as on a theatrical exhibition."

while the ice was still on the river, had distinguished themselves on the St. Lawrence, by a brilliant demonstration against Fort La Presentation. When the ice had disappeared from the river it was determined to assault York. On the 27th of April, the fleet stood before the capital of Upper Canada. To the landing of the enemy a most determined resistance was made by a small force. In this force were the Rogers, the Duggans, the Wrights, and the like. Overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retire. The Americans, commanded by General Pike, having effected a landing, advanced to the fort, situate where the Great Western freight depot stands to-day—a spot which, in 1812, was two miles to the west of the town, in the midst of a country thickly wooded,\* unburdened by asylums, and unbeautified by princely mansions. They formed into two lines, and carried the battery by assault. They then advanced towards the citadel in the same order, and in doing so captured a small intervening battery. There they halted to dress their lines for the supreme attack on the mainworks, when a magazine was fired by an Irish Artillery Sergeant, named Marshall. The explosion killed and wounded a good many on both sides, and amongst the killed was General Pike. After a brave struggle, there was nothing for it but that the little band should retreat. This they did in good order towards York. There was one man, however, who would not quit the fort, and, though his conduct may seem Quixotic, it shows him to have possessed the stuff of which heroes are made. Nor did the people of Toronto forget it when, having been meanwhile soiled by gross weaknesses, he was borne, amid vast crowds, to his grave. The humble hero was James O'Hara, whose name speaks for his nationality. He swore he would not leave the fort. When the Americans came in, O'Hara asked them what they wanted, and, lifting the butt-end of his musket, was about to strike, when he was overpowered and disarmed. Here we have the spirit of Tecumseh fighting to the last blow amongst his braves. Why did this hero remain a private? For a cause which has kept more men, Irish and otherwise, back

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\* In the thirteenth of the Dudden Sonnets, Wordsworth sings of

“The gusts that lash  
The matted forests of Ontario's shore,  
By wasteful steel unsmitten.”



than any other—a cause which Sir Walter Scott, brought up in the midst of a drinking society, characterized as the one vice inconsistent with greatness.

In York General Sheaffe held a Council of War, when it was resolved to abandon the town and retreat toward Kingston. In the capture of York the Canadians lost four hundred, forty of whom were killed or wounded; the Americans from four to five hundred, forty of whom were killed and two hundred and twenty-two wounded by the explosion.

On the 8th of May, the Americans evacuated York, re-embarked, proceeded to Sackett's Harbour where under Dearborn's instructions—the General was sick in bed—great preparations were made for invading the Niagara frontier.\*

Again he alludes to this in the canto or letter describing the attack on the Niagara frontier. The student of the war should get before his mind a clear picture of the geographical situation.

General Vincent defended Fort George, at Niagara, with 1,400 men against 6,000 men and 11 vessels with a fighting broadside of 52 guns. A landing severely contested was effected under cover of the guns from the ships. Having landed however, the Americans did not have it all their own way. They were three times driven back at the point of the bayonet, nor was it until the corpse of every mounted officer disfigured that placid shore, and every gunner lay dead or dying near his gun that Vincent abandoned the desperate struggle against ten-fold odds. He spiked his guns, blew up his magazine and retreated in good order on the Beaver Dam, a strong position twelve miles from Niagara on the road to Burlington Heights. Fort George fell into the enemy's

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\* Acadian refers with a want of taste to Dearborn's infirmity.

Near the Lake's margin little York town stood,  
 Wrapp'd in a robe of deeply folding wood;  
 Its youthful beauty no disorder show'd,  
 But peace and plenty made it their abode;  
 One fort appear'd, but of the smallest size  
 With Britain's ensign waving to the skies,  
 From whose dark battery clouds of smoke were spread,  
 As the invaders on their numbers led;  
 The General sick and weary staid behind,  
 To fight his stomach was not much inclin'd.

hands and 445 brave Canadians, whether Irish, English or Scotch, lay dead around the little town. The Americans made no energetic effort to follow up the advantage, and by the time the 3,000 men and nine field pieces sent in pursuit arrived, Vincent had entrenched himself at Stony Creek. The American pursuing force was under Generals Winder and Chandler, the former being chief in command. The Acadian says—with I fear—as just bitterness as contempt, although some Canadian historians do not mention the circumstance of cottage burning, and Americans deny it:

This sober general moved not on in haste,  
*Slowly he march'd, and laid each cottage waste ;*  
 Arriving safe, the fifth fair cloudless day,  
 Within ten miles of where the British lay  
 On a fair plain, that its broad bosom lent  
 An ample space to halt, he spread his tent.  
 This was enough, no other thought was near,  
 No cautious whisper reach'd his warlike ear ;  
 But all supine, he and his army fed  
 On brave spoils pilfer'd from the peasant's shed.

On the 1st June, 1813, Mr. Isaac Todd speaks of the "critical situation" of the country, particularly Upper Canada. "They have had all this spring," he writes, "a superior force on Lake Ontario, and by great numbers have obtained possession of one of our forts after severe fighting, as you will see by a hand bill. Since the arrival of Sir James Yeo with officers and 500 seamen, we have now a fleet ready and willing to meet them, the event of which [meeting] may partly decide the fate of Upper Canada. Sir George Prevost is in Upper Canada, and anxiously awaiting the arrival of more troops to attack them. Our troops are so superior that on a plain they can beat three times their number, and our Indian allies behave so well, I trust Great Britain will never make peace without attending to their interests and protection. We have yet exclusive of seamen, only about 1,000 troops, and the 19th regiment of Light Dragoons, arrived. The latter will not be mounted these twelve months, and if they were, would be of little use in woods. There are two American gentlemen sent by the American Government to Russia, it is said, to solicit the Emperor's mediation for peace. Before they obtain it, they ought to be humbled."

How Vincent had the enemy's position reconnoitred, and how a night attack of 600 on 3,000 was a complete success, the two

generals with 620 officers and men, and four guns, falling into the hands of the brave captain, is well known, as is also, how the rest fled in confusion.\* The enemy was now thrown back on the edge of the frontier at Fort George.

General Vincent, slightly reinforced, took the offensive. He placed his right wing under the command of Lieut.-Col. Bishopp. The Colonel pushed forward detachments, and took up two positions commanding the cross-roads at the Ten-mile Creek and the Beaver Dam. Dearborn despatched Lieut.-Col. Baerstler with a force of seven hundred men from Fort George to attack the handful of men, only thirty, who, under Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, of the 49th, had taken up their position in a stone house near the Beaver Dam. A woman named Mary Secord, the widow of a man who had been wounded at Queenston, heard from private sources that it was the intention of the American forces to surround Fitzgibbon. She determined to apprise Fitzgibbon, if possible, of his danger. She left early in the June morning, her heart beating with anxiety lest she should not get through the American guards, out ten miles in the country. Through all the burning summer tide she walked over a rough country, and as she came into the neighbourhood of the Beaver Dam, daylight was gone. Captain Kerr, with a party of Indians, occupied the adjacent woods. There was a moon, and as the brave woman strode on in a light more attuned to tender associations than to those of war, she came on the Indian encampment. For a moment, and to a mind free from apprehension, the scene was picturesque. But when two hundred armed Indians rose, and yelled and shouted, "woman!" it was terrible. "It made me tremble," said Mrs. Secord, when recounting the circumstance. "I cannot," she added, "express the awful feeling it gave me." She did not, however, lose her presence of mind. Advancing to one of the chiefs, she made him understand she had great news for Fitzgibbon. Fitzgibbon, benefiting by the information, made his arrangements.

The following day Colonel Baerstler came unexpectedly on this

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\* Chandler, one of the Generals taken, had, on the 4th of July, 1812, given as a toast, "The 4th of July, 1813, may we on that day drink wine within the walls of Quebec." He probably had his wish, as on that day he was a prisoner within those walls.

same body of Indians. Fighting ensued. Fitzgibbon soon came up with his thirty men. The fighting grew hotter. Baerstler fearing an ambuscade drew off his large body of infantry, his dragoons and his field pieces towards Lundy's Lane.

Lieutenant Fitzgibbon reconnoitred and having discovered that reinforcements had been sent for, determined on a step so bold, and so instinct with the true soldier genius, that it deserves to be placed on record as among the master feats of the world, with that of the Huguenot Captain Normand and the soldier Barbot when the Duke of Anjou was besieging Rochelle, with the gallantry of \*Elizabeth's great Admiral attacking a whole Spanish fleet with a single ship; a feat which gives a revived lustre to the Chevalier Bayard's grand motto† too often forgotten in these degenerate days, and for which Fitzgibbon was much praised. He determined to summon the Americans to surrender. Baerstler was entrapped by the boldness of the step. He surrendered. Terms of capitulation were drawn up. By a judicious disposition of a few men Fitzgibbon had given Baerstler the idea that he was surrounded. Five hundred infantry, fifty mounted dragoons, two field guns, with ammunition waggons and the colours of the 16th United States Regiment were taken. This, as Miss Machar says, was one of the most brilliant, if, indeed, it was not the most brilliant exploit of the war.‡ Of course the exploit was on a small scale, but it was in the grand manner. Fitzgibbon was as much outnumbered as Miltiades was at Marathon.

\* Sir Richard Grenville.

† Bayard's device was a porcupine with the motto—*Vires agminis unus habet*. That is—one man is as strong as an army corps.

‡ The allusion made above to the siege of Rochelle, the historical student will excuse me explaining for the benefit of some of my friends. Near the counterscarp of Rochelle was a mill which Normand had taken possession of and in which he placed one soldier. Stiozzi, one of the besieging generals, attacked it in the night. The soldier Barbot held it resolutely, firing with incredible quickness a number of shots from an arquebuss on the assailants. By varying the inflection of his voice the impression was given that he had a considerable garrison, while Normand from a battlement encouraged him in words which kept up the delusion. Barbot, on the point of being forced, demanded quarter for all in the mill. Quarter being granted he surrendered the entire garrison in his own person. If it is permissible to mingle the sublime with the ridiculous, compare the song,

“ ‘Let me out ! Let me out !’ ‘Zounds ! what a bother  
If there's two of you, why not help one another ?’ ”

Fitzgibbon received his captain's commission on the field. No warrior that Frossart celebrated was braver than this man, and that he would not have been out of place in the old chronicler's knightly narrative when men dared great things for the smile of fair ladies, will be seen by what follows. The moment he was captain, he asked leave of absence for three days. The request was extraordinary; another battle was expected soon. General Sheaffe after a moment's hesitation refused the request. But when Fitzgibbon told his story; how there was a little girl he loved and how he wanted to marry her so that if he was killed she should have the pension of a captain's widow, the refusal was withdrawn and the request granted.

Can you not follow the lover hero, riding one hundred and fifty miles or more to Bath, to marry the girl he loved? How full of all sorts of various and conflicting emotions his breast would be. Her name was Mary Shea. They were married, and he was back to his duty in time.

Fitzgibbon was a plain simple man, in all points heroic. With that absurd desire so often witnessed to deprive the common people of great qualities, an attempt has been made more than once to connect him with what is called "a good family," and some have for this purpose drawn largely on their imagination. But his own words and the portrait of him painted by a master hand, the accomplished author of "Winter Studies,"\* leave no doubt that he sprang from the peasant class. I commend him for not seeking to disown his origin. I have lately had to read with some care "Morgan's Parliamentary Companion," and the impression it makes on me is, that none but aristocrats have emigrated to Canada from Scotland and Ireland and I may add England. A reproach has been hurled at us colonists that we "steal crests." There could be no meaner vulgarity. Fitzgibbon was above this. Nor was he ashamed of his humble mother as I have known some modern heroes to be.†

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\* Mrs. Jameson, an Irishwoman, to whom I shall have again to refer.

† A soldier who distinguished himself in one of our recent African wars, and whose career I followed with some interest, lost all claim to respect in my eyes when I discovered that he was not only ungrateful to his aged mother but ashamed of her humble position.

One February morning, nearly forty years ago, Mrs. Jameson was visited by a man "who," she says "would have pleased me anywhere, but here he is really invaluable." This was Colonel Fitzgibbon—the eager lover and Ulyssian soldier of our present chapter. She then recounts an incident told her by Fitzgibbon with the view of showing the simplicity of his character.

In earlier pages it has been shown that the writer knows the advantages of Canada. She is not without disadvantages as compared with Ireland or Great Britain. What Irishman, country-born, has not been waked in the early summer morning with a chorus of birds in the elms and beeches around his home—the thrush's song, the blackbird's rich note, the robin's hymn elate, the linnet's warbling, the finch's quick-beat notes, all making a various harmony while

" Night murmurs to the Morning,  
' Lie still, O love, lie still ! ' "

and glimmering day spreads silvery arms around the shadowy walls of the room of his childhood. What Englishman, what traveller who has loitered in the gloaming amid Wiltshire orchards, or with devious step lingered to inhale the fragrance of a Surrey flower garden, snugly lying under the protection of a fir-covered heather-clad forest, and not heard with rapture the nightingale wooing the rose, and with breast pressed against the beloved thorn, singing so that the night air pauses on his way to listen. These are joys which are not for us in Canada. Nor, again, have we another joy to see and hear, when the land is all gold with summer, the lark go up like a stream of song, and hidden in a cage of sunlight, with a sunbeam for his perch, pour forth the gladdest of all bursts of melody. In his boyhood, Fitzgibbon had often, in his wanderings over the fields, seen the lark rise and heard him sing, and like all true, simple natures, he had learned to love the bird. Besides, it was associated with home, with the fields of his childhood, with the daisies and buttercups, the hurrying cadent streams streaking the mountain side with silver, and making darkening mysterious mirrors in the valleys for the changing landscape—mirrors of limped gloom, framed by many a blue wild flower, peeping out from nook or tiny cleft of half-moss-hidden

rock. It is in such scenes we fill the goblet with a pure and holy inspiration whence the mind, amid the sin and sorrow of the world, drinks refreshing scenes to which we fly when experience proves the mocked commonplace of the preacher, that the world is vanity, and all its triumphs dead sea fruits. For nature when unmarred by man, by his proud mansion or his hideous gas lamp, or his smoking factory, is as the face of God, full of sweetness and pity and sympathy, to whom we can go, and having poured out our griefs, dry the tears and smooth away the wrinkles, and return again to the world with a spirit and look of proud endurance. And how grateful are we for whatever helps us in the midst of the busy heartless crowd, snaffled with greed and whipt on by Mammon, for whatever repeoples the old vanished world with its purple light and the glories of imaginative childhood, just hovering over the mountain ere they depart for ever! It may be the note of a flute, a flower, the wind harping among the trees, the roll of the lake on the beach, the drip of the suspended oar which shall prove the enchanter, or the magician's voice may be the song of a bird.

Now it happened that in Fitzgibbon's case the enchanter was a lark, a bird long known in Toronto as the "emigrant lark." Mrs. Jameson recalls some lines from one of Wordsworth's lyrics—"The Reverie of Poor Susan," in which is described the emotions of a simple servant girl from the country, on hearing the song of a caged bird in Cheapside.

'Tis a note of enchantment—what ails her? she sees  
 A mountain ascending, a vision of trees;  
 And a single small cottage, a nest like a dove's,  
 The one only dwelling on earth that she loves!

The fair writer having remarked on the nearness of the alliance between all human hearts in natural instincts and sympathies with their unfailing fountains of poetry, describes how Fitzgibbon told her on their first interview how as he was turning down a by-street in Toronto he heard somewhere near him the song of the lark, and how he described his emotions on the occasion in the following words: "When I heard the voice of the bird in the air, I looked by the natural instinct up to the heavens, though I knew it could not be there, and then on this side, and then

on that, and at last I saw the little creature perched on its sod of turf in a cage, and there it kept trilling and warbling away, and there I stood stock-still—listening with my heart. Well, I don't know what it was came over me, but everything seemed to change before my eyes, and I was in Ireland, and my home all about me, and I was again a wild slip of a boy lying on my back on the hill-side near my mother's cabin, and watching as I used to do, the lark soaring above my head, and I straining my eyes to follow her, till she melted into the blue sky—I stood," he continued, "listening to the bird lost, as in a dream, and there I think I could have stood until this day." Mrs. Jameson goes on to describe how "the eyes of the rough soldier filled with tears." He was, she says, as unconscious that he was talking poetry as Monsieur Jourdain that he was talking prose. "Colonel Fitzgibbon," she continues, "is a soldier of fortune; that phrase means in *his* case at least, that he owes nothing whatever to fortune, but everything to his own good heart, his own good sense, and his own good sword. He was the son, and glories in it of an Irish cotter, on the estate of the Knight of Glyn." We have seen something of his early career. We have it on his own authority, that up to the time he shouldered a musket, his only reading had been "The Seven Champions of Christendom," and The Seven Wise Masters," "with his head full of these examples of chivalry he marched to his first battle field vowing to himself that if there were a dragon to be fought or a giant to be defied he would be their man! At all events he would enact some valorous exploit, some doughty deed of arms, which should astonish the world and dub him captain on the spot." He then—Mrs. Jameson is speaking—"described with great humour and feeling his utter astonishment and mortification on finding the mechanical slaughter of a modern battle so widely different from the picture in his fancy; when he found himself one of a mass in which the individual heart and arm however generous, however strong, went for nothing—forced to stand still, to fire only by the word of command—the chill it sent to his heart, and his emotions when he saw the comrade at his side fall a quivering corpse at his feet,—all this he described with a graphic liveliness and simplicity which was very amusing." We have seen how he was



taken prisoner. Mrs. Jameson adds the following details. "He was afterwards taken prisoner, and at the time he was so overcome by the idea of the indignity he had incurred by being captured and stripped [of his arms], and of the affliction and dishonour that would fall on his mother that he was tempted to commit suicide in the old Roman fashion; but on seeing a lieutenant of his own regiment brought in prisoner he thought better of it: a dishonour which the lieutenant endured with philosophy might he thought be borne by a subaltern, for by this time, at the age of eighteen he was already a sergeant." Mrs. Jameson feels inclined to patronize the colonel a little after the manner of a literary lady highly cultivated, and fresh from the old country, dealing with an old Canadian veteran. In another paragraph she says:—"The men who have most interested me through life were all self educated and what are called originals. This dear good F. is most original. Some time ago he amused me and gave me at the same time a most vivid idea of the minor horrors and irremediable mischiefs of war, by a description of his being quartered in a church in Flanders. The soldiers on taking possession of their lodging began by breaking open the poor boxes, and ransacking the sacristy. They then broke up the chairs and benches for fires to cook their rations, and these not sufficing, the wooden saints and carved altars were soon torn down. Finding themselves incommoded by the smoke, some of the soldiers climbed up by the projecting ornaments, and smashed through the windows of rich stained glass to admit the air, and let out the smoke. The next morning at sunrise," says Mrs. Jameson, "they left this sanctuary of religion and art a foul defaced ruin. A century could not make good again the pollution and spoliation of those few hours. 'You must not be too hard on us poor soldiers,' added Fitzgibbon, as if answering to a look, for I did not comment aloud, 'I had a sort of instinctive perception of the mischief we were doing, but I was certainly the only one; they knew no better, and the precarious life of a soldier gives him the habit of sacrificing everything to the present moment, and a certain callousness to the suffering and destruction which besides that it ministers to the immediate want, is out of sight and forgotten the next instant. Why, I was not quite so insensible as the rest, I cannot tell unless

it was through the goodness of God. When I was a boy, my first feeling *next to my love for my mother* was gratitude to God for having made me and called me into being out of nothing. My first thought was what I could do to please him. \* \* \* I looked about in the fulness of my heart to see what I *could* do—and I fancied there was a voice which whispered continually, ‘Do good to your neighbour, do good to your neighbour!’ With so much overflowing benevolence and fearless energy of character, and all the eccentricity and sensibility and poetry and headlong courage of his country, you cannot wonder that this brave and worthy man interests me.”

The unknown poet, I have so often quoted deals very graphically with the affair of the Beaver Dam.

At Beaver Dam collecting their supplies  
 The British lay with force of little size,  
 Some fifty souls 'twas easy to defeat,  
 And John could never fight unless he eat.  
 Therefore this victory would crown their name  
 With noble conquests and the wreath of fame.  
 On they advanced—their cannon in their rear  
 Their strength precluding order, caution, fear,  
 And hover'd on the skirts of Beaver near,  
 Beside a wood, whose deep and sombre shade  
 Encircled round a little peaceful glade,  
 When like flamingos the green trees among,  
 Appear'd the British, stretched in line along ;  
 The dazzling red-coats glar'd on every side,\*  
 Before, behind, all spreading far and wide,  
 And by their side a warlike Indian band,  
 With each his bow and tomahawk in hand.  
 Their Chieftain's visage glar'd with deeper red  
 As to behold the foe he rais'd his head ;  
 And from his eye-balls flash'd indignant ire  
 Like a dark cloud shooting its vivid fire,  
 His bow and quiver to his shoulder slung  
 And in his belt his heavy hatchet hung.  
 He marked Fitzgibbon with a piercing look  
 And from that silent signal, orders took.  
 The young lieutenant with intrepid eye  
 Forward advanc'd—and bade them yield or die.  
 His major's name he urg'd, whose force at hand  
 Would treble theirs ; a sturdy veteran band ;  
 And their resistance nothing could avail.  
 The crest-fallen Colonel listened to the tale,

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\* Fitzgibbon had so disposed his little force that it seemed very formidable.

Gave up his men—and as he still declares—

\* “From pure humanity,” that ever spares.

Gentle, kind creature! Let his name be great!

He robbed his friend to aid his foe's estate.

On hearing of Baerstler's critical position, a reinforcement of 300 men were despatched to his aid. But when they found that his “critical” situation was capitulation, they returned to the camp.

The brilliant stroke of Fitzgibbon was kept in countenance by the gallant descent of Colonel Clark (Canadian Militia,) and Colonel Bisshopp, on the 11th July, on Black Rock. Bisshopp with a detachment of royal artillery under Lieutenant Armstrong, forty of the King's regiment under Lieutenant Barston, one hundred of the 41st, under Captain Saunders, forty of the 49th under Captain Fitzgibbon, and about forty of the 2nd and 3rd Lincoln militia, embarked at two o'clock in the morning, to attack the batteries of Black Rock.† The detachment landed half an hour before daylight. So stealthily was this done, that not a sentry stirred. They at once proceeded to attack the batteries, which they carried by surprise. The enemy hearing the firing at their advanced posts, retreated precipitately on Buffalo. The British immediately set to work to destroy block-houses and barracks, and the morning sky and limpid water were soon red with the flames from these, from a navy-yard, and from a large schooner. Such of the public stores as could be got off were taken across the river. While they were completing the transportation of stores the enemy, having been reinforced by a large body of Indians, came up. The Indians were posted in the woods, on their flanks, and in advance of them. A gallant fight was made by the British. Finding, however, that the Indians could not be driven from the woods without great loss, Bisshopp determined to retreat to the boats. In the retreat, he fell. The detachment, however, did not suffer, as all necessary pre-arrangements had been made. The sun was now getting strong, and in his full morning beams it was a splendid sight to see the boats bearing the heroic band somewhat thinned, across the river, while the American regulars, militia and Indians, poured on them a heavy fire. They had eighteen killed,

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\* Colonel Baerstler said he capitulated on the score of humanity.

† A stronghold near Buffalo.

nineteen wounded, and six privates were missing. They had seized and captured valuable stores, and destroyed a great quantity of ordnance.\* The descent at Black Rock was a great success, though it was very dearly purchased by the death of Bisshopp, and Bisshopp's death seems to be connected with the eager character more than once exemplified by Fitzgibbon. Captain Fitzgibbon had been placed by General Vincent in command of a sort of independent company of Rangers. Volunteers from the various regiments were called for. So many men came forward from every regiment, that the difficulty was to decide who should be permitted to go. Any number of young subs tendered Fitzgibbon their services. He selected Lieutenant Winder † of the 49th, a friend of his, volunteer D. A. Macdonell, of the 8th; volunteer Augustus Thompson, of the 49th, and another from the same regiment. These were permitted as a great favour to join his corps. They were all dressed in green, the Irish colour, and they were known as "Fitzgibbon's Green ' Uns." They were the first to cross the river on the Black Rock expedition, and Fitzgibbon pressed on with such ardour, that the block-house was in their possession long before Colonel Bisshopp was ready to move forward. This was considered a piece of impertinence, and the "Green ' Uns" were punished by being sent without breakfast, to watch the enemy near Buffalo, while the rest of the detachment was carrying off the stores. This accomplished, they were ordered to return and cover the re-embarkation. Colonel Bisshopp was nettled at not having been in front during the advance. He was now determined to be the last to retire. All had embarked safely. But the moment they began to push from shore, the Indians who, unperceived, had crawled to the banks, fired on them. The "Green ' Uns" disembarked and drove the enemy to the woods. On re-embarking the fire was renewed. Again they disembarked. Again the Indians sought the woody shelter. But by this time, Porter with his whole force was upon them. The only thing was to rush for the boats. In the confusion, some oars of the boat into which Bisshopp sprang were lost overboard. She drifted

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\* Letter of Thomas Clarke, Lieutenant-Colonel 2nd Lincoln Militia, to Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, Deputy-Adjutant General.

† Afterwards Dr. Winder, Librarian to the House of Assembly at Quebec.

down stream, the enemy firing into her. Thus, says the authority for this version, gallant Bisshopp, the darling of the army, received his death wound, and never was any officer, save Brock, more regretted than he was.\* The same authority asserts that on this occasion all the fighting was done by Fitzgibbon's men. It would be more satisfactory if the writer of the letter had not withheld his name. But it is to be presumed that Auchinleck would not quote it, unless the writer was known to him as trustworthy. All we know of him is, that he was one of the subs of the 49th.

Seven days before, when Colonel Clark's militia crossed over from Chippawa, and captured the guard stationed at Fort Schlosser, bringing back with them a large quantity of provisions, a six pounder, several stand of arms and abundant ammunition, a portion of the Greens, commanded by Lieutenant Winder were with them. On the following day, when a large detachment crossed from Buffalo, they were encountered by twenty-five of Fitzgibbon's men, under Thompson, and were forced to make a running fight to their boats.

While the operations we have glanced at were going forward on the Niagara frontier, an expedition was fitted out at Kingston for a descent upon Sackett's Harbour, under an understanding between Sir George Prevost, the Commander-in-Chief, and Sir James Lucas Yeo, the British Commodore. The expedition was ready on the 28th of May—three gun-ships carrying troops and accompanied by the Commodore's flag ship. At ten o'clock at night they stood for the American side. When they appeared before Sackett's Harbour, they found the enemy on the alert; signals were given. The American regulars and militia posted near hurried to the relief of the troops left by Dearborn to defend the place. Nevertheless a landing was effected in the face of a large force of militia, and no sooner had the British troops formed on the beach and given them a volley than they broke and fled in confusion. The advanced guard, composed of the grenadiers of the 100th Regiment, all of them Irish, as we have seen, drove the enemy from every position he had taken up.†

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\* Letter from "A Green 'Un," quoted by Auchinleck, in his *History of the War*. p. 178.

† *History of the War*. By David Thompson, of the Royal Scots, p. 190.

Now the British troops were placed in a critical position. Col. Baynes was proceeding to attack the batteries with the view of taking the town and arsenal when he found himself attacked in the rear by a large body of the United States militia, brought up by General Brown, the batteries meanwhile pouring on the British front a furious fire. There was nothing for it but to embark. The British loss was two hundred and fifty-nine in killed and wounded and missing. But for the arrival of General Brown the town and arsenal would have been captured, as prior to his coming up the enemy had commenced to burn his stores.

In the west, Proctor was waging an unequal and doubtful struggle against Harrison, in which though greatly outnumbered Scotchmen—witness the splendid charge of the 41st, under Muir—and Englishmen were behaving as they always have done in battle. It is scarcely within the scope of this work to dwell on the fighting on Lake Ontario between Chauncy and Yeo, or the second descent on York, when the devastation previously commenced was finished; on the American attacking parties amid the blue mazes of the Thousand Islands, intercepting convoys of batteaux, conveying provisions for western garrisons; on the attempts against Canada made from the mountain girdled bays of Lake Champlain; on the naval conflicts far out on the stormy Atlantic; on the vigilant blockade established by Sir John Borlase on the American coast. I have an impression that the overwhelming majority of "tars" have been Englishmen. I know of course that Scotchmen and Irishmen were, and are, to be found among the men and officers of the British fleet. But the above impression is strong, and therefore I have always thought the glory of naval victories belongs in a peculiar manner to the great English section of the two islands which have made the empire. I must however add, that I never have had time or opportunity to verify this impression; and I have met a good many Irishmen in all ranks on board men-of-war.

As the fiery tints which promise the fall, began to appear in the woods, the American leaders determined to act with an energy which could not fail of success. Hampton in the east, crossed Lake Champlain at the head of 5,000 men, with the view of advancing on Montreal. Wilkinson with a force of 10,000 men

threatened Kingston from Sackett's Harbour. Fort George was in the possession of the enemy, watched by Vincent. In the west, General Harrison was awaiting reinforcements to advance with 6,000 men on Proctor.

Fort Malden, Proctor's main stronghold, had been despoiled of arms and ammunition to supply Barclay's fleet. When Barclay's squadron—overpowered by numbers, every vessel unmanageable, every officer killed or wounded, a third of the crews *hors de combat*, and Barclay himself so mutilated, that when months afterwards he appeared before the Admiralty, stern warriors, whose eyes were not used to the melting mood, wept, had to surrender, Proctor was in a position to which little justice is done by describing it as critical. His last hope was destroyed. Had Barclay beaten Perry he could have rendered assistance to Proctor, which would perhaps have forced Harrison to abandon his position. But now before the English Commander the only alternative was retreat or ruin, and retreat across the wilderness in rainy autumn weather, was beset with dangers. Fort Detroit was therefore dismantled and abandoned. With a force of 830 men the unfortunate Commander, deaf to the remonstrance of Tecumseh, and with misery and humiliation in his heart, retreated to Burlington Heights. Tecumseh with 300 Indian followers accompanied him. Harrison with 3,800 men pursued. Proctor's rear guard was surprised, stores and ammunition were captured, and 100 prisoners taken. Proctor was brought to bay. The brief fight came off at Moravian Town, on the Thames. Proctor was the last man to be equal to perilous demands. He was routed, and with a remnant of his troops effected a miserable retreat. In Tecumseh, the heroic fire of perhaps a once civilized race blazed forth, and he, the last of the great Indian chiefs, fell like the English Warwick, the last of the great English Barons. Lakes Erie and Huron and the western frontier were now completely under the control of the Americans.

Vincent was compelled to raise the blockade of Fort George. Everything looked dark. Prevost issued orders to abandon the Upper Province west of Kingston. But in the face of this order of the timid Prevost, a council of war was held on Burlington Heights and the resolution formed to defend the western peninsula.

There were in Lower Canada 3,000 British troops, supported by a French Canadian militia, to face 21,000 men under Wilkinson and Hampton, bent on the conquest of the province. Upper Canada was considered by the Americans as practically at their mercy, and indeed it was a dark hour for the British. How is the little colony going to keep out of the maw of the Republic? The letters of Mr. Todd, written at this time, show how great was the crisis, and yet how high was the spirit of the young nation.

It has been doubted whether Wilkinson intended to attack Kingston. If he did so intend, 2,000 troops having been thrown into Kingston, his mind was directed into another channel. After he had collected all his forces on Grenadier's Island, between Kingston and Sackett's Harbour, they were embarked on board a flotilla, and began the descent of the St. Lawrence. On the 6th November, they arrived at Williamsburg, where the troops, together with the stores and munitions of war disembarked on the Canadian side of the river. They meant to pass undiscovered during night, the British posts at Prescott and its neighbourhood. They reckoned without their host. A force, small when compared with that of the enemy, consisting of the skeletons of the 49th and 89th regiments, and three companies of Canadian voltigeurs, with a few militia and a couple of gun-boats, in all not more than eight hundred men, under the command of Colonel Morrison, had hovered on the rear of the flotilla. At Prescott their movements were known. The enemy was about to move past the Fort, fondly believing that all was quiet within, when they were assailed on both land and water, by a disconcerting fire of musketry and battery guns. In the morning, a few miles below Prescott, when they were preparing the flotilla to move on towards the rapids of the Long Sault, Colonel Morrison, with his detachment, came up with them. As a considerable proportion of the 800 men were Irish it is not beyond the scope of this book to describe the Battle of Chrysler's Farm, where the fathers of some of our prominent citizens in every town in Canada fought, and where some of them gloriously fell. It was the first battle where the British and American troops met on the open plains. Here there was no shelter for the American riflemen; no rests for their pieces.



On the 11th of November, about two o'clock in the afternoon, two brigades of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, amounting to between three and four thousand men under General Boyd, were sent against Morrison's advance. These fell gradually back to the position chosen for the detachment to occupy. The British force exhibited a front of about seven hundred yards. At one end of the seven hundred yards rolled the St. Lawrence; at the other frowned a pine wood. The British right rested on the former; the left on the latter. The right consisted of the flank companies of the 49th, a detachment of the Canadian Fencibles, and one field piece. These were a little advanced on the road and were supported by three companies of the 89th with a gun, formed in echelon.\* The 49th and 89th thrown more to the rear with a gun formed the main body; a reserve extended to the bleak woods on the left, which were occupied by the voltigeurs and a few Indians. An hour after the first gun was fired the action became general. The enemy moved forward a brigade to turn the British left; they were repulsed by the 89th and 49th. The next movement was directed against the right. The 49th hurried in echelon to meet the foe followed by the 89th; the 49th advanced until within half musket shot of the enemy. They were then ordered to form into line which they did under a heavy fire. "Charge!" rang out on the cold November air, and the 49th were told to advance and take the gun. They moved forward, but, when they were within a short distance of their prize, their ardour was checked by a command to halt. The enemy's cavalry had charged on the right and there was danger if the attempt to take the gun had been persevered in, they might have fallen on the rear of 49th. They were however so well received by the companies of the 89th and the British artillery poured into them so well directed a fire that they quickly retreated. An immediate charge was then made and the gun was taken. The British were now ordered to move forward along the whole line. The Americans concentrated their forces to check this advance. But before the steady

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\* *Echelon* is a French word and means the step of a ladder. It is figuratively applied to the position of a body of troops arranged in lines or divisions having the right of the one bordering upon but slightly behind the left of the other. To the eye of a person on horseback it looks like a ladder.

valour and well directed fire of the British they gave way at all points. Nearly 4,000 had been in fact beaten by 800, from an exceedingly strong position. They sought to cover their retreat by their light infantry; but they were soon routed. The detachment that night occupied the ground from which the enemy had been driven. His whole infantry fled to the boats and sought the American shore.

Some three weeks earlier Colonel de Salaberry, with a few hundred Canadians, confronted Hampton with a force which must have been near eight thousand, seeking to enter Canada by the Chateaugay River on his march to Montreal. On the 26th of October, Hampton's light troops forming his advance were seen moving up both sides of the Chateaugay. By an admirable disposition of his troops Colonel de Salaberry checked the advance on the left bank of the river, the enemy causing his light troops and the whole main body of the army to retire, while his advance on the right bank of the river was turned by Captain Daly's company of the Third Battalion of embodied militia and Captain Bruyere's company of Chateaugay chasseurs. The enemy made frequent attempts during the day to advance. He was each time repulsed, and under cover of night he retreated across the St. Lawrence. In the general orders of October 27th, special mention is made of Captain Daly's "spirited advance," and we are told that Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry experienced the most able support from, amongst others, Adjutant O'Sullivan.

Wilkinson had ordered Hampton to join him at St. Regis. We have seen how Wilkinson himself behaved. When he received a letter from Hampton on the 12th November, the day after he had fled before Morrison's little band, he declared his hopes were blasted. The invasion planned on so large a scale had failed miserably. An American journal said democracy had rolled herself up in weeds and lain down for its last wallowing in the slough of disgrace.\* All danger having been removed by the retreat of the two American generals the Sedentary Canadian Militia was dismissed on the 17th November.

General McClure was still in the possession of Fort George, and

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\* Boston Gazette

his soldiers greatly distressed the neighbourhood. General Murray of the 100th, was sent by Vincent to check the depredations on the farmers. General McClure decamped with haste from Twenty Mile Creek, and hearing of the disastrous termination of Wilkinson's expedition he precipitately abandoned Fort George, having first, however, contrary to plighted faith, set fire to Newark. That beautiful peaceful little town which every summer gleams afar over the steely silvery water to the eye of the inhabitants of Toronto going over in "the boat" to the Queen's Royal, or making for the hundredth time the pilgrimage to the Falls, was one mass of flame; those wooded, mirrored shores, which are known best as varied with glaring sunlight and illuminated mist, sweeping away in long links until lost in silver haze, where the lake and sky are one, were then bare of leaf; every tiny limb had its burden of snow; and on receding bay and frozen branch the conflagration cast a glow which had its companion flare in the wintry heavens. The blue wooded heights which form so appropriate a back-ground to the picture, in the month of June, were splendid with the reflection of the flames, and where so much comfort and hospitality and good cheer reigns to-day there was nothing but cold and want and misery. Every house save one was a smoking ruin. Of a valuable library, the property of Counsellor Dickson, and which had cost a vast sum, not a book remained. Dickson was a prisoner. His wife lay on a sick bed. The ruffians who fired her house took her and placed her on the snow before her devoted building. On a December night of an unusually severe winter four hundred helpless women and children were compelled to seek shelter where they might. Colonel Murray now proposed an attack on Fort Niagara and the proposal was approved by General Drummond. A surprise was resolved on. The embarkation commenced on the night of the 18th December. The whole of the troops had landed three miles from the fort early on the following morning. The force was as follows, and consisted as will be seen largely of Irish, fighting happily side by side with their English and Scotch brethren. The order of attack is adhered to, and as the reader cannot fail to observe the Irish 100th was assigned the post of honour: an advance guard, one subaltern and twenty rank and file, grenadiers of the 100th Regt., Royal Artillery with grenadiers, five com-

panies of the 100th Regt. under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, to assault the main gate and escalate the walls adjacent; three companies of the 100th under Captain Martin—an Irishman—to storm the eastern demi-bastion; Captain Bailey with the grenadiers and Royal Scots was directed to attack the salient angle of the fortification, and the flank companies of the 41st Regt. were ordered to support the principal attack. Each party had scaling ladders and axes. The fortress was carried by assault after a short but spirited resistance. Among the officers singled out for distinguished bravery were Captain Martin, who stormed the demi-bastion in the most intrepid manner, and Lieutenant Dawson and Captain Fawcett, both of the 100th. They were respectively in command of the advance and grenadiers, and cut off two of the enemy's piquets, surprised the sentries on the glacis and at the gate, and thus obtained the watchword, "to which," says Colonel Murray, "may be attributed our trifling loss." The exertions of Quarter-master Pilkington, of the 100th, are eulogized, as are those of Captain Kirby,\* Lieutenants Ball,

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\* The Resolution of the Honourable the House of Assembly of Upper Canada.

Resolved unanimously:—That a sword, value of fifty guineas, be presented to Capt. Jas. Kirby, of the Incorporated Militia, as a memorial of the high sense they entertain of the very important services which he rendered in crossing the troops to the territory of the United States, and the gallantry displayed by him at the capture by assault of Fort Niagara on the 19th of October, 1813.

(Signed) GRANT POWELL,

*Clerk of Assembly.*

York, 12th of April, 1815.

Inscription upon the Sword:—"From the House of Assembly of Upper Canada to Captain James Kirby for his judicious and gallant conduct at the assault and reduction of Fort Niagara on the 19th December 1813."

His glorious achievement "which left the Niagara shores free from the enemy and contributed in a high degree to the result of the next campaign," so writes Allan Maclean, speaker of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada in a congratulatory letter dated Kingston, 10th October, 1815.

It seems incredible but I am assured it is true nevertheless that owing to the surprise some American officers were found playing cards in the officers' quarters. James McFarland piloted a party of Irishmen, and as they opened the door on a number of officers who were playing "High, low, Jack and game," the question was asked "What is trumps?" "British bayonets, be—!" cried the foremost of the party. In visiting some of the battle-fields of 1812-14, I found Mr. Duncan McFarland, of Niagara, an entertaining guide. This gentleman's father was Scotch and his mother Irish—she the daughter of Irish John Wilson who brought a large family into Canada at the close of the war. He himself while yet a boy served in the war, first as oxen driver and afterwards as driver of horses. He says he was promoted to drive horses for what was deemed

Scroos, and Hamilton of different provincial corps. The British force consisted of 500 rank and file. Twenty-seven pieces of cannon were on the works. There were upwards of 3,000 stand of arms in the arsenal. The store-houses were full of clothing and camp equipage of every description.

On the same day the Village of Lewiston was taken possession of, and together with Youngstown and Manchester, in revenge for Newark, given to the flames. It would have been better to have acted more magnanimously. Later on Black Rock was taken by Major General Ryall with a force composed of portions of the 89th, the 41st and 100th regiments, with about fifty militia volunteers, and a body of Indian warriors.

The language of "Acadian" paints for us the feelings of the hour in vigorous terms, Homeric in their simplicity:—

The foe had safely reached his native shore,  
 There their wild revellings and riots roar;  
 Not long these drunken wassails spread their noise,  
 Short was the tumult of their hearty joys:  
 Britannia's vengeance reached the saucy crew,  
 And on Niagara's fort her veterans flew,  
 That fortress fell with one resistless storm.  
 Newark's bright flame made her defenders warm,  
 "Newark!" the avenging word, as on they sped,

bravery, but which was in reality cowardice. The first Congreve rockets which were used in the war were about to be tried and all were ordered to squat. Young McFarland stood erect. "Why did you not squat?" asked General Murray. "What do I care for your rockets, was the saucy reply of the boy, whereupon he was promoted to the rank of driver of horses.

I asked how he came to have "D" after his name. The "D" was adopted to save his father's rations. There was another man named McFarlane in the regiment, and he used to drink his rum. The change of a letter secured the grog. Duncan McFarland tells how he was standing on the road near the old McFarland ravine about two miles from Niagara, when an Indian asked him where the sentry was. The boy who had not yet taken the reins in hand told him, whereupon the Indian crept on his belly like an eel, and in a few minutes a shot was heard and the sentry fell, which was the signal for a skirmish. Duncan McFarland saw Moore sitting under an oak tree where the Lewiston road now runs by the McFarland farm, composing and writing poetry. It was probably here he wrote part of his letter to Lady Charlotte Rawdon—the description of Niagara would be penned in the heat of early impressions. In the ravine two bayonets which are now in the possession of my friend T. A. Keefer, of Toronto, were found, one English and the other American, and no doubt, on the spot two soldiers fell at the same moment, as I have seen them fall during the Franco-Germanic war. In McFarland's house are clocks, mirrors, and other household gear which had been buried during the war.

“Newark!” was echoed as the Yankees fled;  
 A second Newark Lewiston displayed,  
 Blazing reprisals through the gloomy shade.

Mr. Isaac Todd, on the 25th December writes from Montreal, (and his words not only indicate the improved state of public feeling, but give us a glimpse of the way the Governor and the merchants occasionally spent their evenings, amid all the difficulties):—“Public matters look much better in the Upper Province. We are again in possession of Fort George, and all our former line to Fort Erie; and your brother has given to Sir George an opinion which if followed will, I hope, protect Michilimakinac and Lake Huron, and, of course, the usual communication by the Grand River. . . . I think we will [note the Irish use of will,] have a decided superiority on Lake Ontario next summer. We have a frigate of forty guns, and two smaller vessels, that will be ready to launch by April, and before if necessary. Sir George left this last week for Quebec. I feel his loss, having a general invitation to dine and play a rubber every evening. Indeed he has been particularly civil to me; and since he went to Quebec he has reminded me of my promise to visit him there.”

The blazing and smoking ruins of the American frontier from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, furnished the drop scene of the second act of the war. The conquest of Canada was as remote as ever. There was not a foot of Canadian soil in possession of the enemy, excepting Amherstburg, in the far west, against the loss of which British possession of Fort Niagara might fairly be set; while the American seaboard was blockaded, and American commerce was paralyzed.

The fourth letter of “Acadian” concludes with a bitter attack on American life and manners. The writer’s hatred of the rule of the many is as great as Mr. Lowe’s; and two of his lines would recall the famous description of democracy, “that barren plain where every mole-hill is a mountain, and every thistle a forest tree”:

All here are great—all legislate and rule,  
 E’en boys are prating orators at school.

To dwell further on “Acadian’s” poem is foreign to my purpose.

Having described the ice-bound land he prays that spring may revive in England,

With cheering hopes and most propitious smile,

and bring the war and his sad exile to an end.\* This letter is dated 13th December, 1813.

\* As a picture of manners at the time—done no doubt by a prejudiced artist—the following lines are worth giving. Times have changed very much in the States since every house situated—as the writer tells us in a note—at the side of the road with two rooms on a floor and two stories high, was dignified with the name of “seat.” Hence the “wooden seat” in the following verses of the Juvenal in exile of 1812 :

All gentlemen—not like Cato wise  
 Who thought his plough-share needed no disguise,  
 But that the *man* would dignify his state,  
 And worth and wisdom make his station great ;  
 Here they all brag—and hide with flimsy guise,  
 The dung hill that their parent-stem supplies.  
 That Cæsar Rogers—in a log-house born,  
 His infant-cradle now beholds with scorn ;  
 Talks of his *family*—its power and worth,  
 And scorns the poor for their *low* abject birth.  
 His kind biographer declares him great,  
 Born as he says on his own sire’s estate.  
 ’Tis very true and I will paint its size,  
 Paint all its beauty to the dullest eyes :  
 A mansion, twelve feet square, one side a door,  
 A shingled roof, hung o’er an unplanned floor,  
 Received each traveller who *deigned* to stay  
 And bait his horse or break fast on the way ;  
 This was his own estate, but now it stands  
 As fed by better means and abler hands,  
 In better garb arranged a *wooden seat*,  
 Painted and white-wash’d all around complete ;  
 Here mushroom like they all spring up by chance,  
 To make a gentleman he need but dance.  
 Then off they fling and strut and brag aloud  
 And trample down the humble menial crowd,  
 Get placed in office and like beggars ride,  
 And make the wretched feel their upstart pride.

He goes on, rising to a height he seldom attains, in a strain of true poetry :—

Think not I scorn the poor—or low-born worth !  
 Or look for Virtue in high titled birth.  
 Ah no ! the violet beside the stream,  
 Or blooming rose that greets the morning beam,  
 On the wild desert or the mountain’s side,  
 More lovely seems than all the garden’s pride.

On the 3rd February, 1814, we find Isaac Todd writing as follows from Montreal. His letter may be taken as an index of the general sentiment.

"I have," he says, "desired that none of my land be sold under two dollars an acre, and I think in peace the number of settlers from the States and disbanded soldiers will increase the value of land, and the sums raised here and in England will be sufficient to compensate all those who have suffered from the war. Indeed, my opinion is, that Upper Canada has gained by the war, though some individuals have suffered. I lately thought we would (note the use of would,) have peace this spring, and now I think it doubtful. Americans must be beat (*sic*) out of their arrogance and insolence."

If we except some little brushes in the west, arising out of the predatory incursions of the enemy, who held Fort Malden, nothing of any consequence was done until March. Towards the end of that month, Wilkinson with a force of 5000 infantry, 100 cavalry, and 11 guns, failed to take Lacolle Mills, ten miles from Rouse's Point, though it was defended by only a slender garrison of 500 men. The besiegers retired after four hours' fighting, and betook themselves to the shores of Lake Ontario. At Oswego, the fleet made a descent on the American troops, numbering 1,080, and put them to flight. Chauncey was blockaded in Sackett's Harbour. Meanwhile, American troops under General Brown, were harrassing the Niagara frontier. Port Dover, without the least excuse, was wantonly burned down. Fort Erie, with a British garrison of 170, surrendered without firing a shot, to 4,000 assailants. The 170 men were of the 8th or King's regiment, commanded by Colonel Buck. There was along the frontier only 1,780 British troops, to meet a formidable foe.

The fall of Fort Erie led to a gallant struggle, in which Irishmen shone. General Brown, thankful for small mercies and

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Less sullied and more sweet it drinks the dew,  
 Cheering with excellence the dreary view :  
 The garden's gaudy pride rich compost gives ;  
 In purity the mountain lily lives ;  
 The Daw in borrow'd feathers I deride,  
 Not the wild goldfinch singing by his side.



flushed with his success over 170 men, marched down the river to the British right, at the mouth of the Chippawa or Welland River. Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson with the light companies of the 100th, some militia, and a few Indians, reconnoitred their position and found them posted on a ridge parallel with the river in strong force. On learning that the 8th regiment was hourly expected from Toronto, or York, as it was then called, Major-General Ryall postponed the attack.

On the 4th, Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson with the light company of the Royal Scots, and the flank company of the 100th, and a few of the 19th Light Dragoons was in advance, in a general reconnoissance. A slight skirmish took place with the enemy's riflemen. On the morning of the 5th, the King's regiment arrived. At four o'clock in the afternoon dispositions for attack were made. The advance consisted of the light companies of the Royal Scots and of the 100th regiment, with the second Lincoln militia. The Indians were on the right flank in the woods. The troops moved in three columns. The enemy had taken up a strong position; his right resting on some buildings and orchards, close on the river Niagara, and strongly supported by artillery; his left toward the wood, a considerable body of riflemen and Indians in front of it.

The Indians on the British side and the militia advancing, were soon engaged with the enemy's riflemen and Indians. The advance was checked for the moment, but it was only for a moment. The light troops were brought up to their support. Then in handsome style, after a sharp contest, they dislodged the riflemen and Indians of the enemy. Two light twenty-four pounders and a howitzer were placed against the right of the enemy. The Royal Scots and 100th Regiment were formed to attack his left, which opened a heavy fire. The King's Regiment was then moved to the right, and the Royal Scots and the 100th were ordered to charge him in front. Under a most destructive fire they charged with splendid gallantry,—the Scots of Scotia Major, and the Scots of Scotia Minor. They suffered severely, however, and having regard to the numbers of the enemy, it was thought well to withdraw them. A retreat on Chippawa was made in good order. Not a

single prisoner fell into the enemy's hands, save those who were disabled by wounds.

General Ryall's attack on an enemy four or five times his number, was justified by the past history of the war, by its results, and by his Irish blood. Brown had not even the spirit left to pursue him. His own men gained in form by the attack. The enemy was prevented trying to cut off communication with Burlington. Finding that Chauncey's fleet was being watched and held in durance by Commodore Yeo, and that therefore it could not assist him to take Fort George, General Brown retreated to Chippawa, pursued by whom he should have pursued. Ryall took up a position at Lundy's Lane, about a mile from the Falls, and about two and a-half from the American position.

General Drummond had hastened from Kingston to Niagara. He sent Colonel Tucker with a detachment to the other side of the river, and pushed on himself to Lewiston. The Americans, under Scott, had advanced to the Falls, and that commander sent for Brown to join him. In the face of this juncture Ryall was retreating from Lundy's Lane, when Drummond came up and countermanded the order to retire. The formation of the British troops was scarcely completed when the whole front was warmly engaged. Both sides fought well. So determined were the attacks of the enemy that the British artillerymen were bayoneted while in the act of loading. Gunlip was within a few yards of gunlip. Long ere the last act of the bloody drama had begun, night closed over the scene. There was charge and countercharge, recoil and rally, and the moonlit gleam of sword and bayonet was like the phosphorescent glow of the breakers of a bloody sea. At nine o'clock there was a short intermission, during which the muffled roar of the Falls was heard above the groans of the dying, as though Eternity, calm and strong, awful and changeless, were chanting the requiem of the brave souls passing into her infinite bosom. Again there came from out the darkness a blaze, from out the comparative silence a rattle of musketry, and the enemy, like the movements of a fire-fly, could be discerned by his glare as he went into action. Though his attacks were everywhere renewed with fresh troops, they were everywhere repulsed. At midnight Brown was beaten, and from before a force of only half his number, retreated, leaving

nearly a thousand dead on the field. The British loss was very little less; but the gallant force in which the Royal Scots played a splendid part, sat down the victors on that bloody scene.

The enemy retreated on Chippawa. The following day he abandoned his camp, threw most of his baggage, camp equipage and provisions into the rapids and having set fire to Street's Mills and destroyed the Chippawa bridge, retreated in great disorder on Fort Erie. The whole force of 5,000 Americans had been engaged. Lieutenant General Drummond mentions Major Kirby as among those who had distinguished themselves. The English and Scotch regiments behaved magnificently, and I only regret it does not come within the plan of this work to do them justice. At Lundy's Lane the Americans for the first time during the war ventured to cross bayonets with British troops.

The Americans sought to make Fort Erie as strong as possible. Meanwhile Drummond, at the earliest moment determined to take it by storm. He opened a battery on it on the 13th of August, and having done considerable damage, determined to assault it on the 14th. He directed a heavy column against the entrenchments on the side of Snake-hill. Two columns advanced from the battery against the fort and the entrenchments on the side facing the battery. In the heavy column we find our old friends the flank companies of the 100th and 89th. Both attacks were made two hours before day-light. Both failed. The British loss was very severe in killed and wounded, amounting to over 900. Among the officers thanked were Lieut. Murray of the 100th, and Captain O'Keefe of one of the flank companies. Notwithstanding the large number of men slain and wounded, Drummond being reinforced was able to keep the Americans blockaded.

Peace was made with France on the 4th of April, 1814. The Titan of war for whom the world did not seem vast enough, had accepted Elba as a retreat—an eagle confined in a canary cage—and the small heart of Louis XVIII. was fluttering with joy at the prospect of entering and ruling in those halls whence the mighty one had been driven. The British fleet was now free to turn its attention to America. British men of war made inroads along the entire American coast, and British troops descending at various points made it necessary to recall some of the

troops operating on the Canadian frontier. The various events leading up to that conflagration which made the Potomac wear the colour of Lake Ontario and the Bay, when little York was given to the flames, it is not mine to tell; nor the repulse of the attempt on Baltimore; nor yet the repulse of the assault on New Orleans and the consequent retreat; a repulse which was perhaps favourable to peace, as it placed the Americans on better terms with themselves.

On the 8th of August the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States held their first conference at Ghent, but the treaty of peace was not signed until the 24th of December. In the interval occurred the inglorious advance on Plattsburgh which gave the *coup de grace* to any military reputation Prevost may ever have enjoyed. The British troops were indignant at being ordered to retire. Tears of anger burst from many eyes, and officers broke their swords declaring they would never serve again.

The disaster on Lake Champlain encouraged the Americans besieged in Fort Erie to make a sortie. After a struggle for a time doubtful, they were driven back and pursued to the glacis of the fort with a loss of 500 men. Izzard was now advancing in force, and Drummond thought it prudent to withdraw to Chippawa. On Lake Ontario, all had gone well for the Union Jack, and as Niagara frontier could be therefore abundantly provisioned, Izzard who had 8,000 men despaired of the invasion, blew up the works at Fort Erie, crossed over to American territory, and that beautiful frontier disturbed for three years, was once more left to repose in the varied radiance of the Indian summer.

The last date in Isaac Todd's\* correspondence from Canada, is Quebec, 16th July, 1814. He was then on the point of leaving for the old country, for the next letter is dated Portsmouth, August 17th. In a memorandum of the 16th July, he says: "Wrote Jane and Agnes I would send them a piano." At that date pianos were not as plentiful in Montreal as they are to-day. He says nothing about the war; he sends such a message as he would in times of security, and indeed throughout 1814, there seems not to

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\* This great business Irishman seems to have been a man of ability, very correct formal habits, much capacity for friendship and with genuine kindness of heart. He died in England in 1819. His partner was the founder of McGill University.

have been the least misgiving in Canada as to the result of the war.

On the 5th of January, 1815, Isaac Todd writes from Bath, England, addressing a Montreal firm, that the signing of the Preliminaries of peace was very unexpected. He feared the particulars would not be such as would please in Canada, "as there will be no extension of boundary." He adds, "peace is no doubt desirable, as it gives security, and from the heavy taxes laid on lands, &c., in the United States, you will have numbers flock into Canada, and what with discharged soldiers &c., the Upper Province will very soon be greatly increased in inhabitants. You will see by the newspapers (most probably English newspapers sent by the same mail as the letter) various reports about Sir George Prevost, &c., which I believe have little foundation." Unfortunately for poor Prevost's reputation, those reports had only too much in their foundation that was other than unsubstantial.

For three years, the United States had carried on an unjust, an unsuccessful, and an inglorious contest. Canada had waged a defensive warfare, just, noble, unequal, full of success and glory. Materially injured for the time, it is probable the shrewd fur merchant was right in anticipating advantages, as likely to accrue, though Howison and Miss Machar both insist that materially the results were pernicious. There can be no dispute however, that morally the war was beneficial to Canada. Irishmen, Scotchmen, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and men of these great races born on Canadian soil, fought side by side, and learned to love more intensely the beautiful country for which they bled. The budding national life took a deeper and more beautiful tint, and gathered a more splendid promise, because its root-soil was enriched with blood. If peace was pale from mourning over precious lives wasted, the light of victory was in her eye, the rhythm of triumph gave stateliness to her step, and all her form was instinct with the ennobling consciousness of duty.

## CHAPTER VII.

IN the perusal of history nothing is so sad as the truth forced on us from every side that hitherto the lot of the poor as compared with that of others has been unbearably hard. It is not merely that, in the ordinary course of life, they are without the pleasant surroundings which smoothen the existence of those raised above a hand-to-mouth economy. Are harvests bad? The poor suffer most. Does pestilence sweep over the land? The destroying angel visits the crowded room and smites down the ill-fed and little washed. War? The poor have thousands and tens of thousands slain and they afterwards pay for the cost of the bloody machine by which their sons and fathers have been mown down. Does any sudden increase in wealth take place? The poor do not share in it. They witness the land-owner increase his luxuries, the manufacturer ride to church in a more splendid carriage, the shopkeeper purse up his chin in folds of more insolent pride, but they are as they were before.

The great war had enriched the landowner, the capitalist, the manufacturer, and the farmer; the poor it made poorer. It is from the years lying between the Peace of Amiens and Waterloo, years which studded Europe with famous battle fields, which raised individuals to the height of glory and wealth and power, which filled a hundred trenches with nameless dead and scattered stars on a few padded breasts, it is from those years of blood and war prices that the historian dates that strife of classes, that social estrangement, that severance in sympathy between rich and poor,

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[Authorities for Chapters VII and VIII. —Original information gleaned from all parts of the country. McMullen's "History." D'Arcy McGee's "Irish Position in British and Republican North America." "Five Years' Residence in the Canadas," By Ed. Allen Talbot. Mrs. Jameson's "Winter Studies." Green's "History of the English People." Scadding's "Toronto of Old." *The Gazette*. Almanacs for 1821, 1825, 1832, 1837, 1839. Fotheringill's "Sketch of the Present State of Canada." Lambert's "Travels." Morgan's "Celebrated Canadians." Morgan's "Parliamentary Companion." *The Globe*. *The Mail*. Poole's "Early Settlement and Subsequent Progress of the Town of Peterborough." David's "Biographies and Portraits."]

between the capitalist and his "hands," between employers and employed, which constitutes one of the great difficulties of the politics of the Three Kingdoms, and projects into the future a lurid ominous light.

Nor was it merely the war which had led to the enormous increase of wealth. The discoveries of Watt and Arkwright, enabled the manufacturer to treble production without increasing his expenses, and that which was destined in the long run to benefit the poor, seemed at first to add to the weight of the millstone which ground them down. Even a succession of bad harvests swelled the causes which gave the agriculturists a feverish and unnatural prosperity. Wheat rose to famine prices and land shared proportionately in the upward movement. An idiot named Ned Ludd once broke some frames in a passion, and thus without designing it gave his name to a labour sect. In the winter of 1811 parties of men, maddened by want and thinking the inventions of Arkwright and Watt fatal contrivances for their own destruction, went about breaking frames and machinery. In the following year serious riots occurred. Numerous bodies of unemployed artisans committed great excesses. Several of the Luddites were tried and executed. The legacy of a glorious war was heavy taxation, an enormous debt and general distress, the pressure of which was increased by the selfish, short-sighted policy of a parliament of landowners. Aware that the enormous addition to their revenues depended on a factitious cause, which, once removed, they would have to be content with their incomes before the war, they sought to keep up the war price for corn, and to enact by law that the poor should be half-starved. They passed a bill in 1815 prohibiting the introduction of foreign corn. This is what an English parliament did for an English people. Napoleon's guns were not as dreadful as this statute. Better be food for powder than food for famine.

In Ireland, where the people were consumers of that ill-starred root, the potato, the situation was more complicated. An agricultural country, the farmers who were not in a position to be rack-rented, gained by the war. The squire had his income increased, and in consequence launched out into a lavish expenditure, which was destined to scatter his family as surely as his father's

sword had scattered the early owners of his broad acres. Hence to-day in fair old houses, by storied crystal streams, on green wood-embosomed terraces, the stranger is lord.\* Sometimes the estate was purchased, not by a stranger, but by one of the old Catholic families who, having made money in trade, foolishly, but naturally, turned away from the cooperage, or the tanyard, to become an esquire of a Ballyscanlan or a Mount Leader. Sometimes by a curious irony, an illegitimate child put to trade as good enough for him, has purchased the "big house;" while the young mistresses of his unhappy mother have become governesses in Australia and in America, and his legitimate brethren have driven cabs in Melbourne, or loafed at farming in Canada. Where they had genius they have risen to eminence in some imperial or foreign employment; while those of energy and moderate talents have given officials and jurists to all the colonies of Great Britain. Ireland used to swell, as she does now, the population of the manufacturing towns of England, and the fall in the demand for labourers in Lancashire was felt in the remote west of Galway. Jealous English legislation all but destroyed the Irish linen trade. Population was rapidly increasing. The consequence of all was, that the poor in Ireland were in even a worse condition than they were in England, and soon after the termination of the war, a large emigration to Canada took place. The thirteen thousand emigrants who arrived at Quebec in 1819, were, Christie tells us, chiefly from Ireland. The same remark is true of the forty thousand who arrived in the four following years. In the seven years from 1819 to 1825, 68,534 emigrants came to Canada,

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\* This change has been always going on. The son of the stranger of to-day will feel himself to be connected by family and "old associations" with Ireland, and his son or grandson will be swept off. Now economical laws do what revolutions did in other times. In a ballad of the Jacobite era, there runs a verse which has always struck me as being singularly pathetic:—

'Tis my grief that Patrick Laughlin is not  
 Earl in Erris still;  
 That Brian Duff no longer rules as  
 Lord upon the Hill;  
 That Colonel Hugh McGrady should  
 Be lying stark and low;  
 And I sailing, sailing swiftly  
 From the County of Mayo.



—tradesmen, journeymen, and day labourers, who for the most part took up their residence in the Town of Quebec and in Montreal. In the following seven years the average of arrivals rose much higher. In one year, 1831, as many as 50,000 persons landed at Quebec, most of them being Irish. This large immigration soon told, even in Lower Canada. In 1820, among the new members returned to parliament was Michael O'Sullivan, for the County of Huntingdon, a gentleman of great ability, who died Chief Justice of Lower Canada. In Quebec, in the parishes of Megantic, Lotbiniere, and Portneuf, at St. Colombe in the district of Montreal, in the townships of the Ottawa, and in Upper Canada, there are several Irish settlements due to the Irish exodus of this period.

There are two aspects to the Irish emigration to Canada. What the Irishman has done for Canada is the first. The second is not less important, what Canada has done for the Irishman. Nor could there be a better way of impressing the former on the mind than by dilating on the latter. Men have come here who were unable to spell, who never tasted meat, who never knew what it was to have a shoe to their foot in Ireland, and they tell me they are masters of 1,000, or 2,000, or 3,000 acres, as the case may be, of the finest land in Canada. One of the best known professional men in this country, and one of the oldest settlers, writes me that in his opinion nothing is more gratifying than to contemplate the class of substantial farmers the Irish emigration has produced. "Go into whatever part of Ontario you may, you will find Irishmen on farms of value from \$5,000 to \$10,000; many of whom have also heavy investments at their bankers." On the very day he wrote to me he received a letter from a friend containing these words, "Uncle Robert Scott is dead, worth \$20,000." This man came to Canada poor. He went on a wild lot and cut his way to fortune. "I know many men," adds my correspondent, "who emigrated from places adjacent to my native place who were poor men on their arrival in Canada, and are now in independent circumstances—some as well off as the above named, These I look upon as reflecting more honour on Ireland and Irish character than her gentlemen. I think I am safe in asserting that our thrifty Ulster men are as fair specimens of success as the canny Scotch."

I have received dozens of letters, all authenticated with names

and addresses, from well-to-do farmers, which make out a much more emphatic case than the above.

The other day Guelph held her jubilee to celebrate the cutting of the first tree where the county town of Wellington now stands, in which Irishmen have done their part in all respects. When the emigrants began to pour into Canada they found no colonization roads to aid their progress. Where a dozen rich counties yield the means of a happy and cultivated existence to thousands, there was nothing but unbroken forest. There were few cows and fewer horses. Not half a million of acres were cultivated, even after a fashion. Ottawa did not exist even as the Village of Bytown. Not a tree had been cut where London stands now. In 1821, in the whole of that vast tract which to-day comprises the Counties of Northumberland and Durham, North and South Victoria, Peterborough and Halliburton, there were only two post offices. Newcastle and Bowmanville had not emerged into the village state. The forest gloomed where Lindsay and Peterborough flourish. There was, as we shall see by-and-by, but small educational advantages. The howl of the wolf was more familiar than the voice of preacher or teacher. Look at Canada to-day. The change is undoubtedly due in part to the Englishman and Scotchman, but if the truth must be told, the greater part of the work was done by Irishmen. To-day, in Toronto streets there are splendid stores where the water of the Bay rolled fifty years ago. There is a Custom House which would be an ornament to any city in the world—which would not have been out of place in Athens in the days of Pericles. Fifty years ago a wooden shanty was enough for all purposes. Tens of thousands of dollars worth of goods pass through this Custom House in a year. Fifty years ago they used to import little parcels of tea. Fifty years ago, in fact, Toronto was a village. Most of the houses were below the Market, east of which all the business was done. There was an orchard where the establishment of Mr. Kay stands, at the corner of Yonge and King. There was another orchard between Melinda and Wellington. According to Mr. James Stitt, who came from Derry, and who has been here for over half a century, there were at this period plenty of Irish in Toronto. There was little money. You could hire a man for six dollars a month and a girl for three

There was one Roman Catholic Church and one Presbyterian and one English—all very small. John Baldwin, brother to Dr. Baldwin, kept a store in King Street. When Mr. Beaty came here, in 1817, there was only one brick house in the town. Five thousand Indians and their squaws used to meet where Adelaide Street runs.

In 1824 with the view of encouraging immigration, and giving some idea of Canada, Edward Allen Talbot, a relative of Colonel Talbot, published a book in two volumes in which he gave his impressions of the country. He was very ready to condemn whatever displeased him. His testimony when it was favourable was therefore all the more convincing. Great changes must have taken place since he visited Canada fifty-four years ago. For instance he says Canadian women of that time, though possessed of the finest black eyes, could boast of very few of those irresistible charms which captivate the heart. The immigration of the following years composed in part of English and Scotch, but mainly of Irish, must in half a century have wrought a wonderful change. The women had one hideous defect peculiarly offensive. There was hardly one of them over twenty years of age whose teeth were not entirely destroyed. They were also subject to goitre.

Talbot found in Upper Canada, two classes of society : The first class composed of professional men, merchants, civil and military officers, and the members of the Provincial Parliament ; the second of farmers, mechanics and labourers, who associated together on all occasions "without any distinction." The first class dressed exactly in the same way as people in the old country, but the men were much less intelligent and the women not so refined in their manners. They were fond of public assemblies but had no taste for small social parties, a criticism as true to-day as in 1823. In the winter subscription balls were common, and every tavern in the country however destitute in other accommodation, was provided with an extensive ball-room. There was no introduction, admission being a matter of course on producing a ticket. The gentlemen sat on one side of the room, the ladies on the other. 'A line of demarcation appears to be drawn between them over which one would suppose it was high treason to pass, or to throw even a sentiment. Both parties maintain an obstinate silence and

appear as cautious of trespassing beyond the imaginary landmark which divides their respective domains, as if the pass was guarded by rattle snakes." When the order for dancing was given the gentlemen signified their wish to take a partner by "awkwardly placing themselves *vis-a-vis* to their fair antagonist, and making a sort of bow so stiff that as the head slowly inclines towards the floor you imagine you hear the spine and the marrow separating."

Those were the days before the "Boston." The gay youths and lively maidens of those times were much attached to country dances. The ladies vied with each other in introducing the most difficult figures. Few steps were danced but all were deeply "skilled" in the "right and left, six hands round, and down the middle." When supper was announced the gentlemen led their partners to the supper-room and immediately returned to the ball-room, where they waited until the ladies had done. The gentlemen then "supped undismayed by female presence." After supper dancing recommenced and was continued until daylight.

This aristocratic but not untruthful critic says, that men "of the first class" in Canada, in 1823, were, with very few exceptions, of "mean origin"—by which, doubtless, he means poor. But they had acquired considerable fortunes, and made quite "a genteel appearance." Indeed, he found them "very little inferior" to country gentlemen in the three kingdoms, either in look or address. He could not say as much for the women. They had allowed their fortunes greatly to outstrip their minds and persons in improvement. "That graceful and dignified carriage, that polite and fascinating address, that demeanour, 'nor bashful nor obtrusive,' which so eminently mark the lady of family of Great Britain and Ireland, are nowhere to be witnessed." Nevertheless, the majority of the young ladies of Upper Canada were "decently, if not fashionably, educated," but they had little taste for reading, and were averse to conversation. Again, it must be remarked—what a change has come over the people of Canada! It must be remembered this man saw the best society; that he is a competent witness. He declares that the ladies he met would sit for hours in the company of gentlemen without once interchanging a sentiment, or manifesting the slightest interest in conversation of any kind. A settled melancholy sat upon their countenances,—

And stealing oft a look at the big gloom,—

the men came to partake of the same “glumpishness.” You might, as well have tried to reverse the order of nature, as have attempted to extort a smile from their countenances. Yet he was told when emancipated from the presence of men they could converse with volubility.

In those days all the ladies married young, nor was fortune with them a matter of consideration. If one attained her twenty-fifth year without marrying, she was regarded as having passed her youth, and no longer entitled to gallant attentions from the other sex. However, an old maid was “a delicacy,” of which few mansions could boast.

Not only has a great change for the better come over our Canadian women, a great change has come over our Canadian men—for the better? In those days it seems, every man on attaining his twenty-first year resolved to take a wife. Women were therefore a “scarce commodity in the Canadian market.” In one respect, the difference between the men of that time and the men of to-day is specially gratifying. It is a rare thing in Canada for a man who has any respect for himself, or who occupies the position of a gentleman, to get drunk. But Mr. Talbot found the Canadian gentlemen very fond of drinking to excess, their favourite beverage being Jamaica spirits, brandy, shrub and peppermint.

What our critic calls “the second or lower class” had, he assures us, much the same manners and customs as the higher class. They were, however, less intelligent; their women were very poorly educated, greatly addicted to pleasure, immoderately fond of dress, and after eighteen, determined to follow their own hearts in the choice of a husband. He gives a very unpleasant picture of morals, and if not exaggerated, we have only to congratulate ourselves that in this important particular we have made great progress. He says, Irish women were held in high esteem. “The Irish ladies are such as might naturally be expected, such as have stamped a high and exalted character on the domestic economy of our country, and have rendered her in this respect, the envy and admiration of the world. In Europe and America, in every place where they are known, the daughters of Hibernia are regarded as:

the Lucretias of modern times; as the proud and honourable exemplification of the wise man's words: 'She will do her husband good and not evil all the days of his life. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness.'

Mr. Talbot assures us that in the House of Assembly there were many who could neither sign their names nor even read, and he comments with much justice on the bad effect it must have on the mind of the country to see incompetent and ignorant persons filling exalted stations and responsible positions. There is no stimulus to culture. His remarks indicate a want of appreciation of the necessary conditions of a new country. That he should comment on the fact that in Canada in 1823 literary merit could not anticipate "honour and renown," as its certain reward, will create a smile in 1877. The young Canadian "looks around him and plainly discovers that a superior education is by no means necessary to qualify him for the highest situation in the land, for he finds that the greater part of those who fill official situations are as ignorant as himself." Even in 1877 a prominent merchant in Toronto, when one of his boys showed artistic talent grew alarmed, and when it was suggested to him to cultivate the lad's gifts replied with much self-complacency that he would do nothing of the kind. He did not see, he said, that those men who learned so much were any the cleverer at making money. We have, I would fain believe, improved on fifty years ago in reverence. Mr. Talbot found there was a pervading and persistent propensity to take the name of God in vain. There was a perpetual use of the most dreadful oaths and imprecations; a uniform violation of all decency and a practical contempt for everything which bore the character of virtue. In respect to swearing which is a practice as vulgar as it is wicked, there is still room for progress and ground for regret.\* The criticisms of this Irishman who has long past to his account may perhaps have a reforming influence to-day.

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\* I once counted the number of times in ten minutes a prominent man, in idle conversation, used the solemn phrase—"By God." He used it thirty-five times! nearly as often as he resorted to that other abominable but not so serious American vulgarism—"you know:" "we went you know and then by G— you know whom should we meet you know? A and B themselves, by G—, and you know, etc." The young men I think do not swear as much as their elders, and if they use supernatural expletives content themselves with the comparatively inoffensive, but still vulgar, "damn."

Though he denounces camp meetings, he pays a high tribute to the work the Methodists did in those early days.

Fifty or sixty years ago the wages usually paid to labourers all over Canada was two shillings and sixpence a day with board and lodging. Carpenters and hewers of wood received double this sum. Mr. E. A. Talbot, on the first of July 1823, addressed a letter to those of "my father's settlers, who are now residing in the Township of London," asking them what their position was and whether they were content with their lot. Eighteen men, all of them Irishmen, replied that they were perfectly satisfied with their adopted country. It may be well to go over their names, because their descendants are flourishing among us to-day. William Geary had £300 when leaving Ireland. He took up 200 acres of land, had cleared thirty acres, possessed one yoke of oxen, six cows, no sheep, eight young cattle; and had no acquired capital. Charles Golding, £100; 150 acres; 2 yoke of oxen; 5 cows; 6 young cattle; 10 sheep. Joseph O'Brien, £100; 100 acres; 20 acres cleared; 1 yoke oxen, and 1 horse; 4 cows; 4 young cattle; 20 sheep. Thomas Gush, £100; 200 acres; 15 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 3 cows; 5 young cattle; 5 sheep. Robert Ralph, £50; 100 acres; 15 acres; no oxen; 3 cows; 5 young cattle; no sheep. John Grey, £50; 100 acres; 25 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 4 cows; 6 young cattle; 10 sheep. William Haskett, £100; 100 acres; 15 acres; 1 yoke oxen and 1 horse; 3 cows; 5 young cattle; 10 sheep. Francis Lewis, £75; 100 acres; 25 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 2 cows; 4 young cattle; 5 sheep. Foilet Grey, 100 acres; 25 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 5 cows; 6 young cattle; 10 sheep. John Grey, jun., £40; 100 acres; 10 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 2 cows; 3 young cattle; no sheep. Thomas Howay, £50; 100 acres; 25 acres; 2 yoke oxen, and 1 horse; 1 cow; 2 sheep. James Howay, £20; 100 acres; 10 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 4 cows; 1 young cattle; 5 sheep. John Turner, £100; 100 acres; 20 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 3 cows; 5 young cattle; no sheep. Thomas Howard, £50; 100 acres; 25 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 3 cows; 3 young cattle; 10 sheep. Robert Keys, £50; 100 acres; 15 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 3 cows; 4 young cattle; 10 sheep. William Evans, £50; 100 acres; 15 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 2 cows; 2 young cattle; no sheep. William Neil, £50; 100 acres; 17 acres; 1 yoke oxen; 3 cows; 4 young cattle; 10 sheep. George Foster, £30; 100 acres;

15 acres ; 1 yoke oxen ; 2 cows ; 3 young cattle ; 10 sheep. None had any acquired capital. Mr. Talbot made a strong appeal for emigration from overcrowded Ireland, and against pauper emigration. "Were I a poor Irish peasant, compelled to toil year after year without a hope of bettering my circumstances, I would endeavour to find my way to this country if such an object could be achieved by any human exertions. Nay, if I could not otherwise obtain money sufficient to defray my expenses, I would attire myself in the habit of a common beggar, and for seven years, if necessary, would continually solicit alms, in order thereby to amass the necessary sum to effect my object."

There has been no period in our history when persons were not to be found who believed our manifest destiny was annexation. Such persons rarely appeared among the Irish, nor are they found among them to-day. In 1823, annexation was thought to be very near—who has proved right? The men who said in 1823, that it was only a matter of a few years, or the Irishman who put on record that the prophets of annexation anticipated an event which would never take place? Talbot declared from his knowledge of the people of Canada then, that were their adopted country invaded, they would "meet the foe with a determined resolution that would ensure success to a more dangerous enterprise." Inhabited by such a people, he asked what had Canada to fear. What had England to fear? Nothing. But she had much to do. Mr. Talbot saw the governmental bureaucratic abuses which other Irishmen were to sweep away, and he called on the Imperial Parliament to adopt measures as more likely to issue in desirable results than some of those acts which had emanated from the resident authorities.

Talbot was disgusted with Canadian hotels, and the carelessness of their proprietors respecting the comforts of what we call "guests," a curious euphuism by which an hotel keeper describes his patrons and employers. He was also offended by their curiosity and frank impertinence. In the course of a pedestrian tour from the Talbot settlement to Montreal, he stopped at an hotel where the landlord, finding his sly inquisitorial attempts in vain, after many guesses asked: "What are you?" "An Irishman," replied Talbot. "Well, I swear that's pretty particular tarnation



odd too," cried this Boniface, who proved to be a Yankee. "Why, I vow you speak English nearly as well as we Americans does." This was nearly as good as the assurance of a New York citizen to a well-known Oxford professor: "I knew at once," said the New-yorker, "you were an Englishman, by your provincial accent." On presenting himself at another hotel or tavern, and asking a damsel to get him some dinner, he met with no direct response. The girl merely turned to her mother and said: "Mother, the man wants to eat." If he could rise from his ashes and come to Canada to-day, he would find our hotels and taverns in many respects changed. The hotel-keeper to-day is too important or too polite to manifest any curiosity about anyone, if his conscience is at rest as to the matter of payment. On the score of comfort he would have little to complain, beyond the fact that at the big hotels, fish, fowl, beef, mutton, venison, veal, have a community of flavour, suggestive of the belief that during the process of cooking they have been endeavouring to solve the great problem of young countries in modern days: how to make the heterogeneous homogeneous. He strongly condemns the charivaris then common, and apparently, seeing that one occurred the other day, not wholly extinct yet. He was delighted with the Lower Canadians. In view of Mr. Gladstone's legislation, and of questions frequently raised among ourselves, it is hard to resist quoting a passage from the pen of this Irish Conservative, as he describes himself, of course with reference to home politics, in 1823. But I must content myself with giving the substance. The French Canadians seemed to him the happiest people on earth. They were almost to a man in that enviable state of mediocrity which Agur considered the most favourable to the preservation of a virtuous mind, when he prayed for "neither poverty nor riches." He had frequently observed a striking resemblance in manners as well as in religion between the Irish peasantry and the Lower Canadians. But he had not been able to pursue the comparison without making a melancholy contrast. The hearts of his "oppressed countrymen" were equally light and equally susceptible of the tenderest impressions. They were equally ardent in their affections, equally hospitable, but more sociable. But in every other respect how different! While the habitant appreciated the British constitution, which guarded his civil rights

and religious liberty, and lived a stranger to want and care, misery and wretchedness, in happy seclusion from disaffection, discontent, and bloodshed, the Irishman dragged out a wretched existence, under what "he erroneously conceives to be a government whose grand object is to keep him in poverty and slavery, at once the pity and the scorn of the world." While the Catholic Canadian revered the constitution and the laws, the Catholic Irishman seemed to exist only that he might subvert both. But why was this? Because the laws were wise in Lower Canada, and dealt out justice to the Catholic Canadian, whereas they were unwise in Ireland, and dealt out injustice to the Catholic Irishman. Had Pitt, in 1800, been able to carry out his policy of emancipation, and had the land laws been reformed, the miseries of sixty years would have been impossible. "I have often heard it argued," says Mr. Talbot, himself a Protestant, "that Catholics cannot feel well-affected to a Protestant Government; but surely there is here a full refutation of this absurd opinion. I question much if out of England's twelve millions Protestants there could be selected four hundred thousand individuals better affected towards the English Government and constitution than the Catholics of Lower Canada." And have we not in Upper Canada found them loyal? Mr. Talbot thought all that was necessary to pacify Ireland was to treat them as a half a century earlier the French Canadians were treated. To-day I can assure my fellow Protestants that all they have to do in order to remove whatever they deem objectionable to the Catholic as a politician is, to treat him on equal terms. It is no wonder that they should be peculiar and puzzling, that their thoughts should not be our thoughts, nor their political passion our political passion, nor their language our language, when, partly through our fault and partly through their own, they live amongst us but are not of us, almost as separated as the Jews were from the surrounding populations in mediæval times. Those who have truth on their side may nullify its powers by associating it with repellent ideas. Injustice in any form, and intolerance however subdued, clouds up this sun of humanity's hopes, the brightest of whose attendant stars is toleration, whose beauty has ravished the choicest spirits of the world—calm, mild-beaming in its light, and sweet and comforting as charity. It sometimes appears to me as if Catho-

lies and Protestants, with passions at least as strong as their convictions, forget that the God whom they both profess to serve does not hate either; rather, we are assured on all hands loves both, though one or both may—for man is fallible—hold some mistaken views. So far, therefore, as they hate each other they are actuated by a spirit contrary to that of God. The people of Nineveh were heathen. Jonah was offended with Jehovah because he did not destroy that great city. God spared them, and rebuked the Jewish exclusiveness of the narrow-minded prophet, who, though he was willing to see Nineveh in ashes, was vexed so as to be ready to die because a gourd which grew up in a night withered. Are we not, most of us, occupied with our gourds, and do we not think too little about humanity, not to speak of the teachings of One we all profess to revere?

Among the earliest fruits of the work of war and bad laws combined, as emigration agents, an emigrant ship in 1817 stood out from the port then known as the Cove of Cork, but which on the occasion of the Queen's visit some three decades since changed its name. To-day across the hill encircled harbour, unrivalled in beauty and capacity, there shines the front of splendid hotels and stately mansions on terrace above terrace. But in 1817 Queenstown was nothing better than a good sized village whose hotels with their dining rooms over the mighty bay were a popular attraction. Edward Oates, a Corkman, had chartered a vessel to bring out emigrants to Montreal. The vessel was left at Quebec while they made their way to Montreal in the "Swift-Sure" steamer. Oates having loaded his vessel for the return voyage travelled with his family up to little York which was then a muddy and dirty little place, without *trottoirs*. The seaman was an enterprising fellow. He at once started a store at the corner of Caroline Street and King Street and commenced manufacturing soap and candles, and tobacco. In 1820 he built a packet to run between little York and Niagara. The Duke of Richmond was then Governor of Lower Canada, and the boat was called after his Grace, who had not perhaps quite lost his popularity. This was the first regular packet between York and Niagara, and on its first trip Colonel Johnson, who was commanding the 68th, made the vessel a present of a suit of flags and a small piece of ordnance, to be fired

off on its arrival and departure. Oates sailed the "Duke of Richmond" on the lake until 1826, when Richardson built the steamer "Canada." He then got a situation at Port Dalhousie, being made collector just as a canal was opened. He died there in 1827, and was buried at St. Catharines.

He was a tall man of dignified bearing. He had seen service, had been master in the navy, and commanded a privateer. That the above facts are well worthy of record will be seen by the following extract from the newspaper of the day. Having described the launch and informed us that judges consider the vessel a very fine one the reporter says:—"It is now several years since any launch has been had here; it therefore, though so small a vessel, attracts a good deal of attention.

The son, R. H. Oates, lives in Toronto. He has been engaged in various businesses here and at Bradford where there are many Irish families, such as the Armstrongs and the Stoddars. He founded the York Pioneers in 1869, and he assisted in the formation of the United Canadian Association in 1870, of which for the last two years he has been president. This is the gentleman who in 1876 made such praiseworthy, but unsuccessful efforts to find the bones of Tecumseh, and who has in his possession several valuable relics, among others a gun found in the bay, a veritable "brown bess."

To return to the passengers in Oates' ship. Crossing the Atlantic was then a very different thing from what it is to-day. A graphic account of the voyage might be made from a little book written in faded ink kept by one of the passengers. Diarists are, as a rule, an imbecile class. A diary was picked up some twelve months ago, on Front Street, in which the owner entered, day after day, that he had risen at six, had had a wash, and felt splendid; at certain intervals there was a variation—he seems on occasions to have risen as usual at six, to have gone through his customary ablutions, and to have felt not "splendid" but "first rate." Charles Stotesbury's diary was kept on a more instructive principle. The emigrant ship left Cork harbour on Thursday, the 15th May, 1817, at 7 o'clock. On the 16th, Stotesbury saw a grampus. After they were at sea six days, during the last three of which they had dirty weather, a little robin came on board. It

is a pity the little red-breast died, as he might have taken his place side by side with the "emigrant lark." On the 24th of May a storm took away the top sails of the ship. Stotesbury's trunk and the long-boat were washed overboard. The main-sheet was torn away. "Our shrouding disabled. Our cook and everything almost drenched. Every person on board in bed." The next day was spent in making repairs. "Found out," he says, "some sweet water saved by the sailors which was of great service." On the 4th of June, we have the entry: "Put on three potatoes per day at our dinner. Water very bad. Blowing all night. Contrary wind." On the 29th of July: "Going to heave the lead. Supposed to be on the banks. Saw several ice islands." If voyaging in those days had some unpleasantness, there were compensations. Who coming hither in one of the Allan Line could write at the end of a six weeks' journey, such an entry as the following:—"June 30th, went out in a small boat fishing and fowling; a perfect calm; got sounding on the banks of Newfoundland, and caught a few cod." On July the 2nd, there is another calm day, and they catch a large quantity of turbot and codfish. "Dined on turbot and cod pie," the diarist notes with inward satisfaction. A succession of fine days followed. On Tuesday, the 25th August, they are twenty-five miles from Quebec, and Stotesbury went on shore with four passengers, of whom one was named Daly, who had his family with him, and who was about "to look for a place or get a snug farm." The diarist adds: "Bought some bread and milk at a bake-house. The owner has three windmills on the sea shore. His family live here in the first style. His daughter was going to mass in a horse-chair. In the summer this is a most beautiful place. But," he sighs, "they have but five months summer and seven of winter." On the 16th of August they passed, at four o'clock, the Falls of Montmorency and in half an hour had a full view of the citadel-crowned city. At six o'clock they were at the quay, the journey having taken four months.

On the 15th August, there is the following entry: "Sent Mr. Sullivan and Miss Jones off to Montreal in the steamboat. There are three of them at present running, and they are building two

more, one of seven hundred, the other about eight hundred tons with a sixty horse power engine."

Mr. Stotesbury had neither the literary power nor the culture of Mr. W. D. Howells, whose genius is never more happy than when it takes wing from Prescott gate, alights on the Citadel or hovers over the Plains of Abraham. But it is extraordinary what a vivid picture he gives you of Quebec in his own humble, *naïve* way. Quebec he tells us looked very "handsome" from a short distance. "When the sun is up it has a most beautiful appearance as the houses are covered with sheet tin." The lower town he thought a most disagreeable place, the streets "always covered with mud." "There are two ways of going to the Upper Town, one up a hill the way the horses go, the other up a ladder or stairs made of timber. The pathways are mostly made of wood as also the shores. There are very few manufactures here of any kind. Each shop sells everything you could mention. All the goods that arrive here are sold by auction. When there is a glut of anything they are sold for little or nothing. The shop-keepers charge a most enormous price for everything; as they do little or no business in the winter they must make it up in the summer. Boarding houses are from 6s. to 10s. per day. The steamboats carry about eight hundred persons to Montreal at a time; £3 per cabin fare and everything found, £1 for steerage and nothing found. About three days to go up. An immense number of Indians trade here in their canoes. They always carry their paddles in their hands. A large piece of cloth or blanket wrapped about them, tied in the middle, a hat trimmed with silver lace and silver clasps about their arms and hanging to some of their backs large plates of silver. They are of a black complexion, high cheek bones. The shops do not seem to do much business. There are a few regular butchers here who keep stalls in the Market Place. The markets are supplied in that and everything else, especially fruit by the country people who come to town in a light kind of cart and generally driven by the women of the family. They draw up their carts in a straight line across the Market Place and you purchase out of their carts. They also carry a parasol to keep off the sun in summer and snow in winter. In winter they come to town in sleighs." What a Dutch picture he makes of the romantic old city. Not a

memory is stirred in him of Wolfe, of Montgomery, or of Arnold. "It is very hard," he says pathetically, "to do business here without knowing French. The watchmakers' and silversmiths' shops are the handsomest looking shops in Quebec. They do but little business, but have great profit. Very few shops here have large windows; only parlour windows as we call them. They call them (the shops) stores."

"As you pass along the river from Quebec to Montreal, you see the houses at both sides and a chapel which are built all alike at about nine miles distant from each other by government. The people here are very indolent. As soon as they can clear as much ground as will enable them to live comfortably, keep a horse and cow and a few sheep and pigs, a few acres of wheat, oats and a snug kitchen garden with a chaise or light cart which they use to go to chapel in or market, and a sleigh which they use six months of the year on the river on the ice instead of the road, they never think of tilling any more of the land but let it lie in woods as they got it except they want fire wood, then they cut down the timber and burn the branches which manures the ground for them and from which they get a crop the following year,"

Here we have evidently Stotesbury's own observations, mixed up with what he had heard from others. But, nevertheless, there is not a word which has not historical value. He concludes his little essay headed "The Town of Quebec," by the remark: "Any man that has a wife and wishes to live in the country, and has about one hundred guineas, can secure an independence here by getting a grant of land and clearing it."

Stotesbury seems to have had friends at Quebec. On the Sunday after his landing, he tells us he dined at one Keating's, in whose garden he got plenty of fruit. In the morning he went to the Church of England. The church and organ he found "very fine," and the minister "very good." The name of one of his fellow passengers was Jeffrys. This Jeffrys had taken lodgings in Quebec. "I do not know how he is going to support himself," remarks the diarist. "I do not think he knows himself yet."

On the 10th, we have later entries, which give us an inkling regarding early emigrant life, and show that already there was the nucleus of an Irish colony in Quebec.

On Tuesday, 14th of August, "met Smith, the coppersmith, and Mahony, the distiller. Sold about ten shillings worth of my worsted stockings. Kept three pair for myself." On the following day, "Sold two casks of my glass at forty per cent. profit." On the 22nd, "Spent the day with Mr. Gibb, the chandler, who is making but little; there is such a quantity of soap and candles imported here. Drank tea with Mr. Doyle." On the following day he drank tea with Mr. Atkins. All the above names are those of Cork families.

On the 24th, he embarked in a sailing vessel, the "Lord Wellington," which weighed anchor at 12 o'clock, bound for Montreal. The passengers consisted of eight men, four women, and eight children. At Three Rivers, two of the passengers got work; one as a turner, at \$10 per month, the other, as a boy to mind horses, at \$4. Each got beside, diet, washing and lodging, The charge for washing was from 5s. to 6s. a dozen.

On the 1st September, they anchored in Lake St. Peter, and some of them went ashore. Stotesbury got into quiet raptures over the black currants, the best he ever saw; strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries and some gooseberries. The place was for the most part wood. A few cattle were grazing. The hay was at least six feet high. As he picked his currants, an eagle wheeled above him. He fired, but the king of birds with a scream soared unharmed away. On the 3rd, they anchored fifty miles from Montreal, and a little party again went on shore. He picked in the woods the handsomest bunch of flowers he ever saw. The women that went ashore with him found a litter of young pigs in the woods, and stole two of them. It is with a note of joy, he marks the disappearance of the mosquitos, by which he said his fellow-passengers had been terribly bitten. When they entered the river first, some of the passengers' eyes were entirely closed. Their feet and hands were swelled, and even at this period the "bites" had not left the legs of poor Stotesbury. They reached Montreal on the 15th, a Sunday.

Montreal he considered half the size of Cork, and therefore, it need not be said, that it must have grown considerably since. There were scarcely any public buildings to attract his eye. He thought Nelson's monument and pillar very handsome. The Court



House and Gaol were the only public buildings he thought worth mentioning. There were four very handsome brick houses, and the man who built them had made the bricks himself. Auctions were innumerable. The hotels and boarding-houses charged enormously. It was common to see two or three dogs drawing a little cart, and one, two, three, four, five or six bullocks, drawing a waggon. There were three or four chapels, and one church, "the handsomest finished inside, I ever saw." There were three soap manufactories, which did a good business; two foundries, one of which had an air furnace, the other, a six-horse power engine; two potash manufactories. The only ship-building that was going forward was the building of two steamboats. He was pleased with Montreal. "This," he says, "is a much better town than Quebec for business, or for a person to live in. The people generally get up at five o'clock, eat their breakfast at eight, dine at one, drink tea at six. Labourers live here as well as tradesmen at home."

Mr. Oates bought two horses and carts, in which they set off for York. In the first part of the journey they were greatly inconvenienced, in consequence of their ignorance of French and the ignorance of English of the inhabitants. After fourteen days they arrived at Kingston, where they swopped one of their horses. They then set off for York, passed the Indian woods, which were twelve miles square, slept at an Indian tavern, and after twelve days arrived at York, the journey from Montreal thither having taken them twenty-six days.

His description of York is so concise that it shall be given word for word. "York is a very snug place, very beautifully situated, a great many stores and very few manufactories. It is not a great deal more severe in winter, nor much more warm in summer, than in Ireland. Scarcely any people to be seen in the streets; and the streets are so confoundedly muddy that there is no walking." When Mr. Stotesbury passed a January and a July in York, he changed his opinion as to the heat and cold of it relatively to Ireland.

Among the men associated with the advent of the Oates's to Canada was John Carey, who started the *Observer* newspaper, which he printed and published in King Street, where used to

stand the establishment of Hunter, Rose & Co. In those days of small things this paper did good work by giving the debates, and ultimately exposing the sins of the Government. There was a rival journal, whose crushing satire against poor Carey's paper was to call it "Mother C—y." A correspondent styles it "The Political Weathercock and Slang Gazeteer." The modern Canadian journalist must see that even before his time delicate and refined satire was understood in Canada. Carey died in Springfield, on the Credit.

Another Irish journalistic pioneer was Francis Collins, proprietor of the *Freeman*, whose editorials were remarkable for liveliness, and breadth of information. He died of cholera in 1834. He was imprisoned in 1828, for applying the words "native malignity" to the Attorney-General. It is pleasanter to be a journalist in Canada to-day than fifty years ago.

At this period there arrived in York from Cork, a man whose family was destined to exercise considerable influence on the thought of Canada. John Tyner, the father of Mr. Tyner the brilliant editor of the *Hamilton Times*, and of the late Mr. A. Tyner, the editor of the *Telegraph*, a man of great power and brilliancy. The eldest of John Tyner's three sons was intended for the church, but died early.

Mr. Arthurs, the father of Colonel Arthurs, was early well-known; and his name is one of the first which appear in the books of the Custom House. He took an active part in civic politics. Another remarkable man in this way was Rice Lewis. With much clearness and native force of character, he laid the foundation of the largest iron and hardware business in Toronto. The Monaghan Hamiltons have sent offshoots into every part of this continent, and it gave Toronto a worthy branch when the father of Alexander Hamilton, the painter, settled in York. Alexander was born in Cavan, whither the family had removed prior to crossing the Atlantic. On emigrating they sailed direct for New York, whence, being persecuted on account of their loyalty to Great Britain, and strong opinion concerning the unrighteous war of 1812, they came to Canada and cleared ground in the Toronto Township. Alexander Hamilton, electing to lead a city life, went for three years and a half to New York, to learn a trade,

which he thought would prove profitable and useful in the growing City of Toronto. His character as a citizen and a man of business is well known. He early won the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and served in the council. He was captain in the Toronto militia in 1837, and served against the rebels. As a York pioneer, and a member of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, as an active Methodist and Sabbath-school teacher he has done good work. Mr. James C. Hamilton, LL.B., is the second son of the Rev. Doctor Hamilton, a well-known contributor to sacred literature. Mr. Hamilton is a member of the law firm of Beaty, Hamilton & Cassels. He has written a book called "The Prairie Province."

Thomas James Preston, a native of Old Castle, County Meath settled in "Muddy York" in 1827, where he became a leading draper. He secured a handsome competence, on which he lived many years in retirement, until his death in 1873. He left a numerous family. The Rev. James A. Preston of Cornwall, is his eldest son. The father held the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the militia, was a Justice of the Peace, and served as a member of the City Council for two years.

Alexander Dixon came to Upper Canada from the City of Dublin, with the intention of proceeding to Mount Vernon, in the State of Ohio, where a large number of Irish Protestants were induced to settle. Mr. Dixon, finding that things at Mount Vernon differed altogether from the highly coloured utopian representations which induced him to emigrate, returned to Canada, intending to go back to Ireland, Owing however to the advice and urgent representations of Mr. Dunn, the Receiver-General of that time, and father of the dashing cavalry officer who won the Victoria Cross in the memorable Balaklava charge, he determined to make York his home. He procured a lease of a portion of an orchard which occupied that part of King Street where Adelaide Buildings now stand. In a short time two houses arose which, at that period were marvels of shop architecture. In this way his long and successful career as a man of business commenced.

In 1834 Toronto was incorporated and changed its name from York. Shortly after this Mr. Dixon was chosen Alderman for St. Lawrence Ward. In Toronto and elsewhere Irishmen have dis-

played great capacity for civic government. Some of our most prominent city fathers to-day are Irishmen. In 1870, Mr. Henry Rowsell published a pamphlet giving the names of the members of the Municipal Council and Civic Officials of the City from the year 1834 forward. An analysis of this tract shows that the second mayor was an Irishman, Robert Baldwin Sullivan, the first mayor being William Lyon Mackenzie. From 1836 to 1850, inclusive, the mayors are Thomas D. Morrison, M.D. (one year), George Gurnett (one year), John Powell (1838, 1840), George Monro (1841), Hon. Henry Sherwood, Q.C. (1842-1844), William Henry Boulton (1845-1847), George Gurnett (1848-1850). In 1851 we have an Irishman, Mr. Bowes, in the chair, and he ruled for three years. After a leap of three years—Joshua George Beard, the Hon. John Beverley Robinson (1854), the Hon. George William Allan (1855), Hon. John Beverley Robinson (1856,) we have in 1857 an Irishman, John Hutchinson, in the chair. In 1858, we have the name of William Henry Boulton and David Breckenbridge Read, Q.C. bracketed. In 1859, the Hon. Adam Wilson, Q.C., was mayor; in 1860, he had associated with him John Carr, as president. Then follow three years of John George Bowes and three years of Francis H. Medcalf. Since then Mr. Medcalf has presided as mayor for more than one year in the City Council. Mr. Manning has been mayor and the probability is that an Irishman will be our mayor for 1878.

In 1834 there were four members of Council and two Aldermen, Irish: John Armstrong, John Craig, William Arthurs, James Trotter, Councilmen; John Harper, Alderman for St. Andrew's Ward. Geo. Duggan, Sen., for that of St. Lawrence; Mr. Andrew T. McCord was Chamberlain, and was destined to hold that important office for forty years. In 1835, the Irishmen are: Councilmen—John Armstrong, John Craig, Alexander Dixon, James Trotter, Geo. Nicol; Aldermen:—John Harper, Hon. R. B. Sullivan (also Mayor), Geo. Duggan, John King, Richd. H. Thornhill. Among the officials in addition to the Chamberlain, we have Charles Daly, City Clerk and Geo. Kingsmill, Chief of Police. In 1836, Councilmen—Edward McElderry, John Craig, James Beaty, William Arthurs, James Trotter; Aldermen John Harper, John King, M. D; 1837, Councilmen—John Ritchey,

John Craig, James Browne, James Trotter, Robert Blevins; Aldermen—John Armstrong, John King, M. D., Alexander Dixon; 1838, the same with the exception that Dr. King disappears from St. George's Ward and Charles Stotesbury and Geo. Duggan, Jun., are Aldermen for St. David's; Alexander Hamilton was elected Councilman instead of James Turner; 1839 saw no change but the replacement of Robert Blevins by a Scotchman, Mr. William Mathers. In 1840 things remained unchanged further than this, a city solicitor was appointed and the appointment fell to the lot of an Irish Canadian, Mr. Clarke Gamble. In 1841, no change but the re-appearance of Robert Blevins. Nor is there any change in 1842, four of the prominent officials are still Irish and the Council and Aldermen's roll remains, so far as our purpose is concerned, as they were; and so until 1847, when nearly every man in the council is an Irishman. What a council this was! Among the Aldermen were the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., Scotch; and Irish—Joseph Workman, J. H. Hagarty, Q.C., James Beaty, John Armstrong, Geo. Duggan; of twelve councilmen, ten were Irish, namely, Samuel Shaw, John Ritchey, William Davis, George Platt, John Craig, Thomas J. Preston, Alex. Hamilton, Samuel Platt, John Carr, James Trotter. In the officials the only change is that Geo. L. Allan has superseded Geo. Kingsmill, one Irishman superseding another and James Armstrong, an Irishman, has replaced Robert Beard as Chief Engineer of the Fire Brigade. The next year we miss the names of Cameron and Hagarty. The Irish Aldermen for 1848 are George Duggan, Jr., Richard Dempsey, Joseph Workman, John Armstrong, James Beaty; Councilmen: Wm. Davis, Alex. Hamilton, Robert James, Jr., Samuel Platt, John Carr, John Smith. In 1849, James Ashfield was among the other Irishmen in the Council; in 1851 Michael Hays; in 1852 Kivas Tully, Adam Beatty and R. C. McMullen; in 1852 Samuel Rogers, and Samuel T. Green; in 1853 James Good and Thomas McConkey, William Murphy, Thomas Mara, and Theophilus Earl; in 1854 Ogle R. Gowan appears among the Aldermen; for 1855 the names of John Wilson, Wm. Murphy, and Robert Moodie should be mentioned, that of Alexander Manning in the following year; in 1857 the names of William Ardagh, William Ramsay, William W. Fox, and Robert Moodie appear, as do those of George Boomer,

John Purdy, Christopher Mitchell, Robert J. Griffith, Wm. Lennox; in 1859 among the list of Aldermen we find Thompson McCleary, John O'Donoghue, Kivas Tully, W. W. Fox, and Michael Lawlor, M. D. Among the Common Councilmen the only new name is that of George Carroll; in 1860 Patrick Conlin appears as a new name, as does James Farrell; in 1862 Patrick Hynes, Alderman; in 1863 John Spence and Nathaniel Dickey and John O'Connell are elected for the first time; in 1864 John Canavan; in 1866 Francis Riddell; in 1870 we find among other Irishmen already mentioned, Robert Bell, Arthur Lepper, and John J. Vickers, Aldermen; the Judge of the County Court, George Duggan; City Clerk, John Carr; Stephen Radcliffe, Assistant Clerk; and Robert Roddy, Second Clerk. A large proportion of the minor officials were Irish.

But to return to Mr. Dixon. As we have seen, he was frequently chosen alderman. He also held a commission of the peace, and was a very active district magistrate. No citizen of Toronto did more for our public and private buildings. Adelaide Buildings, the first structure on King Street possessing any pretensions to architectural beauty, we owe to him and to Mr. Peter Paterson. His own handsome residence on Gerrard Street, now occupied by Dr. Tupper, set the example for the numerous mansions which adorn the city. To his correct taste and sound architectural judgment, Trinity Church and the present St. James's Cathedral were not a little indebted. A strong Conservative and a zealous churchman, he was the means of erecting Trinity Church, whose "father and founder" he has been called. He was, however, helped in the task by Messrs. Gooderham, Turner, Beard, and Kent. A good writer and speaker, he took an effective and useful part in public discussion. His eldest son is the Rev. Canon Alexander Dixon, Rector of Guelph.

Mr. William Dixon, his second son, educated at Upper Canada College, was for some years Chief Agent of Emigration for the Dominion in Great Britain. His connection with the Canadian Government commenced at the time of the Great Exhibition in 1862, when he had charge of the Canadian Department; soon after he was appointed Emigration Agent for the Dominion, with his head-quarters at Liverpool. In consequence of his represen-

tations the head office was opened in London. In 1870 he was summoned to Ottawa, and was for several weeks there aiding in the organisation of a general and comprehensive system of immigration. In 1871 he was again summoned there, to consult with the Hon. J. H. Pope, who was appointed head of that Department. In the summer of 1873 his health began to fail, under the severe pressure of his official duties. So assiduous was he, that, even four or five days previous to his death, he sent off his usual weekly despatches to Ottawa. He died in the end of October, 1873. Shortly after, in a letter written to his brother, Canon Dixon, the Hon. J. H. Pope said :—" He was the most careful and conscientious administrator that I ever knew. His loss is not only a loss to the Department, and to his friends, but to the public service of the Dominion as well." In a speech in Parliament also, Mr. Pope bore very high testimony to his services.

A third son, Mr. F. E. Dixon, was Adjutant of the Queen's Own for some years, and did much towards raising that regiment to its high state of efficiency. He was Captain of No. 2 Company at the time of the Fenian raid, when this company met with serious losses. He was afterwards promoted to be Major, and wrote a work on "The Internal Economy of a Regiment," which was made a text book for volunteers, and was adopted by some of the regular troops then quartered in Canada.

We have already seen something of the valuable material the Huguenot Irishman sent to Canada. James Scott Howard belonged to a family who sought, away from the sunny lands of France, from the "proud city of the waters," away from delusive edicts, from Vassys and Bartholomews, an asylum for their faith at Bandon, in the County Cork. Here Nicholas Howard established silk manufactures. Success at first smiled on the enterprise, but owing to the hostile legislation of England the manufactures languished, and the family became impoverished. In the midst of the stormy period of 1798, James Scott Howard was born. In 1819, when he was twenty-one years old, he arrived in York, bearing letters of introduction to the Rev. Dr. Strachan, and to Dr. Baldwin. He was an adventurous fellow. Before coming to Canada, he explored the maritime provinces. With a canoe he went whither he listed. Paddling the River du Loup and the Madawaska, he

reached the head waters of St. John, down which he went to Frederickton. Here he met his fate in the fair daughter of Captain Archibald McLean. Having with his young bride come on to York, he entered the office of the Hon. Wm. Allan. He and his wife stayed for some time with Dr. Baldwin at Spadina, which was then reached by a path through the woods commencing where Yonge Street now runs. An instructive light is thrown on the condition of things at this time, by merely enumerating the functions fulfilled by Mr. Allan; Postmaster, Collector of Customs, Inspector of shop, still, and tavern licenses, Trustee of the General Hospital for Upper Canada, Treasurer for the Society of Strangers in Distress, at York, Commissioner for vesting the estates of certain traitors and aliens in His Majesty, also for investigating the claims for losses during the late war with the United States, Director of the Bank of Upper Canada, Treasurer of the Old Home District which at that time consisted of what is now known as the Counties of York, Halton, Peel, Wellington, Grey, Simcoe, and Ontario. Collecting the customs was in those days a light matter as were the duties devolving on the Postmaster. Nevertheless, the aggregation of so many positions must have kept the hands of any one man very full. All the work of Mr. Allan, Mr. Howard, when that gentleman was in England, performed as his deputy. He ultimately became Postmaster, but was unjustly deprived of his office in 1837, for alleged sympathy with the rebellion. In 1840, he went to reside on a farm in the Township of Burford, County of Oxford, where he was one of Mr. Hincks' warmest supporters, who appointed him Treasurer of the Home District. A man of benevolence and genuine Irish instincts, he was Treasurer for the Irish Relief Fund, raised during the famine year of 1847. He was one of the best secretaries the Bible Society has had, and died in the very act of writing a letter in its behalf. His services to the Society were such as to lead them to present him with a valuable piece of plate. He was, moreover, Treasurer of the Upper Canada Tract Society, and a member of the Council of Public Instruction, from its formation to his death, and a Magistrate for the Counties of York and Peel.

Another well-known official has already been mentioned in a



passing way. Andrew Taylor McCord is the son of the late Andrew McCord, who was a manufacturer in the Town of Belfast, in the North of Ireland. Mr. McCord was educated at the Belfast College and was brought up to mercantile business in Belfast, which city he left in the year 1831, for Little York, which at that time contained not more than 6,000 inhabitants. Mr. McCord, as we have seen, was appointed City Chamberlain and Treasurer, the first year of its incorporation as a city and held that office for upwards of forty years until he resigned in the latter part of 1874, when the city had increased to about 70,000 inhabitants. The finances of the city so far as he had the management of them, were administered by him during that long period, honestly and economically. In the year 1856, when the debentures of the city only realized about eighty in Toronto he went to England and succeeded in placing them in the London market at par, and in a great measure owing to his punctuality in the payment of interest and principal on the days they fell due, they have held to that figure since. At times indeed they have sold at 105. In this way undoubtedly a very large amount has been gained by the city.

The credit of the corporation bonds stands high and furnishes a striking contrast to the state of things in the year 1834, when the first £1000 expended for improvements was raised in anticipation of the taxes, by every member of the Council, including the Mayor and the city officials, signing a promissory note.

Very few of the old members of the previous Council are now living. The only persons who served in the year 1834, are Wm. Cawthra, Jas. Lesslie and George Monro.

When speaking of officials it would be wrong to forget a family which has given us one of the ablest heads in the Post-office department to-day. From the same town on which young Howard turned his back in 1819, there came to Little York four years later Matthew Sweetnam. His wife, Elizabeth Reilly, was a native of Drumreilly, County Leitrim. In 1831, their son Matthew Sweetnam was born. Having received a good sound education, he entered the Post-office service in 1852 as assistant Post-master. Five years afterwards he was appointed Post-office Inspector of the Kingston postal division. In 1870 he was transferred to the Inspectorship

of the Toronto division. A man of strong religious views and active public spirit, he is Vice President of the Upper Canada Bible Society and was for four years president of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute. He has taken an active interest in various literary and educational societies, in hospital management and the like. Possessed of good administrative abilities and great force of character, a vigorous writer and a fair speaker, he is well calculated to play a useful and a leading part in any enterprise of whatever character to which he may devote himself. One of the senior Inspectors of the Post-office Department, he has been a guiding influence in the improvements which have been made in post-office management within the last twenty years. In 1857 when the colonization roads were being opened up he had jurisdiction over the new postal arrangements for the district. In 1862 he was a commissioner to examine into the management of the post-offices at Montreal, Hamilton and London.

If we pass to Toronto merchants, we find ourselves in the presence of success and integrity sometimes conjoined with large talent for public affairs.

One of the most remarkable men who came to Canada during this period is the Hon. William McMaster. The present writer believes phrenology is trustworthy only to a limited extent. It seems, however, established that to do large things there must be a large brain. Hood used to say that no man ever did anything great who had not a large neck, and he would point to the bust of Walter Scott and account for Scott's easy power by dwelling on his broad neck. To have force it is necessary that the back of the head should be large. A phrenologist could not have a better text than the head of William McMaster. It is large and well balanced and his life partakes of the same character. He has known how to make money, and he has known how to do good.

Born in 1811 in the County of Tyrone, he emigrated to Canada in 1833. He entered the wholesale and retail establishment of Robert Cathcart, whose store was on the south side of King street facing Toronto street. There could be no higher proof of his business ability than that after a year he became a partner. Ultimately he saw his way to do better still and set up for himself as a wholesale merchant on Yonge Street, just below King Street.

At that time the principal distributing centre even for Upper Canada was Montreal. But Mr. McMaster saw that this was not destined to be perpetual; that a change had already set in and that by energy and business talent, Toronto could be made a formidable rival to Montreal. "Mr. McMaster can hardly be described as a pioneer in the attempt to divert the trade from its old and well-worn channel, but hardly any one has done more than he has to make the attempt successful\*." He extended his business until all Western Ontario was his market. He built large premises and took his nephews into partnership with him. Extended business again compelled him to build. The magnificent store on Front Street, near Yonge Street, now occupied by his nephews, was the result.

Mr. McMaster began to give more attention to finance than to commerce, and in time left the whole of his Dry-goods business to Captain McMaster and his brothers. He became a director of the Ontario Bank, and of the Bank of Montreal. He has been for many years President of the Freehold Loan and Savings Company, Vice-President of the Confederation Life Association, and director of the Isolated Risk Insurance Company. He was the founder of the Canadian Bank of Commerce of which he has been President for sixteen years, and the success of which is mainly due to his large capacity and business power. His conduct as chairman of the Canadian Board of the Great Western Railway reflects on him the highest credit. In politics a reformer, he was in 1862 elected for the Midland Division in the Legislative Council of Canada. After Confederation he was chosen as one of the senators to represent Ontario. In 1865 he became a member of the Council of Public Instruction, and for ten years represented at the Board the Baptist Church of which he is a pillar. In 1873 he was nominated one of the members of the Senate of Toronto University. He has been a liberal supporter of the Canadian Literary Institute at Woodstock. His contribution to the building fund was \$12,000; and his annual donations have been very liberal.

The foundation of the Superannuated Ministers' Society of the

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\* *Weekly Globe*, March 10th, 1876.

Baptist Church of Ontario is due in great part to him, and he has been the principal factor of its success. The new Baptist Church on the corner of Gerrard and Jarvis Streets, which is one of the handsomest in the city, would never have been erected but for him. The joint contribution of himself and his wife exceeded \$50,000. He is the treasurer of the Upper Canada Bible Society to which he has been accustomed liberally to subscribe. Altogether it must at once be admitted by any one who runs over his career that his life, beyond that of most men, has been singularly successful and useful, and well asserts the capacity of Irishmen to take a foremost place as merchants and bankers. He is a strict teetotaler. At his parties no wine is to be seen, and those parties are not less pleasant than others where loaded sherry and champagne of doubtful origin circulate freely. The energy of Mr. McMaster in his sixty-sixth year is a fine testimony to the truth preached by Pindar many centuries ago, that water is the best of all beverages.

Mr. Foy, the father of Mr. J. J. Foy, the barrister, came to Canada in 1832. He was then twenty years of age, not possessed of much worldly goods, but, having industry and energy, he made his way. After a little delay at Montreal he came on to York, where he went into business with Mr. Austin, the President of the Dominion Bank. "They were," said Mr. Foy to the writer, "fortunate in their ventures, and are an example of what Orange and Green might do when working in harmony instead of dissipating their energies against each other."

The partner of the deceased Mr. Foy, Mr. James Austin, happily still survives, a wealthy man, and a useful citizen. Mr. Austin was born in the County of Armagh, in the year 1813. When he was sixteen years of age, his parents, who had heard flattering accounts of Canada, and especially of York, determined to emigrate thither. They arrived on the 10th October, 1829, after a passage of seventy days, ten of which passed away between Montreal and Prescott, in the small flat-bottomed boats propelled from the shore by habitans, with poles. When a rapid was reached, several yoke of oxen were harnessed to the craft by means of a strong hawser, and she was dragged through until she was once more in still water. At this time there were no side paths, sewers,

or any means of lighting the streets of "muddy little York." The disappointment of the family was extreme. Only that the season was so far advanced they would have returned home again; as it was, they resolved to remain.

In December, Mr. Austin's father determined to apprentice him to William Lyon Mackenzie for four years and a-half, to learn the printing business. His boy thus provided for, he purchased a farm in the Township of Trafalgar, to which, with the remainder of his family, he removed. His son spent twelve years at the printing business, and he attributes whatever success he has achieved, to the general knowledge he acquired of men and things during his connexion with that trade. Having, by the dint of close application and self-denial, acquired a small sum, he embarked in business with Mr. Foy, in 1843, and after sixteen years accumulated a handsome fortune. In the crisis which followed the Russian war he and his partner were afraid to let goods out of their possession on credit; the business naturally fell off; they resolved to invest their capital more securely; and each having his own views, they decided, in 1859, to dissolve partnership.

In 1870 Mr. Austin was induced by some friends to assist in working up the stock of the Dominion Bank. This was accomplished in a period brief beyond precedent. He was appointed President, which position, together with others of a responsible character, he still holds. Mr. Austin is sixty-four years of age, and is full of health and vigour. He has witnessed the cholera of 1832 and 1834, when the deaths often averaged from twenty to forty a day; the emigrant fever, which proved more disastrous; the rebellion of 1837, which for months paralyzed business, and demoralized the people; together with agitations for responsible government, and against clergy reserves; and Fenian invasions, such as they were.

A wit as well as a banker, was Maurice Scollard, who came here from Cork, in 1819. He was long, well, and favourably known in connection with the Bank of Upper Canada. He was a good sample of the Irish gentleman. Warm hearted, open handed, genial and sparkling, his sayings and doings are still referred to with pleasure. His humour and power of repartee made him a coveted companion and a dangerous foe in wordy war. His gen-

vine character is strikingly shewn by a deed which has a parallel in the conduct of another Irishman, who has been Mayor of Montreal. His brother in Cork, having failed for a large amount, Maurice charged himself with the debt as a debt of honour. He never lost sight of this, and had a few years before his death paid it to the uttermost farthing. Bank clerks have not princely incomes, and this almost quixotically honourable conduct on the part of Maurice Scollard, must have kept him poor all his days. Quixotically : for no man should hold himself responsible for his brother's conduct, unless that brother is under age, or unless he has been the means of inducing others to trust him. Don Quixote is one of the noblest characters ever created by dramatist or novelist, but, as is so often the case with a great nature, he is not a very practical person.

Mr. John Ritchey's name has been mentioned in connexion with the Council. He was a builder, and came hither from Belfast, in 1819. He was for many years one of the leading builders in Toronto, and owned a large amount of property in the city. He may be said to have built and owned the first theatre in the place—The Royal Lyceum. Much of Toronto was built by four brothers, John, William, Samuel and James Rogers, builders and painters, &c., who came here from Coleraine, in 1832. The Messrs. Langley, of Langley & Burke, one of the leading firms of Dominion architects, are the sons of a Tipperary man.

A family of Somersets from the County Cavan, early came here and having acquired wealth, settled on a farm in the Township of Toronto. Mr. Somerset was an active member of the early Methodist church in York. The families of Somerset and Harper became allied, and both in time mingled with the family of Aikens. About the time Mr. Harper came to York, Mr. James Aikens settled one concession north of the Dundas Road, in the old Township of Toronto. There being no Presbyterian clergyman near, Mr. Aikens invited the itinerant Methodist preachers to conduct service in his house. He was thus led to connect himself with the Methodist church, and brought up his family within its precincts. It is no unimportant matter that Mr. and Mrs. Aikens became a centre, whence radiated religious influence, nor that the wander-

ing evangelist ever found a hospitable reception in their comfortable home.

Their eldest son is the Hon. James Cox Aikens. He married the only daughter of Mr. Somerset, and lived the life of a well-to-do yeoman, a few miles from the paternal homestead. He received a liberal education at Victoria College, Cobourg. Thus fitted for public life, he in due time turned his attention to affairs, and as a member of the reform party, was returned for Peel in 1857. He represented this constituency until 1861, when he was defeated. From 1862, until the Union, he was a member of the Legislative Council for the "Home" Division, and in 1867 was called to the Senate by Royal Proclamation. In 1869, he joined Sir John Macdonald's government, and became Secretary of State, with charge of the Dominion lands in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. He held this office until Sir John Macdonald's resignation on the 5th November, 1873. He is still down in "Morgan" or rather "Mackintosh," as a "liberal." Since 1869, he has resided in Toronto. His brother, Dr. Aikens, is well known in Toronto, as a leading physician. Another brother, Dr. Moses Aikens, lives in the paternal homestead—one might write mansion—and carries on an extensive practice.

Many of Mr. James Aikens' most successful fellow immigrants and colleagues in settling that part of the country known as "The New Purchase," including the old and new surveys of Toronto, Trafalgar, Chinguacousy, Erin, Albion, Gore of Toronto, and adjacent places, were Irishmen. One of these, John Beatty, who had accumulated wealth in New York, was employed by some of his old friends in Ireland and in the States to spy out the land and make "locations" for them. Mr. Beatty and his fellow commissioners were pious men, and when they crossed the Etobicoke, and entered on what was known as the "Back Road," they knelt down and asked the guidance of Heaven. Mr. Beatty himself settled on the flats of the River Credit, where the beautiful Village of Meadowvale now gleams out in gardened beauty on the traveller. He was long a leading mind in that place, in matters religious, civil, social and military. He was a local preacher, magistrate, and militia captain; his eldest daughter married an influential Irishman, who had put down his stakes in Trafalgar—

James Crawford, son of Patrick Crawford. His second daughter married Stewart Grafton, the son of a patriarchal Irish yeoman—a well-to-do farmer, who resided in the Township of York, on the lot lately occupied by Mr. Isaac Robinson. The son, Dr. John Beatty, has long been an influential resident and practitioner at Cobourg. This gentleman married a daughter of James Rogers Armstrong, who, with his brother, the late Dr. Armstrong, of Kingston, were of North of Ireland origin. One of the beautiful daughters of Dr. Beatty is the second wife of the Hon. William McDougall.

Time and space alike would fail to tell of all the Irishmen in Mr. Beatty's settlements who rose by their industry and energy. One might dwell on Dr. Todd and his brothers; on Alexander Broddy, one of whose sons is the sheriff of the county and the richest man in his vicinity; on Bartholomew Bull, at Davenport, who worked his way up from bush-farming to be a large property holder, and who gave to the country two physicians, one lawyer, and one magistrate—John P. Bull, J.P., who is ever helping on all kinds of improvement; nor, perhaps, if particulars are to be enlarged on, should it be forgotten, gave wives to two gentlemen—Dr. Patullo and Mr. James Good—both of Irish origin.

The eldest son of Patrick Crawford, mentioned above, was the Hon. George Crawford, father of the late Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. He became a Government contractor on the Rideau Canal; made wealth, and, having married a Miss Sherwood—his second wife—settled at Brockville. His brother James was an amiable man, of a retiring disposition, who early retired from business and lived in good style—first at Meadowvale, then at Hamilton, and finally at Brantford, where he died. All his children occupy good positions, and his youngest son is a well-known physician in Hamilton. Another brother, Mr. Lindsay Crawford—called Lindsay after an Irish family in that quarter—early turned his attention to commerce, and became a dry-goods merchant in Hamilton, where he married the daughter of an Irish house—Miss Magill. Another brother, Patrick Crawford, never left the scenes of his boyhood.

The second son of the Hon. George Crawford, by his first wife, Miss Brown, was born in the County Cavan. He was educated in



Toronto, where he was called to the bar in 1839. He became a Queen's Counsel in 1867, having meanwhile been associated with Mr. Hagarty (the present Chief Justice), in business. He afterwards took Mr. Crombie into partnership. He sat for Toronto East in the Canadian Assembly, as a Conservative, from 1861 to 1863, and for South Leeds in the House of Commons from the Union until 1872. At the ensuing general election he was returned for West Toronto. He was President of the Royal Canadian Bank, of the Imperial Building, Savings and Investment Society, and of the Canada Car Company; a Bencher of the Law Society of Ontario, and Lieutenant-Colonel 5th Battalion, Toronto Militia; he had also been President of the Toronto & Nipissing Railway Company. As Lieutenant-Governor his bearing was all that could be wished. But a difficult task was assigned him and Mrs. Crawford. To follow so popular a woman as Mrs. Howland was a trying task. He died before the expiry of his term of office.

In the same part of the country, the Watkinses, who went in when it was a wilderness and achieved wealth, would well illustrate the energy and perseverance Irishmen have brought to their adopted land; as would the Baileys, the Websters, families moreover, whence the Methodist Church drew some zealous local preachers. Mr. Webster, the local preacher, who is at the present moment a leading influence, was, if informants do not deceive, the first editor of the *Canadian Christian Advocate*. He has published several books, amongst them—adventurous theme!—"Woman, Man's Equal." His last work is the admirable "Life of Bishop Richardson." His writings have won for him the honorary D.D.

The numerous family of Morrows, who came here in 1820 and settled in the Township of Hope, one concession north of the main road running from York to Kingston, have scattered scions all over the country. The Mahas, the Skellys, the Scullys, the Prices, the Allisons, the Sandersons, the Beattys of Thorold, and others have done such service as it would take many pages to recount. Take an instance. Wm. Beatty settled at Thorold in 1834. He obtained a mill privilege from the directors of the Welland Canal. He erected a mill and went largely into the business. He also went into tanning. He must have brought considerable capital with him; but he very soon greatly increased it. He at one time

represented the County of Welland in the Ontario Assembly. His sons were the first to colonize Parry Sound, and build a mill there. William Beatty is still the principal landowner; he has built a Methodist church, organized a Sabbath-school, and laid the foundation of useful institutions. The brothers James and William Beatty were the first to run a steamer from Collingwood to Parry Sound and under their auspices the first weekly paper was launched in the District of Algoma. The Beatty line of steamers tells its own story.

Mr. James Beaty, the proprietor of the *Leader*, does not belong to the Beattys of Sarnia. The name is spelled differently, but undoubtedly all the Beatys are of the same family originally. James Beaty came here in 1817 from County Cavan, from that part where the river divides the County from the County Leitrim. On the 17th of March he dined with about thirteen Irishmen, amongst them being the father of Dr. Bergin, M.P. One of these was a man named Ræ, who came out in the vessel with Mr. Beaty. Ræ was a Roman Catholic, and, it is said was the first who read mass in Little York. But could a man who was not a priest read mass? Mr. Beaty, as we have seen, was in the second Council of this city. He proposed Dr. Morrison for mayor. He opposed the Family Compact, and was a strong antagonist of the clergy reserves. He was managing director of the bank of which Sir Francis Hincks was cashier, and although most of those who were directors of that bank went wrong in 1837, he never wavered in his allegiance. He loves to talk of a clever Roman Catholic priest named O'Grady, who figured prominently on the eve of Mackenzie's abortive rebellion. One night O'Grady moved to have a secret committee. "Well," said Mr. Beaty, "I have no secrets in politics or religion. I will belong to no party that has secrets in it." O'Grady, according to Mr. Beaty, was as good-hearted an Irishman as ever lived. According to Mr. Beaty, Foley would have been sent for when Sandfield Macdonald was called on to form a Government, but for Sandfield's intrigues. Mr. Beaty was director of the first Mutual Insurance Company, in the Home district; President of one of the first Building Societies; Commissioner of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum; Trustee of the General Hospital, and as

such superintended, with others, the construction of the New Hospital. He has been Alderman; was for nine years a director of the Grand Trunk Railway, and has long been proprietor of the *Leader* and the *Patriot*. He was returned to Parliament for East Toronto in 1867, and re-elected at the General Election following. He is a Conservative in politics and in religion a "Disciple," the Disciples being a sect like the Plymouth Brethren in all respects but that they reject the notion of a sinner praying to be converted, and do not believe in the spiritual illumination on which the Brethren set so much store. His brother, John Beaty, came here in 1818, and remained in Trafalgar, County of Halton, over fifty years, until his death, in 1870, at eighty years of age, leaving behind him sons who are well known men—Robert Beaty, John Beaty, and William C. Beaty, J.P., of Ashdale, Trafalgar, an active and leading man in local politics. He farms five hundred acres, and raises thoroughbred and other stock extensively. His youngest son, James Beaty, Jun., Q.C., an alderman of Toronto, was born on the Ashdale farm.

Other connections of Mr. James Beaty are Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Beaty, both enterprising and energetic newspaper men who take an active part in the management of the *Leader*. The Belford family is also closely related to Mr. Beaty. Charles Belford is a well-known journalist. At one time editor of the *Leader*, he elected when the *Mail* was started to join its staff. He has ever since been the principal political writer on it. His brothers, the Messrs. Belford Brothers, have, as publishers, displayed great enterprise, energy and taste, and thrown a new light on the possibilities of the trade in Canada.

One of the most remarkable men who ever walked down King Street was the late John Geo. Bowes. He was born near Clones, in the County of Monaghan in 1812 and came to Canada in 1833. He went into the employment of his brother-in-law, Samuel E. Taylor, on whose decease in 1838 he wound up the business and became manager for the Messrs. Benjamin who took the premises. The Benjamins removed to Montreal. Bowes took his brother-in-law into partnership with him; opened a wholesale dry goods warehouse; they were so successful that after three years they were able to purchase the business of Messrs. Buchanan, Harris

& Co., upon these removing to Hamilton. Henceforth he was in the front rank of the wholesale men in Canada. As a financier he had few equals.

Of middle height and of exceedingly well knit frame, he was fond of manly exercises and was, in expressive colloquial language, an ugly customer in a row. Character lives in all we do, and the secret of his success may be extracted from the following incident, perhaps as certainly as from a heavy business transaction. Having occasion when mayor to visit the garrison, he took with him a member of the Council. There existed at the time a species of feud between the military and the civilians. While Bowes and his friend were walking about the garrison, making observations in regard to certain projected civic improvements, they were set upon by five soldiers who had marked them for an easy prey. The warriors had made a grand mistake. Bowes handled three of them. The first he struck went right down, Bowes having caught him under the chin. Two of the soldiers rushed at him, but before they had time to touch him—one! two! and they were reeling back several feet. Meanwhile the first had risen and sought to close with his antagonist. To this under ordinary circumstances, Bowes would have had no objection. He had now however to keep his eye on more than one. The soldier struck him on the breast but the blow had no more effect on that iron frame than a pea shot against, or the rat-tat of a drummer boy on a drum. The next moment a blow over the right temple again sent the man of war to the ground. On came his comrades to avenge his fall. By this time Bowes' blood was thoroughly up; it ran lightning; the veins his companion observed, occupied though he was, stood out on his forehead; with his great mane-like head of hair he was suggestive of a lion at bay. His blows rained on his foes who felt his knuckles as though he wore iron gauntlets. In a few minutes he was able to come to his friend's assistance and the enemy fled. It would have been easy to find out the soldiers—for there was not one of them on whom Bowes had not put his sign manual, and to have had them punished. But though mayor of the city, feeling for them that kind of affectionate tenderness we have for people whom we have well beaten, he refused to have them arrested.

An alderman of St. James' ward, 1850, we have seen how he was elected Mayor by the Council for 1851-52-53, and by popular vote in 1861-62-63. He was elected one of the members for the city in 1854 and took an eager interest in the legislation of the period. When the separate school question was agitating the country, he threw the weight of his influence on the side of separate schools. Fortunate in business, he lost a large portion of the wealth he had made by expensive political contests and the reckless speculation of his partner.

He was President of the Toronto and Guelph Railway, and was connected with various monetary institutions. He died on the 20th of May, 1864, at the early age of fifty-two. His funeral was the largest ever seen in Toronto, and was attended by all classes of the community. He left a widow and nine children. One of his sons is a rising young barrister, not unlike the father in appearance, but projected—physically—on a smaller scale, and fair, whereas the father was somewhat dark.

Bowes seems to have been capable of making a careless statement to catch the humour of a crowd. On a hustings occasion, Mr. M. C. Cameron had told his audience with what *apropos*, I am in no position to say, that he was related to the Stuart line of Kings, a line of men the least admirable Scotland has ever produced. Mr. Alexander Manning who was a bosom friend of Bowes, said to him: "Now you can beat that. Say you are descended from a greater man than any Stuart, Brian Boru." Accordingly, when Bowes' turn came to speak, he said:—"Mr. Cameron says he is descended from the Stuarts, why, I am descended from a man greater than any Stuart ever was. I am descended from Brian Boru himself." The crowd which was mainly Irish, gaped and then cheered, as those present had never heard a crowd cheer before. This may have been cleverly done. I have heard Bowes praised for it by very able men who were present at the time. But it is not defensible. In the first place, it was not true, and nothing, no not the heat of an election strife will justify even what are called "harmless fibs." In the next place, it was an appeal to the ignorance of the audience, and the duty of a public man is not to appeal to the ignorance of the people, but to drive away as far as in him lies that ignorance, and appeal to reason,

judgment, and the living passions which are born of the great issues of the day. There was a much better answer to Mr. Cameron's boast or joke, for it is hard to regard his statement in a serious light. That answer was to dwell on the character of the Stuarts, men and women, and show what a pack they were, and then make Mr. Cameron a present of his royal relatives. Having done this, Mr. Bowes, could have asked what on earth the family tie had to do with the issue of the moment.

A scandal gathered round Mr. Bowes' name in connection with a profit of £10,000, made by the purchase of £50,000 city debentures, in regard to which Mr. Hincks (Sir Francis) had a bill passed through Parliament. No one can doubt for a moment that such a purchase was, to say the least, an improper act. It is perhaps only just to his memory, to give the following account of the transaction which is from the pen of a surviving friend.

"Mr. Bowes thought at the time of the purchase of the £50,000 of debentures issued by the city that he had a perfect right to buy them; he also asserted that whatever was done by the Council in the matter or by himself as mayor, was done solely upon public grounds and with a view to public interests; that the arrangements the Council did enter into were clearly for the advantage of the city, and in no manner injurious to its interests, but very much the reverse.

"There is no doubt the credit of the City of Toronto was greatly improved by the resale which Mr. Bowes succeeded in making of the debentures—but in after life, in consequence of the suspicions, the discussions and contentions to which it gave rise, and the unfavourable inferences drawn from his silence at the time of the transaction, he regretted most deeply the part he took in the matter.

"The City of Toronto lost nothing however, by the transaction—in fact it obtained the profit made on the sale of the Debentures, some \$5,000.

"Mr. Justice McLean in giving judgment in the appeal case of *Bowes v. The City*, says:

"In all this I confess that I have not been able to see any violation of duty, or of any obligation which the appellant owed to the City of Toronto as an alderman or as mayor; no portion of

the public moneys have been misapplied or diverted to the benefit of the appellant: no loss has been caused to the city, but on the contrary a considerable gain has accrued from the whole proceeding; and, admitting to the fullest extent that the appellant was in the character of a trustee for the city while he filled the office of mayor, I do not find that the evidence brings home to him any violation of trust or any dereliction of duty which can entitle the City of Toronto to insist on his paying into its treasury an amount which has been derived from the use of funds furnished by a third party. In coming to this conclusion, I must admit that I do so with some considerable doubt, knowing that the point has been carefully considered and ably adjudicated upon in the court below by judges much more experienced in the consideration of cases of trust; but I have not been able to satisfy myself that the appellant has done anything which can entitle the respondents to recover against him in this action. I am therefore of opinion that the judgment of the court below should be reversed and that the bill filed by the city at the information of certain parties should be dismissed.'

"The majority of the judges, however, were of opinion that, taking into consideration the *quasi* fiduciary position of Mr. Bowes, the profit made by the sale of the debentures should be handed over to the Corporation."

Another representative man, though of a very different type is the Hon. Frank Smith. He was born at Richfield, Armagh, in 1832, and was brought by his father to Canada in 1832. The family settled near Toronto. From 1849 to 1867 he carried on business in London. At the latter date he removed to Toronto where he continues his wholesale grocery trade. He was an alderman in London for many years, and was mayor of that city in 1866. He is connected with some large institutions such as the Northern Extension Railway, of which he is president. He is also president of the Toronto Savings Bank, and a director of the Dominion Bank. A conservative, he was called to the Senate in Feb., 1871.

To this class belong the Hughes, the McCrossons, the Merricks, and the like.

• A representative man of another type is Mr. Alexander Manning,

one of our largest contractors, who has been alderman and mayor, and has within comparatively few years raised himself to wealth. During his mayoralty he entertained the Duke of Manchester, and he placed his handsome residence on Wellington Street with its commodious grounds at the disposal of Lord Dufferin, when the Governor-General was visiting Toronto. Knowing how expensive politics are, he has hitherto kept out of those engulfing waters. He has a reputation it would take a Rembrandt to paint. Beneath the shrewdness and determination without which wealth cannot be made, there is a tender heart and, in the midst of shading which would seem to indicate hardness of character, shine out one or two large acts of spirited and apparently even reckless generosity. A deviser of schemes, he has learned how to use men, and always on the alert to put a little train of one kind or another in motion, he is suspicious lest he himself should be taken in and too cheaply used. When addressing the electors at one of the hotels during a contest for the mayoralty, he properly boasted that he had been a working-man. There could not be a better instance than is furnished by Alexander Manning of what Canada can do for persons with brains and thrift. Mr. Manning has been a useful citizen and may yet play a more prominent part when, satisfied with the wealth he has acquired, he throws contracting aside.

A man whose name has often been associated with that of Mr. Manning—they are, if I do not mistake, full cousins—is John Ginty, himself a contractor. Mr. Ginty glides quietly through life and exercises considerable influence in a noiseless way, keeping meanwhile his own counsel with considerable success. Deeper than he seems, over the surface of his character might be written Denham's lines:—

“ Search not to find what lies too deeply hid  
Nor to know things where knowledge is forbid.”

Though careful of money he has done many generous acts and lost much from his desire to help others. His father came here in the year 1827; but he must be dealt with later on.

A family, not without being typical, is the Morphy family.



During the Napoleonic wars, a young Irishman named Morphy, devoted to the crown, and anxious for military distinction, raised a hundred volunteers, for which he was rewarded with a commission in the 95th regiment. He served in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, after which battle he retired on a captain's half-pay, and settled in Cork. He was appointed magistrate. He died in 1831, leaving behind him a considerable amount of property—valuable paintings, works of art, articles of *vertu* collected during his campaigns—the proceeds of which, amounting to several thousand pounds, were equally divided between his next of kin, four cousins, two of whom were men.

One of the men, who had seven sons, emigrated to Canada on the eve of Mackenzie's rebellion, and settled in Toronto. The lads grew up in Toronto, and entered, some the professions, some mercantile life, some official employ; all did well, and won for themselves respectable positions. They did even better than this. They married and became the fathers of numerous families, who, if collected together, would make a respectable congregation and a tolerably large town. So delighted were they with their adopted country, that they wrote to Ireland, and prevailed with children of another of the legatees to come to Canada. They were five boys, and are now wealthy merchants and good citizens of the Province of Ontario. Several years ago, the eldest of the seven boys went to Ireland, and brought back with him to Ontario about one hundred able-bodied men worth many thousand dollars to the country. Such has been the result of the pictures and articles of *vertu* collected by the captain, during his campaigns on the continent.

I shall have, in another place, to speak of Chief Justice Harrison—a splendid specimen of Irish geniality, power, and perseverance—but his family will claim a word here. The family is a remarkable one, and is said to be of Danish origin, like so many of the greatest families in Ireland. To speculate on the form of the name would be fruitless, because, in Ireland, a process has gone forward of a very misleading character. As I have shown in the introductory chapters, at an early period, the Normans assumed Irish names with a motive akin to those which made them *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*. Something must be put down to

the attraction of which Mr. Froude speaks so emphatically ; something I fear must be put down to the desire to increase their power with a clan or clans, even as the tyranny they were enabled to inflict under the Irish law was undoubtedly a factor in the aggregate considerations which made them become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." On the other hand, in the course of time, when every Irish thing fell under a ban, it became the interest, and sometimes the object of the owners of Irish names to denude them of their distinctively Irish character. Before our eyes to-day, with persons who could have no reason arising out of fear or favour to yield to this process, we yet see their names become subject to it, owing to the quiet but enormous and overwhelming force of the mere fact, that a race whose patronymics have a certain form is the race which, at least in the past, has been dominant. Macaulay's name, in its Celtic form would be McCaulay—Macaulay looks, though it does not sound, English. The Rev. Mr. Macdonnell's name in its celtic form would be McDonell or O'Donnell, for the "Mc" and "O" mean the same thing. Thirty years ago Sir John Macdonald's name was always printed in the newspapers McDonald, as was that of the present Lieutenant-Governor and his brother, Sandfield Macdonald. Neither of these men could be supposed capable of stooping to the folly of modifying the form of writing his name. But the assimilating power, that power which has made the Scotch and Irish Gael speak a Saxon dialect on pain of effacement, that power which has made Gaelic and Erse dead languages, works where there is no motive of the least magnitude, like a Nasmyth hammer which, though it can crush an elephant with ease, can crack a nut with delicacy. In other days there were strong cogent reasons why the young Scotchman, pushing his fortune in London, should seek to get rid of his accent and all that reminded the conquering Saxon of his peculiar origin ; there were equally strong reasons why Irishmen should modify the dangerous, and often the only legacy left them by their fathers—a Celtic name. It was easily done. Take away the "O" or "Mac" and put son at the end of the name. Iverson and Wattson sound very English—make them McWatts and McIver and they are Celtic again. How English Morrow sounds. Yet it is the same as Murrough—the name of Brian Boru's eldest son.

McMurrough is the same name with the patronymic prefix, and this is the same as the Irish MacMurray and the Scotch McMurrich, and all are probably the same as Murphy.

If a process, such as I have endeavoured to indicate, had not gone forward, there would be little difficulty in assigning the Harrison family its source. As it is we must be content with the tradition which gives it a Danish classification. Whether they came from over the North Sea or from the Continent; whether Celtic or Saxon in origin, they were found at a tolerably early period in the County of Monaghan, where, on "Harrison Farm," Richard Harrison the emigrant was born. He married at the age of twenty-seven and forthwith removed to Canada. He settled first at Markham, but some time afterwards removed to Toronto, where by attention to business he won for himself a handsome fortune.

He had three daughters and three sons—the present Chief Justice of Ontario, the Rev. Richard Harrison and the late Mr. Frank Harrison, for some years Lieutenant in the 16th Regiment.

The Rev. Richard Harrison, after a distinguished course in honours at Trinity College, was admitted and became curate of St. George's, Toronto, Missionary of Beverley, Incumbent of Woodbridge, and now of St. Matthias. In 1870, he married Cecilia Marie, daughter of William Leslie, of the County of Wellington, one of the oldest living representatives of the Leslies of Fermanagh. The achievements of the "Leslie Troop" in India will long keep his relative, Colonel Leslie's name alive.

The father of Mr. Leslie, a retired captain, removed to Canada some thirty years ago, having married a French lady named Le Vine. He was lost at sea while returning hither after a visit to Ireland. The weight of the family cares fell on the shoulders of William the eldest son, then only nineteen. This young man was born at St. Omer in France, and educated at Portora, Enniskillen. An Irish conservative churchman in the midst of a Scotch Presbyterian settlement, there is no name in the County of Wellington more honoured than that of William Leslie. His son, Henry Leslie, having graduated at Trinity College, is devoting himself to the ministry.

I am now about to speak of one of the most interesting episodes.

in the history of emigration ; an episode which can only find a parallel in another little Irish quasi-aristocratic exodus, an account of which will be given in another chapter. What an incident for an emigration novel ! What a subject for a book or canto of D'Arcy McGee's projected emigration epic ! From Kinsale, where early in the seventeenth century the last of the independent Irish chieftains, O'Neill and O'Donnell, were overthrown, and a thousand of their followers having fallen before the swords of the Lord Deputy's horse, lay the stark emblems of a lost cause within reach of the roar of the whitening billows of the upbraiding sea—where James II. landed in 1689 and was received by the Roman Catholic population with shouts of unfeigned joy—which fell after a gallant resistance before the all conquering sword of Marlborough, who with his usual skill in improving a victory had, on the fall of Cork, hurried on to the fort which of all others was most important from the point of view of French aid to the Irish—from this historical spot four young gentlemen started just three quarters of a century ago to seek their fortunes in Canada.

Lawrence Hayden was only sixteen years of age. He and his school-fellows John and William Warren, and Callaghan Holmes, with their hired man Pat Deashy, took passage in a brig *The Grace of Ilfracombe*, determined to follow in the distant colony "agricultural and farming business." In due time they touched the shore at Quebec. They lingered in the historic city to visit the fortifications and the Falls of Montmorency. They then proceeded up the river and lake to York, where the Warrens, being related to the family of Dr. Baldwin, that generous and good man gave the young adventurers an Irish welcome. They at once set about obtaining information, and at length decided to settle in Whitby. Prudence dictated that they should not commit themselves very deeply. They purchased a lot conjointly, one hundred acres in the third concession of Whitby, upon which they at once settled. Scarcely had they entered on their land when they heard Pat Deashy shouting, "O master William ! O Master John ! Come here ! Come here !" Hastening to whence the shouts came they found Pat looking up into a high tree on which were three bears, the mother and two large sized cubs. Hayden despatched them with his gun. One of them caught in a fork of the

branches. There was nothing for it but to leave part of their prize behind them or fell the tree. They set to work and in due time the tree shuddered and shook its lofty cone, and, with what the ancients would have regarded as a groan, fell. The bears were skinned and for several winters Hayden wore a cap made from the pelt of the old bear.

They were the first Irishmen to settle in that section of the country and were known by subsequent settlers as "The Four Irishmen." After a time they found—mere youths that they were and gently nurtured—the task they had undertaken too onerous. New and pleasant enough for a time, when the novelty wore off, when the sense of camping out was gone, when the unsocial monotony appeared in all its grimness of stern reality, they found it unsufferable. There was no voice of woman near them to round their lives with subtle music, no sympathetic touch of gentle hand to soothe them, no smile bathed in tenderness—like early sunshine among early dew—to cheer them on, and life became as weary as Mariana's, and they discovered that in the midst of boundless wilderness there may be a moral prison-house. It is not merely that they missed the more spiritual assiduities with which women cheer and charm; those little household duties which women best attend to fell to the lot of young men who had been accustomed to the refinements of the home of Irish gentlemen, where the women, sisters, mothers, cousins, and sweethearts are not only beautiful, but have about them an elevation and purity as if they had only just stepped out of Bunyan's "House Beautiful" and were own sisters to Discretion, Prudence and Charity, and had caught the serene light in their eyes from gazing on the Delectable Mountains. The poor young adventurers cooked their own meals, made their own bread, mended their own clothing, "did" their own washing. Their ignorance of farming was very great. The following incident of their cooking is worth relating. For a long time it was their custom to take alternate Christmases at Toronto, when they were entertained by Dr. Baldwin. Once when the two holiday-makers returned to Whitby they found the edges of their razors hopelessly blunt. On inquiring the cause they learned that the two who had remained at home had killed a pig

and instead of taking the bristles off in the usual way, by scalding, had shaved them off.

At length, heartily tired of the "agricultural and farming business," the Warrens sold out their interest to Mr. Hayden, as did Mr. Holmes. The Warrens opened a store near what is to-day the Town of Whitby. The brothers soon separated. John went and opened a store where Oshawa now stands. He built a mill, and laid the foundation of the growth and prosperity of that flourishing town. He named it, choosing an Indian word which signifies the crossing of two paths. He was very successful. He still resides at Oshawa. His brother William became Collector of Customs at Whitby harbour. The duties of his post he discharged in a very satisfactory manner until last year, when he was superannuated.

Callaghan Holmes died of the cholera on his way to Ireland in 1838. Pat Deashy remained only a short time with Mr. Hayden, after he was left alone. Pat went to Buffalo, where he soon died. Hayden sold his lot and purchased another, and sold this, and opened a store on the Kingston road. Finding himself, after a few years of store-keeping, prosperous, he sold out his stock and retired to a farm he had purchased in the meantime. In 1830 he married Barbara Sullivan, a niece of Dr. Baldwin. About the year 1840 he furbished up his classics, passed an examination, and was entered as a student-at-law. A long illness compelled him to give up the study of the law. He returned to his farm near Whitby. In 1845 he removed with his family to Toronto, to take charge of the large landed properties of the Messrs. Baldwin and their clients. He was thus engaged until 1850, when he was appointed Clerk of the Crown and Pleas, Court of Common Pleas. This office he held until the death of Mr. Small, in 1864, when he succeeded that gentleman in the Crown Office. He died in 1868, at his residence in Bloor Street, having played many parts, and played them successfully. He was placed on the Commission of the Peace as early as 1828. In 1825, he received his commission as captain in the 2nd regiment of East York Militia, from which he retired with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. As a magistrate, he did much towards allaying the excitement during the troublous times of 1837-'38. Grudges and hatreds were gratified by making accu-

sations of treason, and in times of excitement and danger such cases were difficult to handle. The delicate task Mr. Hayden seems to have performed well. In those days magistrates had to perform the marriage ceremony, and Hayden united together in the happy bond of matrimony thirty-eight couples. He was also a Commissioner of the Court of Requests, Coroner, and frequently Returning Officer.

The families of "The Four Irishmen," had considerable local influence in their part of the County of Cork, and an unremitting correspondence being kept up, many of their countrymen were induced to settle at Whitby. Hayden always took a deep and unselfish interest in the welfare and success of these emigrants, many of them being forward to assert to-day that they owe their prosperity to his kindness and good offices. One recounts with gratitude the following circumstance. He is a man, now highly prosperous, who had for some reason or other failed to procure for himself a farm. He was induced by Mr. Hayden, to lease a two hundred acre lot on a term of years, with the right to purchase it at a given price. He cleared the lot, built a house, paid the rent, raised a large family, but, naturally improvident, forgot all about the purchase, until the time had passed for paying the money. Convinced that he had lost his farm, he came to Mr. Hayden, telling him of his great trouble. What was his surprise and joy to hear from his benefactor, that, fearing something of the kind would happen, he had himself paid the money?

Party feeling ran high between the Roman Catholics and Orangemen. Hayden worked hard to allay passions, and in a great measure succeeded. On one 12th of July, he met a party of Catholics on their way to contest the day with the Orangemen. An enlightened Catholic himself, he sought to induce them to return home, and after much entreaty succeeded in persuading them. Loyal to the British flag, which is the Irish and Scotch flag as well as the English, he resisted many temptations to become a citizen of the United States. The late Mr. Senator Morgan, of New York, who had married a sister of Dr. Baldwin, urged him in vain to go to New York, though he promised what he had the power to perform, to look after his advancement. A man of wealth, named Dodge, wished him to become a partner, and take charge of an

extensive iron manufactory in Buffalo. These men and others, recognised in Hayden's grave, earnest, intelligent and thoughtful character, qualities which required only an extended field, to make a great mark. Throughout his whole life he bore a high character, upright in business, blameless in his private life.

A reticent man, not given to speak much of himself, he yet sometimes told of a narrow escape he had had on Lake Ontario, when he used to take his wheat to York to be ground. On one occasion he set sail from Big Bay, now the harbour at Whitby, in a "Dug-out," with five bags of wheat. It was late in the evening when he started. It was important to gain time. He made the stretch from one headland to another. As he was nearing York, a storm came on. The night was pitch dark. He could no longer tell his bearings. In the midst of his bewilderment the boat capsized. Like most Cork men, a good swimmer, he struck out undaunted, until he touched the sides of the unhappy craft which had turned turtle. To this he clung, knowing that the waves would drive it ashore. After what seemed two or three hours, he touched bottom. He pulled his boat up on to the beach, and dripping wet, took shelter underneath it until the morning, when he found he had drifted against the island. He dragged the boat across the sand into the bay, over which he paddled himself to York. His grist was at the bottom of Lake Ontario.

On another occasion, late in the evening, astride of a young colt, he left York. Night came, and a thunderstorm. A flash of lightning broke athwart his path. This startled the young beast. A buck jump—and he was off like the electric gleam which had frightened him. A good rider, Hayden kept his seat. The horse stopped on a sudden, throwing his rider on to his neck. The horse screamed with terror. A great broad flash which lit up the whole country and unveiled the face of the lurid waters to the horizon, revealed the cause. He was on the brink of Scarborough Heights, with the lake roaring eight hundred feet below. The rider did not lose his nerve, but slid quietly off the horse. The animal then recovered his position on the bank. When the storm

" Moaning and calling out of other lands,  
Had left the ravaged woodland yet once more  
To peace,"



Hayden resumed his journey. He must have possessed great physical endurance. On one occasion, election business pressing, he rode from York to Whitby, back again to York, and thence back again to Whitby, eighty-four miles in the daylight of one day.

He was full of resource. When alone on his farm at the Bay, finding his money running short, he determined to have some. He set to work, chopped trees, and made ashes sufficient to produce a barrel of potash. This he shipped for Montreal, taking passage himself. He sold his ashes to advantage. Not caring to go back the way he went, and wanting a horse, he bought one at an auction and rode him bare-backed to Whitby. His early experiences in Ireland, where even young gentlemen are accustomed to take out a bridle with them and without a saddle have a canter over the fields on one of their father's horses, would make this ride a light matter.

He always retained his hold on the affections and regard of the early settlers in and about Whitby, and on their families. Mr. Blake, when he accepted the Chancellorship, represented East York. The moment the vacancy occurred, some of the principal men of East York belonging to each side of politics, urged him to offer himself for their suffrages. He had every prospect of being elected without opposition. The offer was as tempting as it was gratifying. But as he would, in case he accepted it, have had to sacrifice a public position, which he felt bound in the interest of his family to keep, he declined.

Mr. Hayden seems to have had decided opinions on religious and political questions. In religion, I am informed by a relative, who can speak with ample authority, he was a Roman Catholic, and as such was the first to settle in South Ontario. "He may," writes my informant, "be styled the father of the Catholics in that section, in more senses than one. He was possessed of a sincere and firm conviction of religious truth, and his whole life, thoughts and actions were governed by its teaching and principles." In politics, he was a reformer of the Baldwin type, and he did much to keep alive the principles and spirit of the party. He possessed, at all times, the entire confidence of his leader, Mr. Baldwin, with whom his public and private relations were of the most confidential and friendly character. While living in East York, he took a

deep interest in all undertakings of a public nature, and his influence with the Government was readily exerted to benefit public undertakings and individuals whom he deemed worthy of the confidence of those in power.

The father of John Ginty, mentioned in an earlier part of this chapter, came to Canada from Old Castle, Westmeath, in 1827, and settled in South Simcoe. He was a good public speaker, an exceedingly clever man generally, and possessed considerable local influence which he exercised in support of the late Hon. W. B. Robinson. Owing to his exertions and exposure in the rebellion of 1837 he got erysipelas of which he died. His wife is still alive. In 1854 the son removed to Toronto.

In Simcoe the late Mr. Ginty was frequently brought in contact with a remarkable man who did a good day's work for Canada, and whose family are in various ways contributing to its political, social, and intellectual life. Colonel O'Brien belonged to that interesting class the ranks of which have been fed mainly from Ireland—the gentlemen settlers—who brought to their adopted country means, talent, and culture, and to whom we owe nearly all the refinement of which we can boast.

Colonel O'Brien was born at Woolwich, on the 9th of January, 1798. His father, who had married the eldest daughter of Colonel Calendar, was a Captain and Adjutant in the Royal Artillery, who had served in the West Indies and who, for his services, was allowed to retire on half-pay. It may not be uninteresting to put on record that one of the sisters of Miss Calendar married Thomas Brinsley Sheridan, whose wit was nearly as bright as his father's. They had three remarkable daughters, who were so beautiful that they were known as the "Three Graces." One married the late Lord Dufferin, another the Honourable Mr. Norton, and the third the Duke of Somerset. Both Lady Dufferin and the Honourable Mrs. Norton won for themselves a place in literature. Mrs. Norton was, at fifty years of age, strikingly handsome. Seen five minutes she made on the mind an ineffaceable impression, and her second marriage would seem to indicate that like all supreme beauties she carried with her into the sick room, and to the verge of the grave, the power and charm which enchain the heart.

Colonel O'Brien's earliest days were passed in the neighbourhood

of Cork, where his father was stationed for several years. His education which was commenced at Spike Island—a military station and a scene of convict labour in the harbour of Cork—was of a peculiar character, and the only wonder is that instead of the most honourable of men, he did not develop into a free-booter. Not only was he taught the usual rudiments of a liberal education, especially in the science branches, he received fruitful instruction in the manly art with the history of which in Canada his name is inseparably connected. In those days amateur smuggling was considered a good joke. A gentleman did not shrink from it. It was like breathing the Proctor's dogs at college. It was indulged in with the graceful recklessness of a "Prince Hal," at the promptings of a spirit of adventure such as made James of Scotland unconsciously provide material for the most effective of Scott's poems. To get a cask of wine into a man's cellar without paying duty, though a *malum prohibitum* was not regarded as a *malum in se*. Even men holding His Majesty's commission engaged in the "sport." Captain O'Brien—the Colonel's father—fell in with the custom of the hour. An expert boatman, with the fastest wherry and best crew in the harbour, it was his delight assisted often by friends from the men-of-war riding at anchor on the bosom of this unrivalled bay, or better still, returning from Spain or Portugal, to outwit the custom-house officers and revenue cutters. Often pursued, whether in shine or storm he was never caught. When the revenue dogs were in full cry he sat confident:—

Tunc me biremis præsidio scaphæ  
Tutum per Ægæos tumultus  
Aura feret, geminasque Pollux.

And loud was the laughter and high the mirth, as they broached the cask, and drank the furtive wine singing:—

"Vive la contrebande!"

Captain Vansittart, so well known as Admiral Vansittart, in Woodstock, where he laid out the beautiful property of Eastwood, framed with woodland, now in possession of Mr. T. C. Patteson, used to tell of casks of Port and Madeira brought in his ship and the exciting chases which took place, when the game broke cover

beneath her cannon-frowning sides. On these occasions his father's chosen companion, the boy, while yet a stripling, became an adept in the management of a boat. In this way he largely acquired those tastes and that seaman-like skill which influenced his whole career, and fitted him to play the part of founder of yachting as an institution among us. For Irishmen, founders in so much else Canadian, are also founders here.

No better boatman or more finished yachtsman than Colonel O'Brien has ever sailed Canadian waters. He originated and organised the first yacht club in Toronto. Dr. Hodder, the son of an Irishman who was a great friend of Captain O'Brien's, was the means of bringing into prominence its successor, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Some of the older yachting men still talk of the "Coquette," built in O'Brien's barn, on the shores of Lake Simcoe. Her rigging and sails were made with his own hands. The "Gazelle" followed, and the "Fanqui." Fanqui is a Chinese word, and means "foreign rascal," a term applied by the Celestials to the outside barbarians. The yacht was thus opprobriously baptized because of her peculiar shape and rig. His son, Mr. Henry O'Brien, a leading member of a leading law firm in Toronto, inheriting his father's tastes and aptitudes for manly exercises, and especially for boating and yachting, started, some few years ago, the Argonaut Club. The last time Colonel O'Brien was on the water he took an oar in a four-oared boat of the Argonauts.

With such a training as young O'Brien had, it was natural that the sea should have been his choice when the question of a profession was mooted. Indeed, with or without this training, he would, at the age he was called on to decide, have declared for Neptune. Every boy of spirit reared in Cork wants to go to sea; and anxious mothers and ambitious fathers are sorely troubled by their young hopefuls, from their seventh to their fourteenth year, who long for the life of a seaman bold, who pine for the stormy sea. This contiguity with the sea and necessary contact with shipping, with foreigners and foreign seamen, with stately warships, with regiments embarking and disembarking; the blare of the bugle in the morning from the heights of Barrack Hill; the recall as evening settles slowly down on the beautiful city and

darkens over the wooded terraces of the pellucid river, and clothes the towering belfry of Shandon with congenial shadows; the sham battles in the park; the gaiety of the princely promenade of the New Wall; all the beauty of form and colour of the various landscape which no one could know without loving it in its changing moods, as though it were a beautiful, capricious, yet noble-hearted woman; streets which run over the graves of heroes; storied towers; associations with Spenser and kindred men; all this expands the mind of the child, fills it with vague longings after adventure and greatness, sends his mind down the handsome river, like a little rudderless boat, dreaming out to sea; dreaming Heaven knows what of grand achievement and daring deed. It is to this stimulating surrounding we must in no small part attribute the fact that Cork has produced so many remarkable men. And when the child, while the disturbing effeminaey of the passions is in abeyance, thinks of adventure, and his eager nature longs for action—what horse so sure to bear him at once to all he longs for as the white-maned steed that frets hard by yonder green-capped cliff? The earliest song he hears praises a life on the ocean wave, and exalts beyond all quieter homes, a home on the rolling deep. The comely mother of seven or eight sons, and looking younger than one of our young women of twenty, has not made your acquaintance an hour before you hear from her maternal but rosy lips, that the fine boy whose head she pats is determined to go to sea. She supposes it must be, but the sea is a dreadful life. And Tom or Bill at once takes you into his confidence, runs off for his well-rigged boat which he sails on one of the inlets of the river, and he assures you he means to be captain of just such a ship as he bears in his arms.

Young O'Brien was not ten years of age when he had fixed his destiny. Having passed through a short preparatory course at Plymouth, when only eleven years of age he went to sea as a middy in the "Sybelle" frigate, having received from his mother ere the last embrace the admonition—"Never to forget his Bible, or that he was the son of an Irish gentleman." This was at the close of the great war when a midshipman's life had none of those comforts which now-a-days make it one of comparative luxury. He subsequently served in the China seas in the crack 36-gun frigate "Doris," com-

manded by his cousin Captain Robert O'Brien, who afterwards came to this country an Admiral, and lived at Woodstock and at Tollendal, near Barrie. Captain O'Brien obtained his promotion by his skill in taking a merchantman off the Goodwin Sands. The peace with America put an end to the long naval contest and an end also to any speedy advancement in the navy. O'Brien, therefore, joined the army. He was given a commission in the 2nd Dragoons, but finding this corps d'elite, in all senses, too expensive, he exchanged into the 58th Regiment, then under orders for service in the West Indies. Here his health failing he retired on half pay.

Now his mind returned to its first love. He went into the merchant service and made several voyages to the East. His reputation for seamanship and general capacity brought him an offer of one of the fine East Indian passenger ships of that day. As he was about to take command he was attacked by a severe illness which compelled him to give up the sea for ever.

His restless activity, however, would not permit him to settle down to a quiet life in the Old Country. He determined to seek his fortune in the backwoods of Canada. With a number of other half-pay officers he settled on the North Shore of Lake Simcoe, taking up his grant in the Township of Oro. Sir John Colborne had put him in charge of the settlement. Here he built the house where he ended his days. A beautiful picture of this house has been painted by his son, Mr. Lucius O'Brien, whose name as that of the foremost artist in Canada will again come up. Mr. O'Brien was the only settler on the shore of Lake Simcoe who retained his grant to the end.

Here with his newly married wife and a family growing up about them—all the children survive—he entered on the toils and hardships of the backwoods. He and his wife did all that kind hearts and fertile brains and ready hands, far from empty, could do to promote the happiness of all around them. They visited and succoured the sick and needy. He filled many offices of trust. He became Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and Colonel in the Militia. As a Justice of the Peace he was fearless and active, and some thought severe. But in those days there were many turbulent characters in the

Simcoe District who required a firm hand. In the suppression of the rebellion he took an active part, and was for some time engaged at Lloydstown, a hotbed of disaffection, in the discharge of magisterial duties.

Shortly after the establishment of the County of Simcoe as a municipality Mr. O'Brien left "The Woods" and removed to Toronto where he lived for many years. With his accustomed energy he threw himself into various business schemes. He was one of the moving spirits in the first projected railway from Toronto to Lake Huron, with a terminus at Sarnia, and was secretary of a company formed to promote it. He was opposed to having a terminus at Collingwood. He was the organizer and first manager of the Provincial Insurance Company. He was also connected with the press, and at one time owned the old *Patriot* and the *Colonist*. A staunch loyalist and a strong Conservative he took an active part in the politics of the day.

His chief public interest like that of Mr. Dixon's was the welfare and prosperity of the Church. His first care on settling at Lake Simcoe was to set apart a portion of his land for a church and glebe. On this one of the first missions north of Toronto was established, and through his exertions the church was built. To the little church-yard of this church over the bright fields, one day in the summer of 1875, the brave old man's remains were carried by his sons and old friends.

He hated whatever was false and mean. Owing, perhaps, to his early training, his manner was dictatorial. He had strong views on men and things which he fully expressed. He used to hesitate or rather stutter but could not bear to be helped out of his difficulty. On one occasion he was saying—"It is not worth a si-si-si—" "Sixpence," suggested some one. "No, sir," replied O'Brien, "not worth a shilling." If there was a blemish in his character it was of the most superficial nature, while his sterling qualities were such that no one ever knew him without loving him.

Dr. Lucius O'Brien, the Colonel's brother, who was surgeon to the troops engaged in the suppression of the rebellion in Jamaica, in 1831, soon after left the army, and hearing glowing accounts of Canada from the Colonel, came here and settled fourteen miles

north of Toronto, at **Thornhill**, where he had for some years a large practice.

At that time, the indulgence in whiskey-drinking was carried to unhappy lengths among the rural population. Dr. O'Brien, though hitherto a wine drinker, determined to become a teetotaler. He established a temperance society of which he was President, until he removed to Toronto in 1838. In 1837-8, he was appointed chief military surgeon at Toronto, where, when the troops were disbanded, he settled down to practice. He held several important public positions in connection with his profession. A religious man, he took a deep interest in the Bible Society, of which he was Vice-President for many years before he died. In 1845, he was appointed to the chair of Medical Jurisprudence at King's College, and lectured until 1853, when the school was done away with. A strong Conservative, he became editor of the *Toronto Patriot*, which he continued to edit for eight years. If he was responsible for all the articles in that paper during Lord Elgin's time, his editorial labours are not so creditable as his medical. Having lost money through injudicious speculations, he accepted the office of Secretary to the Hon. Wm. Cayley. He subsequently received an appointment in the Finance Department. He died at Ottawa, in 1870, at the advanced age of seventy-five.

We now return for a moment to the County of Simcoe. In 1822, the McConkey family emigrated to Canada from Tyrone, where Thomas David McConkey was born in 1815. The family first settled in the Niagara district, but in 1825 removed to the County of Simcoe. Thomas was educated at a common school, and when he came to man's estate he opened a general store in Barrie, immediately after the new district was set apart and proclaimed. Success beyond his expectation followed, and a few years ago he retired from business.

Like most of his countrymen, he had a capacity for public employment, and was elected a member of the first Town Council of Barrie, where he rendered the county great service. He held the position of Reeve of the town for nine years. In 1860, he was elected Warden of the County of Simcoe, an office he held for two years.

A strong reformer, he in 1861 unsuccessfully contested North



Simcoe with Mr. Angus Morrison. He again opposed Morrison in 1863, when he was elected a member of the old Canadian parliament. He supported Confederation, and at the general election of 1867, he was elected unanimously for the first House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada. He declined a nomination in 1872. In 1875, he was nominated to contest West Simcoe, but was defeated. For nearly twenty years up to his appointment in 1875 to the Shrievalty of the county, he was a justice of the peace. He is a good speaker and a man of convictions and integrity.

The greater part of a township near Streetsville, County of Peel, is settled by emigrants from "gallant Tipperary." They used to be called some years ago the "Town-line blazers." The names all smack of Ireland—the Cooks', the Cantlans', the Millers', the Coles', the Waits', the Orrs.' They were accustomed to come down to town with their guns, a practice which I hope they have discontinued. "One old boy," writes a correspondent, "would come down, and when he took a glass too much he would say: 'Do you think you could box a Cole or a Cantlan? No! nor by — could you box old Rowley himself.'"

John Hammond and his wife came out early to Canada. He died at Lachine, of cholera, and his wife with her son William Hammond (now of Yonge Street), went on as far as Brampton. All the relatives of this lady have done well. A brother of Mr. Hammond farms two hundred acres of land at Owen Sound, and is doing "first-rate," whilst an uncle farms 300 acres at Brampton, and is very prosperous. In the neighbourhood of Brampton, the Whiteheads, the Arnots, the Willis's, and a score of other families attest at once the energy of Irishmen, and the scope of Canada for industry.

Already it has been shown that Ireland has sent to Canada remarkable men, and furnished interesting incidents for the historian of emigration. But the story is not half told, as will be seen by the following chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII.

SOME of the most striking facts connected with the early Irish emigration will now be laid before the reader.

In 1832 the Messrs. Edward and Dominick Blake, with some connections and friends, left Ireland for Canada to seek a kinder fortune beneath colder skies. Nothing was to be despaired of with such leaders. It was hard to leave a country where the family had made for itself a name and place. But necessity was severe as the father of Teucer, and there was nothing for it but to bedew the shamrock with wine and on the morrow sail the boundless main.

The Blakes of Castlegrove, County of Galway, held a good place among the country gentry. Dominick Edward Blake, of Castlegrove, married first the Honourable Miss Netterville, a daughter of Lord Netterville, of Drogheda, by whom he had three sons, Edward, Andrew, and John Netterville. He afterwards married a daughter of Sir Joseph Hoare, Baronet, of Annabella, in the County of Cork, by whom he had four sons, one of whom was Dominick Edward Blake, who chose the Church as his profession. He married Anne Margaret Hume, eldest daughter of William Hume, of Humewood, County Wicklow. His wife survived him as did his three daughters, and the two sons Dominick Edward and William Hume, both of whom were educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Dominick Edward, the eldest, was ordained as a clergyman of the Church of England, while his brother studied surgery under Surgeon-General Sir Philip Crampton.

The Rev. D. E. Blake soon married, the lady being a Miss Jones, the eldest daughter of a man who was connected in a passing way with Canada, and whose conversation respecting the country had no small influence on the mind of his son-in-law. Major Jones was a retired officer who had held commissions in the 37th, 49th, and 60th regiments. He had served throughout the Peninsular War and in Canada during the war of 1812. He took part in the battles of Lundy's Lane and Queenston Heights.

William Hume Blake married Miss Catharine Hume, the daughter of a younger brother of William Hume, of Humewood. In 1832, he and his brother determined to emigrate to Canada. In the July of that year they sailed for this country, accompanied by their mother and sisters; by the late Archdeacon Brough, who had married Miss Wilhelmina Blake; by the late Mr. Justice Connor; by Dr. Robinson and his sons, Arthur Robinson, now of Orillia, and Charles Robinson, the present Judge of the County of Lambton; by the Rev. Benjamin Cronyn, late Bishop of Huron, and the Rev. Mr. Palmer, now the Archdeacon of Huron. They chartered a vessel the "Ann of Halifax," and with high hopes and brave hearts stood out to sea.

When only three days out one of the crew was seized with cholera and before morning his body was thrown overboard. Owing to the prophylactic measures of Dr. Robinson the plague was stayed. Yet for some time there was an inclination in the breasts of the emigrants to put the ship's head about and return to Ireland. After six weeks they arrived in the St. Lawrence and were subjected to a long quarantine at Grosse Isle. September had arrived before they were allowed to proceed. The cholera was now epidemic.

They remained about six months in Little York, and then separated, Mr. Brough, Mr. Skeffington Connor, and Doctor Robinson going northwards, to the Township of Oro, on Lake Simcoe, and the remainder going west to the Township of Adelaide, of which the Reverend D. E. Blake had been appointed rector by Sir John Colborne, then Governor of the Province.

Mr. W. H. Blake purchased a farm at Bear Creek, about seven miles from Adelaide, near where the Town of Strathroy now stands. He resided there about two years, after which he returned to Toronto, and commenced to study law. The Reverend Mr. Blake, with whom his mother resided, remained for about twelve years in Adelaide, during which time he built the three churches in which he held service. Having been appointed rector of Thornhill in the year 1844, he removed thither, and for thirteen years continued his ministrations in each of his three churches every Sunday. Travelling twenty-four miles in all weathers, and conducting three services, proved, however, in time, too much for

him, and he had reluctantly to abandon the most distant one to the care of others. Notwithstanding his failing health he continued his ministrations in the remaining two churches up to the time of his death, which took place in June, 1859, at Trinity College, Toronto, upon the evening of the annual convocation. His widow and two sons, Dominick Edward and John Netterville, and two daughters survived him. His mother lived until towards the close of 1867, when she died at the age of ninety-three, in London, Ontario, at the residence of her youngest daughter, the widow of the Reverend Richard Flood, late of Delaware. A woman of remarkable strength of mind and firmness of character, up to the time of her death she remained in full possession of all her mental faculties.

The history of the early settlement of the district west of London differs little from that of the newer districts of the present day. Roads there were none, except one or two leading colonization lines cut out through the wilderness. The present site of London was then known as the Forks of the Thames, and the baggage and household belongings of the Blakes had to be dragged by oxen, through quagmires and over streams, from Port Stanley to Adelaide.

For some time the nearest post office to where the Reverend Mr. Blake resided, was fifteen miles distant. What is now the Egremont Gravel Road, passing through a rich farming district, having on either side comfortable residences and farm "steadings," was then a mere trail, unfit for travel except with oxen and waggons. On either hand lay a dense wilderness, through which the wolves howled as they chased the deer during the long winter nights. At first no medical man could be found nearer than London; and the emigrants with whom the township was being settled, consisting chiefly of old soldiers (many of them with no more worldly goods than they stood up in), had to be housed and fed at the expense of the Government. Typhus fever soon broke out amongst them, and many died for want of proper treatment. The Reverend Mr. Blake fortunately had some knowledge of medicine, and between visiting the sick and attending to his parochial duties, the first few years of his life as a colonist passed rapidly.

One of the old settlers, the late Colonel Johnston, of Strathroy,

used to relate the following anecdote of him :—On the occasion of a visit of inspection which Sir John Colborne paid to the district, Mr. Blake invited several retired officers and gentlemen in the township to meet the Governor, and accompany him on a tour amongst the settlers. Passing along a trail through the woods, the party came upon a large oak tree which had fallen across the path, fully six feet high. Each one took a look at it, but did not care to try such a leap. Mr. Blake, however, in spite of the remonstrances of the remainder of the party, put his horse to a gallop and cleared the obstruction without any more difficulty than if it had been a hedge, and the occasion a hunt with the Castlegrove pack. The remainder of the party, including the Governor, were content to plunge through mire and brushwood around the tree, until they reached the path again.

On another occasion, of a wintry afternoon, late in November, Mr. Blake rode on horseback some miles to perform service at one of his churches. It was nearly dark by the time service was over, and the homeward road a mere cow path through the woods. Just as he had mounted, a messenger arrived to say that a settler living a short distance was dangerously ill, and wished to see him. Proceeding onwards, he remained with the dying man until late in the night, and then started for home. Before long, however, a snow-storm set in. He missed his way. He wandered through the woods completely lost. The cold became more intense as the night wore on. Packs of wolves frequently passed close to him in chase of deer, and at such times his horse showed tremulous symptoms of distress and panic. It was difficult to restrain him from dashing off amongst the trees. As it was, Mr. Blake lost his hat. Several times he had like to be torn off his horse by projecting limbs. When daylight came, the animal left to himself, found his way home. Mr. Blake became dangerously ill, and never quite recovered from the effects of his exposure. Both the Blakes had been in Ireland, like the rest of their family, Conservatives. In Canada the Revd. Dominick Blake remained Conservative, but never took any part in political contests, as he considered doing so not proper for a clergyman. After his appointment to the Rectory of Thornhill, near Toronto, he took an active interest in the Church Society of the Diocese, and for many years

strove earnestly to establish harmonious action between clergy and laity in church matters. At the same time he exerted himself to improve the condition of those of the clergy who were entirely dependent upon voluntary contributions for their support, while he sought to extend the influence of religion and the Church into the newer districts. He was a good writer, and published some able essays on the canons and other matters relative to church government. His ability, his sound judgment, and the well-known moderation of his views, secured for him the respect and confidence of Bishop Strachan, as well as of the clergy and laity generally. His death, at a comparatively early age, was a serious loss to the church of which he had been so able and devoted a servant.

William Hume Blake, the late Chancellor, will appear frequently in the course of this history. His sons, the Hon. Edward Blake, and the Hon. Vice-Chancellor Blake, will also be dealt with elsewhere. The sons of the Rev. Dominick Blake are not unworthy of the gifted family to which they belong.

Dominick Edward Blake has been compelled to occupy himself altogether with agricultural pursuits, owing to the state of his health. At the age of thirteen, in consequence of the death of his father, Mr. J. N. Blake was thrown upon his own resources, and he has, wholly unaided, made his way. In 1862, he commenced studying law and in 1867, at the age of 21, was called to the bar. A severe attack of illness prevented him for some time applying himself closely to practice. In 1873, he projected the Lake Simcoe Junction Railway (now approaching completion), and became Managing Director and afterwards President, which position he still occupies.

The Rev. Mr. Flood came out to Canada in 1833. He was one of the missionaries of the time, and his career was similar to that of his brother-in-law, Dominick Blake. He settled down near the Village of Delaware, Township of Caradoc. Not only did he have services at his little church in Delaware, he had congregations at the neighbouring Indian villages.

A melancholy occurrence, which nearly proved fatal to Mr. Flood, took place at Delaware, on the second Sunday in April, 1843. A temporary scow was constructed for the purpose of

crossing the river, now overriding its banks. Flood and thirteen others returning home from church embarked on the scow. Scarcely had they reached mid-current, when the scow was carried violently down stream. The situation was perilous. The swollen waves laden with drift boiled around the awkward craft and roared in angry eddies. There was nothing for it but to trust in Providence; they were at the mercy of the merciless river. Down they went, living waifs of the headlong heedless waters. As they turned their helpless glances each on each, vague bewilderment gave place to imminent peril and definite alarm. A willow leaned across, and dipped its branches into the turbid river. Nothing could be done. In a moment the scow dashed against the procumbent tree. A shock; the tree swayed; the rifted bark showed the white; the scow was swamped. The whole party managed to lay hold of the tree, which the weight of fourteen persons brought on a level with the surface of the water.

Luckily, a man on the shore saw their distress. Taking with him a rope, he put off in a skiff. The rope was attached to the tree; two of the shipwrecked got into the boat; the other end of the rope was attached to a larger tree. There was a danger of the roots of the low-lying tree giving way; the rope was to enable some of those who were clinging to it to lighten the burden. Those who had recourse to the rope, inched themselves on until they reached the large tree into which they climbed. Meanwhile the gallant little skiff upset. All hope was now abandoned by some. But after nearly an hour had elapsed, another skiff, a miserable little thing, long condemned, was patched up, and a young man named F. Tiffany, of Delaware, put boldly off to the rescue of the sufferers. By this time three persons were drowned. Mr. Flood and two others, the one a mechanic in the neighbourhood, the other, Captain Somers, formerly of the British army, alone remained on the tree first seized. Mrs. Flood was throughout perfectly calm and self-possessed, as was her husband, and directed Mr. Tiffany's efforts in the first place to Captain Somers, who was almost in a state of exhaustion. Several efforts were made to get him into the boat, but in vain. At length it was discovered that one of the drowned men had laid hold on one

of his legs, and held it in the grasp of death, and by a stronger cord than Mezentius ever knew, the dead and the living were bound together. Each together had taken the sacrament of Christ a little more than an hour before; but in the last desperate effort for life, no thought of charity, no overwhelming motive of self-sacrifice had play. Around was the whitening waters, in his ear their dreadful hum. Quickened fancy formed and framed pictures of the past; the happy fields of busy men; the sun climbing up the sky; the myriad mirroring dew-drops, spangling expanding meads, and making glitter on low-lying leas; the sunsets—those grand rose windows of the cathedral of heaven; the sweet domesticities of life, the friendship of man, the love of lovely woman; all passed in a moment; his heart dilated with the passion to live; he clutched his companion; a struggle and his spirit is mingling with the waters; and the dead hand keeping the last command of the will, carries within the cold ghastly knuckles poor Somers' doom.

Every effort was made to set the fated captain free. But while those fruitless attempts at deliverance were going forward, Captain Somers' grasp of the tree relaxed; he cast around a glance of fearful meaning, and sank lifeless in the waters, leaving behind him a wife and eleven children. Tiffany was now at liberty to direct his attention to Mr. Flood, whom he succeeded in getting ashore. The names of those who perished were Captain Somers, James Rawlins, George Robinson, and William Edmonds. Mr. Flood had held Edmonds above the water until he was a corpse and was himself well nigh exhausted. Poor fellow, when he was nearly powerless, asked Mr. Flood if there was any sign of the raft? The reply was: "Dear friend, Christ is the only raft of which I can now assure you."

A son of Mr. Flood, Mr. Edward Flood, is settled at Lindsay, where he ably edits the *Victoria Warder*, a paper of which he is the proprietor.

There were emigrants, a contrast in every way to the Blakes, who illustrate not less strikingly the subject and object of this book. At the very time the Blakes were leaving Ireland in their chartered vessel, another emigrant ship was sailing out of Dublin Bay, from one of whose passengers I have received a letter, in



which he says that Canada has done more for Irish, English and Scotch, than they have done for Canada, which is quite true. Canada is the bountiful mother which only needs a little coaxing to lay bare all the wealth of her life. The writer of the letter left Dublin with his father. When the vessel was out three weeks the cholera attacked the passengers. In eight days they lost forty-five persons. Throwing bodies overboard became monotonous. The writer's father and mother, a sister and child of tender years, all died. When he arrived at Montreal, about seventy were dying daily. He got to Middlesex. Up to this time he and his brother never owned a new pair of shoes or boots. Each had only one clean shirt for Sunday, and very little of any other clothes for Sunday or Monday. They used to be sent with a small dish of dirty grain to feed about eight or ten hogs. It was hardly safe for a boy to go near so many starving hogs; about half of which would die of starvation ere spring. "One of these same boys is now worth \$20,000, not by speculation, but by hard work on a farm, and he is respected everywhere. I remember," continues my correspondent, "when a brother of mine would not be let eat only out of the pot, when the family which he lived with had had their share taken out of it. He was knocked about from Tom to Dick and Harry, and had scarcely a home. Now some people say he is worth \$30,000."

About the same time there came to Middlesex a young man with large feet, and when he saw the "minister" coming his way he stood in a great bunch of weeds to hide his bare feet till the "preacher" had passed. That man is now well to do in a flourishing county of Ontario, and "it is likely that if the Prince of Wales came to Canada, his daughter would be invited to the Prince's ball. Does a man," asks my correspondent, in bad English and bad spelling, but with much strength of observation, "think that the Irish are a more superior race than English or Scotch? Not so. The Irish need mixing with the canny Scotch."

The mixture is a good one. But even without the mixture Irishmen can show themselves canny, and have shown themselves so. The great thing is to insist on education, and wide and

varied reading. Nothing makes men differ so much, even in bodily appearance, as mental development.

"Forty years ago," the same gentleman writes, "I happened to pass by a poor man's house. I saw that he had, by some means, bought a yoke of steer, and they having some vermin on them, the man shook some wood ashes on their backs. One lay dead, the other was dying, leaving the man as poor as Job's turkey. Some years afterwards I passed that way. There was a house fit for the Governor, made from hard industry on the same farm."

The man who has thus supplied my palette with colours is himself worth \$20,000.

There are several counties which have been wholly, or almost wholly cleared by Irishmen. Foremost among these stands the County of Carleton, which comprises the Townships of Nepean, North Gower, Marlborough, Goulburn, March, Huntley, Torbolton. Fitzroy, the Village of Richmond and the City of Ottawa. Throughout the county the Irish element predominates, save in the Townships of Fitzroy and Torbolton, which are chiefly settled by that other branch of the Celtic race whose hardihood has been nourished in the land of heather and shaggy wood, amid the stern sublimities of mountains and mountain streams. In the northern part of March, too, there are a great many of the Imperial English blood. Part of the Township of Goulburn, including the Village of Richmond, was settled by the Duke of Richmond, about 1815, with officers of the 99th. Among these military settlers were Irishmen such as Captain Burke; Lieutenant Maxwell, to whom we shall have again to refer; Captain Lett; Rev. Dr. Short, military chaplain; Captain Lyon, Lieutenant Ormsby, and Lieutenant Bradley. Into this settlement some naval officers also found their way. The northern part of the Township of March was settled by Captain Monk, an Englishman, and Colonel Lloyd, an Irishman. With such exceptions, the whole of the metropolitan county of the Dominion was settled by the Irish emigrant, with no assistance from anybody; his capital, his friends, his patrons, were his strong right arm, his resolute will and the axe upon his shoulder. Some particulars relating to the two classes of pioneers will not be uninteresting.

George J. Burke, of the 99th Regiment, and Colonel of the

Carleton Militia, was a native of Tipperary. He served in the Peninsula, and afterwards in Canada, during the war of 1812. During his campaigns here he contracted that fondness for Canada which has made of many who intended no more than a flying visit permanent settlers. When he retired from the service he took up his residence at Richmond. He was an Irish gentleman of the old school, a Conservative and a staunch Loyalist. He was the first Registrar of the County of Carleton, a position which he retained until his death.

His son, James Henry Burke, early gave evidence of literary and even poetical, talents. Feeling himself walled in from congenial opportunity in the wild region round Richmond—Ottawa being then the small landing-place, Bytown—he made a voyage to the Arctic Region, and saw something of the great world outside. In 1854, he, having gained much experience and enlarged his views, settled at Ottawa, and started the *Ottawa Tribune*, in the Irish Roman Catholic interest. This paper he conducted in a very able manner until his death. On the decease of John Egan, in 1857, he ran for Pontiac, but was defeated by Mr. Heath. With the exception of Mr. Egan, he did more for the Ottawa district than any man of his day. The opening up of the Ottawa Valley was a subject on which he held enlightened views, and one on which he spoke, and wrote well. He died on the 8th of January, 1858, at the early age of thirty-seven, having given promise of great things, both in statesmanship and literature.

John Egan was a native of Aghrim. He emigrated in 1832. He died at the early age of forty-seven. In the fifteen years he was spared to his adopted country he did as much as any man ever achieved in so brief a period. Few men were better acquainted with the trade of the Ottawa. The resources of the country and its requirements were thoroughly mastered by him. He worked his way from nothing to the head of the largest business on the river. It was he first gave system to its lumber trade, a trade which has yielded a return equal to one-fourth of the entire revenue of Canada. Before his time lumbering on the Ottawa was a wild venture. The annual business of his house ran up a few years before his death to from \$800,000 to \$1,000,000. It gave employment directly to over 2,000 men. It required 1,600 horses

and oxen. His living machinery consumed annually 90,000 bushels of oats, 12,000 barrels of pork, 15,000 barrels of flour. The ramifications of the house occupied a portion of nearly every stream on the Ottawa's course.

A handsome man, whose life was divided between business and generous deeds, he was very popular. He represented the County of Ottawa until it was divided, when he was returned by acclamation for Pontiac. His name has become part of the topographical nomenclature of the Ottawa, he having, with his clerk, the late Mr. Michael Joseph Hickey, founded and named Eganville.

Mr. Hickey was born at Nenagh, County Tipperary, in 1825. He was the oldest son of Mr. Patrick Hickey of the same place. He came to Canada while quite a young man and entered as clerk the employment of Mr. Egan, who soon selected him to take charge of his important business on the River Bonnechere, where a large number of emigrants from Donegal were settled. Hickey induced Egan to build grist and saw mills, and the advance of civilization was soon attested by the erection of a tavern. The nucleus of a village was now formed. Hickey suggested the name of Eganville to the Post-office authorities. Eganville is now a considerable place with churches, mills, numerous stores. The population is about six hundred.

Here Hickey commenced business under the name of Hickey Brothers. But owing to the depression in the lumber trade he retired leaving the business to his brothers, John and Thomas, men of ability and genial popular manners. Michael Joseph Hickey had literary ability, and edited for a considerable time with great success the *Ottawa Tribune*. It was in connection with Hickey that McGee started the *New Era*. Differing on the seat of government question—Hickey being stoutly in favour of Ottawa—they severed business connection but maintained their friendship. Hickey then went to the bar and practised his profession in Ottawa. Business took him to Toronto in the November of 1864. As he was walking along the Esplanade he fell into the Bay and was drowned. He was a constant contributor to *Harper's Magazine* and a paper contributed to that periodical, entitled "The Capital of Canada," deservedly attracted a great deal of attention.

When speaking of those connected with lumbering, Robert and

James Coburn, of Pembroke, should not be forgotten. When growing youths, in 1830, they with their mother, a widow, emigrated to Canada. They first resided in Nepean. Ready employment and good pay in the lumber shanties early took them up the Ottawa. They soon began to do business for themselves and succeeded. They live on their own estates within a few miles of the fast-growing and beautiful Town of Pembroke, and are now as always fast friends of Methodism.

The founder of Pembroke came from Tipperary, Daniel O'Meara was born in 1812. His family is a respectable one, and well known in that part of Ireland. Educated at his native town, and in Dublin, on the death of his father in 1834, he came to Canada. After a brief sojourn in Quebec, he joined a party bound for the Upper Ottawa. Finally he settled where now stands the Town of Pembroke, which, in conjunction with Alexander Moffat, he founded in 1835. He carried on business for some time as a general merchant. In the latter years of his life he engaged in lumbering. He used to go every year to Quebec, and bring emigrants thence at his own expense. Not a few of the prominent men of the Ottawa valley acknowledge that they owe the foundation of their prosperity to O'Meara. Shortly before his death he greatly extended his business by the establishment of numerous branches. He started two of his brothers, Michael and William, in business as merchants and lumbermen, both well known and greatly respected, in the County of Renfrew. He died in 1859, at the early age of 47, leaving three sons and two daughters, who survive. Mr. O'Meara was a Roman Catholic. He had built a church, and on his death-bed gave £500 towards the erection of a new one. He was a Conservative in politics. The reform journal of Pembroke—the *Observer*—in its issue of the 22nd April, 1859, in the course of an eloquent article, mourns the loss to Pembroke of its leading business man, and dwells in terms of eulogy on the energy, the adherence to principle, the open-handed generosity of O'Meara.

Another man whose name is of note in connexion with lumbering, was John Brady, who was born in Cavan, in 1797. He came to this country in 1819, having suffered great hardships during a voyage of eighteen weeks across the Atlantic. He first settled

in the County of Glengarry, where he was married to Rachel McDonald, at St. Raphael's Church, by Bishop McDonell. He subsequently removed from thence to the Township of Alfred, in the County of Prescott, near the Ottawa river, the settlement being known to this day by the name of the Brady Settlement. He threw himself with energy into farming and lumbering. He was elected one of the old District Councillors. He was also Justice of the Peace and Coroner for the county. These offices he filled until the year 1847, when he removed to the County of Oxford, where he was soon elected to the County Council, which office he filled until his death, in 1853. In politics he was a Reformer, and took a very active part in affairs. He was a Roman Catholic. His wife is still living with his third son, James, in the Town of Ingersoll. The family consisted of five sons and three daughters, all of whom are living, except one daughter. John Brady had a brother named Thomas Brady, who settled in the same neighbourhood, and who died recently at the age of 95 years. John Brady's son, James Brady, who is a well-known man in Ingersoll, was born at Prescott, in 1839.

It would require many volumes to recount the lives and deeds of all those Irishmen who have made the County of Carleton what it is. A rapid survey must content us here.

John Boucher came to Canada in 1819, having been born in 1789. He worked for a year on the canal in the employ of Colonel By. With what he saved in this year he went into March township and began to clear with his own hands a dense bush. His daughter, Mrs. Riddell, was the first child born in the Township of March. Boucher was married three times and had in all twenty-five children, eleven boys and fourteen girls. At his death, this man—who went into the Township of March with his axe on his shoulder—left each of his sons a farm and each of his daughters a portion of money. He worked at farming all his life, excepting about twelve years which he devoted to the business of hotel-keeping. He belonged to the Church of England, and was a strong Conservative.

If all his children have proved as prolific as Mrs. Riddell, his great-grandchildren alone now number 875. His descendants at this moment are very numerous.

Not so successful was Ralph Smith, who was born in Queen's County in 1777, and emigrated in 1819. He settled in the wilderness near where the City of Ottawa stands to-day. The only farm in the whole county in 1819 was one occupied by Philemon Wright, the pioneer of the North Shore of the Ottawa River. Smith built the first house of any kind on the South Shore, from the furthest settlement to Point Fortune. The second was a hut raised by the late Nicholas Sparks on his purchase of "Lot C," Concession C, now the most populous portion of the City of Ottawa.

Mr. Smith went into business as a brewer or distiller. He was the pioneer of this trade in Central Canada. Possessed of ample means when he arrived in Canada, and a complete master of a lucrative if not a very useful business, he ought to have realized wealth. But confidence in others led to pecuniary losses which swamped the greatest portion of his capital. But—happy constitution!—his pecuniary losses never affected either his good humour or his character, nor abated in the least from the esteem in which he was held. He died at an advanced age, being over four score years. He was a Conservative and a member of the Church of England.

Mr. John Nesbitt, a native of County Cavan, was born in 1803, and emigrated in 1823. He settled in the Township of March. He ultimately purchased large farms in the Township of Nepean, where he has since resided. He has done much to settle and improve the County of Carleton. Genial and hospitable, his friends throughout the county are as numerous as his acquaintances. Always an active member of the Church of England, he liberally assisted the completion of the parish church and parsonage in South March. He has always been an energetic Conservative. He has been for over thirty years in the commission of the peace. He has reared a large family, all settled in Carleton, and all in comfortable circumstances. Owing to a slightly aristocratic manner, as well as to his influence in the township, his neighbours style him "Lord John," by which title he is known throughout the County of Carleton.

Thomas Sproule, who died in 1849, is still remembered in Ottawa. He was born at Athlone, County Westmeath, in 1772.

He entered the Royal Navy as midshipman at the age of seventeen and afterwards the East India Company's service. He was present at the storming of Seringapatam. After returning to Ireland he served in the yeomanry, and emigrated in 1820. He at once proceeded to the military reserve of Richmond, purchased land and settled there, at the Chaudière on the Ottawa, where the batteaux from Montreal landed their freight. Sproule and his party arrived in the spring of 1820, and whilst admiring the wild grandeur of the scenery from the bluff on which is now erected the Parliament Buildings, was offered the whole of the present Ordnance Property then belonging to a private individual and consisting of more than half the present City of Ottawa, including the hill on which the public buildings are erected, for the sum of £75. But he preferred proceeding to the settlement of Richmond. He was appointed first coroner of the Bathurst District, which was afterwards formed into the Counties of Carleton, Lanark and Renfrew, and made a captain in the Carleton Militia. He was one of the first in organizing a Church of England parish at Richmond. He was a Tory of a now extinct school; with a strong spice of the old sailor in him.

The founders of a settlement in Lanark came from the south of Ireland. If ever any author should take it into his head to write "Remarkable Men of Canada," as a companion volume to the "Celebrities of Canada," these seven Irishmen must be given a prominent, if not a foremost place in the volume. John Quinn, Patrick Quinn, Terence Doyle, James Power, John Cullen, William Scanlen, and James Carberry—six from the County of Waterford and one from the County of Limerick, all young energetic men, decided to emigrate to this country in the year 1820. Previously to doing so, they made a compact that they would stick together through every trial and vicissitude, in evil report and good report, in sickness and in health. Where all could not get work none would remain. They were determined to fight the battle of life together, and fought their way through all sorts of difficulties till they got to Perth, then a military station with only a few houses. They immediately got the job of clearing up ten acres of land, fit for cropping with grain the following fall. This job was given them by Col. Powell, father to the present



Sheriff of Carleton, and true to their agreement, they would not separate, but built a log shanty on their lot and all lived together. Col. Powell, learning their secret, procured for them a lot of land, 200 acres for each, all in one block. They built a house upon one of the lots and lived together. Each was cook in rotation. They took their turns at carrying provisions from Perth, a distance of fourteen miles—two of them going to Perth for a barrel of flour and relieving each other on the road, which was only a blaze through the bush. One of them used, when old, to tell a story of how he went to Perth for seed corn, but unfortunately on his way back he lost the blaze. Putting down his corn, he went to seek his lost blaze. He found the blaze but never found his corn. Old government rum had perhaps something to do with this. They thus worked together until they had secured enough for each one to settle on his separate lot, and having done so, they toiled indefatigably, but always together, and always successfully, until finally the settlement became known as that of the Seven Irishmen. Their hospitality became proverbial. Every person had a hearty welcome; new settlers being objects of special attention. They gave them information; showed them the best lands; how, where, and when to plant the different seeds. Their descendants have spread out and flourish. The settlement has become a large and important one in the County of Lanark. All the original seven settlers are dead. The last, John Quinn, died in the year 1869, after having passed the allotted span. They were all Roman Catholics.

Daniel O'Connor, a man of considerable capacity, early attracted the attention of Colonel By. A native of the City of Waterford, he was born in 1796. He was twice in America before his settlement in Canada; once as a volunteer in an adventurous expedition to South America. He came to Canada in 1826, and was about to return to Ireland in 1827, when he met Colonel By at Kingston, who strongly advised him to settle in Bytown. He accordingly went to Old Bytown, where he immediately opened business as a merchant, and was very successful. Colonel By had commenced operations on the Rideau Canal, and Bytown was a very rough place. This was the time of the "shiners," the "Bytown shiners," who were notorious, not only in Canada, but in the

United States. They were the old type of the raftsmen on the Ottawa. Mr. O'Connor, on his arrival, was appointed Justice of the Peace, and he often found it a hard job to fulfil his special position, and conserve the peace. But he exercised a great deal of influence over his rough charge, and was respected by the wildest man on the river.

Shortly afterwards, he was offered by the Government his choice of Sheriff or Treasurer of the District of Dalhousie. Being in business, he chose the latter office, the duties of which he discharged until his death. The District of Dalhousie was subsequently constituted the County of Carleton. The first election after the triumph of responsible government, he ran against Hon. Thomas McKay, for the District of Dalhousie, and although he polled a large vote, was beaten by a majority of three. The election lasted a week. His daughter, Mrs. Friel, widow of the late Mr. H. I. Friel, who was Mayor of the city, was the first child born in Bytown. He died in 1858, aged 62, on the anniversary of the day he landed in Bytown. He was a Conservative and a Roman Catholic.

Irishmen, the first in so many things in Carleton and its incipient capital Bytown, can also claim to have been the first there in the noble band of pioneer school-teachers.

Hugh O'Hagan, born in Derry, October 1788, came to Canada 1799. He remained some time at Montreal, and then removed to St. Mary's, where, in 1824, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace. Owing to local difficulties, and in order to avoid violence he sacrificed his property, and removed to old Bytown, in 1837, where he for many years taught school. He was one of the first school-teachers in Bytown. Many of the old inhabitants were indebted to him for what they know. He was Captain of the Carleton Militia, was a Roman Catholic, and a strong Conservative. He used to proudly call himself "a Tory of the Tories." He was a gentlemanly man, and very hospitable. He died in the fall of 1865, and, although a Freemason of the highest orders, was buried in the family vault under the Roman Catholic Church, Gatineau Point.

His son, Frank O'Hagan was born in 1833 at Bytown. He was intended and studied for the Church, but finding his tastes were in another direction, he gave up the idea and entered into literary

pursuits, for which he was eminently fitted. He was for several years a newspaper editor in New York and the Western States. He edited a paper in Chicago. He was a great lover of theatricals, and himself an actor of considerable talent. He was also a poet, and published several poems. One particularly called "To my Mother," written when quite young, is very touching. He returned to Ottawa several years before his death, and wrote for the *Ottawa Times* and *Citizen*. He gradually sank under the great destroyer, consumption. He died in 1872 in his 39th year, and was laid beside his father. He left a wife and two children. Had he lived more by rule he might be alive to-day.

I have mentioned above Lieutenant Joseph Maxwell as one of the foundation stones of Richmond. He deserves more than a passing word, not merely as a public spirited man whose sword and muscle were at the service of his adopted country, but as one whose clear glance even at that early day anticipated one of the most useful enterprises of our own time, happily richer in opportunity. To-day, Bow Park is one of the sights which an intelligent visitor to Canada must see, and in other parts of Canada Irish breeders are doing a good work. The Honourable George Brown has shown in the most practical way his conviction that a progressive country must have well-bred animals; if we are to have good beef and mutton, good butter and wool, attention must be paid to the raising of stock. In soil and temperature Canada is well adapted for raising first-class beasts. We have grasses capable of giving an excellent flavour to mutton, and making tender, nourishing beef. Short-horns thrive as well here as elsewhere, as, notwithstanding our sudden changes, and extremes of heat and cold, on the whole do sheep, whether English Leicesters and Downs, or the Scotch Cheviots and Blackfaced; and the day is fast approaching when the Canadian breeds of cattle and sheep will be second to the breeds of no other country. Mr. Brown, and other great breeders, who have the honour of having done so much in this important particular, will perhaps be surprised to find that they were anticipated by an Irish lieutenant, at a time when the noblest belts and stretches of Ontario were covered with bush and were the haunts of bears and wolves.

Lieutenant Maxwell must have been a man of an original cast of

mind, for even at this hour in Ireland, the special division of stock-raising, in which he excelled, is attended to, but perfunctorily. The physical characteristics of Ireland are well adapted for the breeding of all kinds of sheep. No intense heat, no severe cold, a mean of 48° of temperature, forty inches annual rainfall, a noble variety of hill, dale, and grasses, Ireland seems marked out for sheep husbandry. The native breeds are not of the best, and the introduction of others has as yet been far from sufficiently extensive. The Cottagh, with a small, pretty head, and upright ears, small bones, light body, and a neck almost as long as a deer's, puts up very sweet meat. The Long Woolled has long legs, a long neck, a long head, large ears, grey faces, and a narrow but large body. Of both, the wool is good, and either crossed with Downs or Leicesters would make a noble breed of sheep. Something, but yet too little has been done. In Maxwell's youth, however, breeding was an undiscovered mystery in Ireland.

Born at Roscrea, in the County Tipperary—as a boy, he often followed the hounds around the base of Devilsbit, or as they woke the morning echoes amid the frowning shadows of Slievebloom; nor could so intelligent a lad see without reflecting the sheep allowed to wander indiscriminately over the mountains, or along the green banks, where the Suir hurries past Templemore, eager to play with the historic memories of Cashel, and on its way to the sea, catch a dim and distant glimpse of the cloudy gloom of Knockmealdown. But if any thoughts of improving the breeds of his native country stirred within him, they were driven away by the call of the bugle bidding him to the battle field. When there was no sign of manhood on his cheeks but dubious down, he joined the 99th regiment. With this regiment, nearly every man in which, as we have seen, was an Irishman, he came to Canada and took his part in the war of 1812. When he and his friends settled at Richmond, they did not forget their military traditions. They at once formed a regiment with Captain Geo. J. Burke as Colonel; Maxwell, Lyon and Lett, Captains; Sproule, Lieutenant; Short, Chaplain, and Crawford (a large-hearted Scotchman), physician. They were among the first to turn out during the rebellion of 1837-38. Their sons got up one of the first, if not the first, volunteer battery of artillery organized

in Upper Canada. William Pitman Lett, the city clerk of Ottawa, was one of the most prominent in raising the new corps.

Lieutenant Maxwell, on first settling in Richmond, entered on mercantile pursuits. Finding commerce uncongenial he, after two years, gave it up and settled down to farming on one of the finest tracts of land in the neighbourhood. There he devoted special attention to the raising of stock. He imported the best breeds of sheep, and his stock became noted throughout the entire country. If to-day we see, in Carleton and in the surrounding counties, sheep which are a credit and full of promise, it is to no small extent due to the gallant Irishman, who, in the dawn of our nation, did not indeed literally beat his sword, red with the blood of her enemies, into a pruning hook or a shepherd's staff, but who, while keeping near him the warlike and war-worn brand, obtained those peaceful weapons which fight the noblest battles—the plough and kindred implements of the field. Maxwell was one of the first Justices of the Peace. Hospitable to a fault, his house was open not only to friends, but it is said even to foes. He was a member of the Church of England, and acted with the Conservative party. He died in 1848.

It should be borne in mind that when the word Conservative is applied to a man at the period of Maxwell's active life, it means something very different from what it means to-day. The difference will be made abundantly clear in succeeding chapters. A Conservative, prior to the culmination of Baldwin's long and heroic struggle for responsible government, was on the side of bureaucrats, who represented the last defenders of a decaying, and when decaying no longer useful, cause.

There was a time in the history of Canada when something like the paternal rule of a crown colony was best for it. But that time had passed away, at least, as early as 1825, and possibly before. The true distinguishing names for the two parties in Canada up, certainly, to Lord Sydenham's time, and it may be for some years afterwards, are not "Conservatives" and "Liberals," but the Bureaucratic Party and the Popular Party, the Family Compact founded on selfishness and buttressed by wrong, and teeming with the fruitful seeds of revolution; the "Popular Party" raised on the rock of eternal justice;

the determined bravery of its garrison, the heroism of its skirmishing parties, braced by grievances, commanded by a man of unstained conscience and spotless repute. The battle was bitterly fought, but the victory could not at any time have been doubtful. It never is doubtful where one side fights for a great cause, for justice, and therefore for God, and the other struggles, with heroic baseness, to preserve the ignoble and perishable ramparts of egotism.

An Englishman, Mr. Howard, has presented to Toronto a park which is destined to be the finest park on this Continent. It is a noble gift and Mr. Howard should always be gratefully remembered by our citizens; nor should Mr. P. G. Close's exertions in regard to this splendid lung for Toronto be forgotten. In 1816 there came to this country a poor young fellow who was destined to be to Ottawa a benefactor nearly as splendid as Mr. Howard has been to Toronto.

Nicholas Sparks was a native of Wexford, who emigrated to Canada in 1816. Having worked his way up to the Township of Hull, on the North shore of the Ottawa River and directly opposite the site of the present City of Ottawa, he engaged as a farm servant with Philemon Wright. He saved a sufficient sum to purchase lot C in Concession C, Rideau front, in the Township of Nepean, consisting of two hundred acres, on the south side of the Ottawa River. He bought the lot from John B. Honey, the patentee from the Crown, on the 20th of June, A.D. 1826, for ninety-five pounds sterling. At the time of his purchase the lot was a wild bush, which it was his intention to turn to farming purposes. Having with his own hands cleared a spot he built a shanty. The commencement of the Rideau Canal in the following year, however, changed his purpose. With his natural shrewdness, he perceived that his and the surrounding property was destined to be the site of a town of some importance, and the lot purchased by him for ninety-five pounds is now one of the most populous and wealthy portions of the City of Ottawa, where stand the Court House, the Jail, the City Hall, the Post-Office, the Ladies' College, the Opera House, the Orange Hall, the Protestant Orphans' Home, Christ Church, St. Andrews, Bank Street Church, the Dominion Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Baptist

Church, the Congregational Church, the Catholic Apostolic Church, Russell House, several first-class hotels, and every bank in the City. The property with the buildings is now estimated as worth four million dollars.

Mr. Sparks was a Conservative in politics, but never pushed himself forward in political life, the only public positions he held being that of alderman for the city, during the years 1855-6-7, and Justice of the Peace for the County of Carleton. Unostentatious in his prosperity, he was made of the choicest human clay. The Court-house and Jail Square, and City Hall Square were presented by him to Bytown; and to the Church of England, of which he was a member, the site for Christ Church, with parsonage and school. He died on the 27th February, 1862, aged sixty-eight years, leaving one son, who has since died, and two daughters, who survive.

Another Carleton pioneer, who died a millionaire, was William Hodgins, who came to Canada in 1820. He was born in Tipperary, in 1787. He settled about twelve miles from where Ottawa stands. His history is the history of hundreds: he cleared land and made wealth, dying worth \$250,000. He was eighty-one years of age when he died.

A representative man of the Orange body was Arthur Hopper, Ogle R. Gowan has usually been considered the founder of Orangeism in Canada. This opinion is not correct. The real founder was the venerable old man who died in 1872, in his eighty-eighth year, to whose ample board, though he sported the orange lily every 12th of July, the Catholic priest was as welcome as the Protestant minister; who was a devoted friend to men of every creed, if they carried under their waistcoat the talisman of an Irish heart.

Born at Roscrea, in 1784, Mr. Hopper emigrated to Canada in 1812. He carried on a business for three years at Montreal, and in 1825 he set up in the Township of Huntley as a merchant. While residing here his advice was sought by all the inhabitants, especially by his own countrymen, Catholic and Protestant. Subsequently he purchased six hundred acres in the Township of Nepean, where he finally settled. Situated six miles from Ottawa, with three Churches, a School-house, an Hotel, an Orange Hall, and

several tradesmen's shops, is the thriving village of Merivale. It is settled almost entirely by Irish, all of whom are in comfortable circumstances. This village owes its existence to Arthur Hopper.

He became a member of the Orange Association in his eighteenth year. He took his first degree in Dublin, in 1802, where he served as a yeoman during the disturbance of 1803. Having filled several subordinate offices, he, for many years, occupied the chair, as Deputy Grand Master of the County of Tipperary.

Soon after his arrival in Montreal, he, with the late Mr. William Burton, Mr. John Dyer, Mr. Francis Abbott, and about six or eight others, formed the first Orange Lodge ever opened in British America. This was done under warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. This warrant William Burton went home expressly to procure. Burton was elected the first master. From such small beginnings, nearly sixty years ago, the present powerful Orange Association has grown.

In subsequent years Arthur Hopper was elected to fill the chair with the additional power of granting warrants to subordinate lodges, given under the Great Seal of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, of which the Earl of Enniskillen was the Grand Master. The first warrant ever granted to a subordinate lodge in British America was granted to Mr. Robert Birch, of Richmond, under the hand and seal of Mr. Arthur Hopper, as Grand Master, and Mr. William Burton as Deputy-Grand Master. Soon after Ogle R. Gowan came here with credentials from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. A council with the lodges then in existence was held, and the present system inaugurated. When Mr. Hopper settled in Huntly he opened the first lodge in that township. He subsequently inaugurated lodges in different parts of the County of Carleton. The last one which he inaugurated was Number Eighty-five of Nepean, of which he was first Master, and of which he was made an honorary member for life, when through infirmity he could no longer attend the meetings. When he died, in 1872, he had been seventy years in connection with the Order during which he had attained all the degrees from the Orange to the highest Black. When grown garrulous with years he loved to talk over old days. He had seen the fall of one national government and the rise of another. He



was present at the closing of the last Irish Parliament and at the opening of the first Parliament of the Dominion.

As an instance of success it would not be easy to find a more remarkable man than Richard Bishop, who was born in the County Limerick, and emigrated with his father, Richard Bishop, in 1829. The father purchased land and settled in the Township of March. He amassed a considerable fortune and died in 1863, aged sixty-eight. His son, who is now fifty-six years of age, is one of the most successful of a successful family. At an early age he left his father's house and struck out for himself in Bytown. He rapidly rose both in wealth and public estimation. A large landed proprietor of the County of Carleton, he is now able to retire a rich man. He is a Conservative and an active member of the Church of England.

The Battle family is in its way representative. They belong originally to the County of Sligo, whence they came to Canada in 1832. The elder members of the family consisted of three brothers, Patrick Battle, who settled in Quebec; John Battle, who settled in Toronto; and Matthew Battle, who settled in Liverpool, England. Patrick Battle resided in Quebec where he lived until 1870, when he removed with his family to Ottawa, where his son is now Collector of Inland Revenue. This gentleman, Mr. Martin Battle, was born in 1828, in Ballymote. He lived in Quebec till 1856, when he removed to St. Catharines where some of his relatives were settled. There he was employed in responsible work by Sheckluna, the celebrated Lake Ship Builder. In 1859 he was appointed to superintend the removal of Government stores from Toronto to Quebec. Subsequently he had charge of stores in connection with the trips of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales and H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh, and the chief management of the stores when the Government was removed from Quebec to Ottawa. For his efficient discharge of these duties Mr. Battle received appreciative letters from the eminent persons concerned, and was complimented by the London *Times*. In 1870 he was appointed Collector of Hydraulic Rents, and in 1873 Collector of Inland Revenue at Ottawa. He has always been a strong advocate of temperance, having taken the pledge from the well-known Father McMahan, of Quebec. He is one of those who founded

the St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum at Ottawa, and has acted as Secretary to the Institution for seven years. He was also instrumental in the formation of the Ottawa Irish Catholic Temperance Society, Benevolent Branch, which is now a strong institution and which has been of the greatest advantage to the working men. Mr. Battle attributes his advancement in life to his teetotalism. Like all his family Martin Battle is a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and a genuine Irishman. He was the first person who presented an address to D'Arcy McGee when that great orator came to Canada.

Another official, well and favourably known in the capital, is Zechariah Wilson, the eldest son of Hugh Wilson, who early in the present century emigrated from the County Tyrone, and settled first at St. Johns, in the Province of Quebec, where his son was born in 1815. Having received the best education available at the time and place, he in 1836, removed to Bytown, and entered into business with his brother, Hugh L. Wilson. The firm was successful. The partnership was dissolved, when Hugh determined to go to New York to enter business on a larger field. Zechariah remained in Canada. He is now collector of Customs at the port of Ottawa, where his amiable qualities have won for him friends amongst all classes. He was a good working member of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society at Ottawa, when it was one of the foremost national organizations there.

A good instance of what Canada has done for Irishmen is Peter Egleson, an extensive land owner and capitalist. He is a native of Cavan. He came to Canada about 1834, and for awhile was at Grenville—half-way between Montreal and Ottawa, and then a more important place than Bytown. On coming to Ottawa, he went into service as coachman to Colonel Bolton, Commandant of the Engineers at work on the canal. He married Bolton's housekeeper, a widow with one child. He soon quarrelled with Bolton, and set up as a country schoolmaster in Gloucester township, County of Carleton. After a year's experience of the trying life of a pedagogue in the country, he returned to Bytown, and continued the same work. At the end of two years he abandoned the ferule for a general trader's counter. He has since made money rapidly, and is now worth at least \$200,000. He has been

an active promoter of the local building societies, from which he has derived considerable personal benefit. He was for some years member of the school board and municipal council.

His son James is a colonel in a volunteer corps, and is even a better business man and more wealthy than his father. There is a large family of the Eglesons about Ottawa, some Catholics and some Protestants and all well to do.

While Ireland thus supplied Carleton with pioneers and business men, she also poured in humanizing influences, and amongst those whose literary turn has helped to brighten and spiritualise existence, a prominent place must be given to William Pittman Lett, born at Wexford, the second son of the late Andrews Lett, who was a captain in the 26th Cameronian regiment, with which corps he saw considerable service in Spain, under the command of Sir John Moore; who was present with his regiment, then under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, at the battle of Corunna; and was a witness of the moonlight obsequies of Sir John Moore, rendered doubly immortal by the pen of his fellow-countryman, Wolff. He and his son, as we have seen, came to Canada in 1820, and settled at the Village of Richmond. In 1828, after the death of the captain, the family removed to what is now Ottawa. Young Lett obtained his education in the public schools of Bytown, and in the High School of Montreal. He was for a few years a pupil of the late Rev. Alexander Fletcher, of Plantagenet, who is said to have been an accomplished scholar. From 1845 until 1853, Mr. Lett was connected editorially with the Conservative press, and during thirty years he has written not only in prose, but in verse for the newspapers. He has acquired a considerable local reputation as a poet,\* He has published "Recollections of Bytown and its Inhabitants." He is the author of the letters signed Sweeney Ryan, which displayed no small amount of humour. Had he been able to devote himself to literature, he might have achieved an enviable reputation. Whether he would have been a happier man is another question.

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\* On a recent occasion he composed some lines of which a couple of verses deserve, both for sentiment and expression, quotation here.

Come, let us in this far-off land,  
 From Erin's sea-girt shore  
 One blood, one race, in union stand  
 Round memories of yore.  
 To-day we'll gently level down  
 The barriers that divide ;  
 And close together hand-in-hand,  
 Stand brothers side by side.

We ask not what may be your name,  
 Come to us whence you may ;  
 We ask not by what path you came,  
 Or where you kneel to pray.  
 Your common birthright of the land  
 Is all we seek to scan,  
 To-day we offer friendship's hand  
 To every Irishman !

To the knowledge without which our schemes of development would be like rudderless, compassless ships, Irishmen have given a stimulus which has borne practical fruit. John McMullin, now residing at Eganville, deserves a place among those who have made us acquainted with the geological character of a country which is rich in scientific suggestion. Born at Newry, in 1817, he came with his parents to Canada in 1820. The family resided for some years in Quebec. While quite young John McMullin engaged in the lumber trade on the Ottawa. Having a great desire for the acquisition of knowledge, his inquisitive mind busied itself with geology. He attracted the attention of the late Sir William Logan, in whose Department at Montreal he was engaged for two years. While there he discovered the Dawn of Life. The late Dr. Beau-bien frequently quoted him in his lectures.

If I were to attempt to write the history of all who live in Montreal and deserve a place in this book, I should have to write a whole volume about that noble city, and call it the "Irishmen in Montreal." There are, however, a certain number who, for one reason or another, are so prominent that there is no difficulty in selection, for public rumour has already made the selection for me.

The name of Mr. Thomas White—or "Tom White," as he is familiarly called—has become a house-hold word in Canada. Born at Montreal in 1830, his father came from Westmeath, while his mother was of Scotch descent. When young White was growing up, the principal school in Montreal was Mr. Workman's. Thither Thomas White was sent. When the High School was opened he

left Mr. Workman's and attended the classes of the new school. He passed through his school-boy studies with credit. When sixteen years of age he was engaged in the office of a merchant. At the end of three years he entered the office of the Queen's Printer as an apprentice. When in 1851-2 the Government removed to Quebec he followed it, and through the influence of Stuart Derbyshire he was appointed to the office of assistant editor on the *Quebec Gazette*. In the spring of 1853 he went to Peterborough, where he started the *Peterborough Review*. In 1860 he turned his back on newspaper work for a time and entered the office of the Honourable Sidney Smith to study law, and four years afterwards was called to the bar of Upper Canada. He did not practise long. A newspaper man to the finger tips, he pined for printer's ink. In connection with his brother, he purchased the *Hamilton Spectator*. In 1866 he ran for South Wentworth, but was defeated by the small majority of three votes. In 1869, at the request of the Honourable John Carling, Emigration Commissioner for Ontario, he went to England and delivered lectures on Canada throughout Great Britain. In the following year he again went to England on the same errand. Meanwhile his brother made arrangements for the purchase of the *Montreal Gazette*, and on his return he settled in Montreal and took charge of the editorial department of the leading Conservative newspaper of Lower Canada.

In the general election of 1872, he ran for Prescott and was defeated by five votes. He subsequently ran for Montreal West and was again defeated by a small majority,—seven votes. In the same constituency he again ran against Mr. Thos. Workman. He was beaten by fifty votes, but polled two hundred more than on the previous occasion.

Mr. White's return to Parliament for some constituency is only a matter of time. There must be many an electorate throughout the country that had rather be represented by a man than by a voting machine. The intelligence of a constituency is to be measured by its representative. Mr. White is one of the rising young men of the Dominion, whom all parties would like to see in the House of Commons. His wide information, his talents, his facility of expression, his strong political instinct, would make him a great accession to those whose utterances tend to raise our Dominion

Parliament to a position commensurate with the character of this young nation ; to constitute it that lever of education and public spirit which it must become, when it shall be ruled by our best minds and shall march forward in the serene consciousness of power sagely directed to great ends.

Mr. White has published much in a pamphlet form. He is a leading Mason, President of the Reporters' Gallery of the House of Commons, President of the Press Association of Upper Canada. He has for many years represented St. George's Church in the Diocesan Synod. He did that wise thing, marry early. He was only twenty-three. Even this gives him claims, for, as old Fuller says, though bachelors are the strongest stakes, married men are the best binders in the hedge of the commonwealth.

Few business families have been more useful to Canada than the Miller family, of whom Robert Miller is now the leading representative. Born in the City of Cork in 1810, he is the youngest son of the late Adam Miller and Theodora Lovell. The family emigrated to Canada in the year 1820, and settled at St. Johns, where his father occupied the position of teacher in the Government School until his death in 1826. Mr. Miller removed to Montreal in 1833, and after serving an apprenticeship with the late Ariel Bowman and the late Campbell Bryson, booksellers, St. Francois Xavier Street, commenced business on his own account in 1841. He subsequently formed a partnership with his brother Adam, and the business was for many years carried on under the firm of R. & A. Miller, both in Montreal and Toronto.

Having obtained permission from the Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, they republished the Irish National series of school books, which were authorized by the Upper Canada Council of Public Instruction. This series was for a number of years in general use throughout Canada.

On the dissolution of the partnership between the two brothers in 1863, Adam went to Toronto where he died a few years ago. His brother Robert retained the business of the Montreal House. His establishment is now one of the largest in the city.

Mr. Miller has been from its foundation a member of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society. He has been the Managing Director for some years of the Danville School-Slate Company.

He has taken an active part in the Young Men's Christian Association, and been one of its vice-presidents. For a great many years he has been, and is, a working member of the Methodist Church.

The name of Sidney Robert Bellingham was at one time a name of power in Montreal, and known throughout Canada. The fourth son of the late Sir Allan Bellingham, Baronet, of Castle Bellingham, County Louth, by Elizabeth, second daughter of the Reverend Edward Walls, of Boothby Hall, Lincolnshire, he was the grandson of Sir William Bellingham, the first Baronet, who was some time Secretary to the Right Honourable William Pitt; afterwards Commissioner of the Royal Navy; and who represented Reigate in the English House of Commons. Mr. Bellingham was born on the second day of August, 1808. He was educated in Ireland. After his residence in Canada for some time, he married Arabella, the daughter of William Holmes, of Quebec. He was called to the Bar of Lower Canada in 1841. He was one of the best known political writers for the newspaper press of Lower Canada, principally for the Montreal *Times*, and afterwards for the Montreal *Daily News*.

During the troubles of the Rebellion, in 1837, Mr. Bellingham was the magistrate sent with Col. Wetherall to attack St. Charles. He afterwards devoted much time to develop the military spirit of the county, he so long represented in Parliament, and as Lieut.-Colonel of the Argenteuil Rangers, he brought up the regiment to a high state of drill. He sat for the county in the Canadian Assembly from 1854 to 1860, when he was unseated. Mr. Bellingham had the honour of being President of the St. Patrick's Society of Montreal at that period when Catholic and Protestant were alike eligible for the office. Retiring a year or two ago from public life, he bade farewell to Canada, and now resides in Ireland. During O'Connell's Repeal agitation, Mr. Bellingham used to speak strongly in favour of that policy.

Neale, in his History of the Puritans, speaks of the Rev. William Workman, who was lecturer at St. Stephen's church, in Gloucester, from 1618 to 1633. Neale describes him as a man of great piety, wisdom and moderation. His wife was a fruitful bough.

In consideration of small salary and large family—common but perplexing antithesis!—the City of Gloucester voted him an annuity of twenty pounds.

Meanwhile Laud had attained the Archiepiscopal mitre, and was addressing himself with energy to stemming the tide of reformation. The images and pictures were restored to the churches. The clergy indued themselves in gorgeous vestments, such as those used by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church. They who disapproved of the new order of things and resented the policy of Laud, were naturally enough regarded by the Primate with no friendly eye. Workman in one of his sermons stigmatized pictures and statues of the founders of Christianity, the Apostles, the fathers, eminent Christian women, as unfit ornaments for churches. He declared that to set up images of Christ or of the Saints in the private houses, was, according to the Homily, unlawful, and tended to idolatry. He was brought before the Court of High Commission. After a trial, in which the charges against him were easily proved, he was deposed and excommunicated.

He now opened a school in order to support his family. As an excommunicated person, he was inhibited from teaching youth. He then commenced the practice of medicine, in which he had some skill. The Archbishop forbade him. Those were the days of persecution, when Protestants and Catholics alike abused power, the days before the newspaper and the emigrant ship, and Workman, not knowing where to turn in order to support his family, fell into a settled melancholy and died.

These circumstances naturally made a deep impression on his children. His sons eagerly joined the Parliamentary army, in which William Workman, from whom the Canadian Workmans spring, held a commission, and was one of those who met the charge of Rupert on the field of Naseby. He served until 1648, when he went over to Ireland with Cromwell. On the close of the Irish campaign he retired from military life, receiving as a reward for his services, a grant of the two town lands of Merlaco, and two sizeacks in the County of Armagh. Of these lands, the old soldier held possession for some time. But he was in the midst of a hostile population, different in race and religion, with bitter



memories of defeat, and a passionate hunger for vengeance born of great wrongs, and whetted by the policy of eminent men, using the peasant as a pawn in a game for empire, calling a brave, ignorant, enthusiastic people, from wise acquiescence in the inevitable, to fling themselves on the spears of fate, under the banner of a doomed cause. During Tyrconnel's administration, he removed to the County Down, near Donaghadee, whence he was obliged to flee and shelter his old age behind the fortress of Derry, soon to be invested by the Irish army, He must have succumbed to the appalling privations of the siege, as his name does not appear in the history of an event, which in all its particulars is as well known as the transactions of one of our local Parliaments.

When at last, the besieging army, a long column of pikes and standards, was seen retreating up the left bank of the Foyle towards where Carleton was to be born, his two sons and their wives emerged from the war-scarred walls of Derry, and settled in the County Antrim. In the following year, William III landed at Carrickfergus. The inhabitants hurried to the shore to welcome him. The wife of one of the Workmans was a comely person, and had taken her child in her arms and joined the crowd. William, with his habitual coldness, passed hurriedly through the throng. But observing the beauty of the infant in Mrs. Workman's arms, and perhaps—for that stern eye was not insensible to female charms—not unmindful of its mother's; aware too, no doubt, that no act could appeal more strongly to the popular heart, than a great statesman and leader of armies, pausing in the midst of a dangerous and momentous enterprise to fondle a babe; he stopped and kissed the child, and whispered a compliment to the proud matron whose blushes did not make her less beautiful. Hence the saying, that the first person King William kissed on landing in Ireland was a Workman.

One of the brothers settled at Brookend Mills, near Coagh, whence he removed to Monymore to take charge of the mill there. For more than a century this mill remained in charge of successive generations of Workmans. Joseph Workman, the father of Dr. Workman, was the last of the family who occupied the Monymore mill. This man having made a visit of three years to the United States returned to Ireland and took up his

abode in Ballymacash, a mile and a half west of the village of Lisburn, where his family, nine in number, were born, all of whom with their father ultimately emigrated here.

Benjamin, the eldest, came in 1819. He in connection with his brother established the Union School at Montreal. For twenty years it was the largest English school in Canada. Among its pupils were several men who were afterwards distinguished: Sir Henry Smith at one time speaker of the House of Assembly; Hon. Lewis Wallbridge, who also became speaker; Henry Myers, M.P.P.; Hon. L. H. Holton, M.P.; Thomas Workman, M.P., and many others who attained eminence in commercial and professional walks. Benjamin Workman did more than teach school in order to diffuse enlightenment among his fellow-citizens. He published the *Canadian Courant* for five years. It was prospering when he sided with the teetotallers, whereupon the licensed victuallers withdrew their patronage and the paper died.

He now determined to study medicine. After six years at McGill College he in 1853 was admitted to practice. Three years afterwards he accepted the appointment of Assistant Medical Superintendent in the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, Toronto, where his brother Joseph was Superintendent, whence in 1875 he retired superannuated by old age.

William Workman emigrated in 1829, having spent the three years preceding his emigration with the Royal Engineers on the Irish survey. He became assistant editor of the *Courant*. Abandoning journalism he entered an important establishment in the hardware trade. He soon became partner and the firm still retains his name. He retired from the firm in 1859. In 1849 he was elected President of the City Bank, a position which he held for twenty-four years. He was the first President of the City and District Savings Bank, an institution of which he was the founder. In 1868 and for the two following years he was elected Mayor of Montreal, and performed the duties of that great office with a dignity and hospitality worthy of the great city over which he presided. So satisfactorily did he do his work that he was twice honoured with a public banquet in which all classes and creeds joined. When he refused re-election as president of the City and District Savings Bank the officials presented him with

a grand epergne and plate, very costly, and on the occasion of his retirement from the Mayoralty the citizens gave him a diamond ring which cost a little fortune, and with it two massive pieces of plate accompanied by a flattering address. Chief Justice Cockburn, when addressing the jury in the famous Tichborne suit, said with truth that in the discharge of a public duty no man can be insensible to public opinion. Mr. William Workman may well feel gratified that his services in great and responsible positions met with the appreciation of his fellow-citizens. During the visit of Prince Arthur he had the honour of receiving not the least frank and engaging of the sons of his Sovereign. Still the president of the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, of the Montreal Dispensary, of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and of the Western Hospital, he has been an active and directing mind in most of the great philanthropic and commercial institutions of Montreal. He was president of the St. Patrick's Society in Montreal when that society was composed of Catholics and Protestants.

Alexander Workman is at present a hardware merchant at Ottawa. He it was who co-operated with Benjamin Workman in school teaching at Montreal. Leaving Montreal, he went to the Ottawa district, and for a few years worked a farm in Huntly township. This did not suit him. He again tried Montreal, only once more to return to Bytown, and embarked in the hardware trade with Edward Griffin. Griffin left the firm some years ago. The business has since been carried on by Mr. Workman, who is now nearly eighty years of age.

Like all his family, he is a man of versatile talents, and large capacity for public life. For several years a member of the Ottawa City Council, and Mayor of the City in 1860 and 1861. In this year the Prince of Wales laid the corner stone of the Parliament Buildings, and Mr. Workman performed his part of the ceremonies with credit. Though possessing so much public spirit and talents for public life, he is like so many of his countrymen, a man of retiring disposition. He has therefore shunned the broadest glare of the public stage, and never sought "parliamentary honours," though he might have been easily returned to Parliament. A shrewd business man, he has a generous heart. The

County of Carleton Protestant Hospital owes him much. On it neither his time nor his money has been spared.

The brave old man's later years have been beclouded by bereavement. Nine years ago he lost his only son, a promising young man, with his father's ability, wealth of philanthropic feeling, and popular manners. A few years elapsed and he laid his wife in the grave, in which lay buried their mutual hopes. It is the common tragedy of life. He will go to them; they cannot return to him.

Thomas Workman, the member for Montreal West, is the only one of his family who is not Conservative. He was born at the Monymore Mill, in 1813, and was educated at Montreal, where he is senior partner in the hardware firm of Frothingham & Workman. His business capacity is attested by the fact that he is Vice-President of Molson's Bank, President of the Sun Mutual Life Insurance Company, Chairman of the Montreal Branch of the Stadacona Fire Insurance Company, a Director of the Canada Shipping Company. He has been President of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society. He sat for Montreal Centre in the House of Commons from the Union until 1872, when he retired from Parliament. As we have seen, he defeated Mr. White, for Montreal West, in 1875. He is described in "Mackintosh" as a Liberal, and a supporter of Mr. Mackenzie. Like all the Workmans, he is a man of great energy and ability, with those qualities which win public confidence.

Before proceeding to the great Irish settlements of Victoria and Lindsay, there are a few individual cases worthy of note, which may be taken up in a desultory way.

James Cross was born in the County Fermanagh, and came to Canada in 1825. He settled at Spring Brook, in the Township of Caledonia, in the County of Prescott. His place is within a few miles of the Ottawa River, and close to the celebrated Caledonia Springs. Here he first sat down, one of the earliest settlers in the district. He lumbered as well as farmed. Having accumulated a fortune, he retired from active business twenty years ago, and devoted his attention to the improvement of his lands. Like his countryman, Maxwell, he has done much for the advancement of agriculture, and the improvement of stock. He

served many years in the Municipal Council, and was captain in the Militia. He has been a Justice of the Peace for twenty-five years.

In 1829 he married Ann Holms, a highly cultivated lady, whose parents came here from the County Carlow. The fruit of the marriage was five sons and three daughters. Three of the sons settled on the paternal acres, one went into merchandise, one into the army, and one, James Fletcher Cross, LL.B., is a barrister practising in Toronto.

In the Township of Oxford, not far from Norwichville, dwells an Irish Roman Catholic, Mr. McNally, a man respected by everybody, and so influential among his countrymen that he is called the King of the Irish.

The name of Bull is well known in Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal. In 1835, we find George Perkins Bull publishing the *Reader*, in Toronto. A few years afterwards he removed to Hamilton, where he published the *Gazette*. Mr. H. B. Bull brought the *Gazette* to an end, and published a church newspaper in Toronto. His son, Richard Bull, is secretary to the Life Association of Scotland.

As I write, the York Pioneers' flag is half-mast high at St. Lawrence Hall, in respect to the memory of Mr. J. P. Dunn, of the Custom House. The poet writes—

“ The flag is hoisted half-mast high,  
A mournful signal o'er the main,  
Seen only when the illustrious die,  
Or are in glorious battle slain.”

But for good, though comparatively humble service in a new country, the honour may be as appropriately paid as if around the cold brows of the dead there twined the bloody laurels of war.

Mr. Dunn came to Canada from the County Kildare, in 1823, and settled in Toronto in 1833. He was the oldest revenue officer in the country, having been for thirty-five years an official in the Custom House. He was a Mason, an Odd Fellow, a York Pioneer, and a member of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society.

Another Irish official, who should not be forgotten, died some months before Mr. Dunn. Christopher Walsh came to this

country in 1842, he being then thirty-two years of age. Soon afterwards he received an appointment as clerk in the Toronto Post-office, where his courtesy and business ability gained him friends. In 1853 he was appointed Collector of Customs at Newcastle; in 1854 he was removed to Oshawa, where he filled the duties of collector until 1875, when he was superannuated. He was a generous man to his Church and to all worthy objects. Never having married, and having no relatives, he left his property to be divided between the House of Providence, the Catholic Church, St. Gregory's Church, Oshawa, and his housekeeper. At his burial, his old priest and friend, Dean Proulx, of Toronto, officiated, and Father Berrigan, of Duffin's Creek, preached the funeral sermon.

The parents of the Hon. John O'Connor settled at Maidstone, County of Essex, in 1828, when he was only four years of age. The country was wilderness. A few Irish families had settled on a line through the Township of Sandwich, Maidstone and Rochester, forming what was afterwards called the Irish Settlement.

The distance from the house of the O'Connors to Sandwich was fourteen miles, the road being a mere cart-road cut through the wood. It used to occupy two days with an ox-team and cart going to Sandwich and two more to return. This part of the country is level and only slightly diversified in places by small ridges of dry ground. Between the ridges, water might at times, in the spring and fall, be seen for miles. The first improvement in the roadway was a path made by slashing trees one after another upon which the people walked balancing themselves with a long pole. The timbers throughout were very heavy on the ridges consisting of white oak, beech, hard maple, hickory, iron-wood and other varieties; in the low grounds elm, butter-wood, black ash. By degrees the land along the line of road was cleared in patches, drained and tilled. The settlers were nearly all Roman Catholics. The first church in the settlement was built in the year 1839 or 1840, a log building at a place called Maidstone Cross, hard by the Willow Swamp. It was a dismal place. The log building in time gave way to a handsome brick church and the parish is now one of the most wealthy in the county. The first resident priest was Father Michael McDonnell, a native of Lime-

rick. Before his arrival the parish used to be visited by clergymen from Detroit and Sandwich ; Father Cullen, from Detroit, a native of Queen's County, Ireland, visited the place every second Sunday for two or three years.

As an instance of the hardships and privations of the first settlers, the Honourable John O'Connor tells of a family from Kilkenny, named Kavanagh, consisting of the father, mother, three sons, and two daughters. The father, the sons, and the daughters set to work clearing up the land and tilling it from year to year. While they were thus employed, the mother, a brave little woman, forty-five years of age, supplied them with provisions, which, for two long years, she carried on her back from Sandwich, a distance of thirteen miles, frequently bringing a hundred-weight of flour, while at every step she was almost knee deep in mud and water. She deserves a place side by side with the most distinguished of the Kavanaghs. A man might well be prouder of her than if she were a luxurious lady, full of idleness and vapours, wasting her time in fashionable follies, and dissipating whatever mind she might happen to have, over insane novels and the propagation of the latest scandal.

The settlement having been cleared with such heroic labour, the country having been drained and tilled, is now one of the most flourishing in the Dominion. James Cahill, one of the original settlers is still living, a hale old man of ninety years, as is William Colter, another original settler.

The Honourable John O'Connor, who was called to the bar of Upper Canada in 1854, and created a Q.C. in 1872, has been Reeve of the Town of Windsor. He was Warden of Essex for three years and for twelve years he fulfilled the duties of Chairman of the Board of Education of the Town of Windsor. He is the author of "Letters addressed to the Governor-General on the subject of Fenianism (1870)." He was sworn of the Privy Council and was President of that body from July 2nd, 1872, until March, 1873, when he was appointed Minister of Inland Revenue. An unsuccessful candidate for Essex in 1861, he was returned by that constituency in 1863, only however, to be soon after unseated. At the general election of 1867, he was returned to the Commons and was re-elected in the following general election, but in that of 1874,

he was beaten by William McGregor by a large majority. Mr. McGregor having been unseated on petition, Jeremiah O'Connor ran against him, but McGregor again won the seat by a still larger majority.

William Moore Kelly instituted the Provincial Reformatory, of which he is Warden. He belongs to the family of the Kellys, of Cunagmore, County Galway, and is a nephew of the late Archbishop of Tuam. He came here immediately on the eve of the Rebellion of 1837. He was appointed Captain in the 4th Battalion of Incorporated Militia, and served with his regiment until 1842. On its being disbanded he was appointed Collector of Customs at Toronto. When Baldwin came into power Kelly was dismissed. Men carrying out governments are quite justified in appointing their own friends to offices, provided always that their friends are fit. But Metcalfe seems most improperly to have ignored the nominee of his constitutional advisers. He appointed Robert Stanton, who was not a friend of the Government. This was one of the earliest acts which showed the arbitrary autocratic temper of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and heralded the struggle which aggravated his ailments, injured the country, emphasized the evils of the Family Compact, and finally sent poor Metcalfe from our shores to die, painfully conscious that in Canada he had wholly failed, all of which will be told at length later on.

Mr. Kelly's friends said he was dismissed without any charge being made against him, or without the grounds for any charge such as would justify his dismissal. A long and acrimonious correspondence between the Finance Minister and Mr. Kelly followed. The matter was frequently discussed in the Assembly. Mr. Kelly and his friends called for a searching scrutiny into every act of his official life. He was paid upwards of \$1,700 balance due him. It would be out of place at this day and here to discuss the question between Mr. Kelly and the Government of the time. The important fact connected with his dismissal is that which throws light upon Lord Metcalfe's rule. The idea of a man coming to carry out responsible government refusing to listen to his Ministers in the matter of the appointment of a collector of customs! But the mistakes and blunders, the faults and follies of Lord Metcalfe's rule must await another chapter.



It is worthy of remark that the two leading firms of paper manufacturers in Ontario are Irish—the Barbers and the Riordans. The history of both in business would be a record of success and therefore would have little of those elements out of which an interesting narrative could be built up. The incidents, however, of the emigration and settlement of one of these families is so characteristic, and so illustrative of the country of over fifty years ago, that I am tempted, though anxious to hurry forward to the more important events of succeeding chapters, to linger a little around this bit of private history, which is also well calculated to stimulate hope and brace resolve for long endeavour.

On the 12th of May, 1822, a family named Barber—consisting of the father, mother, four sons, and a daughter, all of whom were born in Antrim, sailed from Belfast for Quebec, where they arrived on the 10th of July. The next day they went up the river in a steamer to Montreal; thence to Lachine, a distance of nine miles, in carts. Here they took a Durham boat for Prescott and compassed the rapids as we have seen Mr. Austin and his friends do. The passengers were ordered at times to proceed on foot for miles along the banks. On such occasions they were much alarmed by the song of the grasshoppers, which they took for the hissing of snakes. The greater part of the way was wood with only a few clearings. They were not accustomed to bush, and the grasshoppers' cry caused more alarm than it would have done had the country been open. After eleven days they arrived at Prescott. The distance is now run by rail in four hours. Old Mr. Barber, who was a mason and bricklayer, found at Prescott employment, for the remainder of the season, at good wages, of which a certain part was in kind, or as it was called then, "store pay," the balance being in money. Prescott was, in those days, a very important town. All produce coming down the lakes for Montreal or Quebec had to be transhipped there. This consisted for the most part of flour, staves, and tobacco, which, at Prescott, had first to be put on board of Durham boats, as none of the lake vessels could live in the rapids.

The season for mason work over, and the impression being general that the country westward was better to settle in, Mr. Barber determined to go to Niagara, where he arrived on the

12th December. Niagara was then a flourishing town. From the head of the lake and from York, people went thither to buy their goods. After some time the Hon. James Crooks went to Niagara to try to find a mason to go with him to West Flamborough. He offered employment to as many of the family as could work. He was carrying on an extensive and various business; a flour mill, saw mill, oil mill, woollen factory, tannery, distillery and a large general store. A few years afterwards he built the first paper mill in Upper Canada, for which he received a bounty from the Government of five hundred dollars.

The eldest of the young Barbers went into the woollen factory and served his time to the trade. The second learned the paper-making business; the third, the mill-wright business; the youngest, like the eldest, going into the woollen factory. In 1831, the father died. But the family kept together and remained with Mr. James Crooks, two of the brothers renting the woollen factory from him.

In 1837, they bought, from George Kennedy, a small woollen factory, at Georgetown, in the Township of Esquesing, County of Halton, where the four brothers set to work with great energy. Georgetown is situated on the River Credit, and possesses great water advantages. It has, to-day, a population of 1,282. It is served by two railways, and will be served by another when the Credit Valley is completed. It contains paper mills, a tannery, a brewery, an ironfoundry, a grist mill, marble works, a printing office, three hotels, twenty stores. It is the theatre of a large lumber, grain, and general produce trade. It can boast of a weekly paper. Forty years ago there were only three families in the place. The township was thinly settled, the clearings being small. The roads were bad, and, as elsewhere, there were plenty of wolves. In the fall, especially, their long howling made the night dismal. The four brothers were in the wilderness, and never could have got on had they not had quick brains, fertile in resource. Anything they required in the way of machinery, they had to make. At this time all the farmers manufactured their own cloth. But when the Barbers had their machinery going, the farmers gradually began to exchange their wool for the machine-made cloth. After a few years the manufacture of cloth was extended beyond the require-

ments of the home department. Another market must be found. This was not easy. Ultimately Messrs. Walker & Hutchinson became customers; Messrs. Ross & Mitchell next bought, and continued to do so until they retired from business. Other customers now presented themselves, and the difficulty of a market troubled the young manufacturers no more.

Business increased. A second mill was started at Streetsville, in 1843. Later on, the water power at Georgetown failing, the two woollen mills were consolidated, and the large mills, now known as the Toronto Woollen Mills, were erected in 1853. Three of the brothers remaining at Georgetown, and James being a practical paper maker, it was decided to commence that business near Georgetown, on the main stream of the River Credit. The first mill was erected in 1854, the second in 1858, since which time large additions have been made. During the building of the Grand Trunk Railway, the firm supplied all the car and other iron work, excepting that for bridges, used between Toronto and Guelph. The only serious reverse was experienced in 1861, when the woollen mill at Streetsville was totally destroyed by fire, entailing a loss of \$80,000 dollars above insurance. The same year a large boiler exploded at the paper mills, the loss being over \$8,000. The woollen mills contain seven set of the most improved machinery, and turn out on an average one thousand yards of tweed per day. The paper mills are supplied with three of the best machines, and make daily over five thousand pounds of the material for books and newspapers. All the paper used by the Canadian Government, during the past seventeen years, has been made here. The firm was dissolved in 1869, after an existence of thirty-two years, without a deed of partnership or any division of profits, each one drawing according to his requirements. William and Robert Barber purchased the woollen business; James, the paper mills; while Joseph Barber, and Benjamin Franklin, a brother-in-law, retired. William Barber, during his residence in Halton, was one of the oldest members of the County Council. He was a Justice of the Peace since the first commission was issued in the county. He represented Halton in the first and second Parliaments of Ontario. James Barber is one of the oldest coroners in the county, and the other brothers are magistrates of many years' standing. Of the family of

five children who left Ireland in 1822, all are yet alive and in good health. So many years of hard work and close economy could have only one effect in Canada, namely, the accumulation of property. Those competent to judge estimate the combined family to represent close on three-quarters of a million dollars. Of the five families there are now twenty-five children living, many of them married, and having families of their own, so that the name is not likely to pass out of Canadian history for some time; and unless the offspring were to degenerate very sadly—a most unlikely thing—from their sires, it is desirable that the name should long illustrate our commercial and political annals.

Few counties, if any, have advanced more rapidly than Victoria, as few towns have made more vigorous progress than Lindsay. On the 30th of July of the present year a trip was made to Lindsay on the occasion of the opening of an extension there of the Whitby & Port Perry Railway. The President, an Irishman, of whom something has already been said, Mr. Austin; Mr. James Michie, a Scotchman, the Vice-President—a man who if he were an Irishman, could not have a larger or kinder heart, nor if he were an Englishman, a fairer or more unprejudiced mind—and a large number of gentlemen from Toronto were on the special cars. The train stopped for a moment at Manilla, where the stalwart men and tall comely women spoke well for their race. Mr. Cawthra turning to a gentleman near whom he sat observed, as the wheels began to move over the level lines, that they were entering the beautiful Township of Mariposa. He further remarked on the wealth of the township and neighbouring townships; on their cultivation and prosperity; that Canadians had much to be proud of; and told how when he was a boy the people used to go over crude paths all the way to his father's store in Newmarket to buy their goods. Mariposa is now a scene of beauty and wealth. A typical township, it is settled in great part by Irish and a good deal by Scotch and English; over the smiling country, one of the finest for wheat-growing in Canada, in the character of the people, in the faces of the children, the splendour of the rose, the beauty of the shamrock's refreshing tint and exquisite form, the independence of the sturdy thistle with its heart as if stained by the blood of battle, seem blended in magnificent

promise of the homogeneous Canadian race that is to be. When the train arrived at Lindsay, crowding on each side of the platform were the citizens, men and women, all looking wealthy and comfortable and happy, well-dressed and good looking, with the gleam of hope, the untroubled light of prosperity in their eyes. Not a trace of the terrible listlessness which a few years ago would be in the faces of a crowd in Ireland.

Lindsay settled by Irishmen of energy, in a land where there was room for hope, her past has been as successful as her future is brilliant. Forty years ago where Lindsay stands; with a principal street which is twice as wide as King Street, Toronto, built on either side with large busy stores; with its large lumber and and grain trade, its telegraph offices, branch banks, county buildings, schools, grist and saw mills, manufactories of iron castings, machinery, leather, woollen goods, wooden ware, boots and shoes; with its brewery and spacious hotels; two weekly newspapers, each edited by able men, the Reform paper by Mr. Barr, a skilful journalist who learned his craft on the *Globe*—the Conservative, by Mr. Flood, who like so many successful newspaper men exchanged a commercial position for the printing office; with its population of six thousand; where all this busy prosperity astonished not a few from the Capital of Ontario, forty years ago was a dense forest. In 1854, the population of Lindsay was about 400, which increased by rapid strides until 1861, when it numbered 3,000. In the July of that year a destructive fire took place which consumed the whole of its business portion. In 1877 the population is close upon 6,000. One of the greatest events in the early history of Lindsay was the building of the Midland Railway in 1857. Up to that time it was little more than a small village. Then the tide of prosperity began to flow, and now it has three railways and a fourth is being built. Its water communication extends over hundreds of miles. In short it is one of the most flourishing towns in Ontario. These great results are in part due to the natural advantages of its position. But it has been achieved principally by the exertions and perseverance of its inhabitants, who despite the difficulties and privations they had to endure, have succeeded in making the town one on which the largest hopes may be built. Nearly \$200,000 has been voted

in aid of the various railways. The one thing which more than any other strikes the visitor to Lindsay, and the Township of Ops, is the prevailing nationality of the inhabitants; they are almost wholly Irish. Here and there we see an English or a Scotch face, but the Irishmen are in an overwhelming majority. The earliest inhabitants of both town and township were, as will be seen, almost without exception Irish, and it is to them and their undaunted pluck in the main that Lindsay owes its present prosperity.

In the Town of Lindsay, at the present moment, we have many successful Irishmen whose intelligence and culture equal their business capacity. Major Deacon, now Colonel Deacon, a hero of the Crimean war, who cracked many a joke with Dr. Russell over the camp fire and in the trenches, came out here in 1866, and at once by his great energy, business capacity and genial manners made himself popular. He has been Reeve of the Town. Mr. William Grace, descended from a well-known Irish-Norman family, whose ancestors often led the charge of feudal warfare to the cry of "*Grasseach aboe*,"—the Grace's cause—came to Canada in 1850. He is clerk of the County Court of Lindsay, Registrar of the Surrogate Court, Deputy Clerk of the Crown and Pleas, and Chairman of the School Board. Mr. John Dobson, is one of the most prominent merchants in Lindsay. He came originally from Cavan. After some stay in Toronto he settled at Lindsay, where he has now conducted a successful business for over fourteen years. His partner, Mr. Thomas Niblock is also an Irishman. One of the most remarkable men in this part of the country is one who enjoys more than a local fame. Mr. William McDonnell is at once one of Lindsay's oldest inhabitants and brightest ornaments. Few men have done as much to build up the town. He is a large property holder. In the early days of Lindsay he performed important services. He was the only acting magistrate up to the incorporation of the town, which took place in 1857. He is the embodiment of public spirit. His success as an author is beyond the arbitration of criticism. His "*Exeter Hall*," and "*The Heathens of the Heath*," vindicate his claim to a place in the literary Pantheon. Another public spirited man is Mr. Thomas Keenan, who came to Canada nearly forty years ago. He began

business in a small way. By energy, by probity, by prudence and ability, he has accumulated a large amount of property both in the Town of Lindsay and the Township of Ops. Mr. John Kennedy has been a resident of Lindsay for twenty years. He is a successful merchant, and was, for over fifteen years, Treasurer of the Town. He has also been Treasurer of the Township of Ops. Mr. James McGibbon, has done good service to the county. He is the Crown Land Agent. Another old and respected inhabitant and one of the first settlers is Jeremiah O'Leary, whose two sons, Arthur and Hugh, are now successful practising barristers. Thomas W. Poole M.D., who published in 1867 a very interesting sketch of the settlement of Peterborough, having thrown away the quill for the lancet, and fled from printers' ink and "printers' devils" to patients, settled at Lindsay ten years ago. He has proved a successful practitioner, and has twice won the confidence of his fellow citizens as a candidate for the mayoralty. Mr. William L. Russell is another successful man—a broker and commission merchant. He has resided in Lindsay for twenty-five years. He is from the County of Kilkenny, and is a man of good family. Mr. Thomas Matchett, the County Treasurer, was the first representative to the Local Legislature, for the South Riding of the County of Victoria, under the Sandfield Macdonald *régime*. He lived in Omemece for forty years. He received his present appointment on the Honourable Samuel Casey Wood becoming a member of Mr. Mowat's administration. Mr. Edward Veitch is an old resident of Lindsay, having been in that town not less than twenty years. He is a successful hotel-keeper, and has thus passed the great test of merit below the line. He owns large property. He is an ardent politician, and possesses a great deal of ability. He is a well-read man and full of public spirit. Mr. William Bell is among the oldest and most enterprising residents of the town, and has done a great deal to build it up. Mr. Larry Maguire occupied the Mayor's chair for two years. He is a merchant. His brother-in-law, Mr. Joseph Dundas, is doing a large commercial business, and is one of Lindsay's heaviest grain buyers. Messrs. Grace, McDonnell, Veitch and Kennedy and Colonel Deacon have been forward in railway enterprise. Among those who have passed away was Mr. Dormer, for a short time a mem-

ber for South Victoria. He was the son of an Irishman, was a lawyer of considerable power, and a man of great social brilliancy.

When we go outside Lindsay into the township, the first man we think of is venerable John Walker, with his strong noble face and white hair sweeping back over his shoulders. He was born in 1798, and came to Canada in 1832, with his five sons, among whom was Samuel, then seven years old. They first landed at Quebec, whence they got to Montreal in a steamer. Part of the way to Cobourg was travelled in boats towed by horses known as Durham boats. At Cobourg, Mrs. Walker and her children remained in the emigrant sheds until the father prospected the land on which he now lives. They got to Peterborough, having travelled in scows across Rice Lake. At Peterborough they stopped two weeks. They were taken across Mud Lake and Pigeon Lake to the place where Omemee now stands. There were plenty of Indians about then. They were cast for lot fifteen in the seventh concession. There came at that time to the neighbourhood a family named Drummond, with the view of driving a trade with the emigrants, who had come to settle in the wilds. They charged so much for showing the land allotted and building the shanty. In a month the Walkers were at work.

The only emigrant here before Mr. John Walker was the father of Mr. John Connolly. The clearing progress went on. The branches were lopped from the trees which were then cut so as to fall in the same direction. The branches were then burned. This done, the trees were sawn into lengths and piled on each other and burned. For some time logging bees were out of the question. But when the immigrants increased, the logging bee and pig-sticking bee and other kinds of bee came into vogue. Numbers of men assembled and helped to cut and pile up the logs, and the whiskey flowed; so much whiskey was set in motion by a logging bee; a smaller quantity for a pig-sticking bee, and so on.

Meanwhile they had to send to Port Hope, or Kingston for food. If a man wanted an axe ground he went to Kingston and marked with an axe or blazed his way through the woods in order to know how to return. Sometimes they ground the wheat with their teeth for dinner. But I am anticipating. In the second year the



Walkers planted potatoes, and by and by grain. So fruitful are the Irish loins, and so conducive to health is Canada that the descendants of old Mr. Walker now number themselves by hundreds. One is a senator below the line. One son had fourteen children, one daughter fifteen. Another son had twelve children, a third eleven, a fourth ten, and a fifth nine; one had four and another three. A daughter now living in Lindsay is the mother of six children.

Samuel Walker is now a rich man in Lindsay, living on and placing his money where it may be most profitable. Mr. Samuel Walker is a philosopher, who thinks for himself, and believes a great deal is wasted on mere fashion,—and who can doubt but that he is right? He tells with graphic power how the boys, in the depth of winter, cut out a piece of bass-wood in the shape of a sole, and having warmed it at the fire, tied it on with leather wood and made for the school-master, who lived in a little bit of a shanty. “We were far happier then,” said Mr. Samuel Walker, with a tone of regret, as though he despised wealth as well as fashion, “no fashions, no style, no doctors to pay, and when Sunday came all you did was to take a walk in the bush.” “And what did you do for the consolations of religion?” “We did without them.” By-and-by they learned to make maple-sugar, and with that, potatoes, and wheat, lived like “fighting cocks.” The man who carried the wheat to the mill,—it took him four days to go and come,—would keep for wages half the flour and all the bran.

The McHugh family is a remarkable one. The first McHugh was a sergeant, who came to Canada in 1831. His eldest son was the first warden of the County of Victoria; his four other sons are now large farmers in the township. I have already spoken of Mr. John Connolly. His father came out from Ireland in 1830, and settled in the Township of Ops. John, who is the owner of a large property in the Township of Ops, has for many years held the position of Reeve. Mr. William O’Keefe came out about the same time as Mr. Connolly, and is very highly respected.

Mr. Alexander Byson is one of the oldest settlers. He has brought up a large family,—nine sons and one daughter. A man known as “King Connell,” or “King of Ops,” is said by some to have preceded Connolly; and he and his son Maurice

own considerable property on the banks of the Seugog. Ops was a Catholic settlement, one of Mr. Peter Robinson's.

In Emily Township and the Village of Omeme, one of the first names that occur is that of McQuade. Mr. McQuade is the member for the South Riding in the Dominion Parliament. He is a very large property holder in real estate. He is from Cavan, where he was born in 1817. His father, Henry McQuade, died in Ireland; his mother, whose maiden name was Mary Curran, came to the United States with a large family. Thence the family removed to the Township of Emily, where they arrived in 1837. Most of the brothers and sisters are dead. One sister is still alive in West Durham, where she is married to a Mr. Henry Gibson, an Irishman from the North of Ireland. Arthur McQuade, when he first came to Canada, "hired out" to a farmer for ten dollars a month; he worked with the same man for a second year at eleven dollars per month. He then purchased from his employer one hundred acres of land. He married Susan, a daughter of Thomas Trotter, who came from Fermanagh, and was one of the oldest settlers of that section of the country. Mr. McQuade has seven children living, all well to do; five died. He at present owns one thousand acres of land, and has considerable investments in stocks, mortgages, and the like. He is probably worth \$100,000. He has for years resided in Emily Township; he was for twenty years collector of taxes there, deputy-reeve for eleven years, being frequently returned by acclamation. He was school-teacher for fifteen years, and can look back on a career of usefulness and success. He is a hale, hearty, open-hearted man; a Conservative in politics. He is a Protestant, and has been County Master of the Loyal Orange Society in the County. The wise liberality of the Roman Catholics in Victoria could not be more strikingly shown than in the election of Mr. McQuade. Mr. McQuade is a great man at agricultural associations.

The late Morris Cottingham was one of the oldest settlers. He took an active part in all public movements having relation to the interest and welfare of the country. He was a large property holder and died in 1875 leaving a large family. He and his wife and sons sailed from Belfast in 1820. The voyage from Belfast to Quebec occupied seven weeks and three days; from La-

chine to Kingston they took passage in Durham boats. On the passage up an accident occurred to one of the fellow-passengers. At Cornwall a woman named Trotter was robbed of all her money by an American sharper who joined the party. He cut out her pocket and took 100 guineas and forty doubloons. They went from Kingston to Port Hope in a sailing vessel and were wrecked on Gull Island. Finally, they reached Port Hope which consisted of only a few houses. John Brown and J. D. Smith, who were the pioneers of the business of Port Hope had stores there. The Cottinghams purchased a cow from John Brown and drove her through the wilderness to the present Township of Emily, to the site of the Village of Omemee. The son, Samuel Cottingham having felled the first tree, crossed over Pigeon River on it. They made the first clearing where the Methodist Church now stands, but did not settle on the lot till the spring of 1821. They lived meanwhile in the neighbouring Township of Cavan.

They had not long settled in their new home when they were visited by Indians who were without clothing, but seemed very inoffensive, and at once made friends with the family, calling them all names of their own. One day the Chief having imbibed pretty freely of Fire Water, began asking what brought them to settle in their country, and being answered that King George had sent them, he replied: "King George—damn rascal."

In the year 1824 William and Samuel went to Montreal, and purchased clothing for the Indians, supplies, ammunition, and other merchandise.

In the summer of 1825 occurred what is known as Peter Robinson's emigration, principally from the south of Ireland. The emigrants settled in this and the neighbouring townships. They landed at Cobourg, and the brothers were employed in locating them. The Government acted very liberally, giving each family 100 acres free, supplying them with farm implements for work, besides building for each settler a shanty twelve by fourteen feet. From that time to the present the Irish race has predominated in this section of the country, which has kept pace with any other part of Canada. The hardships and innumerable difficulties which beset the family at that early period, would take a large book to chronicle. The present Town of Peterborough contained

one house, kept by a man who combined a saw and grist mill, and blacksmith shop; he afterwards, in 1826, built for William Cottingham, the first mill in the county. Their grain had previously to be taken some fifteen miles to be ground, through a long stretch of swamp and heavy timbered land. Samuel Cottingham assisted in the survey of four townships, Fenelon, Verulam, Methuen, and Ops. Colonel McDonald, of Glengarry, had the surveying of the Township of Ops, in which the site for the present Town of Lindsay was laid out, but some time elapsed before any one settled there. He also collected the first taxes for this township, having to make his return to John Burnham, of Cobourg, a distance of forty miles. He carried the whole sum to him, amounting to four dollars, his fees for the same being one shilling. In 1836 he contracted with the Government to build twelve houses for the Indians, on what is now known as Indian Point, in Balsam Lake. He had to go to Toronto to draw his pay. It is now a very valuable property, and is in a highly cultivated state. In the fall of 1837 the Cottingshams and their neighbours promptly marched to Bowmanville at the call of the Government to quell the rebellion under Mackenzie. They wintered at Bowmanville, and left in May, 1838, William being discharged with a captain's commission, and Samuel with a lieutenant's. Indeed no people proved more loyal to the Government on that occasion than did the Irish in this district. William Cottingham is at present Reeve of the Village of Omemeë.

Another prominent man, and a successful merchant and large property holder, is Mr. Thomas Stephenson, Reeve of the Township of Emily. Then there is Mr. John Scully, Mr. Denis Scully, and Mr. Jeremiah Scully, who settled in the township thirty years ago. They have succeeded by their energy and industry in accumulating a large amount of real estate. Michael Lehane is a prominent agriculturist, and identified with all movements bearing on the cultivation of the soil. He is one of the oldest magistrates in that part of Victoria.

In Fenelon Township we have Hugh Crawford, a prominent man as an agriculturist; Samuel Raizin, who has done much for railway enterprise; Henry Raizin, who is a County Inspector of Public Schools; both men of great intelligence, and of social and

public usefulness. There are William and Henry Downer, both practical agriculturists; Joseph and Samuel McGee, prosperous farmers; the Jordan family; Henry Perdue, a Tipperary man, noted for his splendid breed of Devon cattle; John Daniel, another successful farmer, who has 1,500 acres under cultivation, and is rapidly subduing the wilderness.

In Mariposa, already mentioned, William Foster and John Glenny are first-class agriculturists, and are full of public spirit. Here is the prosperous family of the Irvins, and as fruitful as prosperous. Stephen Dundas is also prominent as an agriculturist, as is James Moffat. The Davidsons represent "Old Squire Davidson." There is a whole settlement of them—millers, agriculturists, and all most successful.

Behind Fenelon is the Township of Bexley, where we find the Staples, of whom Joseph Staple is the head. This gentleman represented North Victoria in the Commons as a Conservative. He is the first and only Reeve of Bexley, and was for several years Warden of the County. James Moore is one of the foremost agriculturists of Bexley.

In the Township of Bexley, Robert Staples stands in the front as a lumberer and agriculturist. He represented the township in the County Council for years. And there is John Bailey, the present Reeve.

In the Township of Somerville, in the foremost ranks of practical agriculturists stands James Eliot, then we have Benjamin Burchell, Mr. Perdue, and others.

In the Township of Verulam, there is Morsom Boyd, "the King of Pines," as Mr. George Laidlaw called him—the prince of lumbermen in that part, and one of the first settlers. Then we have the Junkin family, sixteen of them, all practical agriculturists and taking a deep interest in municipal matters. The principal hotel keeper is Mr. John Simpson, possessed of plenty of Irish geniality, and no mean judge of a horse. Then there is the Ireton family, a large connection of them, all connected with the Episcopal Church. There is also the Bell family, agriculturists and manufacturers. Nor should we forget that prime agriculturist, William Playfair; nor Jabez Thurston, agriculturist and lumberman, at the head of a large family connection. Then there

is honest Ned Kelly, and W. B. Reed, a successful merchant in Bobcaygeon.

In the Township of Carden, James Fitzgerald is Reeve, a quiet good fellow, a great pioneer, warring with the bush, but all the time taking a lively interest in municipal affairs.

Mrs. Foley (*née* Sullivan), of Carden, is a genuine heroine. She was born on the shores of those beautiful lakes which every summer attract tourists from all parts of the world to Killarney. She married early, and had three children. One day she said to her husband: "We shall never do anything here. They say Canada is a fine country, let us go out there, in the name of God, and try our luck." But the husband would not hear of it. She then said: "Well, I must go myself;" and the brave little dark-eyed woman saved enough money to bring her to Toronto. In Toronto she took in washing, and saved enough money to send for her husband and her children. She then said to her husband: "If we are to do anything for our children, we must push out into the woods." She heard there was land to be had in Victoria, and thither she went with her family, and worked like a brave woman. She has now 200 acres of land well cultivated, and each of her four sons has 100 acres. All four are married, and are raising happy families.

It will not be out of place to record an incident which Mr Clarke, an Irish settler in the Township of Drummond, has often told. Clarke had been a soldier. He found he was being plundered. One little pig after another disappeared. He suspected a neighbour who bore no good character, and determined to sit up and watch. Accordingly, having loaded his gun, he lit his pipe, and listened for the sound of intruding footsteps. He waited and watched the whole night, but no sound alarmed him. Just at the dawn he heard the squealing of a pig. He darted out. The squealing came from the Beaver meadow. Jumping the fence, he saw the form, as he thought, of MacNaughton, bearing away his pig. He called to him, but the call was unheeded. He drew near and said: "MacNaughton, if you do not stop, I'll shoot you." The warning was not regarded. Clarke raised his gun and fired at the legs of the robber. The next moment he saw that the robber was a she bear which was taking the little pig to her cubs.

The ball grazed the bear's leg. She paused, threw the pig on the ground, and with a stroke of her paw killed it; then made for Clarke. Clarke ran. Luckily he had brought ammunition with him, and as he ran he loaded, doubled and fired, hitting the brute, which, however, only uttered a cry of anger, and continued pursuit. Clarke loaded again. He was now near the fence, and the bear close on his heels. He turned and fired, striking the animal in the forehead. As he fired, he sprang over the fence. It was well he did, for the bear uttering a cry such as Clarke could never forget, sprang towards where he had been, and fell dead in the act of hugging her fancied prey.

The maiden name of the wife of the present member for South Victoria has been mentioned. The father of this lady, Thos. Trotter, one of the oldest settlers of South Victoria, came to Canada previous to the formation of the "Robinson Settlement." His wife is still alive, and lives with her son in Emily Township. The old gentleman is long dead, and the family much scattered. One daughter lives near Cobourg. One son lives on Manitoulin Island, and one at Owen Sound. Another son went to the United States, and has not been heard of for years. Old Mr. Trotter seems to have been a wealthy man when he died, and Mr. McQuade, through his wife, received a portion of the property.

Sixty years ago the County of Peterborough was an unbroken forest. In the Autumn of 1818 a few pioneers found their way into the Township of Smith. The next year another exploring party started for a region where most of them had drawn land and returned well pleased with what they saw.

Where there are now busy factories and well-lighted streets and all the life and wealth of Peterborough, prior to 1825 there were only one or two families. The most sanguine settlers were in despair. But during the Autumn of that year, the Honourable Peter Robinson, after whom Peterborough is named, conducted a large emigration from the South of Ireland. In the May of 1825, the hill of Cove, now known as Queenstown, was a scene of heart-rending grief. Bitter tears were shed. Bitter cries went up to Heaven. At first Cove appeared like a vast fair. More than four thousand persons had crowded from the country into it. } Half the number were bound for a distant land which lay beyond the vast and dan-

gerous ocean. The other half had come to look their last on daughters and brothers and sons. Gay ribbons were flying from the head-dress of the women. The men tall, stalwart fellows, the women with the glow of health and the beauty for which their country is renowned sauntered about, talking, buying articles for the voyage, and with them the old people, the grey-headed, wrinkled fathers, the mothers with a countenance in which the lines of tenderness contended against the furrows of care. The black ships are lying in that harbour which is among the most beautiful of the works of God. Monkstown shines white against the hill and on the heights opposite, which overlook the road leading from Queenstown to Cork, the furze were already yellow with blossom. The terraced curves of the harbour circle on either side of the harbour's mouth, beyond which the Atlantic beats into foam against the rocky bases of the green hills. No wonder men find it hard to leave such a country. It is like a lover tearing himself away from the woman he has loved and loves. In that hour of grief and madness and tears, her eye seems brighter, her smile sweeter than ever, and her sobs accentuate with fatal charm every beauteous outline. The hour comes. The bells sound. The boats put off to the ships. Anchor is weighed. Those left behind press over the low wall which fringes the long straggling hill commanding the view sea-ward. The emigrants press to the side of the ship. They wave their handkerchiefs, and as the ships move away, a wail from the shore rises like — but that is indescribable and beggars comparison. Some faint, others rush madly down to the water's edge. None turn homewards. Seaward they strain their eyes until the ships have become specks and disappeared.

On board the vessels, grief and sickness prostrate most. But one emigrant sits in the bow. He watches the waves rise between him and his beloved country. When the last shadowy outline is gone, to an old harp, an heirloom of his family, which may have sounded in the halls of Tara, and with his forefathers' prowess of song not wholly degraded, he pours forth in words somewhat as follows, a farewell to his country, in which he mourns over her history and dilates on her tender beauty :—



They're gone ! The green hills of my country no more,  
 Indistinct as a dream I behold o'er the spray ;  
 The wild waves that dash into foam on the shore,  
 Will roll darkly and deeply between us to-day.

Farewell ! O, farewell ! my infancy's clime !  
 Brightest gem of the sea ! choicest flower of the earth !  
 Gem tyranny-soiled ! flower sullied by crime !  
 Sunny isle doomed to tears from the hour of thy birth !

Did a hope span thy sky, my place were not here ;  
 The wealth of Golconda would not tempt me to roam ;  
 But afar I can pay my sole tribute—a tear,  
 And strike the old harp, so long silenced at home.

Be still, breaking heart ! A star gleams in the west ;  
 In Canadian wilds her old airs shall resound ;  
 There her children, hopeful, contented and blest,  
 A nation of freemen contribute to found.

No more shall we fight the foul feuds of sorrows ;  
 The sinister strife of dark ages shall cease ;  
 Our eyes be aglow with the light of glad morrows,  
 Our breasts with the behests of the Preacher of Peace.

Late in June the vessels arrived at Quebec. The passengers, 2,024 souls, were immediately forwarded to Kingston. There they remained for some weeks. The weather was intensely hot, and many suffered in consequence from fever and ague. Mr. Robinson, meanwhile, proceeded to Scott's Plains, as Peterborough was then called, and spent a week exploring the townships. On the 11th of August, he embarked five hundred on board a steamboat and landed them the next day at Cobourg. The remainder of the settlers were brought up in the same manner, the boat making a trip each week. They were next taken from Cobourg to Smith at the head of the Otonabee River. The route lay through a country very thinly inhabited. The twelve miles of road from Lake Ontario to the Rice Lake were hardly passable. The Otonabee River is in many places very rapid, and this year the water was much lower than usual. The first thing Mr. Robinson had to do was to repair the road and make it fit to bear loaded waggons. In ten days so much progress was made that provisions and baggage could be sent over it with ease. Three large boats were transported on wheels to Rice Lake. A boat was built for the special purpose of being able to ascend the rapids of the Otonabee.

The ague and fever attacked old and new settlers alike. The first party Mr. Peter Robinson ascended the river with, consisted of twenty men of the country, hired as axemen, and thirty of the healthiest settlers, not one of whom escaped falling ill and two of whom died. The immigrants, while waiting to be "located" on their lands sheltered themselves from the heat by constructing rude huts or wigwams built of slabs, bark, the branches of trees, sods and the like. The emigration was under the auspices of the Government, and Government rations were given out to the poor settlers, one pound of pork and one of flour for each person over fourteen years of age, half a pound of each to children between five and eleven years, a pound of meat and a pound of flour to every four children under five years of age. The provisions were brought from Cobourg or other places equally happily situated, and the rations were given out for a period of eighteen months. It is easy to see that persons with a large family of young children would have more food than they required. The excess of rations provided some with the luxury of whiskey.

The immigrants accompanied by guides went out in groups to examine the land and fix on the portions allotted them. To each family of five persons was given one hundred acres. Each grown up son also got a hundred acres. Contracts were made by Mr. Robinson with older settlers to erect shanties at the rate of ten dollars each. Roads were extemporised through the forest. Teams of oxen and horses were purchased for transporting the settlers with their effects to the spot where with axe and spade they were to dig the foundations of a civilized community. Before the close of autumn the vast immigration had distributed itself into homes, each family being supplied with a cow, an axe, an auger, a hand saw, a hammer, one hundred nails, two gimlets, three hoes, one kettle, one frying pan, one iron pot, five bushels of seed potatoes, and eight quarts of Indian corn.

But there were many trials yet in store for these poor settlers. Fever and ague which had assailed them on their landing in the country, pursued them to the bush. During the passage to Quebec fifteen of them had died. Before the spring of 1826 had well begun eighty-seven more laid their bones in the earth they had come to till. Scarcely a family escaped the scourge. Entire

households shook for months so that they could not hand each other a glass of water. In a single day eleven funerals of immigrants saddened the streets of Kingston. In the remoter settlements, away from medical aid, the most loathsome devices of a desperate quackery were resorted to, and miseries untold and indescribable were endured. The people were perishing continually as though some offended God had discharged his arrows on a guilty race. But as the land was cleared and the soil became drier, liability to this depressing and afflicting disease diminished. At the present day this region is eminently healthy.

In the Newcastle district six hundred and twenty-one men, five hundred and twelve women, seven hundred and forty-five children; in all eighteen hundred and seventy-eight were settled; in that of Bathurst a total of fifty-five; in Montreal, twenty-six; Kingston, two.

We need not be surprised that the immigrants, were regarded with critical distrust by the older inhabitants. Were one to believe their slanderers, we should write that, while their rations lasted, they acted like many a young gentleman who inherits a small patrimony; that they put forth no exertions. They found it difficult to face the new order of things, and to gird themselves to work and exacting toil. But calumnies of this sort are abundant, where there is the least difference in the circumstances of sections of humanity, placed side by side. The ordinary human heart unaccustomed to generous impulse, controlled by the egotism which would be amusing, were it not contemptible, is the narrow factory of misrepresentation. It is a solace to petty characters, to try and make themselves out superior in some small way to other persons. What, however, are the facts? From the third report of the Emigration Committee of the British Parliament, 1827, we learn that there were sixty lots in Douro, on which  $245\frac{1}{2}$  acres were cleared in 1826; 8,251 bushels of potatoes grown; 4,175 bushels of turnips; 1,777 bushels of Indian corn; that  $80\frac{3}{4}$  bushels of wheat had been sown. 1,159 lbs. of maple sugar were made by those settlers in Douro; 11 oxen purchased by themselves, 18 cows and 22 hogs. In the Township of Smith, we find like results: 34 locations;  $113\frac{1}{4}$  acres cleared; 4,800 bushels of potatoes, 1,150 bushels of turnips, 637 bushels of Indian corn, grown;  $40\frac{3}{4}$

bushels of wheat sown ; 889 lbs. maple sugar produced. Purchased by the emigrants, 6 oxen, 7 cows, 21 hogs. In Otonabee, again we find 51 locations ; 186 acres cleared ; produced 10,500 bushels of potatoes, 4,250 of turnips, 1,395 of Indian corn ; 1,419 lbs. of maple sugar. 38 bushels of wheat were sown, and 4 oxen, 13 cows, and 11 hogs, were bought. In Emily, of which we have already said something, the figures are as follows :— Locations, 142 ; acres cleared, 251½. Produce : potatoes 22,200 bushels, turnips 7,700, Indian corn 3,442 ; maple sugar 2,280 lbs ; sown, 44½ bushels wheat ; bought, 6 oxen, 10 cows, 47 hogs. For Ennismore, the figures are equally eloquent. Locations 67 ; acres cleared 195 ; produce 8,900 bushels of potatoes, 3000 of turnips, 104½ of Indian corn ; 1,330 lbs. of maple sugar ; sown 44½ bushels of wheat ; bought 4 oxen, 9 cows, 10 hogs. Asphodel : Locations 36 ; acres cleared, 173 ; produce, 9,150 bushels of potatoes, 2,850 of turnips, 1,733 of Indian corn ; 1,345 lbs. of maple sugar ; sown, 86 bushels of wheat ; bought 2 oxen, 8 cows, 32 hogs. The estimated value of the produce of the immigrants of 1825, up to the 24th November, 1826, was in Halifax currency, £12,524 19s. 0d. If the idleness of the Irish immigrants could do this, what might not be expected from their industry ?

Oddly enough, in the *Colonial Advocate*, of December 8th, 1826, William Lyon Mackenzie attacked the loyalty and patriotism of the immigrants ! The man, who ten years afterwards, was to head an abortive rebellion, who had published a series of biographies in pamphlet form, extolling the genius of Irishmen, who was proud of his descent from a remote Irish ancestor, assailed these helpless strangers in their most vulnerable point. The men whose sons are now the lords of smiling farms in the richest part of the Dominion, had an ardent desire to go to the United States. The \$30,000 which had been expended in bringing them out and settling them was thrown into the sea. Worse, it was a bounty paid out by Canadian councillors to recruit in Ireland soldiers for the United States. What baseness is there to which low ambition and factious opposition will not descend ? The charge was at once refuted. Two communications were published in a London paper, one from Mr. Thomas Orton, of the Land Register Office of Port Hope, the other from Mr. James Fitzgibbon, better known as.

Colonel Fitzgibbon, a heroic noble character, to whom we shall have again to refer. Fitzgibbon pointed out that it would not have been surprising, if many of the settlers, skilled mechanics, and other strangers to forest life, who could find employment and good wages everywhere between the settlement and New York, had spread themselves abroad. As a fact, they had not done so. Nor, concluded the gallant fellow, had they since their arrival, done aught for which he or any other countryman of theirs need blush.

Meanwhile, Peterborough began to rise. The few immigrants who had remained on the plains, built themselves little dwellings. They plied a trade, they turned their hands to what they might. John Boates started that sure and sinister mark of modern civilization, a tavern. Adjoining it was a log house, in which Capt. Armstrong lived. Captain Armstrong was engaged in distributing rations to the settlers. John Sullivan put up a log house on the south-west corner of George and Charlotte Streets, and he too kept a tavern. William Oakely started a bakery, and made the staff of life, while Boates and Sullivan dispensed a perilous solace which would not be too harshly described as the fluid of death. There are ruined children, heart-broken widows, who would not think me harsh if I called it the instrument of hell. The next house was on the south side of King Street, where Timothy O'Connor lived. East of O'Connor's another was built, by James Hurley, in the winter of 1826. Mr. Stewart opened a small store; gave credit; charged the bar of soap, or the half pound of candles, or the ounce of tea, or the quarter-pound of tobacco, to "the woman with the red cloak," the "man with the iron grey beard," the "girl with the mole on her cheek." Need we wonder he was bought out? James Bailey, a north of Ireland man, in 1826, built his house, and kept a tavern. In 1828, John Crawford, of Port Hope, put up a frame house. And so the town grew. The Irishman became fond of his adopted country, and the grief of his heart stilled, he was at leisure to turn his thoughts to the happy cares of life, and the happier joys of friendship and love. Cupid follows the human family everywhere. All climates agree with him. He discharges his arrows with as much skill in a Canadian winter as in the slumberous, almost voluptuous, atmosphere of the tropics. His song is ever fresh. He falls in with

the cadence of the sleigh bells, as well as with the tones of the lute. Under a maple tree he is as much master of the situation as under a palm. And so men fell in love and married, and begot large families, to gladden them with the tenderer love of parent and child, when the fierce wild heat of the passions could make their veins run with lightning no more, and when all the soft and pleasant appliances of civilization should surround the home of their old age. Were this not so amid the toils and privations of a pioneer life, what a mournful light would steal through the sunless forest, what a gloom would rest on the amorphous beginnings of early settlements. Even in the heart of capitals, and in the midst of wealth,

“The hours were dreary,  
Life without love does but fade;  
Vain it wastes and we grow weary.”

Love, more powerful than imagination, cannot merely irradiate the gloom of a dungeon, and render us independent of that mob we call society, it makes the couch of poverty softer than down, and infuses into the heart of privation a lyric joy.

In the winter of 1826, His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, visited the town and settlement. Save where the few houses stood, that portion of the town then cleared was disfigured with stumps. The Governor was accompanied by Colonel Talbot, the Hon. John Beverley Robinson, the Attorney General, and others. The Vice-regal party were entertained by Captain Rubridge. He held a rude levee at which a large number of settlers attended. Various addresses were presented. One, from the Magistrates, dwelt on the good conduct of the immigrants who had given ground to hope that they would prove a valuable acquisition to the Province. A deputation from the colony of Smith, came with a verbal address. The chosen spokesman broke down, as raw orators will. But he had presence of mind enough to turn round to Mr. Jacob Bromwell and say: “Speak it you, sir.” The difficulties, occasional distress, the want of a mill were dwelt on: “Saving your presence, sir,” said Bromwell, “I have to get up at night to chew corn for the children.” They were promised assistance. Patrick Barragan, a school-teacher, presented an address on behalf of the Irish Roman Catholics. The Irish immigrants expressed their gratitude to

their "gracious good King, and to His Majesty's worthy, good and humane Government," for all that had been done, "and," said the address, very characteristically, "we hope yet intend to do for us." They were equally alive to what Mr. Peter Robinson had done for them, and equally mindful of the future, so far as he was concerned. "We are fully sensible that his fine and humane feelings will not permit him to leave anything undone that may forward our welfare." They were satisfied with the doctor and the officers placed over them. "Please your Excellency," the address proceeds, still characteristically, and not without some humour; "we agree very well, and are pleased with the proceedings of the old settlers amongst us, as it is the interest of us all to do the same. And should an enemy ever have the presumption to invade this portion of His Majesty's dominions, your Excellency will find that we, when called upon to face and expel the common foe will, to a man, follow our brave commanders; not an Irish soul will stay behind." They deplored "the want of a clergyman to administer to us the comforts of our Holy Religion." They also said they wanted good schoolmasters to instruct their children.

The next day the Governor drove out to Ennismore. Mud Lake was crossed on the ice. The party put up at the shanty of Mr. Eugene McCarthy, the father of Mr. Jeremiah McCarthy who was Reeve of Ennismore. Equally loyal addresses were forwarded from various townships to Earl Bathurst, Colonial Secretary.

The vice-regal visit bore fruit. A grist mill containing two run of stones, was completed in 1827, and was at once offered for sale by the Government. Mr. John Hall and Mr. Moore Lee became the purchasers. A bridge was built across the Otonabee. Henceforth the prosperity of the town and the success of the settlement were assured.

In 1832 the cholera visited this continent and penetrated to Peterborough. Out of a population of five hundred, twenty-three persons died of this disease. In 1833 the lawyers began to arrive. Stafford Kirkpatrick "put out his shingle" in 1834. In the year 1832 a couple of small steamers were placed on Rice Lake. About

the same time the great work was conceived of rendering navigable the chain of waters from the Bay of Quinte to Lake Simcoe.

In the civic, legal, and militia affairs of the district the names which occur most frequently are, as we might expect, Irish. In 1847 the immigrants arriving from Ireland brought with them a fever of a malignant type. In 1860 the Prince of Wales was received magnificently in Peterborough. A pavilion was erected on the Court House Green for the presentation of addresses. In front of the pavilion, seats had been fixed for one thousand children. The rising ground of the Court House Park would have afforded easy standing room for thirty thousand people. But whether thirty thousand or only fifteen thousand availed themselves of it is left uncertain by contemporary accounts. In any case the splendour, the arches, the population, all indicate what progress had been made as far back as seventeen years ago. Schools had long been opened and ministers of the various forms of Christianity established in Peterborough.\* I need not tell the reader what Peterborough with its 5,000 inhabitants, its stores, factories, mills, newspapers, railway and telegraph accommodation, its well laid out and well-lit streets is to-day. Nor is it necessary to describe the county with its prosperous townships. The greater part of all this wealth and prosperity and usefulness to the Dominion is due to Irish heads and hands.

A remarkably able business man, whose history has already been written in one of our own periodicals, is William Cluxton. Born at Dundalk, County Louth, in 1819, he lost his father when he was only six years' old, and his mother before he had passed his twelfth year. On her death the orphaned family was scattered, and he went to reside with an uncle who carried on a business at Cootehill, County Cavan. His uncle soon urged him to emigrate to Canada. He found himself among friends three miles from the small village of Peterboro' of that time. Here he soon discovered that nature did not intend him for farming. With his friends' consent he sought and obtained a very humble situation in the employment of the late John Hall, the father of Judge

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\* This word is spelled either Peterborough or Peterboro', apparently according to the whim of the writer.



Hall, also deceased, who was then the leading merchant in the village. He was soon promoted, and in 1836 we find him at Port Hope in charge of an establishment belonging to the late John Crawford. He next went to Peterboro' to take sole charge of a branch of Mr. Crawford's business. In 1842, he set up business on his own account. Why particularize? His history is the history of thousands. In 1872, he retired from the dry-goods business with an ample fortune. One of its branches, established at Lindsay, he sold to a clerk, who is now one of the wealthiest and best business men in that town. To his two sons and another clerk he sold the Peterboro' establishment. His grain and lumber transactions are so large that he has as yet been unable to extricate himself from these branches of speculation. For the last twenty years he has moved the principal part of the grain along the whole line of railway from Lindsay to the front. His transactions, it is said, have amounted to half a million annually.

In 1852, he became manager of the Peterboro' branch of the Commercial Bank of Canada, a position he held for eight years. He has been President of the Midland Railway Company; of the Marmora Mining Company; of the Little Lake Cemetery Company; of the Port Hope and Peterboro' Gravel Road Company; he is still President of the Lake Huron and Quebec Railway Company. He has been both in the Town and County Council. He is a magistrate of several years' standing.

After hours, whether clerk or manager, instead of chatting in bar parlours, he devoted himself to the cultivation of letters and music, in which last humanizing art he became a proficient. He was thus fitting himself for the responsibilities of the future. He was returned to Parliament, in 1867, for West Peterborough.

In Kingston, we find, in the early days, among prominent Irishmen, the Rev. M. Salmon, P.P.; James Salmon, merchant; Walter McCunniffe, merchant; Anthony Manahan, the first M.P. for Kingston after the Union, and of whose career particulars will be given later on; Thomas Turpin, merchant; Dr. James Sampson, who came to Canada in 1820 as army surgeon, and who settled in Kingston, of which he ultimately became Mayor; Dr. Macaulay, Dr. Tierney, Dr. Keating, Bishop Phalen, Peter Mac-

donald Meehan, Michael Brennan, J. W. Armstrong, R. B. Armstrong, P. Driscoll, Robert Deacon, the present postmaster ; George Douglas, Thomas Murphy, John Rourke, A. Forster, Mr. Jennings, of T. C. D., a teacher ; Rev. A. Balfour, Thomas Kidd, the poet ; Thomas & J. Baker, H. Benson, Colonel J. Ferguson, Messrs. Breen & Harty, J. & J. Greer, J. Williamson, the Messrs. Cunningham, large iron merchants ; H. Scanlan, auctioneer in 1834 ; the Rev. T. Hancock, Church of England minister, son of Sir V. Hancock ; Keough, a poet ; John & W. Breden, now wealthy men ; Patrick Slaven, whose descendants are numerous.

Anthony Manahan, mentioned above, was born in 1794, in Mount Bellew, County Galway. He went to the Island of Trinidad in 1809, with his brother, a merchant in high repute, who was private secretary to Sir Ralph Woodward. He married Sarah, third daughter of the Hon. John Nugent, who was Administrator of the Government during an interregnum of two years, and came to Kingston in 1824, which he left to take the management of the Marmora Iron Works, in 1825, established by Mr. Hayes, like himself an Irishman. After the death of that gentleman, who sunk a large fortune in the undertaking (Manahan also lost a considerable sum), he returned to Kingston in 1830. Mr. Edmond Murray (of Irish descent) and himself ran on the Conservative side, in the election for Hastings in 1834, when both were returned. He was elected for Kingston in 1840, after a very severe contest with Mr. J. R. Forsyth, owing to the fact that both Orange and Green united in supporting him ; for though a Catholic, he was most popular with his Orange countrymen. He was defeated in 1844 by Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald, and died at Kingston, in 1849.

Peter O'Reilly, descendant of the O'Reillys of Cavan, was born at Westport, County of Mayo, in 1791, and emigrated to Canada in 1832, the year of the first cholera. He settled at Belleville, and there carried on the business of a merchant for several years. When the rebellion of 1837 broke out, Mr. O'Reilly offered his services, and received the appointment of Captain of No. 2 Company in the Hastings Regiment of Militia, in which position he remained in active service for two years, under Colonel the Baron de Rottenburgh, his company being the first which was called out,

and on his retirement he received the thanks of the Governor of Upper Canada for his services and loyalty to the Crown. During the sixteen years he spent in the County of Hastings where, in the old days, politics did really exist, and party lines were well defined, Peter O'Reilly's voice and influence did much for the side he espoused.

Mr. O'Reilly took a strong interest in public questions, and was the intimate friend of the truly "honourable" Robert Baldwin, by whom he stood in many a hard fought contest for constitutional government in this country. He moved to Kingston in 1847, the year after that in which his son, the late Mr. James O'Reilly, Q.C., commenced the practice of law there. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the County Court, and Registrar of the Surrogate Court of the United Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington. In Kingston he for many years exercised a strong influence over his countrymen, by all of whom he was much beloved, and there he died full of years.

His son, Mr. James O'Reilly, Q.C., was born at Westport, in the County Mayo, on the 16th of September, 1823. In 1842 he commenced the study of the law. He was the first student examined by the late Secretary of the Law Society, Mr. Hugh N. Gwynne.

He first entered the law office of Mr. Charles Otis Benson, in Belleville, where, a short time before, he had completed his education under the direction of the late Mr. William Hutton, the head of the Grammar School of the County of Hastings. A relative of Sir Francis Hincks, Mr. Hutton was a man of learning and ability, who subsequently held an important position in the Bureau of Statistics in the old Province. Mr. O'Reilly after a short time with Mr. Benson entered the office of the Hon. John Ross, Q.C., subsequently Attorney-General for Upper Canada, then engaged in the practice of his profession and supposed to have secured the largest practice of any lawyer in the Province.

He remained a few months in Mr. Ross' office until he was called to the Bar, when he went to Toronto, and completed his studies in the office of Messrs. Crawford, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and Hagarty, the present Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was called to the Bar, 9th of August, 1847, and immediately commenced the practice of his pro-

fession in the City of Kingston. The leading members of the Bar of Kingston were Mr. (Sir) John A. Macdonald; the Hon. Alexander Campbell, Senator of the Dominion of Canada; the late Thomas Kirkpatrick, Q.C., M.P.; and the late Sir Henry Smith, Q.C. Mr. O'Reilly, in a short time, secured a large and lucrative practice, and at one Assize held no less than eighty-seven briefs on the civil side of the Court, besides a number of criminal cases in which he was engaged as leading counsel.

His first important capital case created much public notice at the time from the extraordinary circumstances connected with the alleged commission of the crime. After two days' investigation of the evidence the Jury acquitted the prisoner, and Sir James Buchanan Macaulay, the presiding Judge, paid a high compliment to the young advocate for the skill and ability shown in the defence of his client. Shortly after this he was associated with Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, Q.C., now Judge of the County Court of the County of York, for the defence in the case of the Queen *vs.* Mrs. Smith, for poisoning by strychnine. The prisoner, after an extraordinary effort on the part of her counsel, was acquitted. So great was the public indignation at the escape of the prisoner that a guard had to accompany her to the American steamer to save her from the violence of the people. Mr. O'Reilly shared largely in the prestige of the acquittal. The case attracted considerable notoriety in England, and was reported in the *Medical Journal* as the first in the Colonies for murder by strychnine where the colour test—well known to chemists—was employed.

When Mr. McKenzie, Q.C., brought a libel suit against the publisher of the *Daily News*, Kingston, for an alleged libel on his professional character, Mr. O'Reilly was opposed by the late Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron, Q.C., yet he won a verdict for the plaintiff and \$250 damages; a sum at that time considered large damages, especially as against a public journalist.

Next to the celebrated McGee case, that of the Queen *vs.* Mrs. Bridget Farrally, for the murder of her brother-in-law by poisoning, is the most remarkable. The case was tried at the spring assizes of 1867, in the County of Victoria. The plea was that of insanity, which was one of the first cases known either in Canada or the old country where a plea of insanity proved successful

in a charge of homicide by poisoning; the fact of the administration of poison to procure death requiring forethought and design would seem to be incompatible with the presence of insanity at the time of the commission of the offence.

In September, 1868, Mr. O'Reilly was appointed crown prosecutor in the case of the Queen *vs.* Whelan, for the murder of D'Arcy McGee. A warm personal friend, a devoted admirer and follower of the murdered statesman, Mr. O'Reilly worked indefatigably in preparing for the trial, which lasted seven days and ended in the prisoner being found guilty and suffering death.

In the course of his speech O'Reilly used the following language very characteristic, but perhaps too warm for a prosecutor who should prove his case up to the hilt but show no feeling:—

“God forbid that the man who committed the foul deed should not suffer the just punishment consequent upon his crime. The people of this country desire to see the murderer punished; the press unanimously agree that every effort should be made to lay bare the murder, and if I have been instrumental in drawing it to light I shall go down to my grave satisfied that I have tracked the felon who killed D'Arcy McGee.” Again alluding to the manner in which the assassin accomplished his work, he said:—“Who saw him?—God in heaven saw him on that beautiful night when all heaven was lighted up, on that night when a dastardly deed was perpetrated which will bring down the vengeance of God and man.”

Mr. O'Reilly served in the Council of Kingston as an alderman for many years, being elected almost unanimously after a residence in that city for one year and a half. He was often urged to enter political life, particularly during the local general elections in 1867. In 1864 he was appointed a Queen's Counsel and succeeded the late Mr. A. J. Macdonnell as recorder of Kingston, which office he continued to fill until it was abolished in 1869 by the Local Government of Ontario. He was a bencher of the Law Society and in 1869 he was called to the bar at Quebec. For many years he was president of the St. Patrick's Society of Kingston. His full length portrait was presented to him by the Corporation at the time of the “Trent” affair when he raised a company of volunteers. He held for several years a commission in the active

militia, and in 1872 retired with the rank of Major. He was otherwise identified with the interests of the surrounding district, having been a director and the standing counsel of the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company.

In 1872 he was elected to the Dominion Parliament for South Renfrew and sat during the short life of the second Parliament. Upon the dissolution in 1874 he refused again to enter political life, which interfered too much with his profession. He was a devoted admirer of Sir John Macdonald, and but a few days before his death expressed high admiration for that statesman.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Mr. O'Reilly, having for thirty years been a public man, looked forward to a seat upon the Bench and comparative relaxation from labour. Alluding to his prospects not long before his death, he expressed satisfaction at having been assured that had Sir John Macdonald's Government remained in power, it was their intention to elevate him to the Bench whenever a vacancy should occur. He was a fine manly fellow; amiable; a shrewd observer of human nature; of great perceptive powers, and although a strong believer in the religion of his forefathers, bigotry, intolerance or prejudice were entirely foreign to his nature; he judged a man's practices, not mere professions, and frequently alluded when discussing this point to the noble lines of Thomas Moore—

“ Shall I ask the brave soldier who fights by my side,  
In the cause of mankind, if our creeds agree ? ”

Mr. O'Reilly was one of the wittiest members of the legal profession in the Dominion; he frequently convulsed the Bench, Bar and public, and at times fairly laughed cases out of court. A few years ago *Harper's Monthly* published a number of his witticisms, alluding to him as a distinguished member of the Canadian Bar. His was an active life. Canada's able men have seldom found a bed of roses to rest on after the labours of their early days and prime; so it was with James O'Reilly. Dispensing charity like a prince—charity without ostentation—he found it necessary to work indefatigably at his profession, going circuit regularly, and toiling over briefs. By his death the Bar of Canada lost a distinguished member and the poor of Kingston

a good friend: an amiable wife and an attractive family lost an affectionate, thoughtful husband, and an indulgent father. I will not trust myself to describe his death—his advent to a happy home after a successful circuit—his complaining of a slight pain in the head—speaking affectionately to his wife—the breaking of the silver chord during her momentary absence from the room—and her return—the wild cry of sorrow—over this scene of tragedy and breaking hearts I must cast a veil.

I have spoken above of his wit. He was at one time entrusted with the brief for the plaintiff in a breach of promise case. His client was an elderly cook. She was fat as every good cook should be. Her face was red. She had lost one eye. Her lover was a man of humble station. O'Reilly had an inspiration. He proved that the defendant used to visit the plaintiff and sigh, protest and eat, that moreover during his acquaintance with the cook he had gained not less than forty pounds in weight. He put in two photographs of the defendant. One, taken before his days of courting, showed him lean and hungry; the other plump as a peach and fat as an over-fed lap-dog. "To whom," asked the advocate who had evidently read the Merchant of Venice, "do these forty pounds belong if not to my client?" The jury convinced that the woman had a claim to at least a portion of the plaintiff and evidently estimating adipose tissue at \$5 a pound gave her a verdict of \$200.

The member for Kingston in the Local House, Mr. William Robinson was born in Ballymony, County Antrim, in 1823. He came to Canada and settled at Kingston in 1846. He is President of the Kingston and Marmora Railway. He was an Alderman of Kingston for sixteen years and held the office of Mayor for 1869-70. He was first returned to Parliament in 1871, and re-elected at the last general election.

Henry Cunningham, of the wealthy firm of Cham and Cunningham—both Irishmen—has been Mayor of Kingston, as also has been William Ford, whose son, R. M. Ford, is President of the Board of Trade, as was William Harty, prominent among Kingston merchants.

In 1864, a very noble character in his way died at Kingston. Matthew Rourke was born in Armagh, in 1796. He emigrated to

this continent in 1817, and remained for a short time in the State of New York, where he met his wife, Mary Malloy, a young woman from his own country, pious, of great attractions and amiability. Soon after marriage he removed into British territory, and settled at Kingston where he commenced business. His path at that time was not strewn with roses. But Rourke was made of a fibre which does not quail before difficulties. By force of character and integrity he succeeded. He was emphatically a self-made man. He brought to the battle of life nothing but his keen Irish intellect and his indomitable will. He not only made a fortune, he gained the confidence and respect of all classes of his fellow citizens. His career is a triumphant answer to those who assert that the Irishman in this country has not the ability to raise himself to prominence. He occupied many of the positions of trust in the gift of his fellow citizens. He was a man of a charitable disposition, as the poor and the leading Roman Catholic institutes of Kingston experienced. Like nearly all his countrymen, he was blessed with a large family; his excellent wife bearing him twelve children, seven of whom survive. Three of his daughters embraced the conventual life. Of his sons, Daniel, the eldest, and John, ex-alderman of Kingston, are the proprietors of the well known Kingston Mills, a splendid property situated on the Rideau, not far from Kingston. They employ a large number of men. Shrewd business men, they are an example in the interest they manifest in all that concerns the welfare of their workmen—a duty which capitalists neglect at their peril. No man, or class of men, can with impunity treat their brother men, as “hands.” This brings its retribution in the hardening effect on the capitalist himself, in the emphasis of class distinctions with all their dangers, in those periodical wars between the rich and the poor, and in the long run, revolutions with their bloody train of ghastly disasters.

The youngest son, Francis, is a Doctor in Montreal. He gained much experience during the American civil war. He has invented a plan for exhausting sewers of sewer gas, which is thought highly of by scientific men.

In Percy we find a representative man—a namesake of the late James O'Reilly, but apparently no relative.



James O'Reilly, born of Catholic parents, in the Parish of Mourne, near Kilkeel, County Down, in 1800, was one of a large family of sons. He emigrated to Canada in 1830, and having been raised on the sea shore, naturally took to the water, and for the summer worked a "batteau" in Quebec. In the fall he removed to Upper Canada, and in the succeeding August married Ellen Dunne, from the County Kildare. He still clung to the water, working on the old Durham boats. Shortly afterwards he removed to Queenston, where he was for some time in the employ of Hon. John Hamilton. In the summer of 1834, he, with a comrade, Lawrence Cranitch, a native of Cork, set out for Percy to "locate" land. They went by steamer to Cobourg, then but a small village, whence they proceeded on foot to the Township of Percy. They came to view some land owned by the Revd. John Carroll, Point Pleasant, Niagara, but finding neither roads nor neighbours, and being unused to backwoods life, they gave up the prospect in disgust. They had proceeded to Cobourg where they met Mrs. O'Reilly on her way to the backwoods. After gaining some idea of the hardships of the life of the backwoodsman, her husband had sent word that she should remain where she was, but the messenger had delivered a wrong message, viz: to come immediately. Here was a coil. On leaving Queenston, Mrs. O'Reilly had sold at a sacrifice every article of furniture not easily removed; the remainder she had with her. Her husband, after explaining the difficulties to be encountered, and the hardships to be undergone, left the future course to her decision. She, in the spirit of the heroine of Victoria, answered, "In God's name, let us go to the woods." His comrade, Lawrence, or as he was familiarly called, "Larry," decided to throw in his lot with them. They all returned to Percy, where a hospitable Irish Protestant, William, or as he was called "Billy" Wilson received them with the generosity of his race. The two men proceeded to their lot which they occupied in partnership, and began "underbrushing." Now their hardships began. It may, however, be remarked, that throughout the early years of their settlement, the hardship fell principally to the lot of O'Reilly, "Larry" being a bachelor, and free at any time to leave for the "shanties," and having less care and expense. O'Reilly's situation now may be imagined. Living in an old

“lumber shanty” without a door, unless a blanket hung over an opening in the wall may be so described, and with other openings in the centre of the roof—troughs—to permit the free egress of smoke and the ingress of light, as well as wind, rain or snow; with small means and a large stock of inexperience, but with plenty of health and strength, and strong hope for the future, he began to hew from the primæval forest a home which he could call “mine,” where agents, bailiffs and tithe proctors were unknown.

During the following winter, while Larry went to the “shanty,” O’Reilly occupied, with his wife, a house belonging to his friend, “Billy” Wilson, and here his eldest daughter was born. In the spring of 1835, they removed to their new home in the woods, situated six or seven miles from the nearest known settler. They were twelve miles from the nearest store or mill—Percy Mills, now Warkworth—and about thirty miles from a post office. He had to carry the grist on his back twelve miles. Having no team, he had, after underbrushing, to “change works” with some more fortunate settler, that is to say, for one day with a team, he had to work two in return. He had, besides, to earn a living for his family, and as there was no settler near, he had to go to the front of the township, a distance of eight, ten or twelve miles, wherever some one might perchance require rail-splitting, logging, reaping with either the sickle or the like, carrying his pay home on Saturday night. In the mean time his wife remained in the woods with no one to speak to, no company but her infant daughter, unless strolling Indian hunters came for a loaf of bread in exchange for venison. A nightly serenade of wolves did not add to the cheerfulness of the lonely dwelling. But never was the slightest insult offered to her; never was imposition practised, or other advantage taken of her lonely and helpless position by those untutored children of the woods. Perhaps the courage with which she bore hardship and isolation engendered respect in the minds of the aborigines, and was her best shield.

Had these been the extent of the hardships, they would probably soon have surmounted them, as settlers were beginning to come in. But now the bread-winner for the family was stricken down by the great enemy of the backwoodsman—fever and ague.

Other diseases may be thrown off and the former strength recovered, but where the ague takes firm hold of a man his previous strength is never regained. Thus James O'Reilly, the backwoodsman, a man of one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty pounds, with broad chest and erect carriage, who at the age of forty had not known what sickness was, and was as vigorous as when twenty-one, was in three years hopelessly prostrated. He never completely got rid of the ague. During the continuance of the fever, he became delirious; when it passed he frequently fainted, and, though afterwards in good health, never thoroughly recovered his former vigour. It is very easy to realize what difficulties and hardships such sickness entailed. The husband fallen sick, the wife did not escape, and so their substance was consumed. Their furniture, and even clothing, had to be given for doctor's bills.

But all difficulties must have an end, and theirs proved no exception. Settlers came in; roads were built; villages arose in suitable positions; as their family grew up their labour became less onerous, and if not rich, they were independent and respected.

In a pioneer's life there are many points worthy of remark, the most important of which relates to religion and its influence on the lives of the settlers. Thus on O'Reilly's migration to the back-woods there was no minister of his persuasion permanently established nearer than Belleville, a distance of forty miles. There the late Reverend Father Brennan was missionary for immense distances both up and down the lake, and could, therefore, but seldom visit any one locality. The consequence was that many of the people became indifferent or careless. Sometimes eight children of the one mother were baptised at the same time, private baptism having been previously administered. Thus it was a standing joke with an old Protestant friend that he was the "priest" who christened the children of the O'Reillys. Subsequently the settlers in this locality were visited by Father Butler, of Peterborough. The first priest permanently established in their midst was the Reverend Edward Vaughan, who arrived in 1845. Picture the life of a minister of religion in those times. Then buggies were not in use for there were no roads to drive them on, travel being either done on foot or on horseback. His life was not

one of either ease or luxury. Mr. Vaughan's mission included the Townships of Seymour, Percy, Asphodel, Dummer and Belmont, which still remain the same mission. Father Vaughan was soon recalled. By his removal the mission lost a most zealous pastor and charitable man. He was succeeded by the Reverend J. Bernard Higgins, who had kindred difficulties to surmount. In 1852 Father Higgins was removed and the Reverend James, now Vicar-General Farrelly appointed, who erected a priest's house at Hastings, which, when O'Reilly "moved in," had not a house of any kind or a tree cut where the village now stands. At that time there were two wooden churches erected by the present pastor, Reverend John Quirk, one at Hastings and one at Norwood, besides a frame church at Campbellford. Warkworth Church has been enlarged. During Father Vaughan's time any small room would hold the congregation, but now commodious churches are becoming crowded. These churches have been erected almost wholly by the Irish people.

Among the hardships of life in the woods there is hardly anything, as we have already seen, more distressing to the settler than the presence of wolves. Their hideous howling, their treacherous and ferocious disposition, and their destructive habits make them a formidable enemy. Every night sheep, calves, and such helpless animals had to be secured from harm. This was usually done by building a square pen of rails which was then weighted. This pen had what was called a "slip gap" for the admission of the sheep. The space between the rails left the poor shivering animals in full view of their terrible foes. The snow was frequently tramped as solid as a road on all sides of the pen. Wolves hunt in packs. They surround a sheep pen and encourage each other with their dismal howls, seek for entrance, and woe to the poor animals if any weak part is discovered in the pen. The pack usually send out a scout, an old and experienced wolf which will view the ground before a raid is made. In old times the large chimneys were the only means of warming the houses or "shanties" of the settlers. The fire was kept up with wood like cordwood but split somewhat finer, such wood being piled at night at the side of the hearth. At one or two o'clock one morning the family was disturbed by the dog which rushed madly against the

bolted door and then ran off only to return with greater force. O'Reilly arose to see what was the matter. There was a moon. By its light he saw a large wolf that chased the dog. Seizing a stick of wood, and advancing towards the wolf which retreated, he cast the wood at him. The animal deftly dodged the stick and returned after O'Reilly to the door. O'Reilly pelted him with sticks of wood which the wolf cunningly avoided, without leaving his post. Finding stick-throwing to no purpose and bethinking him of an old musket which he possessed, he determined to try that. The musket was not in very good condition having the barrel bent, or as one of his friends said, "built for shooting round corners." He fired without striking the wolf. No sooner was the report heard, however, than every fence corner, stump, and stone seemed alive with dismal howls. On another occasion O'Reilly started before daylight to a neighbouring pond to fish for bass. Having caught a nice string of fish he was returning when he heard on every side of the path through the woods howl answering howl. He was in the centre of a scattered pack. Pulling the fish from the rod on which he had them strung, he cast them away, thinking the wolves would be detained to devour the fish. He soon reached home, and subsequently visiting the place he found the fish untouched. Wolves evidently are not fond of fish.

Bear stories are plentiful. While laid up with ague, O'Reilly had a hired man, who proved a lazy fellow. He frequently neglected to do work which should have been done. Some wheat in the stack having become wet and sprouted was taken down and set around to be given to the pigs. The man, one night after dark, acknowledged that he had not fed the pigs, and was despatched to do so. What was his horror on, as he supposed, seizing a sheaf of wheat, to find that he had a live bear by the shaggy coat. Bruin gave an angry growl and left.

An old Indian Chief, Penashie, with his two grandsons, started out on a hunt in the woods. The old man proceeded to the flat while the boys took the ridge. After advancing some time the old Indian discovered a cub on a tree, and rashly fired. He only wounded the young bear, whose cries brought the mother to its assistance before the Indian could reload his gun. The bear immediately "went" for the Indian, who, for his age, used his feet

in a very lively manner. Knowing that he would be caught if he moved in a straight line, he ran in circles round a large basswood, closely followed by the bear. Such a race could have but one end. But luckily the young men had been attracted by the report and came running to see what their grandfather had shot. They found him not the hunter but the hunted. They shot the bear and none too soon, as the old man was completely exhausted.

Two white hunters named Perry, with a horse and a small dog were going through the woods, and seeing a cub in a tree, although wholly unarmed, determined to take it home in a bag which they happened to have with them. One of them climbed the tree whose branches approached the ground. On the approach of the man the cub began to cry, which brought the mother to the foot of the tree. Here she proceeded to climb after the man but was seized by the dog in the rear, which so exasperated her that she turned to punish his temerity. Immediately letting go and keeping out of her reach, he returned on her attempting to climb the tree, and thus kept her employed until the man had bagged the cub and handed it from the limbs to his comrade on horseback below. He then dropped on to his horse and left the field.

Nearly all the early settlers were distinguished for their kindness to each other during sickness and more especially the Irish and Scotch settlers. In spite of religious and political prejudices and in defiance of contagion, the sick were tended with the utmost care.

There was another trait of character not so praiseworthy. Many of the early settlers contracted a pernicious habit of "visiting," or as it used to be called "cabin hunting." Thus the wife with the "baby" would go to see some of her neighbours, and have "tea," which would consist of all the "good things" that their scanty means could afford, and very often at the expense of their future necessities. The husband went in the evening to carry home the baby.

There was another trait among Irish settlers, a curse entailed by landlord oppression and by the system of "tenant-at-will." They were very backward in making good permanent improvements, usually putting up some temporary affair that "will do for this year." Like the children of Israel they required one genera-

tion of free life in the wilderness to eradicate the canker of slavery. These anecdotes and observations I have learned from Mr. O'Reilly's son, who also tells me of kindnesses shewn him during disease and trouble by a Scotch Presbyterian family. Angus was the name of these good Samaritans.

Among the builders up of Belleville and the neighbourhood were : Wm. Alford, John Allan, Geo. Armstrong, T. Atkins, — Buckley, Col. Wm. Bell, S. Briton, H. Bulgar, R. Bullen, — Burke, W. Beatty, Robt. Bird, — Brennan, Rev. J. Campbell, S. Carroll, Jas. Coulter, R. Cummings, Rev. J. Cochrane, — Callaghan, D. Crombie, — Deagan, — Doherty, J. Donaghue, A. Dunn, — Dacey, P. Fahey, Francis Fargey, Robt. Francis, J. English, R. German, Rev. Jno. Grier, John Graham, Charles Hayes, Jas. Harrison, J. J. Haslett, Dr. Wm. Hope, — Horam, — Hanley, M. Jellett, P. Johnson, — Jones, J. Kerr, S. Nyle, J. Kennedy, — Larkin, D. Lawler, P. Lynch, Wm. Morton, Jno V. Murphy, A. Manahan, H. McGuire, Jas. McDonnell, J. Meagher, Jacob Moore, — McCreary, Wm. McDavid, J. McConohey — Mormacy, W. McCowan, J. Garvey, W. McInnich, J. McMamara, J. McAnnary, H. McGinnis, M. Nulty, C. O'Brien, Saml. Orr, P. O'Reilly, — O'Donnell, Jno. Patterson, W. Perkins, Jas. Power, — Prentice, M. Ryan, R. Tanderson, J. Shannon, — Shanks, P. Shehan, — Sennett, Jas. Stead, Dr. R. Stewart, O. Shaughnesey, — Shea, D. Sullivan, Wm, Templeton, Gordon Thompson, — Tracy, Wm. Watt, — White, Jas. Whiteford.

In Dundas and Brantford and Hamilton we have a large Irish population. In Hamilton, Mr. John Barry, who came to this country many years ago, is an eminent Irish barrister, who has won the confidence of his fellow-cicizens as alderman. Mr Neill O'Reilly is a child of Irish parents, and has brought to great perfection that gift of fluent utterance with which his countrymen are credited. The Stinsons, the Bradleys, and the Murphys took an active part in the first settlement of Hamilton.

Judge O'Reilly, now Master in Chancery, in Hamilton, is probably the oldest settler in that city. The old judge is still full of activity. He did good service in early life as a volunteer soldier in Canada, and as a leading lawyer and judge he performed his part of our great work here.

In writing of the Talbot Settlement, what Irishmen did for London has been indicated. It is not possible, without altering the plan of the book, to do more than mention the names of the prominent early settlers whose families flourish in the capital of the West and the surrounding country. The Hodgins and O'Neals, the Deacons and Shoebottoms, the Talbots and Fitzgeralds, the Waldens, the Langfords, the Gowens, the Stanleys. Freeman Talbot has done more for this part of Canada in the matter of roads than any other man. Then we have the Eadys and Jermyms from Cork, and the Weirs from the North of Ireland; the Westmans, the Ardills, the Guests, the Hobbs. All these have done good work in clearing the wilderness and making comfortable homes for themselves. The Irish are pre-eminent as merchants, lawyers, teachers, and preachers in London. I have not mentioned the Densmores, the Willises, the Ryans, the Dickeys, the Dickinsons. Old Mr. Dickenson boasts one hundred and seven years. Forty years ago those men have carried a bag of wheat on their backs forty miles to get it ground. Dr. Evans was on the London circuit thirty-two years ago, and often slept in a log shanty in which he could not stand upright.

The Fergusons settled in London about fifty-five years ago. They came from the County Cavan. There were only two stores in London at this time. One was owned by the late Honourable G. J. Goodhue and L. Lawrason, the present Police Magistrate. Mr. Tom Ferguson is a son to the eldest of the brothers. William Glass should also be mentioned. His father is still living. The family has been a long time in the country. Col. Shanley, one of the finest old fellows in Canada, is Master in Chancery.

Judge Daniels, formerly of London, was born in the County of Monaghan, and came to this country early. In 1845 he was called to the bar. He was for fourteen years in the Council of London. His father used to keep an inn at the corner of Queen and Yonge Streets, Toronto, a man about four feet high and weighing near 400 pounds. Judge Daniels is full of stories concerning old times in Canada.

The member for London, William Ralph Meredith, LL.B., one of the most promising young men in the Ontario Assembly, is the son of John Cook Meredith, a native of Dublin, who early came



to Canada. Mr. William Ralph Meredith was born at Westminster, Middlesex, Ontario, in 1840, and was educated at the London Grammar School and the Toronto University. He was called to the bar in 1861, and ten years afterwards was elected a member of the Law Society. He is a member of the Senate of Toronto University. He was first returned to Parliament in 1872. He is a Liberal Conservative. His father, Mr. John Cook Meredith is Clerk of the Division Court. Two of the brothers are lawyers. The ladies of the family are remarkable for their beauty.

Mr. Hugh Macmahon, of London, is one of the most enlightened Irishmen in the Dominion and uses his voice and pen to promote that cordial feeling between his countrymen which it is so desirable should exist in their own interest and in the interest of Canada. On the penultimate day of July he wrote to the London *Free Press* a letter, which it would be well for many Irishmen if it were graven on their hearts.

Nathaniel Currie was the first representative of West Middlesex in the local House. He came to Canada early. The Hon. Marcus Talbot, sometime M. P. for East Middlesex was lost in the "Hungarian." Strathroy was founded by an Irishman, Mr. Buchanan, the son of the English Consul at New York. He called the place after his father's farm in the County Tyrone, where there is now a post village of the same name. The English's settled in London and afterwards at Strathroy. James and John English are well known men. John English is rapidly winning the confidence of his fellow citizens, and may one day be called on to play a public part.

The picturesque Town of Guelph was largely built up by Irishmen. In 1828 Mr. Timothy O'Connor settled on a farm in the Township of Eramosa. At that time there were but few settlers in the vicinity, and only five houses in what is now the town. Archdeacon Palmer shortly afterwards emigrated to Guelph, and the town gradually advanced. Many Irishmen put down their stakes, amongst whom the Mitchells, the Heffernans, the Chadwicks, the Carrolls and others were prominent, and one or more members of their families took leading positions. Their children are now engaged in various pursuits, and are doing their part towards building up the country. In 1849 Mr. Timothy O'Connor moved

to Guelph Township. He had seven sons and two daughters. The eldest is the proprietor of the Queen's Hotel; the second a prominent farmer; the third a manufacturer; the fourth a lawyer; the fifth who distinguished himself at Fordham College, New York, is the manager-in-chief of an extensive New York manufacturing house. The oldest of the Mitchell family has filled the Mayor's chair in Guelph; the second is a merchant; the third a minister; the fourth a lawyer. Heffernan Brothers are successful dry-goods merchants. The Carrolls are farmers, seven fine men, all over six feet high. Mr. Carroll was an extensive builder, and reputed the wealthiest man in Guelph. One of the most prominent Irishmen in the town is Mr. James Hazelton, one of the Hazletons of Cookstown, Ireland. This gentleman was several times president of the St. Patrick's Society. By his energy and industry he has amassed considerable wealth. There are besides, the Dorans, the Grahams, the Sweetnams, the Mays, the O'Donnells.

I had almost forgotten John Craven Chadwick, fourth son of John Craven Chadwick, of Ballinard, Tipperary, who settled at "Cravendale," near Ancaster, County Wentworth, in 1836, and removed thence to Guelph in 1851, where he still resides. He served on the Niagara frontier during the rebellion of 1837-8, as a volunteer, in Capt. Alexander Mill's troop of cavalry. Subsequently he held a commission in 1st Regiment of Gore Militia. He has been twice named in the Commission of the Peace for the County of Wellington. He served as a delegate to the Diocesan Synod of Toronto, almost continuously, from 1853 until the separation of the Diocese of Niagara from that of Toronto, when he was appointed by the Bishop of Niagara as a member of the Corporation of Trinity College, Toronto. He is a Vice-President of Guelph St. Patrick's Society. He has four sons, viz., John Craven Chadwick, residing near Guelph; Frederick Jasper Chadwick, of Guelph, who has taken an active part in political and municipal affairs for some years, and is Mayor of Guelph this present year, 1877. He also has been President of Guelph St. Patrick's Society. Edward Marion Chadwick, of Toronto, Barrister-at-Law, Honorary Major and Captain in the Queen's Own

Rifles ; Austin Cooper Chadwick, of Guelph, Junior Judge of the County of Wellington.

An old resident of Guelph is Colonel Higinbotham, the member in the Dominion Parliament for North Wellington. Born in the County Cavan, in 1830, he was educated at the National School there, and afterwards by the Rev. Wm. Little, of Cootchill. He early came to Canada and settled at Guelph, where for twenty years he carried on business as chemist and druggist. He is President of the Guelph St. Patrick's Society. He was a member of the Town Council of Guelph for many years, and on several occasions has held the office of Deputy Reeve and Mayor. He has been long connected with the Volunteer movement. He joined the active force in 1856, and was for four months on the frontier on the occasion of the first Fenian raid. He commanded the 30th Battalion Rifles (ten companies) from its organization until 1872, when he retired, retaining the rank of Captain. He was first returned to Parliament in 1872. He is described in "Mackintosh" as a Liberal, and a supporter of the Mackenzie Administration.

I have now put the reader in a position to judge of the character of the Irish migration prior to the rebellion of 1837. I have not scrupled to complete a subject by giving particulars which relate to the present time. While showing what kind of settlers Ireland sent here, I have also shown what were the difficulties which had to be surmounted by all the settlers, whether Scotch, or English, of those early days. Founded as much of the information is, on the experience of the pioneers, told by themselves either in conversation or by letter, or else on the testimony of their children, in this and the preceding chapters, we have historical material of the highest value. These chapters will have enabled the student of Canadian history to realize the early beginnings of our national existence in the era anterior to politics ; he will have been prepared for the impending struggle into which we are about to enter ; he will have been supplied with a part, and not the least valuable part, of the data by which he must judge the character, physical, mental, and ethnological of our present population ; he will have been put in possession of not the least suggestive facts by which he must appraise, if he will appraise justly, the claims of a great people. Other facts remain to be told, more in-

teresting, perhaps, but not more suggestive. I shall have, by-and-bye, to describe the post-rebellion Irish immigration, with all the cultivating and refining influences which came in its train. But before doing that, the most stirring and instructive events in our annals will have to be recounted more fully than has yet been done by anybody, but not more fully than they deserve—the heroic struggle against a tyrannical oligarchy, the birth amid bitter throes of our constitutional life.

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## CHAPTER IX.

I proceed to pass in review an eventful period during which many of the greatest men Canada has produced rose to their full stature. If we have in us the spirit of our sires, if we are made of the fibre of which ancestors should be made, if we have such hearts as are the fit foundation stones of nations, these men built for themselves an everlasting name.

In those years two young men came into prominence who were destined to play great parts, who are still amongst us, whose hands have done much to mould this young country, but whose career and character it will not fall to my lot to paint. I speak of Sir John Macdonald and the Honourable George Brown. I

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[Authorities for Chapter IX.—Gourlay's Works; Lord Durham's Report; Newspapers; "Travel and Transportation," by Thomas C. Keefer, C. E., in "Eighty Years' Progress from 1781 to 1861;" "Historical Sketch of Education in Upper and Lower Canada," by J. George Hodgins, LL.D., F.R.G.S., in "Eighty Years' Progress from 1781 to 1861;" "Schools and Universities on the Continent," by Matthew Arnold; "The Emigrant to North America;" "McMullen's History;" Kaye's "Life of Lord Metcalfe;" "Our Portrait Gallery" in the *Dublin University Magazine*; Willis's "Sketches in Canada;" Sir R. Bonnycastle's "Canada and the Canadians;" "Biography of the Hon. W. H. Merritt, M.P.;" Original sources: "Salmon-Fishing in Canada," by a Resident, edited by Colonel Sir James Edward Alexander, Knt., K.C.L.S., 14th Regiment, with illustrations; London: Green, Longman & Roberts, 1860. This is dedicated to an Irishman, Lieutenant-General Sir William Rowan, K.C.B., Colonel 19th Regiment, lately commanding the forces and administrator of the Government of Canada. Hansard.]

shall, however, have to allude briefly to the parts played by these gentlemen in the great struggle ; briefly, because I am dealing with Canadian history from a special standpoint, and yet that special stand-point will not prevent me treating the period on which we are now entering in the broad epic spirit of history. Singularly happy for this work is it, that the two great periods of Canadian history were controlled by Irish genius. In other parts of the book—

“ We must tread a tamer measure  
To a milder homelier lyre.”

and this little essay, from first to last, is but a tributary to the great river of history, and may one day be lost in its capacious stream. But the rivulet can quench the thirst of the faint, and refresh the weary limb ; in its depths gems serene of ray may rest ; the precious ore be cast up on its shores ; beautiful lives glide through its crystal arcades ; and this little book may likewise refresh, and inspire, and correct, and in the future even, speak fruitfully to men, undeceive the deceived, recall the betrayed from the mazes of betrayal, and help in that straightening, setting-up process, which I think is going on, and which years of slavery and a propaganda of passion and ignorance have made so necessary. It is better to be useful than famous. If these humble pages do a good day's work, others will take up the thread ; echo will answer echo ; an influence unknown and unthought of will live in the lives of Irishmen, nay, of all Canadians, when the hand that traces these letters will be a clod of the valley. Beautiful results will bloom around, because wounded feelings have been healed, drooping hopes invigorated, noble ambitions kindled, charity diffused, justice vindicated, the truth told.

The rebellion of 1837-8, and the union of the two Canadas, were but incidents in the great struggle for responsible government, of which the foundation was laid in the closing years of the eighteenth century. But the structure rose slowly amid difficulty and strife. The building was a roofless shell until 1841, and the coping stone was not placed until six years afterwards.

Early, in both Lower and Upper Canada, inevitable difficulties arose out of the fact that popular government was allied with personal government, qualified by the cupidity of a second chamber.

A tendency towards independence in Lower Canada, and a dispute between the provinces respecting import duties, led the Imperial Parliament to attempt a solution by a Union Bill, which, while conceding the claims of Upper Canada in respect to import duties, leaned strongly in the direction of making the Executive independent of the Assembly, a measure which caused much alarm among the people of French origin in Lower Canada. At a time, when the great question whether Frenchmen are fit for parliamentary government, is still discussed, it would be instructive to study the period now before us, in Lower Canada, and to note how much better, men of French descent understood the genius of popular institutions, than the English governors, or indeed English statesmen, always excepting, to go back nearly a quarter of a century, that extraordinary man Charles James Fox, whose genius made the future present, and the distant near.

In Lower Canada, in 1825, the estimates were laid before the Assembly without any distinction between the funds appropriated by the Crown, and the supplementary vote required from the House. The next year, Lord Dalhousie having returned from his short leave of absence in England, great indignation was created by the estimates being laid before the Assembly in two classes, and its fancied power over the Executive destroyed. With French Canadians of talent excluded from office; the mass of the people speaking a language alien to the Imperial isles; favouritism; seigniorial rights; what could be expected but discontent on the part of a Province, now numbering four hundred and twenty thousand souls, and opposition and protest on the part of a chamber whose functions were reduced to the level of farce?

In Upper Canada, the Crown and Clergy Reserves which interfered with the settlement of the Province, as Mr. Talbot points out very eloquently in his book, and other abuses, created discontent. When in 1817, the Assembly wished to inquire into such matters, it was prorogued by the Governor—contemptuous treatment which could have but one result, to aggravate discontent. Amid discontent and discussion, the root of existing evils was seen, and responsible government, in one form or another, began to take outline in thoughtful minds.

About this time a Scotchman named Gourlay, appeared like a

portentous comet on the horizon of "The Family Compact." He was full of inquiries, and full of schemes, and therefore a visitor most unpleasant to those who were farming this great Province for themselves. The foolish Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, instead of seeing that whatever tended to raise discussion, and to foster interest in the country, was calculated to create a public spirit, without which free institutions are a doubtful blessing, levelled a paragraph of a speech from the throne at the head of a persecuted man, who, whatever his eccentricities, had new ideas, which are more valuable to a community than a thousand emigrants, being to it, indeed, what light and sunshine are to the physical world, bringing freshness, opening up lanes of beauty and avenues of wealth. In a population of one hundred and twenty thousand, meetings of delegates were prohibited, in order to hit poor Gourlay. This Act was a couple of years afterwards repealed, under the influence of an impending election. Every year the Reform Party was taking shape and consistency. The General Election of the Autumn of 1825, resulted in an Assembly in which the Family Compact was in a minority, and outside the Assembly the mantle of Gourlay had fallen on William Lyon Mackenzie. Little need be said, especially in this work, of Mackenzie. His story, surely, notwithstanding some faults not an unaffecting one, has been told by an appreciative and able pen.\* It would be ungenerous to deny either Mackenzie or Gourlay, some of the credit for responsible government. But neither of them conceived the idea of responsible government as we enjoy it. Mackenzie advocated making the Legislative Council elective. This, he thought, would remedy all existing evils. Baldwin was the first to see how the knot might be cut, and it is to him we owe our present form of government, and that the country tided successfully over a dangerous crisis.

That there were ample grounds for complaint and agitation in those days may be easily shown. In 1825, a question arose respecting the reporting of the debates of the House of Assembly. A vote was passed to meet the expense, but was dishonoured by the governor. In 1826, a committee was appointed to inquire into

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\* Charles Lindsey.

the expediency of encouraging reporting, with power to send for persons and papers. John Rolph was chairman, and he reported on the 26th of December. It was submitted that in every free country the public had encouraged the reporting of Legislative proceedings, that the English House of Commons had never succeeded in embarrassing or suppressing their publication, that valuable knowledge relating to parliamentary history, the usages and privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people had been derived from such publication, that in the then state of the Province there was not sufficient patronage given to any one journal to reward a reporter for the time and labour which would be consumed in reporting the debates, and that as the vote of the previous years had been dishonoured by His Excellency, it was the duty of the Committee to recommend in the strongest manner such measures for the security and independence of the press as was in the power of the House, and free from the veto or control of the present administration. It is evident from this what was the arbitrary character of the Government in 1826.

Again, on February 14th, 1827, John Wilson, the speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, in the name of the House, addressed His Excellency, saying that they had learned that it was his design to prorogue parliament on the following Saturday. The number and importance of the measures in progress before them and which it would be impossible to despatch by that time induced them to request that His Excellency would be pleased to defer the prorogation to a more distant day. The request was refused, and the House was prorogued on Saturday the 19th.

Sir P. Maitland, in his reply, said it was with reluctance he had in the previous year acceded to a similar request from the Legislative Council. To avoid the occurrence of such a necessity he had that session given an early intimation of the intended time of prorogation. If any unforeseen objects of great moment had presented themselves, he took it for granted that they would have referred to them. If none such had occurred he would rather leave it to the Legislature to resume at a future session any matter not of extraordinary public moment which might be left unfinished, than "produce uncertainty on all future occasions by departing from the day I have named."



At this time we find W. W. Baldwin in parliament, he and Wm. Lyon Mackenzie apparently working together. The Honourable Henry John Bolton, Solicitor-General, was censured by the House for his conduct in what was known as the Hamilton Outrage, and for his bearing before a committee appointed by the House. The reproof of the Speaker is on the journals. Dr. Baldwin was active in bringing Bolton and Allan MacNab before the House.

Dr. Baldwin had a firm grasp of the principles of popular liberty, and he bequeathed his principles as well as his integrity to his son. Indeed his son expressly declares in a letter written to a member of the House of Assembly, with reference to his negotiations with Sir Francis Bond Head, that his opinions were not hastily formed, but were imbibed from his father. The student of the journals of the Upper Canada House of Assembly, will find Dr. Baldwin mooted constitutional questions in 1825. The last most striking glimpse we get of him was at the great Reform demonstration held in Yonge Street, and called the Durham meeting. "The old Doctor," says an eye-witness, "was pulled off the waggon, and they told him it was only his gray hairs saved him. Hincks was there too, and he had to run for his life."

He early removed to Toronto, where his son Robert was born, in 1804. Here, if a Canadian colloquialism is permissible, he went back on *Æsculapius*, and began to court the stern Muse of law. Rather would it be more correct to say that he united medical and forensic practice. He had, so early as 1802, employed himself in the even more useful character of pedagogue. Advertisements appeared in the public prints of those days, saying that Dr. Baldwin, understanding that some of the gentlemen of the Town of York were anxious for the establishment of a classical school, intended to open a school in which he would instruct twelve boys in writing, reading, classics, and arithmetic, the terms for each boy being eight guineas per annum, payable quarterly or half-yearly, "one guinea entrance, and one cord of wood to be supplied by each of the boys on opening the school." A note to the advertisement said that the advertiser would meet his pupils at Mr. Willcocks's house, on Duke Street. The date is York, Dec. 18th, 1802, and the school was to commence on the 1st of January. One of his pupils was the late Chief Justice McLean, who used to tell

how the pupils got a holiday on the birth of the future statesman, in 1804. Dr. Baldwin was, with a number of others, called to the bar without having received any previous training. In connexion with his dual practice, some amusing anecdotes are told. It was not an uncommon thing for him to receive, while engaged in an intricate law suit, a peremptory call to be present at the advent into the world of some who were destined to become well-known citizens of Toronto. The judge would usually adjourn the court, pending the interesting event.

Travelling on circuit in those days was not a pleasant matter. The journey from York to Niagara, when navigation closed, had to be performed on foot, there being no roads or paths for even a single horse. On one such journey Dr. Baldwin lost his way, and was compelled to sleep in the woods all night, and next day swim the River Credit, which was swollen.

There is perhaps but one street in Toronto worthy of its progress and its future. All our streets are too narrow with one exception. But Spadina Avenue is worthy of any capital in the world. This avenue which is one hundred and twenty feet wide was laid out by Dr. Baldwin as an approach to his residence at Spadina, where he fondly hoped a Baldwin would for ever dwell. He wished to found a family, the head of which should draw a princely revenue from an entailed estate. Oddly enough, it was his son who carried through the legislature the bill abolishing the rights of primogeniture. He died in 1844, and another Irishman, Sir Francis Hincks, placed a chaplet on the tomb of one so worthy, so disinterested and so excellent, whose loss was of a magnitude it was difficult to appreciate, and still more difficult to repair.

There had already long entered on the stage of public life one well calculated to repair that loss, who was connected by the dearest ties with the versatile professional man and enlightened statesman, who had thus passed away amid eulogy which was without affectation, and a regret whose universality defied hyperbole. The name of Robert Baldwin is a household word in Canada. But perhaps his character is frequently misapprehended by all classes, and to the rising generation his remarkable career is known only in outline. To a man who was not without fairness and who had a respectable amount of literary ability, the most spotless states-

man Canada has produced seemed an unscrupulous agitator.\* To others his character has appeared weak, because his views on religious questions were what would be called high church. A great hand has, however, demonstrated that we cannot measure the strength of a man's mind by his beliefs within that region which admits of no tests, on which the accumulated experience of mankind throws little or no light, which according to peculiarity of faculty and character assumes such different hues and varying importance, on which some tread as Christ did on the sea, as though it was solid land, and on which others are explorers without compass or chart, wandering voyagers of despair, for whom no guiding star ever glitters and for whom no port is reserved. Mr. Mackenzie, the present prime minister, once spoke of Baldwin as a pure-minded but timid statesman. But the truth is he exemplified in the happiest manner the family motto, "*nec timide nec temere.*" He has been described as a man of one idea; one ideal men are never timid. If he shrank from dealing in a sweepingly radical manner with the Clergy Reserves, it was not timidity held him back, but his scruples. "Alas!" said the Elector Prince Frederick, when the Bohemians would choose him as their King. "If I accept the crown I shall be accused of ambition, if I reject it I shall be branded with cowardice." When at one time it seemed that Mr. Hincks was flirting with the Government, and the Inspector-General at the time called out, "Go it Hincks, we'll take care of you," Baldwin dropped Mr. Hincks a note, telling him to decide at once to which side he belonged. Did this look like timidity? The scathing tongue of Hincks was not a lash a timid man would gratuitously provoke. For a long time he had in the House only a following of seven. He lived to have too many supporters.† But did he shun the wilderness? On the last occasion of his election he was speaking at Sharon, north of Newmarket, when an elector said to him, that they would elect him if he would pledge himself to do away with the Clergy

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\* Bonnycastle's "Canada and the Canadians." Vol. 2, p. 157.

† When at the head of the Government and in the full tide of his success he used to say: "When a government has too many supporters the members of the party are too exacting. Whereas, when there is a strong opposition, you can say—'Oh we cannot do that, we should lose our position.'"

Reserves. Baldwin's reply reminds us of Macaulay's and Mill's, when each was asked about his religious beliefs. "Have I ever," said Baldwin, "pledged myself on any question? I go to the House as a free man. I am here to declare to you my opinions. If you approve of those opinions and elect me I will carry them out in parliament. If I change those opinions I will come back and surrender my trust and give you an opportunity of re-electing me or choosing another candidate." He would go to parliament, not as their delegate, but as their representative. He saw that what French radicals have so often insisted on and their imitators in other countries have preached, the "mandat impératif" degrades the member, and in degrading the member degrades parliament. Not only so. It deprives the country of the best fruits genius has to bestow. Did such language look like that of cowardice? He lost his seat on the next occasion, because he had the courage of his opinions. There was a person in North York named Pearson, a very strong local man. This important individual called one day on Baldwin and urged his views about the Clergy Reserves. Baldwin was firm respecting his view of the way the question should be settled. His firmness was mistaken for haughtiness. The local magnate was offended, went home, made his ring and vowed Baldwin should be beaten next election. If the constituency was in favour of sweeping away the abuse of the Clergy Reserves and doing this in a way of which Baldwin would disapprove, it was quite right, whatever Mr. Baldwin's past services, to choose another candidate. I have been assured however that but for the supposed offence to Pearson, he would have been again elected. The moral for ambitious candidates is clearly to cultivate local magnates. The moral for the people is that they should think for themselves and rise above sectionalism.

The proposition that, in dealing with the character and capacity of a public man, you have nothing to do with his private life unless his private conduct should interfere with the efficient discharge of his public functions, is incontrovertible. There is a danger even in dwelling on private virtues while the man's career is yet unfinished, because attention is diverted from the real issue of capacity and integrity. Nor has it been uncommon to hear the private virtues of the man pleaded in extenuation of

the inaptitude of the statesman. When it was pleaded for Mr. Percival that he was a good father, Sydney Smith wittily said he had preferred that that gentleman had whipped the little Percivals if he had saved his country. When however a man has passed from the scene, his private character may for a double reason be dwelt on; he is no longer a candidate for public place, and he is beyond hypocrisy. Then if the statesman, or soldier, or poet, or orator has worn the white rose of a blameless private life, it ought to be pointed out. Baldwin was not a man of genius as that term is properly understood. But though he had not the incommunicable gift he seems to have been made of the choicest human clay; no where does this show more beautifully than in his private life. A tenderly affectionate father, as a lover and a husband, this man of somewhat cold and stern manners, takes his place side by side with the heroes of romantic attachments. His wife was the sister of the Hon. Robert Baldwin Sullivan, and therefore his own first cousin. She was singularly beautiful. They were married in 1827; she died in 1836, when he was only thirty-two years of age, and for twenty-two years he cherished her memory, as Petrarch that of Laura, as Dante that of Beatrice. He was accustomed to retire to his room on the anniversary of her death, and meditate and recall in a happy melancholy, the touch of that vanished hand, and hear in the stillness of his sorrow the silvery note of that voice which was forever hushed. I have said he was not a man of genius, but his speeches show power and breadth of argument and sometimes not a little humour. It was he christened Dominick Daly, the permanent secretary, the Vicar of Bray of Canadian politics, the lily of the valley.\* He had that which Cicero says is one of the greatest powers an orator can have, authority. At a reform demonstration which took place in the County of Hastings, on the 17th Feb., 1848, a speaker said he had been asked how it was that Mr. Baldwin carried conviction when he had so little of the orator about him. The reply was, "I am not surprised when I consider the patriotic and able course

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\*Coming to the character of the Hon. Dominick Daly, he (Mr. Baldwin) stopped and asked what he should say of him. That honourable gentleman said he is like the lily of the valley—he toils not, neither does he spin. Really we can afford to make him a present to the government (loud laughter)." Parliamentary report.

he has pursued in public life." His reading was not wide, but his literary taste was good. Moore was his favourite poet. The same fervour which carried conviction to political audiences persuaded juries. They felt he was a man who dared not lie. Mr. James Stitt used to travel with him on his electioneering tours, and he has often heard him say:—"I would rather never be elected at all than tell an untruth to one of these men." His life has something of the completeness and beauty of a well-kept garden, where tree, and hill, and stream balance each other, where if there is no sublimity there is no deformity, where the air has no wild stimulus of the mountain breeze, no smiting thrilling power of ocean wave, but only the domestic purity of the well-kept home. Milton was a disagreeable husband and a harsh father; Howard could turn away from his philanthropic labours to play the tyrant in his own house, and to invent the dreadful system of solitary confinement; Marlborough was a miser and a corruptionist; the victor of Trafalgar was the slave of a childish vanity; Wolfe was at times a vain-glorious boaster; Pitt was too fond of the bottle; the heroic William was unfaithful to his wife; the youth of Alfred was stained by dissipation. But though Baldwin was neither a Milton, nor a Marlborough, nor a Pitt, but a brave wise statesman who was equal to the demands made on him by his country, if we cannot claim for him that his life was as splendid as that of those great men, we can that it was more balanced.

Baldwin was born on the 12th of May, 1804, on the north-west corner of Frederick Street and Palace (now Front), at the house of his grandfather, Mr. Willcocks. This gentleman was a native of Cork, who in 1790 conceived the project of founding a settlement in Canada. He was promised a township, on condition that he should settle it with emigrants. When he arrived with his emigrants as far as Oswego, he found that the Government had rescinded the Orders in Council. Of the emigrants he had brought out he sent back at his own expense as many as wished to return. Those who were so disposed dispersed themselves throughout the United States, while he and his family came to Canada and received allotments of land. Dr. Baldwin, shortly after coming to Canada, married a daughter of Mr. Willcocks, by

whom he had five sons, two of whom survived him, Robert and William Augustus.

Robert was called to the bar in the Trinity Term of 1825, and practised with his father under the name of Baldwin & Son. They afterwards associated with them Robert Baldwin Sullivan. Robert early became a member of the Osgoode Society, and at his death held the office of Treasurer. He knew the value of a high character to the profession, and as a bencher was very strict in enforcing professional rules. We have seen how he early married his cousin. He had by her two sons and two daughters. One of the daughters married the Honourable John Ross. One of the sons chose the sea for a profession. The eldest son, W. Willcocks, occupied for some time a large farm handed down from his great grandfather, Mr. Willcocks.

In 1824 he ran for the County of York with James E. Small, afterwards Judge of the County of Middlesex, but both were defeated by Messrs. Ketchum and Mackenzie. In the following year, Mr. John B. Robinson, who then represented York (Toronto), vacated his office of Attorney-General, and his seat in Parliament, on becoming Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench. Baldwin came forward, his opponent now, being, oddly enough, Mr. James E. Small. Baldwin was returned but lost his seat on petition, there being an informality in the Writ which was issued by the Lieutenant-Governor, instead of by the Speaker of the House. This was one of the first protests against personal, and in favour of parliamentary, government. Mr. Baldwin, on again presenting himself was again elected. The next year, on the death of George IV., parliament was dissolved, and Mr. Baldwin on seeking re-election was defeated by Mr. Jarvis\* whom he had beaten twelve months before. From that period until the Union he did not seek a seat in Parliament; but he continued to watch the progress of events and never ceased to contend that so long as the executive officers were independent of the people, no change in the character of the Legislative Council would be other than illusory, or as he

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\* Mr. W. B. Jarvis, then, and for many years afterwards sheriff of the Home District and afterwards of the County of York.

sometimes put it, that the Executive Council to be effective should always be able to command the support of the Legislative Assembly. We have here the key note to his whole political career. He laboured to make the Executive dependent on the will of the people, when such a claim was denounced as revolutionary. It was to secure this object as we shall see, that he fought with such unbending purpose, that generous, noble character, but reactionary governor, Lord Metcalfe, with his ideas of Government borrowed from India and Jamaica.

In 1835, Baldwin visited England and the Continent. While in England he carried on a correspondence with Lord Glenelg, the Minister for the Colonies—for he was denied an interview—urging the necessity of giving the Canadian people a real constitution instead of the sham by which they were mocked. On his return to Canada, he found Sir Francis Bond Head at war with the Assembly and with popular opinion. Influenced perhaps by instructions from home, and perhaps by a sincere desire to serve the Province, Sir Francis Head determined to have an Executive Council composed of the leaders of both parties. He was confessedly no politician. We have had for many years in our midst a distinguished man who is not only infinitely superior to Sir Francis Head as a literary man, but is a veteran political writer. He has contended for government without party, but has never explained the manner in which such a government could be worked under a constitutional system. When Head made overtures to Baldwin, Baldwin said he would afford him assistance on condition that he had his entire confidence, and that responsible government should be established; pointing out that under responsible government His Excellency would have the full power of a constitutional king, which was all that the Canadian constitution, properly understood, gave him; that he would always have the right to accept or reject the advice of any of his executive councillors, they of course resigning on their advice being rejected. "His Excellency," says Baldwin in his letter to Mr. Perry, "very candidly declared his entire dissent from such views and opinions. He, nevertheless, with the most gracious expression of satisfaction at the very full and candid manner in which I had opened them to him, renewed his solicitation for my accept-



ance of a seat in the Executive Council, suggesting as an inducement for such acceptance the increased facilities which my place in the Executive Council would afford me towards the more efficiently representing and urging my views." Baldwin told him that no administration could give him much assistance that had not the confidence of the majority of the Provincial Parliament, and that he did not think this confidence could be obtained without more help than his single name would bring. In the second place he said he had no confidence, politically speaking, in the existing councillors, all of them Tories. These were, Peter Robinson, Commissioner of Crown Lands, G. H. Monkland, Inspector General, and Joseph Wells, Bursar of King's College. After a consultation with Dr. Baldwin and Dr. Rolph, Robert Baldwin declined to enter the Government.

The Lieutenant-Governor again sent for him and requested him to state more explicitly what the assistance was to which he had alluded. Baldwin replied that the assistance of Dr. Rolph, Mr. Bidwell, his father, and Mr. Dunn was most desirable. After further negotiations Baldwin, with his friends Rolph and Dunn, were sworn in. The new councillors, as we have seen, did not conceal from the Lieutenant-Governor their views as to the propriety of the Executive Council being consulted in all public affairs. They patriotically gave Sir Francis Head a trial, especially as he urged that in the Council they would have more opportunity of advancing their views. Sir Francis began to make appointments on his own responsibility—appointments which were censured by the Assembly. The duties of the Council were restricted to land matters, and they were kept in ignorance of administrative acts for which, nevertheless, public opinion held them responsible. Contrary altogether to the expectations of the Lieutenant-Governor, of the House of Assembly, and of the public, the old members of the Council joined the new in signing a remonstrance against a system of government under which the sworn councillors were kept studiously in the dark as to the proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor. It can scarcely be doubted that Sir Francis Head expected that he would have the support of the three councillors who had been for years acting under the old irresponsible system. He, however, did not hesitate as to his.

course, which was to require his councillors either to abandon their principles or to forfeit his confidence. The result was the resignation of the entire Council, and a breach between Sir Francis Head and the House of Assembly, which had been but recently elected, and which contained a majority of Reformers.

At this crisis an Irishman stepped prominently forward on the political stage, who was to play a brilliant and even distinguished part, and fill a great space in history, though his career unfortunately leaves on the mind the impression that he was cynically indifferent as to the side he espoused. This impression is in part true, in part false. The weak side of his character comes out in the reply he made to a friend who complimented him on a brilliant speech made on one side of a question. "Yes," he said "it was a good speech, but not half so good as the one I made a year ago from the other point of view." This, however, may have been in part jest. The strong side of his character appears in his large grasp of political issues. Robert Baldwin Sullivan was a contrast to his cousin Robert Baldwin. Intellectually brilliant, and morally weak, he yet did work for Canada which should never be forgotten. He is indeed the most shining figure among the Irishmen who took part in the political struggles which preceded the establishment of parliamentary or, as it has been generally termed in Canada,—Responsible Government. A native of Bandon, in the County of Cork, whence his father emigrated to Upper Canada in the year 1819, when the future statesman was a youth of about eighteen years of age,\* his mother, as we have seen, was a sister of Dr. William Warren Baldwin, and it was owing to the fact that many members of his wife's family had made Canada their home, that Mr. Sullivan's father was led to come here.

Robert Sullivan was for a short time employed in business, his elder brother Daniel, who died soon after arriving at manhood having been destined for the legal profession. Robert soon determined to follow the same career as his brother, and was articled to his uncle Dr. Baldwin about the same time as his distinguished cousin. Mr. Sullivan speedily attained great eminence in his

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\* Morgan, with his usual accuracy, says Sullivan was born in Toronto.

profession, to which he devoted himself most assiduously. At this period of his career he had not taken any active part in politics, although from his family connexions he was looked upon as belonging to the liberal party, with which his uncle and brother-in-law had been identified. Both had, however, in a great measure withdrawn from public life, when R. B. Sullivan entered on his public career. About this time a letter was addressed by Mr. Joseph Hume, M. P., to Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie in which he referred in strong terms to the "baneful domination of the Mother Country," and expressed a hope that the subsisting connexion would soon terminate. This language created intense excitement throughout Upper Canada, and a public meeting was called, the avowed object of which was to unite all classes of the people, who were favourable to British connexion, without reference to home views or questions of domestic policy. On this occasion Mr. Sullivan took a prominent part in opposition to Mr. Mackenzie, who had recently returned from England, whither he had gone on a political mission after his expulsion from the fourth Parliament of Upper Canada.

About this time the City of Toronto was incorporated, and Mr. Mackenzie became its first mayor in the year 1834. During this year Mr. Sullivan took considerable interest in municipal affairs, acting in concert with the minority of the corporation, who were members of the Conservative party. At the next municipal election he became a candidate for St. David's Ward, in opposition to Mr. Mackenzie, and carried his election, after which he was chosen mayor of the city. He was filling that office, and devoting himself most energetically to the improvement of the city, and more especially to its drainage, when Sir Francis Head at the commencement of the year 1836, succeeded Sir John Colborne as Lieutenant-Governor. The earliest acts of the new Lieutenant-Governor, with their results have been recorded.

In the present crisis Sir Francis Head applied for assistance to Mr. Sullivan, whose term of office as mayor had recently expired. Sir Francis Head was evidently desirous to avoid identifying himself with the old official party, and Mr. Sullivan occupied exactly the position that was likely to render him a valuable ally. He had no sympathies with the old party, and yet

he had by a popular vote in the capital city defeated the most active member of the Reform party, and had thus become for the time being the leader of the Conservatives. Sullivan accepted the offer made to him, in conjunction with the Honourable William Allan, Captain (afterwards Admiral) Baldwin, uncle of Robert Baldwin, John Elmsley, and Mr. Cross. Mr. (now Chief Justice) Draper was soon after added. The House of Assembly passed a resolution of want of confidence in the new councillors. The sequel is like a burlesque. Sir Francis and the Assembly entered on a war of words, in which the literary training of the former helped him to extemporise an artillery of Billingsgate, with which the old worn metal of the latter could not compare. In agitation he beat Mackenzie, who beaten at constitutional weapons placed himself at Sir Francis Head's mercy, by leaning, however lightly at first, to rebellion in a Province which was as loyal then as it is to-day. This enabled Sir Francis to impress the people with the idea that the constitution was in danger, and that the edge of the axe was on the rope that bound us to British rule. Not only did the demagogic talents of the Lieutenant-Governor weaken Mackenzie and Bidwell,—men like Baldwin stood completely aside from them. Bidwell was foolish enough to lay before the House a seditious letter of Papineau. The majority of the Assembly still playing into the hands of the Governor stopped the supplies. Government retorted by stopping theirs. Every money bill passed during the session was blocked, including that for the allowances of members. Sir Francis Head prorogued the House, and in doing so scolded the members roundly. He was a vain man, and was delighted with the excitement he had created. Nor was it the less gratifying because an element of it was the shock of disappointment he had given the Liberals. When he arrived some few weeks earlier, the walls were placarded with "Sir Francis Head, a tried Reformer;" words which caused no small surprise to a man who, up to that moment had, as he said himself, no more connection with human politics than the horses which were drawing him. Sir Francis Head's conduct contrasted very unfavourably with that of Lord Gosford in Lower Canada; and if anything could justify Mackenzie it would have been the wild and utterly unconstitutional conduct of the representative of Majesty in Upper Canada.

He dissolved the House, and put before the country, not the issue as to the responsibility of the Executive, but that of the existence of British connexion. "Sir F. Head," says Lord Durham's report, "who appears to have thought that the maintenance of the connexion with Great Britain depended upon his triumph over the majority of the Assembly, embarked in the contest with a determination to use every influence in his power in order to bring it to a successful issue. He succeeded, in fact, in putting the issue in such a light before the Province, that a great portion of the people really imagined that they were called upon to decide the question of separation by their votes."

A most exciting general election took place, at which Baldwin was not a candidate, which resulted in the return of a House of Assembly opposed to the introduction of responsible government. Mr. Sullivan, shortly after his acceptance of office as an Executive Councillor, was created a Legislative Councillor and Commissioner of Crown Lands, which latter office he continued to hold until the Union.

The general election of 1836 was followed by a commercial crisis, one incident of which was the suspension of specie payment by nearly all the Canadian Banks. This involved an extra session of the Legislature, which was speedily followed by the rebellion.

We have already seen how Irishmen of every creed turned out in defence of the British Canadian flag. "The great mass of the emigrants," says Sir Richard Bonnycastle writing in 1846, "may however be said to come from Ireland, and to consist of mechanics of the most inferior class, and of labourers. If they be Orangemen, they defy the Pope and the devil as heartily in Canada, as in Londonderry, and are loyal to the backbone. If they are Repealers, they come here sure of immediate wealth, to kick up a deuce of a row, for two shillings and six pence is paid for a day's labour, which two shillings and sixpence was a hopeless week's fortune in Ireland; yet the Catholic Irish who have been long settled in the country are by no means the worst subjects in this Transatlantic realm, as I can personally testify, having had the command of large bodies of them during the border troubles of 1837-8. They are all loyal and true. In the event of a war, the Catholic

Irish to a man will be on the side of England." The same writer proceeds to pledge himself for the loyalty of the Catholic priesthood.

On the 18th of November, 1837, Mackenzie, Rolph, and Morrison, with others, had decided at a secret meeting on a plan of operations, in unison with Papineau. The rebellious band were to be marched by Yonge Street, on Toronto. The place of rendezvous was Montgomery's tavern; the time, between six o'clock and ten o'clock at night on the 17th of December. Four thousand men were to march on Toronto, seize the arms in the City Hall, and capture the Lieutenant-Governor and his advisers. Rumours had reached Sir Francis Head, of the intended rising, but he was incredulous. On the 2nd of December, our old friend Captain Fitzgibbon learned that quantities of pikes had been collected in the neighbourhood of Markham. Still nothing was done, and one of the Judges was heard to declare that the over zeal of the Captain had given him a good deal of trouble.

How Rolph deranged Mackenzie's plans, who was, with his accustomed energy, hurrying about the country, preparing for the rising; how the insurgent leader learned with dismay, on the 3rd of December, that Rolph had altered the day of attack to the 4th; how with a small force he determined to advance on the city; how at last Sir Francis Head became alarmed, and asked Baldwin to go and meet the rebels with a flag of truce, and ask them what they wanted; all this is well known. Baldwin said he had no objection to go, but he wanted to have some one with him, and suggested Bidwell. Bidwell refused to go, and suggested Dr. Rolph. Dr. Rolph, the "secret traitor," as McMullen calls him, rode out with Baldwin, and was guilty of an act of treachery, which left an undying impression on the mind of the honourable man he had betrayed. When the flag of truce was sent forward, Mackenzie replied they wanted independence, and that the Governor would have to put his message in writing within an hour. Rolph and Baldwin returned with the answer that the Lieutenant-Governor refused to comply with the demands of the insurgents. Dr. Rolph now rode up to Mackenzie, and advised him to wait until six o'clock, and enter the city under cover of night. Rolph had betrayed his friend and his country, and Baldwin never spoke to him again. How the insurgent mob fled before the fire of a picket of

loyalists, need not be dwelt on, nor the further stages of the miserable rebellion. The Irish throughout the country, Protestant and Catholic, turned out from lonely shanty and city home. Fitzgibbon, by his precautionary measures, saved many lives and much money for the country. Thrice the Council generously voted him five thousand acres of land, and thrice was the vote magnanimously disallowed. The Provincial Parliament passed a vote of thanks to him, and presented him with a sword and some money. In 1850, in recognition of his military services, Her Majesty created him a Military Knight of Windsor, and in England, therefore, he passed away the evening of his days. There can be no doubt of the numbers of Irish who turned out, in 1837, for the flag; but it is only fair to state that in the list of those arrested on weak or good grounds, there occur a good many Irish names.

In Lower Canada an important part was played by a comparatively humble man. At the time of the outbreak there was in Quebec something like the same proportion of Irishmen, or men of Irish blood, to the mass of the French Canadians, as there is to-day, and the former were thought likely to join the rebels. Most of them were Catholics who had fled from a land for whose tenants no Gladstone had yet arisen, and when the voice of O'Connell was thundering against England. But though they had not had great advantages in schooling, their mother wit told most of them that there was no excuse for bringing to a new country the quarrels of the old, that here they had all the freedom man could covet, and that it was imperative on them to play a patriotic part, and swell the ranks of the volunteers. There were a few waverers in Quebec, and their numbers were exaggerated in reports to the Government. It would be a serious thing if the Irish swelled the Gallic stream. The moment was critical. In this crisis, distinguished and noble service was rendered to the country by a Catholic Irishman, John Molloy, who, though belonging to humble life, had an influence akin to that of a veritable leader with his countrymen. Molloy was born in Queen's County, and came to Canada in 1822. His character was not unobserved, and when there appeared to be danger that Papineau's misguided ranks would be reinforced by that valour which had won for itself the highest place on the battle-fields of Europe, Sir James Stuart sent for Molloy and said he

must address his countrymen, and urge them to strengthen the volunteers.

It is a vulgar error to suppose that Irishmen are not modest, but it is one which it would, probably, be a waste of time to seek to uproot. There is, however, a universe between clumsiness and modesty, while a diffident character, clothed with versatility, and instinct with nicety of perception, may act in a manner which would prevent observers for ever from reflecting that beneath the bright and strong armour, beats a heart too large not to think lowly of itself. Be the truth about Irish modesty what it may, when Sir James Stuart said: "Molloy, you address your countrymen and urge them to strengthen the volunteers;" the reply he received was: "Sir James, this is no time for joking. You would not ask a man of my humble rank of life to take a prominent part at such an hour." Sir James replied: "Molloy, you are the man we want." Molloy accordingly attended a large meeting of his countrymen, which was called for that evening, and when he came forward to address them grew nervous as even experienced orators will, as indeed Cicero says, the true orator is sure to do for the first few moments. The audience cheered, and Molloy recovered his self-possession, and spoke as follows: "My fellow-countrymen and fellow-citizens, you must not expect refined language from me. Neither must you expect much dignity. But what we want now is reality. It is, indeed, an unexpected thing that a man such as I am should be called on to address"—and here he looked around him—"such an assembly as this, at a time when it is of the most vital importance I should counsel what is right. But I have been called upon. I have obeyed that call, and may the Providence who has found for us Irishmen a happy home on this side of the Atlantic give me fit speech.

"When I arrived in Canada more than thirteen years ago, a total stranger, before I was three days in Quebec, my ears became familiar with expressions which are insults to you. But notwithstanding such expressions of the French Canadians, from English and Scotch I met with the greatest kindness. By George! one day I dined with an Englishman, and we had the roast beef of Old England and French pudding, and the next day I dined with a Scotchman, and we had equally good fare."



The reader will perceive how truly an orator was this comparatively untutored man. He plays on the sensitive pride of a people, easily touched by kindness or moved to resentment by contumely. He had been a good deal about the world and had used his eyes and ears; what he lacked in letters he made up by observation. He proceeds:—

“Sir James, if they would travel other countries as I did and see constitutional principles, see the despotism of France and Spain; the contempt in which the poor man is held by the German aristocrat, the tyranny of ‘Roosha,’ they would come back to the British isles from whose escutcheon I hope the stains of tyranny and the blots of penal enactment will soon be wiped away and they would say: ‘Oh British isles, we love you with all your faults.’ I now take upon myself to assert boldly that Pompey never entered Jerusalem with greater hate and determination to uproot the Jews than the present Clique are to exterminate us from this country.”

Now here with historical allusions which the scholar would not make, and which are in some respect at fault, how effective is the rhetoric.

“But” he went on, “they never will do this. They would drive Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen out if they could. Well, let me remind you that united we stand and divided we fall, or as somebody before me has expressed it in a nobler manner,—

‘United and happy at liberty’s shrine,  
May the rose and the thistle long flourish and twine,  
Round the sprig of Shillalah  
And shamrock so green.’”

Copies of the speech were struck off and circulated in thousands over the lower province and it had a great effect.

Molloy, who had had some military experience, soon joined the volunteers as sergeant. He was then sent on a mission to London where he had interviews with the Duke of Wellington, the late Lord Derby and other leading men.

A very different class of man so far as birth and station go was Colonel G. Hamilton, a native of Meath, who died in consequence of a cold he took while reviewing the reserve company of the

Plantagenet township in the December of 1838. Another Irish name connected in a distinguished manner with Canada at this time is that of Sir W. Rowan, who was military secretary to Lord Seaton, and who ultimately commanded the forces in this country from 1849 to 1855, and administered the government during the absence of Lord Elgin in England.

Sir Francis Head was succeeded by Sir George Arthur, during whose government the American sympathisers kept the whole population, but especially those who resided on the frontier, in a constant state of excitement. The Earl of Durham's mission which was suddenly terminated, the invasions at Windsor, Niagara, Prescott, and in Lower Canada, and the numerous executions in both provinces were events which followed in rapid succession, and which caused great anxiety to the members of the Executive Council.

At this time the condition of the whole of British North America was eminently unsatisfactory. The most serious discontent had hardly yet been calmed in Prince Edward Island; the troubled waves had barely subsided in New Brunswick; the Government was in a minority in the Lower House in Nova Scotia; violent dissensions raged in Newfoundland; in Canada, the representative body was hostile to the Government. It would have been no exaggeration to say that the natural state of government in all these colonies was chronic collision between the Executive and the elected of the people. In all of them the administration of public affairs was habitually confided to those in whom the Assembly would not confide. Constantly the Government was proposing measures which the majority of the Assembly forthwith rejected; as constantly assent was refused to bills which that body had passed.

Such collisions showed a deviation from sound constitutional principles. The present century was born and had learned to use its legs before the people of Lower Canada began to understand the representative system. In time constitutional principles were grasped. But the moment the Assembly sought to put forth its powers, it found how limited those powers were. Then the struggle commenced. From that moment the Assembly was determined to obtain that authority which reason and analogy proclaimed in-

herent in representative bodies. The first incident in the struggle was discouraging. The freedom of speech of the members offended the Governor. The principal leaders were thrown into prison. As in the history of England, so in Lower Canada, the purse was the lever which the Parliament could wield with most effect. In the course of time the Government was led by its necessities to accept the Assembly's offer, to raise an additional revenue by fresh taxes, and the Assembly thus acquired a certain control on the levying and appropriation of the public revenue. From that time until the final abandonment, in 1832, of every portion of the reserved revenue, excepting the casual and territorial funds, the contest was carried on. Every inch the Assembly gained it made use of to gain an ell. Wave by wave it reached the high-water mark of complete control over the revenue of the country.

A cause of contest still remained. The Assembly having obtained entire control of the revenue still found itself deprived of all voice in the choice or even designation of the persons entrusted with the administration of affairs. Public functionaries were independent of it. A body of office-holders entirely independent of the representatives of the people must infallibly acquire a power not short of despotic over a Province, and destroy the usefulness of a Governor and even limit his power. For what happens? A Governor arrives who knows little of the colony, less of the state of parties, nothing of the character of individuals. He has no choice but to place himself in the hands of the officials whom he finds in place and power. From that moment he is at their mercy.

These remarks apply to Upper as well as to Lower Canada, with the difference that from the first the English-speaking settlers in the Upper Province had clear constitutional ideas on the subject of government.

When Lord Durham came here, one of the most versatile men Ireland has given to Canada—the Montague of Canadian Finance—Mr. (now Sir Francis) Hincks commenced the publication of the *Examiner* in Toronto, and by the vigour and incisiveness of his style attracted so much attention that he was invited to stand at the next general election as the Liberal candidate for the County of Oxford. The *Examiner* was the exponent of Responsible Gov-

ernment, and Mr. Hincks had an easy task, especially with his facility as a writer, in proving that Responsible Government was consistent with loyalty to the Crown. This distinguished man to whom whatever he has attempted has seemed easy—journalist, financier, orator, statesman—was born in the City of Cork, on the 14th of December, 1807. His father, the Reverend T. D. Hincks, LL.D., was for many years Head Classical Master and Professor of Oriental Languages in the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, where Francis Hincks, who was the fifth son,\* attended the college classes during the session of 1823-4. Luckily for us the bent of the future statesman was neither divinity, nor archæology, nor natural history, but commerce. There is no school in the world better than Belfast to make a shrewd business man, and the five years he spent in the mercantile house of John Martin & Co., exercised a beneficial influence on his career. When twenty-two years of age he visited the West Indies in a ship belonging to the firm, which was bound for Barbadoes, Demerara and Trinidad. He was then a young, friendless, Irish adventurer. Nobody threw away any notice on him as he stepped ashore at Barbadoes, unless they were struck by his quick eye which

“Took in at once the landscape of the world ;”

yet twenty-five short years, and he was to land at Barbadoes under the salute accorded to the Governor.

His voyage over, he returned to Barbadoes, and while there, made the acquaintance of a Canadian gentleman named Ross, who recommended him to return home by way of Canada. He accompanied Ross to Quebec in 1830, after a short stay at Montreal, still having no intention of remaining in Canada. But the course of our lives is determined by small circumstances ; a scrap of poetry ; glance-seizing pearls shining from between two red lips ;

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\* The whole family was talented. The eldest son, the Rev. Dr. Edward Hincks, once F. T. C. D., sometime rector of Killyleagh in the diocese of Down, obtained a reputation as wide as Christendom as a critic on Egyptian and Assyrian archæology. The second son, the Rev. William Hincks, F. L. S., was for several years Professor of Natural History in Queen's College, Cork. Some twenty-five years ago he removed to Toronto to fill the same chair there. The third, the Venerable Thomas Hincks, Archdeacon of Conner ; the fourth the Rev. John Hincks who died at Liverpool at an early age, having previously distinguished himself as a student in the Belfast Institution.

the sight of a bit of moss; a verse of the Bible learned at a mother's knee. Young Hincks met at Montreal a number of persons settled in Upper Canada, and heard them talk of it in language of praise. He also met some old Belfast friends about to settle there. He was, it seems, an enthusiastic admirer of Moore's poetry, but had never seen the "poems relating to America," until he found them on the table of his friends. Lines already referred to in an earlier part of this work, which occur in the letter addressed to Lady Catharine Rawdon, commencing—

"I dreamt not then that ere the rolling year  
Had filled its circle, I should wander here,  
In musing awe—"

seized on his imagination and ruled his fancy. He determined to spend the winter at York. Having attended the debates in the Provincial Parliament, and seen something of the country, he returned home in the spring of 1831. Can you not follow him across the Atlantic, musing over the possibilities of Canada, and his own future? His quick eye had discerned that among Canada's legislators and business men there was room for him. In the July of 1832 he was again sailing for Canada. In Walton's little directory, published in 1834, I find the entry, among the H's, "Hincks, Frs., wholesale warehouse, 21 Yonge Street," which I have learned was at the corner of Yonge and Melinda Street, a wine cellar in the midst of orchards, and in the neighbourhood of the Baldwins. At number 23, the occupants were Dr. W. Baldwin, Robert Baldwin, Esq., Attorney, &c., and Baldwin & Sullivan, Attorney's Office. It would seem, from letters written during the early years of his residence, he was much disappointed with his business prospects, for though he spoke of a wide field, he also dwelt on the fearful credit system which was encouraged by the banks, the risk of bad debts, and he indicated that a determination was shaping itself to look out for employment of a different kind. An opportunity soon presented itself. His financial genius had not been unnoticed, and in 1835, he was entrusted with the management of a new bank. Such, thus far, was the career of the man whom we now find engaged in discussing political ques-

tions, as a journalist, and whom we shall soon meet in another field.

In the latter end of 1839, Mr. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, assumed the Government, as successor to the Earl of Durham. His main object was to effect the union of the Canadas, in accordance with the recommendation in the Earl of Durham's Report, and after obtaining the concurrence of the Special Council of Lower Canada, he determined to proceed to Toronto, to assume the Government of Upper Canada, which was included in his commission. It was at this time that Lord John Russell's celebrated despatch on the subject of Responsible Government was published for general information. Its language was vague, but it distinctly gave the high officials to understand that in future their offices were to be held on a different tenure, and that they would be called on to vacate them whenever public interest should require them to do so. Up to that time, all the principal offices had been considered permanent. They were held during good behaviour, instead of pleasure. Mr. Poulett Thompson found the political parties in a state of complete disorganization. Those members who had been elected as Reformers, and who were inclined to support the new Governor General, were in a small minority, but a considerable number of the Conservatives were unwilling to risk the consequences of opposition to the Governor, and were, moreover, not disinclined for political changes. The leaders of the Tory party had to choose between adherence to their principles and the sacrifice of their offices. Mr. Hagerman, the leader of that party, was permitted to vote against the Government resolutions for the Union, with an understanding that he would resist all the amendments which a section of the unionists desired to impose as conditions. One of these was, that the seat of government should be fixed in Upper Canada, which, moreover, was to have a majority of the representatives. Mr. Thompson was firm in adhering to the plan to which he had obtained the consent of the Special Council of Lower Canada, and in Mr. Sullivan he found his ablest supporter. The opposition in the Legislative Council was even more formidable than in the Assembly, but Mr. Sullivan exerted his oratorical powers with great effect, and became one of Mr. Thompson's most trusted councillors.

His colleague, the present Chief Justice Draper took the management of the principal business in the House of Assembly.

In 1839, an Irishman, Lieut.-Colonel Gowan, M.P.P. for the County of Leeds, contributed to the discussion of the issue of the hour, by a pamphlet in favour of Responsible Government. Ogle R. Gowan was a remarkable man, and we shall meet with him again. A native of the County of Wexford, and a leading member of the Grand Lodge of the Orange Institution, he emigrated with his family to Canada in 1829, and settled at Escott Park, in the County of Leeds. Destined frequently to represent his county, to be Alderman of the City of Toronto, to serve as Captain, in the Queen's Own Rifles, at the capture of Hickory Island, in 1838, to rise to Lieutenant-Colonel, and distinguish himself, winning honourable scars at the "Windmill," near Prescott, his best-known distinction has been his power and prominence among the Orangemen, of whom he has been considered the founder and father. When the history of the pamphlet is known, it indicates a great deal of liberal insight on the part of Mr. Gowan. Republished and modified in 1839, it had already appeared so early as 1830, and when republished, King was changed to Queen, and other alterations made to suit the more modern date. No stronger appeal could be made in favour of that for which Baldwin had contended. Coming from a Tory and an Orangeman, such language as the following was well calculated to produce a deep impression:—"The Queen's deputy is allowed to do more in the capital of Canada than the Queen herself in the capital of England and the very heart of the empire. He may act as a powerful and colonially irresponsible despot, while she must act as a constitutional and limited monarch! \* \* \* Do we not read that, in England, even his Grace the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, the highest 'Tory' and 'prerogative' statesmen of modern times, actually declare that the Queen's confidential advisers are responsible to Parliament, even for the very household appointments, aye, even down to Her Majesty's waiting-maids?" Again: "An irresponsibly administered Government, instead of being allied to anything British in name, nature, or practice, is the most conspicuous feature of a democracy; it is a democracy by birth. In principle it is fallacious; in practice it is republican and Yankee. Since

the glorious days of 'the great and good King William,' it never formed any part of the open, manly, 'be just and fear not' conduct of a true Briton, who, instead of evading direct, immediate, and present accountability, is proud of it; solicits a scrutiny into all his actions; and stands with clean hands, and an open heart, responsible to his God, to his sovereign, and to his country." Mr. Gowan gives extracts from the press, some of which have an interest for us, for he gives the name and nationality of the editor. The extracts are all in favour of Responsible Government; the first from the pen of an Irishman, being taken from the *Toronto Mirror*, whose editor was Mr. Covey, the publisher of which was Charles Dunlevy, another Irishman; the next is from the *Examiner*; the third from the *Peterborough Backwoodsman*, whose editor was Mr. Darcus, Justice of the Peace. The pamphlet well deserved republication.

We shall not be surprised at the ascendancy acquired by the Governor General over the mind of Sullivan. Poulett Thompson had the great advantage of parliamentary experience, and a firm belief in the advantages which the Union would bring to all parties. The official correspondence in the blue books shows how much he was trusted by the Home Government, and how much he deserved to be trusted. He was no passive instrument in the hands of Ministers, but a guiding spirit. In the face of all sorts of difficulties he bent himself to his task. There was opposition on both sides of the Atlantic. Mr. Thompson was indefatigable in consulting with everybody who could give him information as to the state of feeling throughout the country. The best minds of both Provinces were undoubtedly on the side of Union, but there were important differences in regard to detail.

On the 12th June, 1839, the Marquis of Normanby sent a despatch to Sir John Colborne, containing copies of bills extending the powers of the Special Council and the draft of a bill for the reunion of the Provinces. Sir John Colborne replied, that it was evidently the desire of the British portion of the population, that the union should not be delayed; that the French Canadians were not averse to it, as they had been; that while public opinion on the question had been much divided in the Upper Province, most



of the districts were now looking forward to Union as likely to improve their commercial position.

In November, 1839, Mr. Thompson sent Lord John Russell a remarkable despatch. He was determined to proceed to Upper Canada, having requested Sir George Arthur to summon the Legislature of that Province. According to the information he had received, he was convinced that, in Lower Canada, a union with Upper Canada on just and equitable principles was desired by the vast majority of the intelligent of all parties. He debated for a time whether he should call together the Assembly in Upper Canada. He would have desired to ascertain by personal residence the state of public opinion. The time necessary for that would throw back the meeting of the Assembly if he decided to call it together, or that of a new one, had he thought calling a new Assembly expedient. There were but two courses—to dissolve at once, or call together the existing Assembly. There was little in the character of that Assembly to render it an improper tribunal to adjudge on the question. It was always in his power to make an appeal to the people. A body of men, who, in the natural course of things, would soon be sent back to their constituents, could not be very deaf to popular feeling. Another consideration had great weight with him. If the Legislature of Upper Canada should decide in favour of the Union of the Provinces, and agree to such terms as the Imperial Parliament would approve, the measure might be brought into practical operation at a very early date. It would have been very undesirable that the Upper Province should be subjected to two general elections within a short space of time, one for the Provincial, and another for the United Assembly.

Parliament met early in December. In the Governor's message, he said that every British statesman desired that the Canadas, which had for years occupied so much of the attention of Parliament, should be contented and prosperous; that the ties binding them to the parent state should be strengthened, and even their administration should be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the people. In Lower Canada, the constitution was suspended, while the powers of the Government were limited. In Upper Canada, the finances were deranged, public improvements were stopped, private enterprise checked,

the tide of immigration no longer flowing, many dissatisfied with the system of government. By reunion alone, could the difficulties be overcome, and he urged on them that the time had arrived beyond which a settlement could not be postponed.

On the 14th, he wrote to the Colonial Office, saying that the Legislative Council had sanctioned the Union. "I cannot" he says, "but feel satisfied that this decided expression of opinion on the part of gentlemen so well acquainted with the affairs of Canada, and possessing so large a stake in the Province, will have a very beneficial effect both on this continent and in the Mother Country." The following is a list of the Members of the Legislative Council who voted on this occasion for the Union:—Adamson, Home District; Baldwin, Toronto; Crooks, Flamboro'; Dunn, Toronto; De Blaquiere, Oxford; Fraser, Glengarry; Fergusson, Hamilton; Macaulay, John, Toronto; Morris, Perth; McDonald, Gananoque; M'Gillivray, Glengarry; Radcliffe, Western District; Sullivan, Toronto; Wells, Toronto, fourteen: Against the Union:—The Bishop of Toronto; Allan; Crookshank; Elmsley; Macaulay, J. S.; M'Donnel, all of Toronto; Wilson, Gore District, and Vankoughnet, Cornwall, eight. Majority, six.

In the House of Assembly, which had already considered the question favourably, there was little difficulty. Four resolutions were adopted. By a vote of forty-seven against six, the proposition that it was the duty of the representatives of the people of the Province to consider the provisions by which the measure might be carried into effect was carried. A vote of thirty-three against twenty carried equal representation of each Province. In the address to Her Majesty, moved by Mr. Cartwright, it was recommended that the use of the English language, in all judicial and legislative records should be forthwith introduced, and that at the end of a certain number of years, after the Union, all debates in the Legislature should be in English; that the seat of the Provincial Government should be established in Upper Canada; that a sufficient qualification, in real estate, should be required from any person holding a seat in the Legislature; that immigration should be promoted and encouraged; and that a system of municipal government and local taxation should be established in Lower Canada, on the same principles as obtained in Upper Canada. The qualification of members, which was fixed at £500 value in

land, led to much discussion. The importance of the recommendation respecting municipal government was great. If a road was to be improved, a Bill in the Assembly had to be proposed. In Upper Canada the power of taxation was limited to the imposition of one penny an acre on cultivated land, and one-fifth of a penny an acre on wild land. Lord Durham had pointed out in his report the need in Lower Canada of municipalities. When I come to Lord John Russell's speech introducing the question to the Imperial Parliament, this important matter of municipal reform will be better understood.

In the debate which preceded the passing of the resolutions there was much diversity of opinion. Ogle R. Gowan would never vote for Union but on conditions. Equal representation seemed to him to be a measure of "degradation, pains and penalties." He was afraid a majority of loyal men would not be returned to the United Legislature. He would not vote for the Union unless the existing representation was continued to Upper Canada. He was afraid of the spread of democratic principles. The seat of government should be in Upper Canada. He contended for the abolition of the French language in all public proceedings. This, perhaps, was a question which should have been grappled with earlier. Some spoke in a very narrow way, and in a tone of great illiberality to Lower Canada.

Sullivan's speech was the best made in either House, and dealt with all the arguments against the Union. He made the assurance, that Her Majesty was determined to maintain the connexion between these colonies and the Mother Country, the foundation of his remarks, and dwelt on the finances. The cry of discontent, he said, had come from loyal British subjects in Lower Canada.

The Honourable Mr. Willson here insisted that Union could do no good. Discord and mischief would follow in the train of evils and he called on honourable gentlemen to pause and consider before they adopted a measure the result of which it was not in the judgment of man to determine.

Sullivan laughed at such fears and pointed out the impolicy of injustice to Lower Canadians. People had declared their willingness to vote for a Union, but upon what terms? The disfranchisement of the French Canadians. Such a plan of Union would be wholly

unsupported in the British Parliament. England, which had been pursuing steadily a course of emancipation from slavery, would never consent to establish a nation of serfs without political rights in any part of the British dominions. Honourable gentlemen had seen a rebellion amongst a people complaining of imaginary grievances; but they would be rash to found their calculation from this poor experience, of what a rebellion would be amongst a people struggling against real and tangible oppression. It was true that by the disfranchisement of Lower Canadians they might banish sedition from the halls of legislation; they might impose silence upon the discontented, but would they make discontent less dangerous? Would there be a sword less to be drawn, or an arm less to wield it? Would the American emissary be less active or less successful amongst a nation of slaves? Would the dislike of Lower Canadians to British Institutions be less active, or would not an effective and real regard to American liberators be added to the natural prejudices with which they had to contend. He put it to honourable gentlemen, would they consent to be disfranchised for the sake of a few? Would they live in quiet in a country, in which they and their race were branded with disgrace and exclusion from common right?—or if they consented to such exclusion, what man amongst them could so command his children? Ask, he cried, the rising youth of the country meekly to bow their necks to the chain, and be contented slaves in the country of their forefathers! He had seen the experiment tried; he had seen the energies of a noble and brave people exhausted in struggles; he had seen guilt and murder prevail in a land, in which the attempt was made to exclude and disfranchise a people upon the grounds of difference in religion, or of national origin; and he could not but shudder at the prospect of introducing such a system into a British Province. He preferred to meet the bold and open declamations of the demagogue; he preferred contending with him under the protection of law and within the walls of Parliament, to meeting his bitter, concealed, but unextinguishable hatred. On the one hand, truth, justice, intelligence, British principles, would however severe the struggle, be at length triumphant. On the other,

“The muffled rebel would steal forth in the dark,”

and, night by night, add a brand to the pile which would consume the country.

Again, it was said, keep Lower Canada in the present state for ten or for twenty years. But he would ask, from whom had the complaints of late proceeded against the present system? Who had stated that it was intolerable? Not the French Canadian. No; he had been for a time confounded and silenced by late events. The cry of discontent now came from loyal British brethren in Lower Canada; and coming from such a quarter, it was not to be resisted. Hon. gentlemen were also desirous to attach, as a condition to this measure, the establishment of the seat of the United Government in Upper Canada. He could not but feel surprise at a proposition, to limit one of the undoubted prerogatives of the Crown, coming from such a quarter. Even in England no seat of Government was fixed by Legislative enactment; the Sovereign had the right of summoning Parliament in any part of the British Isles. Where she was, there was the seat of the Government; and he trusted that hon. gentlemen would at once see that such a proposition, as a condition to accompany the assent of that House, tended to defeat the whole measure—that it was unwise, unconstitutional, and impracticable.

The immediate abolition of the French language, in public proceedings and debates in Parliament, was also proposed as a condition. He hoped to see the day when such a plan might be adopted without oppression or injustice to any party. At present, it would work grievous wrong, without any corresponding benefit. This was a matter which might be safely left to the United Legislature; it was not of sufficient importance to form an obstacle to this great measure, and there could be no good reason given why, at all events, it might not form the subject of a recommendation, on the part of this House, instead of a positive condition.

It was urged as a condition to the assent of that House to the Union of the Provinces, that the Constitution of '91 should be preserved. He apprehended that this condition had reference principally to the constitution of the honourable body to which he had the honour to belong. It had given him the most lively satisfaction to be able to state, from authority, to that honourable House, that it was not the intention of His Excellency the Gov-

ernor-General to recommend to Her Majesty any change which could affect its stability, permanence, or constitutional authority ; that, on the contrary, it was his desire to build up and establish it as a strong bulwark of the Constitution—to add to, and not to take from its consequence ; and that the clause introduced into the Bill laid before the Imperial Parliament, which might have injuriously affected it, had been abandoned. The Government being with them on the point, it would be exceedingly unwise to introduce any conditions into the Bill, which would tend to relieve the Government from an iota of responsibility. He considered it was their measure : he wished to leave the consequences with them, and that could be done in no way so effectually, as by accepting the measure precisely as it was proposed, leaving the details of the plan to those who were responsible for the consequences.

Honourable gentlemen, who sought to attach to it conditions which would defeat and stultify the assent of the House, had called themselves Tories, when they denounced the Lower Canadians, and wished to leave them without the privileges of British subjects. They still called themselves Tories, and gloried in the name ; but he would like to inquire in what quarter they looked for support in the British Parliament ? The suspension of the Constitution of Lower Canada was not a Tory measure ; it was not carried by Conservatives in Parliament, and it was to the opposition and objections of Conservative members, that the practical impossibility of continuing the suspension of the Constitution in Lower Canada was mainly to be attributed. He would repeat the question, whence could honourable gentlemen, so decidedly Tory, look for support in England ? Not from the extreme Radical party, who showed themselves willing to sacrifice colonies and institutions and connexions, upon which the greatness and stability of the empire were founded, to impracticable theories of popular right—not from the Conservatives, who had reproached the Government so bitterly for the suspension of Constitutional Government in Canada—not surely from the Whig Government, which had formally declared the impossibility of continuing the present state of political affairs in Lower Canada. Honourable gentlemen were to be complimented upon the moral courage which

permitted them, upon their own responsibility, to lay down a plan of Colonial Government, which they were to carry out with their own influence, and sustain with their own power. But however such projects might answer for declamation and debate, it was but too plain that for any other purpose they were vain and useless.

He had read and heard speculations upon the separation of these Colonies from England; but he must acknowledge that he did not possess the coolness and philosophy to consider the question with a view to consequences ulterior to such an event. He was certain the honourable gentlemen around him, so many of whom had spent their early lives in the service of that great empire to which it was their pride to belong, would not, for light causes, take from their children's inheritance the pride of England's glory. Those who had so often stood in the fast thinning ranks of British battle, would not readily give up the trophies of the Peninsula or the medal of Waterloo, for the cotton bags of New Orleans, or the much vaunted heroism of Chippawa. To them and to him the sound of the British drum, which would beat the last retreat, would indeed be a funeral note; and the lowering the "meteor flag of England," in the country of their adoption, would be a sight which would leave little behind worth seeing or living for. The loss of this rising and beautiful country would be a sad blow to England's prosperity, a blot upon the age in which it would happen, a disgrace to the rulers under which it would be permitted to take place. But he would turn from this distressing picture of the downfall of England's Colonial Empire, acquired with so much toil, defended with so much valour, and consecrated by so much British blood, to the more cheering and inspiring prospects opening before them. "We have," he exclaimed, "conquered our great enemies—indifference on the part of the Mother Country, and distrust in our attachment to her interests, and loyalty to our Sovereign. We have convinced British statesmen of the value of our country; we have shown the true and loyal spirit of its inhabitants; we have obtained from our Queen that invaluable declaration, that she will maintain the connection between these Colonies and the Empire. Let us then join heart and hand with Her Government, let us cordially support measures intended for our safety and our welfare; let us not impair, by conditions implying dis-

trust, the generous confidence we are invited to offer ; but bestow it, readily and cheerfully, in the same spirit in which it is asked, looking forward with confidence to a bright future of rapidly advancing prosperity, secure in the powerful protection of the Empire."

Lord John Russell was highly gratified at the news Mr. Thompson was able to send home. The charge was made in the local papers that the Union had been carried in the Upper Province by an unusual exertion of influence over the members. Fearing this statement might be repeated in England, the Governor wrote, pointing out that in two of the most important amendments moved in the House, that of Mr. Robinson for negating altogether the Union, and that of Mr. Cartwright for negating the Union, except on certain specified conditions, the minority consisted, in the former case, of ten, of whom five held places during pleasure ; and in the latter of twenty-one, of whom nine held places during pleasure.

Mr. Thompson was in favour of the Union taking place as soon as possible, and of a Legislative Council, the members of which should be elected for life. He determined to adhere as closely as possible, for electoral purposes, to the territorial divisions, only reducing the number of representatives from two for each district to one. No new surveys would be required. The number of representatives for districts would be diminished ; but this was not only necessary, but would prove highly advantageous. Its propriety was urged by all whose opinion was of most value. "In a country like this," says Mr. Thompson, "where there are few, if any, persons of independent fortune—where almost every man is occupied upon pursuits which demand his whole time and attention—where to be absent from home is attended, not only with expense which can ill be afforded, but with a sacrifice of interests which few will submit to—a numerous representation is a most serious evil. There is great difficulty in finding fit representatives. They must be paid, which entails heavy expense on the district which sends them ; and even with payment, many of those who would be best qualified to serve will not submit to the loss of time and neglect of their private affairs."

We have made some progress in public spirit since that time.



Now the difficulty is not to get candidates, but to choose from the number who are ambitious of serving their country. A despatch from Lord John Russell, dated the 20th of March, thanks the Governor-General in a very emphatic manner. The promptitude with which he had acted in ascertaining the sentiments of the Special Council—the decision with which he had resorted in person to the Upper Province—the conciliatory spirit in which he met the Legislature of that Province—and the zeal for Her Majesty's service and the good of her people, which he had on all occasions evinced, had been observed by the Queen with the greatest satisfaction, and had inspired Her Majesty with a confident hope that he might successfully complete the work he had so ably commenced.

The Bill had yet to run the gauntlet of opposition in the Imperial Parliament. On the 23rd March, Lord John Russell made a very able speech in its favour. Her Majesty's subjects in Upper and Lower Canada, amounted to upwards of a million. Some estimated the number at one million one hundred thousand, residing partly in one of the great valleys of the American continent, and partly on the "shores of that series of magnificent lakes, situated on the borders of Upper Canada." To provide for the interests of such a people, was a subject of very deep moment. He was anxious to bring forward, at the earliest period, such measures as were best calculated to put a stop to that interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament, which, though necessary, had become too frequent of late years. In 1828, Mr. Huskisson, who then presided at the Colonial Office, stated in Parliament the grievances of the Canadas, and especially of Lower Canada, and proposed a committee to inquire into the subject. Since that period every detail had been enquired into. In two successive years, attempts had been made to separate the Provinces from their allegiance to Her Majesty by open insurrection within, and by inroads of armed bandits from without. Such circumstances must secure the attention of the House to the subject.

He then proceeded to describe the measure which he readily admitted would not be advisable, if those principally interested entertained a repugnance to it. Such, however, was not the case, as the Governor-General had ascertained. The first great evil to

be grappled with, was the existence of a system of feudal law in Lower Canada; the second, the state of representation which gave a preponderance to the French race. For these evils, a union of the Provinces was the most appropriate remedy. The Earl of Durham had shown in a clearer manner than had ever been done before, how little they ought to confound the conduct of the Assembly of Lower Canada with that of advocates of constitutional freedom. The truth was, that the Assembly of Lower Canada while using the weapons of freedom, and while resorting to constitutional arguments to attain their objects, really employed those means for the purpose of establishing a close monopoly of power in the hands of the race to which they belonged, to the exclusion of the British race from all participation in it. Lord Durham had shown, that though all the appearance of constitutional freedom was on the side of M. Papineau, and though the English party was obliged to seek refuge and support in the Legislative Council and consequently to use arguments in favour of prerogative, and opposed to popular assemblies, yet that the English party was, in fact, upholding those principles which they in England held in reverence, while the opposite party supported with the weapons of Hampden, the principles of Richelieu.

They were endeavouring to establish a species of government extremely exclusive, and extremely hostile to all improvement. The development of the resources of the country by the British empire was not encouraged, but repressed. A break was placed on the wheel of advancing civilization. For such evils, for this narrow spirit, there was no better, no more efficient remedy than reunion.

That Canada should have a free constitution was beyond discussion. But under a free constitution the spirit of monopoly could not be allowed to run rampant, and the only way to crush it, was to deprive the French race of "that preponderance of which they made so ill an use." He thought the whole blame should not be thrown on the leaders of the French party. The unhappy events of the intervening years had naturally arisen out of the singular position in which the Provinces were placed by the Act of 1791—an Act against which the Englishman Fox, and the Irishman, Dorchester, had protested in vain. There could be no

better proof of the greatness of the younger Pitt, than that his fame as a statesman outlives his blunders. It is only fair to say, however, that both Pitt and Grenville appear to have contemplated a time when it would be expedient to reunite the separated Provinces.

Lord John Russell proposed that the new Assembly should not meet until 1842, a view of the situation of which he was disabused by the wisdom and firmness of Mr. Thompson. In conformity with English constitutional views and maxims, it was determined that money votes should never be voted without a message from the Governor, of course leaving the Assembly the power of addressing the Governor on the subject. Lord John Russell thought this a most important provision, deeply connected and interwoven with the whole of the misfortunes which had occurred in the Lower, and with some of the difficulties which had presented themselves in the Upper Province. It would affect the whole future of the country.

The following passage in regard to Responsible Government from the lips of so great and so liberal a statesman as Lord John Russell, (Earl Russell) surely attests the sagacity and capacity which lay behind Baldwin's meditative eye. The English statesman could not see his way to Responsible Government as clearly as our own great reformer.

“He was not going to agitate what was called the question of Responsible Government. He was not of opinion, as he had often declared, that they could have the official servants of the Governor subject to exactly the same responsibility as the Ministers of the Crown here, because the Governor must receive his orders directly from the Crown, and therefore, it was impossible to listen altogether to the representatives of the Assembly. But he thought the division that had prevailed, of having one set of men employed in the confidence of the Governor, forming, as it were a particularly small party, distributing according to their own notions, with the skill and practice which long experience gave, the property, and guiding the administration of the Colony, while other ambitious and stirring men, perhaps of great public talents, were entirely excluded from all share in the administration of affairs, had been an unfortunate and vicious practice; and by some

rule of administration, a better practice ought to be introduced. In conformity with this opinion Lord Normanby, when at the Colonial office, informed the Governor of Nova Scotia that whenever a vacancy occurred in the Executive Council, he should fill it up by selecting some one who was properly qualified, from the majority of the Assembly; and although the occasion did not arise till after he (Lord John Russell) had succeeded to the office, when the Governor of Nova Scotia applied to know whether he should give effect to the recommendation, he told him, there was no better way of giving confidence to the Colony, and at the same time of making the members of the Assembly men of business, disposed to look well to all the circumstances of the country, than to give them official station and responsibility. He did not think as he had stated, that they could lay down any positive inflexible rule, but as a general system of policy those who were among the leaders of the majority of the Assembly should not be excluded from all concern in the Executive Government."

With regard to Municipal Reform, Lord John Russell said:—"It had been the custom, in reference to the improvement of roads or any local establishment, and in reference to grants of money for local courts of justice, to propose a Bill in the Assembly, and to appropriate the required funds out of the public taxes of the Province. Instead of this mode of proceeding, he proposed that there should be brought into more regular and uniform operation, municipal government in those Provinces. In Upper Canada there already existed the form of municipal government. There were townships and elective officers, and also counties, but the latter were merely divisions for the choice of members for the Assembly. There were, however, local districts, consisting of two or three counties conjoined, in which taxes were raised for the maintenance of Courts of Justice, for the expenses of Sheriffs and Constables, and of the local administration of the district. But these powers were extremely limited. In Upper Canada the power of taxation was limited to the imposition of one penny an acre on cultivated land, and of one-fifth of a penny an acre on wild land. The obvious effect of this limitation was to prevent the carrying into effect many improvements out of the public funds; and the holders of lands to a vast amount, being taxed extremely

lightly, did not feel themselves obliged to devote their capital to the cultivation of their property. He therefore proposed that this power of taxation should be increased, and that permission should be given to levy three-pence per acre on all lands. A report by Lord Durham on this subject, in reference particularly to Lower Canada, showed how extremely useful some municipal authority would be, by which local improvements might be effected. In Lower Canada it did not appear that any such powers as he had mentioned existed for this purpose, but he proposed to extend to that Province the powers now exercised in Upper Canada, giving the Governor authority to form local districts, and to settle the boundaries of such districts. In Upper Canada there were fifteen districts, and there might be formed, perhaps, twenty-five in Lower Canada. These districts, as formed by the Governor, would not, of course, be so large as to make it inconvenient for members to attend, nor would they partake in any way of the character of political bodies. They were simply intended to effect mere local objects, such as the improvement of the roads and other communications, as well as to attend to a variety of local purposes, which could not otherwise be provided for. He thought it necessary that some arrangement of this kind should be adopted by Parliament, because it was proposed in other parts of the bill to take away, as he had before said, from the Assembly the power of originating money votes; and as this was one of those subjects on which great dissension would probably arise among the different parties in Canada, he thought it desirable, on that account also, for Parliament to lay down the basis on which the local districts should be formed."

With the question of the Clergy Reserves, we shall have briefly to deal at a future period. Lord John Russell concluded his speech with words which find an echo in our hearts to-day. He had read that day a passage in an author, to whose work on America much reference had been made. Speaking of the colonists, M. de Tocqueville said: "The political education of the people has long been complete; nay, rather it was complete when the people first set foot on the soil." No doubt it was a proud feeling of the grandeur and dignity of the country to which he belonged, that led Cicero to dwell on the powerful declaration, *Civis Romanus sum*. That, it was sufficient for a man to declare, in order to ob-

tain privileges all over the globe; but those privileges and immunities were limited by the extent of the Roman Empire; they were temporary, they lasted only so long as the legions of Rome could support the power of that Empire: but with regard to the British colonies in America, it was their boast that they had made them for such privileges an enduring heritage; that they had sent them there with feelings and maxims and principles impressed on their minds, which fitted them to be the progenitors of a great people; that, mingled with all they had given them, was the love of free institutions; that they had taught them the "way, and the manner, and the method" in which that love of free institutions could best be exercised. It was his belief, therefore, that England might still maintain her connexion with the Colonies, without imposing on them any terms which they would feel it incumbent on them to resist. Where the bonds of union were of that kind, he believed—it was also the opinion of Sir James Mackintosh—that colonies would see nothing to envy in those nations about them who might possess greater supremacy than themselves. With respect to the burdens of supreme government, to none of all those which were entered into, in order to maintain the British power by sea and by land, were they subject; the reputation of Great Britain protected them, her mighty arm covered them, while their own resources—not without aid from England—were left available for the promotion of internal improvements, for the education of the people, and for the advancement of the general welfare of their own provinces. He was convinced that by passing the Bill, as he proposed, with any alterations which mature consideration might suggest—and thereby establishing free institutions to which the British might resort, and under which the British might reside, they would be adding strength to the British Empire, by uniting under it a body of subjects as loyal as any in the British isles; that they would not be establishing there any form of slavery, but that while the freedom and happiness of Great Britain would be extended, the freedom and happiness of the Canadas would be secured. The speech was loudly cheered.

Mr. Hume, the member for Kilkenny, referring to the despatches of Lord John Russell on the subject of Responsible Government and the tenure of office in the Colonies, said that, if such measures

had been recommended long ago, there never would have been any troubles. However, he disapproved of many of the details of the Union Bill.

Lord John Russell explained, that in Upper Canada the Governor and Judges would have a permanent appropriation, while with regard to the civil establishment, the civil secretary, and other civil expenses, the amount would be voted either for a period of years, or for the life of the Queen. The Governor-General was not able to fix the precise amount; but the estimate for the Governor and the Judges was £45,000, and the other expenses of the civil government £30,000 more. It was therefore proposed that £75,000 per annum, should be set apart, including also a sum of from £5,000 to £6,000 for pensions—permanent appropriation being made for the Governor and Judges, and the remainder, for a period of years or during the life of the Queen. On the demise of the Crown, the whole of the territorial revenues of the Crown would revert to Her Majesty's successor. It was also proposed that the duties given by Lord Ripon's Act to the Assembly, arising from the 14th of George III, should be considered part of the Crown revenue. The Assembly not having the power of originating money votes, and an ample Civil List being given for carrying on the Government of the Province, and defraying the necessary expenses of the Courts of Justice, it was hoped that one great source of contention between the Assembly and the Crown would be taken away. It seemed to Lord John Russell that partly from defect of constitutional law, and partly likewise from defect of administration, evils which could not occur under the regular form of the Constitution in England had occurred, in several of the Colonies, and in none more than in the Canadas. It was not only the theory, but, generally speaking, the practice of the Constitution, that to the Executive Government belonged the appropriation of money; they were responsible for asking the House of Commons for the votes they considered necessary for the public service, the House of Commons exercising, at the same time, a due control on that head. But in the Colonies, there had neither been this division nor this control. In the first place, it had too frequently been the case that the persons entrusted with the confidence of the Governor were

above all control of the Assembly, totally regardless of all votes passed by the Assembly, and therefore they escaped from the due responsibility to which persons holding important offices of great public expenditure should be subject. On the other hand, the Assembly not having the power of control, proper and essential to the due performance of their functions, had assumed what of right belonged to the Executive Government, and, according to their own personal views and interests, or those of their immediate constituents, proposed votes of money, which were not beneficial to the public at large. Thus while there had been no real power of control in the Assembly, and, on the other hand, an undue power in regard to certain functions, the people at large lost the benefit of that kind of government which they were told was established among them, and neither had the power of preventing undue expenditure by the advisers of the Governor, appointed by the Governor, nor the security that their own popular Assembly had no power to lay out the moneys and taxes of the people according to special, interested, and local views.

Mr. Hume did not share all these views. What the Colonies wanted was the control of their resources, and the power of granting a Civil List to what amount they thought proper. Unless this power were given in the Canadas, the object of the Union of the Provinces, which was to strengthen their connexion with England, would not be attained. He also objected to the qualification of £500 for a member of the United Assembly. A long discussion took place on the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Hume contending that the Bill would not satisfy the Canadas. He saw no security in it for responsibility.

Want of responsibility had been pointed out by Lord Durham, who had suggested a fit remedy. A great injustice was about to be perpetrated against the French population of Canada. The Bill violated the principle of equal justice promised by the noble lord in his letter to the two Colonies. It was intended to swamp the French population, by not giving them a fair share in the representation. The same cause of complaint which existed in Upper Canada existed in Lower Canada. Both desired free institutions. Did the noble lord imagine, that when the two Provinces were united, they would abate one jot of their claim for



popular institutions? The Executive Council was to be the same as before; the Governor was to choose the members as before. What security, then, had the people of Canada that they should have persons in whom they could confide? There was no measure to render the Judges more independent of the Crown, and they had seen Judges removed by Sir John Colborne because they would persevere in just administration of the law. It was true there was a civil list, and the Colonial Legislature might give the Judges salaries as they pleased, but there ought to be a clause rendering the Judges independent. In the next place, the revenues were put under the control of the Home Government. But the people of Canada were determined that the revenues should be placed under the absolute control of the Government of the country. They wanted to have the management of their own affairs. This was the source of all the disputes, and the noble lord might depend upon it, that the Assembly of the United Province would not let the revenues be administered by Downing Street, a system the abuse of which had been pointed out by Lord Durham.

Sir Robert Peel made a fine patriotic speech. When he said in the midst of his criticisms, "I make these remarks in no party spirit," he was cheered from both sides of the house. If they were to maintain the connexion with Canada, it was out of the question that they could rule contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants. He paid a high tribute to the loyalty of Canadians who had afforded a noble example not only of valour, but of the feeling of pride which they entertained for their British extraction.

The Order of the Day for going into Committee on the Bill was moved by Lord John Russell on the 29th of May, whereupon Mr. Goulborn presented petitions just received from Lower Canada against it. This petition contained thirty-nine thousand signatures, and stated that no steps had been taken to ascertain the feeling of Lower Canadians, except by calling a Special Council, half the members of which did not attend. Moreover, the Special Council did not represent the sentiments of the people. After the long separation of the Provinces, their union would only produce discontent and suspicion. The petition further asserted that many of Lord Durham's statements were founded in error.

Sir J. Pakington moved, what we in Canada elegantly call the six months' hoist. And who, amid cries of "divide," should put on his armour, and strike a blow for Canada? Mr. Gladstone, whose face was not then ploughed with the wrinkles of care and thought, and furrowed by labour, as it is to-day, who at that time was one of the handsomest men in England, as he was undoubtedly, even then, one of the greatest orators using the English tongue, felt bound to explain the vote he was about to give in supporting Her Majesty's Government, and he dwelt on the fact that the measure before the House came backed by great authorities on both sides of the Atlantic, and by the Special Council in Lower Canada and the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Upper Canada.

The Union Act received the royal assent on the 23rd of July, 1840, but in accordance with a suspensory clause did not take effect until the 10th February, 1841. An Address had in the previous year elicited from the Governor-General the important message that he had been commanded by Her Majesty to administer the Government in accordance with the well understood wishes of the people, and Mr. Baldwin had accepted the office of Solicitor-General on the conviction, as he explained to a Reform meeting held in Toronto, that the Government was to be carried on in accordance with the principles of Responsible Government.

There was at this time the same divergence of opinion on the part of newspaper writers which enlivens our own day, and the character of the machinery which brought about the Union was bitterly assailed in certain quarters. Some even went so far as to say that the legislation of the Special Council had been conducted in a spirit of distrust of the people of Lower Canada and hostility to their rights.\* But the car rolled forward as day dawns, whether rooks caw in the trees, or wolves howl on the hill tops, over which the purple sun climbs with what seem to be lingering paces and languid fires.

Lord Sydenham (Thompson) was accused of despising public sentiment, and of holding the Mephistophelian opinion that what is

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\* The Montreal Times, 1841.

theoretically true is practically false. His Executive Council, in which there were at least three Irishmen, Baldwin, Sullivan, and Dominick Daly, was attacked. The two former we know. Dominick Daly we have already met, and shall meet again. He belonged to a Roman Catholic family of Galway, and came to this country in the first place as secretary to one of the Governors. He afterwards became Provincial Secretary for Lower Canada, and at the Union received a like position for all Canada, with a seat in the Council. He was a good specimen of an Irish gentleman of good address and polished manners, and seems to have had an extraordinary capacity for recommending himself to those in power, arising I fancy from the fact that he had little political passion. The verdict on him ought perhaps to be that at a transition period he fulfilled a useful purpose, though it is impossible to regard him with any warmer feeling than one of criticism, which is baulked for want of a standard. After leaving Canada he was appointed Governor of Tobago. He subsequently became Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island. While acting in this last capacity he was knighted.

After Baldwin, in the Council, the most remarkable man, and after Sullivan the most brilliant, was Mr. Draper, the present Chief Justice, a man who possessed and happily possesses powers of mind which would have shone in any sphere. His speeches are, as read now, instinct with power, which was enhanced by a flowing and dignified elocution, and a voice whose silvery tones explain the nick-name "Sweet William." I know not whether I am obnoxious to Horace's graceful lash as a praiser of old times, but it seems to me the debates in those days were far better than at present.

The general elections took place in the spring of 1841. There was much violence and corruption. Two valuable lives were lost. Baldwin was chosen for two constituencies: the North Riding of York and Hastings. He elected to sit for the latter place. J. W. Dunscombe, one of the Dunscombes of the County Cork, contested Beauharnois against one De Witt, an American by birth. He was proposed by Mr. John McDonald, and seconded by M. W. Harrison, the only Irish magistrate in the county. He was returned by two hundred and ninety-five against seventy-

four. He was escorted to Baker's Point on the Chateauguay by upwards of fifty sleighs filled with his supporters. These, reinforced by some friends from Lachine, accompanied him to Montreal. The procession was a large one. They entered the city by Great St. James Street, passing through Notre Dame Street, "cheered," says the report, "as if it was the Governor-General." They went to Dunscombe's house, where having given three hearty cheers, they separated. Dominick Daly, the Provincial Secretary, was returned for Megantic.

For the second Riding of York, George Duggan, jr., was returned. Mr. Duggan was afterwards well known to the present generation as an upright judge, who leant perhaps a little to severity. If he was a Rhadamanthus, he knew the characters with whom he had to deal, and he always listened patiently before he punished.

The man whom the second Division of York chose to represent it was born in the South of Ireland in 1812, and together with his brother, the late John Duggan, Q. C., was brought by his father to Canada early in this century. He was called to the bar in 1837, and became a bencher in 1850. He was an officer in the Volunteer Artillery, and took an active part in snuffing out the farthing dip of rebellion in 1837. While reconnoitering, with the mayor of the city and several others, the whole party were made prisoners. But why did they allow themselves to be made prisoners? In 1838 he was elected to represent St. David's Ward in the Council. In 1841, as we have just seen, he was returned to Parliament as a supporter of Mr. Draper. It is not correct to speak of the "Draper Government" of 1841. It was Lord Sydenham's government. In 1842, he went into opposition to the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government. Again in 1844 he was elected to Parliament as a supporter of the Viger-Draper Ministry. Mr. Duggan also sat from 1843 to 1850 in the Council as one of the aldermen of St. Andrew's Ward. In 1850 he was chosen Recorder of the City of Toronto, and in 1858 became Police Commissioner. On the death of Judge Harrison, in 1868, he undertook the duties both of Recorder and County Judge. In 1869 the former office was abolished, and he was appointed Judge by the Dominion Government. He married a daughter of Mr. J. R. Armstrong, by

whom he had two sons, John and Frederick. Mr. John Duggan is Clerk of the Division Court for the Western Division of Toronto.

John Moore was returned for Sherbrooke, and as we already know, Francis Hincks for Oxford, who, as Chairman of the Select Committee on Banking and Currency, was to do such good service to the country during this the first Parliament of United Canada. A. Monahan was returned for Kingston, and for London, H. H. Killaly, one of Lord Sydenham's Executive Councillors. Of this gentleman, who as a ministerial figure, a contractor, and a large-hearted though somewhat eccentric man, gathers to himself considerable interest, another Irishman, who was subsequently Chaplain to Lord Sydenham, has in his "Salmon Fishing in Canada," left us a striking piece of portraiture.

The sketch of Killaly or the "Commissioner," as Dr. Adamson calls him, is not the less vivid because there seems to be about it a *soupeçon* of malice. In the month of July, 1846, a little cutter yacht having on board the "Commissioner," the Baron, the Captain, Adamson, and a crew of three men, a boy and two servants, entered the Saguenay. In a nook among the mighty mountains near Tadousac was a settlement of Mr. Price, who received the fishermen, and gave notice that there would be Divine service on board the yacht the following day. In the evening they had some good sea-trout fishing, their enjoyment being qualified only by mosquitoes and black flies. There being too many to fish together one of the party struck out for himself. Sport went hand-in-hand with good cheer and pleasant converse, until the shades of evening and the gloom of the overhanging cliffs having warned the party to return home, they went in search of their friend. They came suddenly on a dark-visaged gentleman who at the moment was playing a fish. The Commissioner inquired whether he had seen another fisherman during the evening, and was answered by a laugh. The voice was the voice of the friend they were in search of, but the face was the face of a "negro in convulsions." He had been attacked by the black fly.\* I hope a long sermon the next day consoled the poor wretch.

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\* The assault of the black fly is generally sudden and unexpected. The first indication you have of his presence is the running of a stream of blood over some part of your face, which soon hardens there. These assaults being renewed *ad infinitum*, under favourable circumstances, soon render it difficult, even for his dearest and nearest

In describing a Sunday on the Saguenay Dr. Adamson's literary touch at times falters. But he gives us a good picture of himself. The morning bright and clear. All on board the cutter cleanliness. At half-past ten o'clock Mr. Price accompanied by half a dozen mechanics came on board, followed by several gentlemen from the Hudson's Bay Company's post, and a few Indians. Having been received by Mr. Commissioner (Killaly), they are seated round the cabin at each side of the dinner table, where also sat the servants and crew; "the whole representing a fair number of the various religious denominations into which the inhabitants of the Province are divided, together with a goodly number of the Church of England. At the head of the table, clad in a sober suit of black, with a decent white choker, stood the gaunt and melancholy-looking parson—melancholy-looking I say, for the man was not melancholy, but of a sanguine and cheerful disposition." Here follows a sermon which surely was out of place in such a book. Sterne, indeed, put one of his sermons into "Tristram Shandy," but he gets Corporal Trim—that unequalled master of natural elocution—to read it. The text was certainly appropriate—"I go a fishing."

With the portraiture of the Baron and the Captain we have no concern. It is otherwise with the Commissioner, who was a curiosity. The most expensively and the most ill-dressed man on the continent of North America—one would almost have been inclined to think that he studied incongruities as the model after which he arranged himself, only that his slovenliness forbade the idea of his having ever bestowed a thought on the subject. "I have seen him at one time," says Adamson, "promenading a populous city in a dirty, powder-smearred, and blood-stained shooting coat, while his nether man was encased in black dress pantaloons, silk stockings, and highly-varnished French leather dancing

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relatives, to recognise the victim of the pest. The effect during a night following a mastication of this sort is dreadful. Every bite swells to about the size of a filbert—itches like a burn and agonizes like a scald. If you scratch them you only add to the anguish. The whole head swells, particularly the glandular and cellular parts, behind and under the ears, the upper and lower eyelids, so as in many cases to produce utter inability to see. The poison is imbibed and circulated through the whole frame, producing fever, thirst, heat, restlessness and despondency. See "Salmon Fishing in Canada," pp. 118, 119.

pumps. At another time I have met him with one of Gibbs' most *recherché* dress coats, a ragged waistcoat, and worn-out trousers, all looking as if he had slept in them for weeks, and lain inside of the bed among the feathers. His shirts never had a button on them, which constantly caused his brawny and hairy chest to be exposed to view, while a fringe of ravelled threads from their wrists usually hung dangling over his fat, freckled and dirty hands."

Where he obtained all the old hats he wore puzzled his acquaintances. That he changed his hats frequently was evident, for the hat of one day was never the same shape the next. Their general outline was that which might be expected in the hat of an Irishman who had been beaten at a fair—who had encountered a rain-storm as he returned homewards, and who had finally determined to sleep all night in a ditch. His head was white and his face was purple—a red cabbage in snow. A wonderful specimen of winter green, he carried his years well. With his brisk and vigorous step, and his hale and hearty laugh and aspect, he looked a man with whom old age and infirmity had no business. His laugh was defiant and jocund as the crow of a cock—his voice was like the blast of a clarion.

Looked at merely as an animal, he was a very satisfactory object, with his wholesome system, his unflagging capacity to enjoy all or nearly all the pleasures which he had ever aimed at or conceived. His careless security, in an official situation, on a regular income, with but slight and infrequent apprehensions of renewal, had contributed to make him proof against the assaults of time. The original and more efficient causes, however, lay in the rare perfection of his animal nature. "To hear him talk about roast meat was as appetizing as a pickle or an oyster. It made one's mouth water to listen to him expatiating on fish or poultry, and the most eligible methods of preparing them for table. His reminiscences of good cheer seemed to bring the savour of turkey or lobster under one's very nostrils. It was marvellous to observe how the ghosts of bygone meals were continually rising up before him, not in anger or retribution, but as if grateful for his former appreciation, and seeking to renew an endless series of enjoyments at once shadowy and sensual. A

tender loin of beef, a spare rib of pork, a particular magnum of claret, or a remarkably praiseworthy jorum of punch, which had satisfied his appetite or appeased his thirst in days long gone by, would be remembered, while all the subsequent experience of our race—all the events that had brightened or darkened his individual career—all memory of the friends who had clung to him in his misfortunes—had as little effect on him as the passing breeze.

“ His temper was as uncertain as the wind towards his subordinates ; sometimes familiar as a play-fellow, at others as imperious, arbitrary, and unreasoning as a Turk. He was more cautious, however, with his superiors, and with those whose opinions might affect his interests. But—he was capable of a good-natured act, was a persevering fisherman, could tie, roughly, a killing fly, enjoyed a joke, made no objection to hard work or coarse diet by ‘ flood or field,’ and altogether was not a bad sort of companion for an expedition to the rivers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. One of his boasts was to travel with the smallest possible quantity of luggage, indeed he seldom encumbered himself with a change of linen.”

Such was Killaly something less than two decades after the time he is introduced to the reader amid the excitement of an election. What the man in his prime was may easily be guessed. The reader, however, must be reminded of the remark with which we introduced this sketch. Killaly had many of the best points of a fine old Irish country gentleman, and in his younger days was a “swell.” His picture will leave no unfavourable impression on most minds.

“ Bear lightly on their foreheads, Time !  
Strew roses on their way ;  
The young in heart, however old,  
That prize the present day.”

From salmon fishing we are taken to whale fishing, in a very readable volume which must have done no small service to Canada in its day. Dr. Adamson has kept us too long from more important matter.

In their election addresses, candidates pledged themselves to support the Union, and to make United Canada the ‘ brightest jewel in the crown of our youthful Sovereign.’ “ I am of opinion,”



says one candidate, "that 'the responsibility to the United Legislature of all public officers, should be secured by every means known to the British Constitution,' and that the 'Governor should carry on his government by Heads of Departments in whom the United Legislature shall repose confidence.' I am decidedly in favour of municipal institutions, and it is supposed that this subject will be brought before the Legislature at an early day. These institutions would confer on you the power of local assessment, for local purposes. Our election laws require to be materially altered and amended, and I would advocate the introduction of township elections, with suitable provisions to insure peace and good order. Were such a law now in force, not more than two or three days would be required to poll the votes in this county. As your representative, I gave the measure of the re-union of the Provinces my hearty support; and I believe, that in doing so, I have received your unqualified approbation. Of the defects of the Union Bill, with regard to the representation and other points, it is unnecessary now to speak, as these will engage the attention of the Legislature. It is required of us to meet our Lower Canadian brethren with the utmost cordiality."

This is a good sample of all, or nearly all, the addresses. The advancement of education, and the extension and improvement of internal communications were also among the subjects dwelt on in those bids for confidence.

One of the most interesting of all the elections was that of Montreal City, for which two members were returned—the Hon. George Moffatt and Benjamin Holmes, an Irishman, who was destined to do his country and his constituency good service whenever banking or commercial questions came before the House. In returning thanks for his election, Mr. Holmes used language which would not be without meaning to-day.

With the local distinctions of Whig, Tory, or Radical, they in that section of the Empire had, or should have, nothing to do. All had but one interest, and should have but one object—the prosperity of the Province. What was desirable, what was beneficial to those of British blood, could not be disadvantageous to those of French extraction. No partial legislation, therefore, should or

could take place. The Union, the long-wished-for union, of the Provinces had at length been effected.

An Irishman by birth, he might, he hoped, be excused if he addressed a few words specially to his own countrymen—not that he had any desire to keep up distinctions, where all sectional differences should cease to exist; for he believed the time would come when the children of Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Englishmen would be willing and proud to assume the appellation of Canadians. He then urged Irishmen to avail themselves of the great opportunities offered them by Canada. He would encourage emigration. With good schools, public improvements, good roads, and union, they would have nothing to envy when they looked across the line, but rather see reason to rejoice that this Province stood in opposition to a country where the laws were trampled under foot, and where consistent citizens prated about liberty in the slave market. He would gladly support any measure having for its object the extinction of that “odious system,” the feudal tenure. He would not, however, invade the rights of private property without making adequate compensation where compensation was due.

On the 15th of May we find the people of Kingston eagerly expecting Lord Sydenham.

The new Canadian Parliament was to meet in the General Hospital, which was fitted up temporarily for the purpose. The room for the Legislative Council was forty feet long, twenty-two feet wide, and twelve feet high. The room for the Assembly was the same size. A correspondent shrewdly remarked that members might not have the same facilities for transacting their private business as in Toronto, but they would have the necessary accommodation for transacting that of the public. The space below the bar was small, and there was little accommodation for reporters.

Fifteen of Major Magrath’s dragoons went down from Toronto for the purpose of carrying despatches, and Kingston was all alive; the troops were arriving and departing; the assizes were sitting. Attorney-General Draper was conducting cases for the Crown. On the 28th of May, at one o’clock P.M., the “Brockville” accompanied by Her Majesty’s steamer “Traveller” rounded into the harbour. His Excellency was on board. The greater number

of the naval officers stationed here were in the "Traveller" on whose upper deck was a party of royal marines. The advance battery of Fort Henry fired three signal guns. A flotilla of gun boats stationed across Navy Bay fired a salute as the "Traveller" passed. Every vessel in the harbour was hidden in bunting. The day was kept as a general holiday. The sun shone in an unclouded sky. A light breeze rippled where it struck the water, and gave it a steel-like hue. All the national societies were at the chosen ground at the appointed hour; the St. Andrews Society headed by the first Vice-President, Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald, who wore a kilt; the St. Patrick's Society by Dr. Sampson, the President; the St. George's Society, the Mechanics' Institute, the Volunteer Fire Company, which was marshalled by a brave Irishman named Daley, were there. Capt. R. Jackson led the whole pageant which included members of the bar in robes, the Common Council, the Mayor and the members for the Town and County. Between the dwelling which is still known as Mr. Kirby's and the Bank of Upper Canada, a triumphal arch of evergreens was thrown across the street, adorned with parti-coloured festoons and mottoes: "God save the Queen," "Welcome to Lord Sydenham," "United we stand—divided we fall," "British Connexion." As the Governor landed, the Royal Artillery fired a salute. A guard of honour of the 24th regiment received him at the wharf. He then mounted his horse, and proceeded under the arch to the head of the procession, the lines uncovering as he passed. Each of the national societies had five or six flags. The Scotchmen had a piper at their head. The Irishmen had a large figure of St. Patrick.

It was said that at least one-eighth of the members had been returned by violence or something worse. Bitter were the complaints that the greater number of those who composed the Legislative Councils of the late Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, were excluded from the Legislative Chamber of United Canada. The Family Compact elected but seven men. The newspapers expressed their indignation at the scenes which had taken place in Lower Canada in connexion with the elections, and their surprise at the course of the Governor-General, who, in Upper Canada, was supposed to have thrown himself upon the "Liberal party" for

support. Two lives had been lost, one in Durham, the other in Toronto. It was feared that the accounts of the scenes in Lower Canada would check the tide of emigration. In Upper Canada the Reformers had secured a large majority. They were pledged to sustain the Union, but desired that the measure establishing it should be amended.\*

The journal quoted below complained that, while Parliament had undertaken to restore freedom to the people, and to extend to them all the advantages of the representative form of government, the Constitution of 1840 was a mockery and a delusion, contrasted with that which a Conservative Ministry bestowed on the country in 1791. It abridged the real liberty of the people, and as interpreted and carried out by Lord Sydenham, it would only confirm the evils to which attention was drawn by Lord Durham's Report. What was the picture presented by the country? A regular army, which must be recruited from England—a large body of the people at enmity with their Government—a partisan population, courting a monopoly of power, animated by the worst spirit of political intolerance, and hardly less to be dreaded than their opponents—antipathies on one side, envy and distrust on the other—and a Republic of seventeen millions of men, stretching along a frontier of two thousand miles, ready to take advantage of the weakness of Canadians, and to convert their distractions to its own profit. The destinies of the country should henceforth be confided to the discretion of its people. The frequent recurrence to England, and appeals to the British Parliament in all the struggles of party, or whenever the wishes of the popular will were thwarted by the local administration, had been productive of serious mischief. Such appeals had left on the minds of

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\*The *Times and Commercial Advertiser* (Montreal, April 7, 1841,) says: "Lord Sydenham *would* have his majority. His doctrine will be received as *convenient*, if not as *favourable*. He will find the integrity of many of the members of the new House to be of a very *malleable* character, and he and they will sing in *chorus*:—

' Man's conscience, like a fiery horse,  
Will stumble, if you check his course ;  
But ride him with an easy rein,  
And rub him down with worldly gain,  
He'll carry you through thick and thin,  
Safe, although dirty, to your inn.'

numbers an impression that the colonists possessed no rights but what might be subverted at pleasure. Other journals held a different tone, and were confident that Lord Sydenham would administer the Government in accordance with the wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives.

On the 14th June, 1841, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada met. The situation was full of interest, and not removed from anxiety. Men, such as the late Chief-Justice Robinson, in Upper Canada, representing but a small and declining party, were opposed to the Union. In Lower Canada there was a far more formidable opposition. The members were total strangers to each other; there was no understanding as to the policy to be pursued; most of the French Canadian members were extremely hostile to the Governor as the ostensible author of the Union. That Union was brought about chiefly by the necessities of Lower Canadian politics, and the Lower Canadian members were discontented with it. The most distinguished men in the Province were present, and the Hon. Joseph Howe, then Speaker of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, had a seat within the bar.

With the feeling such as existed in Lower Canada, it would naturally suggest itself as a prudent thing to propose a Lower Canadian for the Speakership. Accordingly, M. Morin, member for Nicolet (for which M. Gaudet now sits), proposed Austin Cuvillier. The motion was seconded by Mr. Merritt, the member for the North Riding of Lincoln. Colonel Prince, the member for Essex, spoke in favour of it. When Prince sat down, up rose Mr. Hincks, the member for Oxford, and infused a disturbing element into the debate. He supported M. Cuvillier, but he felt it his duty to his constituents and himself to state that he gave that support because he had satisfied himself that that gentleman was opposed to the Government. He was opposed to many details of the Act of Union, particularly to that part which related to the Civil List. He was strongly opposed to the Lower Canada policy of the Government. He had no confidence whatever in the administration as then constituted. This brought up Mr. Cartwright, who said that after a declaration of the kind from such a quarter he had no choice but to move another candidate. He accordingly moved that

the late Speaker of the defunct Upper Canada Assembly, Sir Allan MacNab, was a fit and proper person to preside over the proceedings of the new House. This led to a discussion as to what was meant by Mr. Hincks, who ultimately explained that his remarks had reference solely to the Council of His Excellency. Demands were made that M. Cuvillier should explain his views. Reformers urged that the character of M. Cuvillier for ability, impartiality and integrity was such that the House had no occasion to inquire too scrupulously into his opinions. Several Conservatives having spoken in the same strain, and the leaders being evidently desirous of making a peace-offering at the opening of the session, Mr. Cartwright withdrew his motion. M. Cuvillier, having been unanimously elected, was conducted to the throne by his mover and seconder. Standing on the lower step, he modestly begged the House to reconsider their choice, an appeal which was greeted with loud cries of "no!"

It caused great dissatisfaction in quarters favourable to the Union that His Excellency did not open the session in person, and that the Speaker did not present himself immediately for the Governor's approbation. The departure from the recognised monarchical practice, it was said, savoured of Republicanism and Democracy, and relinquished without legitimate grounds, a parliamentary prerogative of the Crown. A great and unprecedented innovation had been made.\*

Sir Allan MacNab moved the adjournment of the House. The motion having been put, Mr. Aylwin, the member for Portneuf, who had voted for the Speaker because he believed him to be opposed to the Government, declared that the House had no power to adjourn, that not having met either the "great men" of the country or the representative of the Queen, they could not take a single step beyond the election of a Speaker. A discussion of three hours followed, in which the same view was taken by Hincks and four or five others, including Price and Small. The right of the House to adjourn was maintained by Attorney-Generals Ogden and Draper, and Solicitor-General Day. They maintained that the Union Act having done away with the ne-

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\* See *Montreal Gazette*, June 17, 1841.

cessity of obtaining the sanction of Royal authority to the choice of Speaker, the House stood, after the election of that officer, in the same position as the House of Commons after a Speaker had been chosen. Baldwin, though frequently appealed to, remained silent. Ultimately, Sir Allan MacNab withdrew his motion, and a resolution that the House should stand adjourned until two o'clock on the following day, was carried by forty-seven to twenty-seven. Mr. Baldwin voted with the minority. It was evident that the Reform party had no confidence in the Government, and Baldwin soon resigned.

On the 15th of June, at two o'clock, the Governor went in state to the chamber of the Legislative Council. There was a full attendance of the members of the Upper House. His Excellency having commanded the attendance of the members of the Assembly, there was a rush to the Legislative Chamber, and Austin Cuvillier, informed His Excellency that the choice of the Assembly had fallen on him as Speaker.

The customary privileges having been demanded and granted, the First Session of the First Parliament of the Province of Canada was opened with a speech from the Throne, which was received with conflicting feeling throughout the country.

The first paragraph referred to the case of McLeod. A subject of Her Majesty, an inhabitant of the Province, had been forcibly detained in the neighbouring State, charged with a pretended crime. No time was lost by the Executive of the Province in remonstrating against this proceeding, and provision was made for insuring to the individual the means of defence, pending the further action of Her Majesty's Government. The Queen's representative at Washington had since been instructed to demand his release. The result of that demand the Governor had not yet learned, but he had the Queen's commands to assure her faithful subjects in Canada of Her Majesty's fixed determination to protect them with the whole weight of her power.

Arrangements had been completed during the summer, by which the rates of postage between all parts of the Colony and the United Kingdom had been greatly reduced. A more speedy and regular conveyance of letters between different parts of the Province had since been established by arrangements made by the Deputy Post

Master General. A commission had been appointed to enquire into and report upon the whole Post Office system of North America, and it was confidently anticipated, that the result of its labours would be the establishment of a plan securing improvements in the internal communication equal to those already obtained with the Mother Country.

Among those subjects demanding consideration, first in importance was the adoption of measures for developing the resources of the Province by Public Works.

The improvement of the navigation from the shores of Lake Erie and Lake Huron to the ocean—the establishment of new internal communications in the inland districts, were works requiring a great outlay, but which promised commensurate returns. To undertake them successfully, large funds would be required, and the financial condition of the Province would seem to forbid the attempt. But His Excellency had the satisfaction of informing them that he had received authority from Her Majesty's Government to state, that they were prepared to assist these important undertakings, by affording a guarantee for a loan to the extent of no less than a million and a half sterling, to aid the Province, for the double purpose of diminishing the pressure of the interest on the Public Debt, and of enabling it to proceed with those great public undertakings whose progress during the last few years had been arrested by the financial difficulties. A measure for this purpose was in course of preparation.

In immediate connexion with outlay upon public works was the subject of immigration, and the disposal and settlement of public lands. The assistance for the Public Works would provide employment for labour, and thus, in the surest manner, stimulate emigration. Not only so, Her Majesty's Government were prepared to assist in facilitating the passage of the immigrant from the port at which he was landed to the place where his labour might be made available. A vote of money for this purpose would be proposed to the Imperial Parliament.

It was highly desirable that the principles of local self-government, which already prevailed to some extent throughout that part of the Province that was formerly Upper Canada, should receive a more extensive application, and that the people should



exercise a greater degree of power over their own local affairs. A measure upon this subject would be submitted to Parliament, and provision would, he hoped, be made for establishing local self-government in districts unprovided with it. Lord Sydenham knew the advantages of Municipal Councils, "those walks and commons of a free people," as Walter Savage Landor called them.

A due provision for the education of the people was one of the first duties of the State, and in this Province especially the want of it was grievously felt. The establishment of an efficient system by which the blessings of instruction might be placed within the reach of all, was a work of difficulty—but its overwhelming importance demanded that it should be undertaken.

"The eyes of England," the speech concluded, "are anxiously fixed upon the result of this great experiment. Should it succeed, the aid of Parliament in your undertakings—the confidence of British capitalists in the credit you may require from them—the security which the British people will feel in seeking your shores and establishing themselves on your fertile soil—may carry improvement to an unexampled height. The rapid advance of trade and immigration within the last eighteen months afford ample evidence of the effects of tranquillity in restoring confidence and promoting prosperity. May no dissensions mar the flattering prospect which is open before us—may your efforts be steadily directed to the great practical improvements of which the Province stands so much in need, and under the blessing of that Providence which has hitherto preserved this portion of the British dominions, may your councils be so guided as to ensure to the Queen attached and loyal subjects, and to United Canada a prosperous and contented people."

With this speech the supporters of the Government were well pleased. But the Opposition press complained that it laid down no principles for the future guidance of the Government.

The Government did not come down at once with an answer to the Speech. Mr. Malcolm Cameron, when proposing a series of resolutions echoing the speech, grew quite enthusiastic about the first clause. He thought if hon. members had but "a spark of the patriotism of the ancient Romans," or "one particle of the love of country manifested by the Highlander," they would advocate

stronger and more decisive action. On the second clause, respecting a new arrangement for the Post Office, Mr. Cameron spoke as follows, and his words call up a vivid picture of early times in Canada, when isolated families longing to hear from and to communicate with their friends, were unable to do so, owing to the expense attending such communication. "To the numerous families scattered over the Province who have severed all the ties of relationship with home, the high rates of postage formerly charged had effectually cut off every approach at correspondence. He could tell them that a change from 5s. or 3s. to the sum of 1s. 2d. was hailed with joy and gratitude. He had seen the tears roll from the eyes of old settlers, when they found they could renew the correspondence with their friends abroad on such moderate terms."

In the course of the discussion Mr. Hincks said he was sorry that there should be a desire to seek any further delay. The custom of England was for the servants of the Crown to come down with an answer ready to submit to the House. The gentlemen opposite, on the Treasury benches, had failed in their duty. They ought, ere this, to have proposed their address—and when it was understood that this discussion was to be now proceeded with, the resolutions ought to have been submitted at the morning sitting without obliging a further delay until to-morrow. However, time should be given for consideration, in order that no one should be taken by surprise.

A question of Mr. Buchanan, relating to Responsible Government, brought up Mr. Attorney-General Draper, and his speech, which is a valuable document in the history of our constitutional progress, is the best apology for Baldwin's resignation. Mr. Buchanan, well known to us to-day as Isaac Buchanan, asked whether the Members of the Executive acknowledged their responsibility to Canadian public opinion, as expressed by the majority of that House, for the advice they gave the Head of the Government, to the extent that they would not remain connected with an Administration against which a vote of want of confidence was passed in the Assembly, unless in case a dissolution of Parliament was imminent? Or did they intend to recognise the

principle of retaining office, after they found they could not secure a majority in the Assembly ?

Mr. Draper's speech was an admirable piece of reasoning and oratory, and it bears not only on Lord Sydenham's conduct, but on the politics of the present moment. Few politicians have, perhaps, considered the difference between the Constitution of the Empire and the Constitution of Canada.

Mr. Draper said that only so long as he felt that in sustaining the policy of the Head of the Government he did not sacrifice those opinions he conscientiously entertained would he continue to hold office. This very first declaration of Mr. Draper tallies with the view of Lord Sydenham taken by impartial critics. He had come to introduce Responsible Government, but clearly not Responsible Government as understood by Baldwin. "Never for a moment," said the *London Colonial Gazette*, when noting his death, "did Lord Sydenham let the reins out of his own hands." But he had immense difficulties to contend with. He deserves this great praise that he was the man for the hour. Sagacious, strong, of great industry and not overweighted with scruples, like all great men, his personal influence entered largely into his success and this, which was perhaps advantageous at the moment, was attended with evil fruits afterwards. His policy undoubtedly was to deal with individuals rather than parties, and thus secure to himself the whole power of the Executive. He intended to be his own chief secretary. He aspired to be for Canada what Louis Philippe was for France. It was probably fortunate for his reputation that his career was prematurely cut short.

Mr. Draper said in the first place he would refer to the office and duties of the Governor of the Province. The office was one of a mixed character, the Governor being the representative of Royalty and also a Minister responsible alike to his Sovereign and to the Imperial Parliament for the faithful discharge of the duties of his station, liable to be impeached for misconduct before the highest tribunal of the Empire, a tribunal before which he could not discharge himself by declaring that the course for which he was accused had been followed under the advice of any man or any set of men, of the officers of his Government, or of his Executive Council. If this view was correct, it followed as a necessary con-

sequence, that where the responsibility attached, there the power must be vested. To give power without responsibility, was inconsistent with the principles of the constitution; to enforce responsibility where no power was given, was to violate the principles of natural justice. The two were inseparable.

He then proceeded to justify his views, by quoting Lord Glenelg's despatch, in which it was affirmed that experience proved that the administration of public affairs in Canada was by no means exempt from the control of practical responsibility. To His Majesty and to Parliament the Governor of Upper Canada was at all times most fully responsible for his official acts. That this responsibility was not merely nominal, for that His Majesty felt the most lively interest in the welfare of his Canadian subjects, and was ever anxious to devote a patient and laborious attention to any representations which they might address to him, either through their representatives, or as individuals, was shown by the whole tenour of the correspondence of his predecessors in office. That the Imperial Parliament were not disposed to receive with inattention the representations of their Canadian fellow-subjects, was attested by the labours of the Committees which had been appointed by the House of Commons, during the last few years, to enquire into matters relating to these Provinces. It was the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor to vindicate to the King and to Parliament every act of his administration. In the event of any representations being addressed to His Majesty upon the Lieutenant-Governor's official conduct, he would have the highest possible claim to a favourable construction—but the presumptions which might reasonably be formed in his behalf, would never supersede a close examination, how far they coincided with the real facts of each particular case which might be brought under discussion. This responsibility to His Majesty and to Parliament was second to none which could be imposed on a public man, and it was one which it was in the power of the House of Assembly, at any time by address or petition, to bring into active operation.\*

Mr. Draper then passed from Lord Glenelg to what Lord Sydenham himself stated in answer to an address presented to him at

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\* Lord Glenelg's despatch, 5th December, 1835.

Halifax, in which he had in a few but well-considered expressions embodied the substance of the foregoing remarks.

The second branch of the subject involved the office and duties of Her Majesty's servants in this colony, and particularly of those who were members of that House; responsibility and power must go hand in hand. He who was responsible for the exercise of power could not and dare not (for he would be impeachable for the act) transfer that power into other hands. Confusion of idea had been not infrequently occasioned in this matter, by attaching the same meaning to the use of the terms "Responsible Government" and "Responsible Executive Councillor." It was one of the conditions of free institutions, that Governments should not be irresponsibly conducted; but the character of that responsibility varied with the character of the Constitution, whether it was of the Colony or of the Mother Country. So long as the latter in a greater or less degree controlled the former, so long it was impossible that the whole responsibility could devolve upon those conducting affairs here, and if that control were put an end to, the connection would exist but in name. In accepting office under the Government, he had taken upon himself the duty of giving his honest advice, to the best of his judgment, upon all subjects on which he should be consulted, and of advocating and sustaining in his place in that House, those measures which the Head of the Government might think it his duty to recommend to the country, as calculated to promote its prosperity and improvement. It was his duty, so long as he held office, to follow this course, and when measures were determined on by the Head of the Government, who in that respect was to be regarded as the responsible Minister of the Crown, to which he could not give his support, honour and duty could point out but one path, that of resignation. A man must be indeed hardened in sentiment and feeling, who did not feel his responsibility to public opinion, not to that hasty expression of it which excitement or feeling gave rise to, but that which resulted from the conviction of a long course of time.

It is easy to see through this rhetoric that what Mr. Draper really meant was a negative to the first and an affirmative to the second of Mr. Buchanan's questions. He then quoted from the same despatch of Lord Glenelg to the effect that the principle of effective

responsibility should pervade every department of Government, and, therefore, that every public officer should depend on His Majesty's pleasure for the tenure of his office. If the head of any department should place himself in decided opposition to the Lieutenant-Governor, whether that opposition were avowed or latent, it would be his duty to resign his office, because the system of government could not proceed with safety on any other principle than that of the cordial co-operation of all its various members in the same general plan of promoting the public good. Some of the members of the local Government would, also, occasionally be representatives of the people in the Assembly, or would hold seats in the Legislative Council. As members of the local Legislature, they, of course, must act with fidelity to the public, advocating and supporting no measure which, upon a large view of the general interests, they would not think it incumbent on them to advance. But if any such person should find himself compelled, by his sense of duty, to counteract the policy pursued by the Lieutenant-Governor, as the Head of the Government, it must be distinctly understood that the immediate resignation of his office is expected of him, and that, failing such a resignation, he must, as a general rule, be suspended from it. Unless this course were pursued, it would be impossible to rescue the Head of the Government from the imputation of insincerity, or to conduct the administration of public affairs with the necessary firmness and decision. Lord John Russell's despatch of the 14th October, 1839, was then quoted, and the reasoning is worth pondering to-day. Perhaps we have here an illustration of Lord Sydenham's apothegm that what is theoretically true is often practically false.

Lord John Russell distinguishing between the Imperial Cabinet and its equivalent in a colony, says: "But if we seek to apply such a practice [the English constitutional practice] to a colony, we shall at once find ourselves at fault. The power for which a Minister is responsible in England is not his own power but the power of the Crown, of which he is, for the time, the organ. It is obvious that the executive councillor of a colony is in a situation totally different. The Governor under whom he serves receives his orders from the Crown of England? But can the Colonial Councillors be advisers of the Crown of England? Evidently not; for the

Crown has other advisers, for the same functions, and with superior authority. It may happen, therefore, that the Governor receives, at one and the same time, instructions from the Queen and advice from his Executive Council totally at variance with each other. If he is to obey his instructions from England, the parallel of constitutional responsibility entirely fails. If, on the other hand, he is to follow the advice of his council, he is no longer a subordinate officer, but an independent sovereign. It is now said that internal government is alone intended. But there are some cases of internal government in which the honour of the Crown, or the faith of Parliament, or the safety of the State, are so seriously involved that it would not be possible for her Majesty to delegate her authority to a Ministry in a colony." Mr. Draper then called to the recollection of the committee the resolution moved by Lord John Russell, and which was confirmed by both Lords and Commons—"That while it is expedient to improve the composition of the Executive Council, it is unadvisable to subject it to the responsibility demanded by the House of Assembly." To the foregoing principles, thus clearly laid down, Mr. Draper gave his unqualified assent. Upon them he had accepted office—and he would resign office whenever his tenure of it became inconsistent with their application. As to the maintenance of harmony between the Executive and the Legislature: to preserve the harmony, His Excellency had on a former occasion declared that he had received Her Majesty's commands to administer the Government in accordance with the well understood wishes and interests of the people. In carrying out this pledge, it was felt right, and a part of the duty which the Government owed to the people, to endeavour to anticipate the wants, and prepare such measures as would promote the prosperity of the Province. In pursuing this object, should discord arise, the restoration of harmony became the duty of the Head of the Government. For this, he was responsible. The Council were not to dictate to him. If he found that he was embarrassed by dishonest or incapable servants of the Crown, he could at once relieve himself of them, and by the appointment of more fitting officers, endeavour to restore the harmony which had been disturbed. His plan might be defeated—his efforts to promote the public welfare thwarted by other] causes. It was

impossible to foresee in what shape such difficulties might arise.

But in whatever shape they arose an appeal might be made to the people by dissolution. Circumstances might be imagined which would render it impossible for the Governor to continue the administration of public affairs, with honour to himself, or advantage to the people. In some one or other of these modes, however, the effort to restore harmony, when interrupted, must be made. If so improbable and lamentable a contingency should arrive, that every effort should prove unsuccessful, then a state of things would arise, on which, until it occurred, Mr. Draper felt it out of place to offer any observations.

In a word, he was pleading for a state of things which was the antipodes of Responsible Government. Nor can there be a doubt that he was expressing Lord Sydenham's views. It will have been observed that he always speaks of the Governor as the "Head" of the Government.

Mr. Hincks, who, like Mr. Holmes, busied himself with questions relating to banking, commerce, school laws, &c., took a vigorous part on the great question of the hour. He opposed the civil list, and said that no Reformers would admit the right to take "our" money without "our" consent.

Mr. Baldwin was attacked with great virulence for resigning. He was denounced with the vehemence of narrow intelligence and violent passion, the congenial slander of the interested, the natural billingsgate of the insincere. On the 21st of June he explained his motive for resigning.

He had accepted office after the Government began to be administered by the present Governor-General. The views which were entertained upon the subject of Responsible Government by the Governor-General—views already expressed in Lord Durham's report—those views were in practical application from the time of his taking office up to the commencement of the present session. Having accepted office, he had formed no coalition with the gentlemen who then composed the Council of his Excellency. He had always acted with a party which was entirely opposed to them. The Union of the Provinces having been declared, he was called on to take his seat in the executive cabinet. He then rei-



terated to those gentlemen his original opinions, and that he had not changed the position which he held in respect to them. At that time there was no parliament of Canada which might give expression to the confidence of the people; but when the result of the election became known, when it was ascertained of what materials the House of Assembly was composed, it then became his duty to inform the Head of the Government that the administration would not possess the confidence of the House of Assembly, and to tender the resignation of his office, having first, as, according to the duties of his office, he was bound to do, offered his advice to his Excellency that the administration of the country should be re-constructed. This advice was not adopted. His resignation followed and was accepted. A speaker had been proposed whose opinions with respect to the Government were denounced, because he had no confidence in the administration. But the administration dared not propose another. Some might look upon this as a trifling matter, but he considered it very grave.

Colonel Prince made an impertinent speech, in which he said he did not think Baldwin's resignation of sufficient importance to justify the explanation. Baldwin was at this time the darling of the people, and therefore the object of the hatred of the hateful, and the petty insults of envious mediocrity. Men like Prince and the whole Family Compact saw him take a leading part with the same feelings the Barons watched Gaveston carry the Confessor's crown.

Solicitor-General Day followed Prince with a more able and more elaborate attack on Baldwin. Like every man who is going to transgress the courtesies of public discussion, he commenced by saying he had no desire to do so. Baldwin, he declared, should have refused to accept office with men in whom he had no confidence. This would have been the manly and straightforward course. Parliament was called together under extraordinary circumstances; the gates of a new era were thrown open. What did Baldwin do?

Two days before the meeting of Parliament, a communication was made to the Governor-General that he would retire from office. In consequence of what? Not that he had discovered a

difference of opinion between himself and his colleagues, for he had not taken the trouble to ascertain their opinions—no, but because he had found by secret inquiry, by attending secret meetings, that he could form a party to overturn the Government [ministerial cheers]. Instead of bringing his party to the support of that Government, whose servant he was, he endeavoured to make it the instrument of his own purposes. “And I,” cried Mr. Day, “would put it to the heart and understanding of every member of this House, whether he has not placed himself in a predicament—upon the horns of a dilemma? I would ask, whether the mere facts themselves would not justify the supposition, that he had entered the administration with the intention of committing a deliberate act of perfidy?” The cheering was renewed as the Solicitor-General sat down.

Mr. Durand followed defending Baldwin. Nothing which had been said or which could be said would have sufficient weight to injure the character of that gentlemen. He was held in too high estimation both in this country and in England [hear, hear]. He had long been known in this country as the champion of liberal principles of government, and he could have been returned for any county in the Province [no, no]. He deserved well of the country for having made the attempt to heal dissension, and for being a man who would not for the sake of office abandon his principles [hear, hear].

Mr. Merritt said the announcement of the resignation of Baldwin, would be received throughout the Province with feelings of deep regret. From his fixed and determined adherence to principle, he had gained the confidence of the great body of the Reformers. Was a proof of this needed? It was at hand. When his Excellency the Governor-General arrived in Toronto, although he was well known to have been the advocate of liberal principles in England, great doubts existed as to his sincerity in carrying into operation the new colonial system of government recommended by Lord Durham. But the appointment of the learned gentleman was taken as an evidence of his sincerity, and gave a confidence to his administration, which no other man in Canada could at that moment have ensured.

After the speech of Day it was impossible for Baldwin to re-

main silent. He rose to explain more at length. On the threshold of his remarks, there occurred one of those Pickwickian scenes which are so amusing and so insincere, Mr. Baldwin said that after the disclaimer on the part of the hon. and learned gentleman from Ottawa (Day) of any desire to wound his feelings, he was bound to believe that no such intention existed. He would therefore treat those terms which that hon. and learned member had thought proper to apply to him in their restricted and parliamentary sense and not as designed to be personally offensive. Mr. Day, who had only accused him of perfidy, leaned across the table and assured him that he had meant to speak of him in no other terms than those of personal respect. He had told him his conduct was an outrage. Mr. Baldwin was, however satisfied, and proceeded with his explanation.

He admitted he was responsible to the bar of public opinion. The course which he had taken in accepting office on the proclamation of the Union had been condemned. It had, however, been forgotten, that he was not, at the time, in the position of one out of the Administration, and then, for the first time, invited to join it. The Head of the Government, the heads of departments in both Provinces, and the country itself were in a position almost anomalous. That of the Head of the Government was one of great difficulty and embarrassment. While he felt bound to protect himself against misapprehensions as to his views and opinions, he also felt bound to avoid, as far as possible, throwing any difficulties in the way of the Governor-General. At the time he was called to a seat in the Executive Council, he was already one of those public servants, the political character newly applied to whose offices made it necessary for them to hold seats in that council. Had he on being called to take that seat refused to accept it, he must of course have left office altogether, or have been open to the imputation of objecting to an arrangement for the conduct of public affairs, which had always met with his most decided approbation.\* In either case what a position he would have been placed in. How triumphantly would those who con-

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\* By the Act of Union, as a principal officer of the Provincial Government, he was given a seat in the Council.

demned him for accepting that seat, have then denounced him as one utterly impracticable, if not absolutely factious.

What doubts and fears would have been raised. No step, as Baldwin did not hesitate to say—without assuming any importance, other than such as the connection of his humble name with the great principle of Responsible Government had in the public eye attributed to him—could have been taken which would have been more calculated to produce distrust and alarm. It was under a deep sense of the responsibility which he would incur in taking such a step, that he had come to the conclusion that his course was to accept the seat to which the Head of the Government had called him. In the peculiar position in which he was placed, coupled with his well-known political opinions, either as to men or measures, neither the Head of the Government nor the members of the Council who now condemned him would have had any just ground of complaint against him. He had taken office originally with a full avowal of his principles and of his want of political confidence in certain gentlemen. He had not rested satisfied with that, but had, in order to prevent any possible misconception, explicitly declared those opinions, both to the Head of the Government and to those honourable gentlemen, previous to his acceptance of a seat in the Executive Council.

On the 13th of February, 1841, Lord Sydenham had written to him that he was called upon to name an Executive Council for this Province without delay, which, for the present would be composed exclusively of the chief officers of the Government, and that he had therefore inserted his name in the list. Did not that note, argued Baldwin, show that the Governor himself looked forward to such changes as the calls of public opinion might afterwards demand, “more particularly when attention to such calls formed the very basis of the new principle to which allusion had been so often made?” A few days afterwards, on the 18th or 19th of the same month, he had replied that he had to acknowledge the receipt of the Governor-General’s note, informing him that His Excellency had done him the honour of calling him to the Executive Council of the United Province; that he was still ignorant, except from rumour, who the other councillors were to be; that assuming that the gentlemen to whom rumour had assigned seats in the

new Council were those who His Excellency felt it necessary should "at present" compose it, such an administration would not command the support of Parliament; that he had an entire want of political confidence in all of them except Mr. Dunn, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Daly, and that had he reason to suppose that the generally understood political principles and views of the other gentlemen of the Council were those upon which the Government was to be administered, it would be his duty respectfully to decline continuing to hold office under them.

At such a critical moment, however, he shrank from everything that would be in the least calculated to embarrass the Government. He, therefore, would not feel justified in refusing the place to which he had been appointed. His silent acceptance of office might, however, be misinterpreted by the members of the Council, in whom he had no confidence, as an expression of his confidence. He would take it for granted there could be no objection to his making them acquainted with his sentiments.

He accordingly addressed letters to those gentlemen informing them of his utter want of political confidence in them. Could he have done more to prevent misconception? True, he might have retired from the Government at the time, but so might the gentlemen to whom he objected, who were precisely in the same position as he was. If he did not take that course, it was because he was impelled to a contrary one by a strong sense of duty. He had felt, as he took it for granted they had done, that the verdict of the country was to decide whether their political views or his were most in accordance with the wishes and interests of the people. The charge of not having interchanged with his temporary colleagues those communications which might have led to a correct estimate of the respective political opinions of each, was no charge at all, except upon the supposition that he had entered into a coalition with them. Without that ground of complaint, all the charge amounted to was, that he had not acted inconsistently with his already avowed opinion concerning them, and misled them by a show of confidence into a belief that his previously expressed opinions had been modified; or it resolved itself into a repetition in a new shape of the first charge of accepting the office of Executive Councillor at all, to which he had already

given a sufficiently satisfactory answer. Those gentlemen of the Administration in whom he had felt and avowed political confidence, knew that he had communicated with them in the fullest and frankest manner upon every topic connected with the state of the country, and upon none more fully than that involved in the subject of the present discussion. The third charge was, that he had not at an earlier period tendered that advice upon the rejection of which he had felt himself called upon to resign. It was hard that he was on the one hand accused of precipitancy, and on the other of delay. But when the circumstances in which he was placed were fairly considered; when it was remembered that from the time of his appointment to the time of his proceeding to Montreal, he had been actively engaged, first with the Upper Canada elections, and more particularly the contest for Hastings and the City of Toronto, and afterwards with the duties of his office of Solicitor-General as public prosecutor on the Home Circuit; that he had not only expressly communicated to the Head of the Government at the time of accepting the seat in the Executive Council his expectations of the result of the elections then about to come off, but had never concealed his opinion that those anticipations had been realized; that he had, when in Lower Canada, the advantage of seeing only a portion of the reform members who had been returned to the United Parliament, and had not had an opportunity of ascertaining how far the Reformers of both sections of the Province were prepared to act together—a course on their parts which he had always deemed of the most vital importance to the best interests of his country; when these circumstances were considered, he felt convinced that every dispassionate man in the community would acquit him of unnecessary delay in tendering his advice to Lord Sydenham.

Mr. Day had accused him of caballing, of course in an inoffensive sense, as if there was any meaning in such an expression used in an inoffensive sense. He had, it was said, caballed in secret meeting to overthrow the Government of which he was a member. Was he right in his opinion that those only who retained the confidence of Parliament were to be retained in the confidence of the Crown? If so, how was he to ascertain the estimation in which the Government was held, unless by commu-

nicating with the representatives of the House, and holding what Day had characterized as midnight meetings and secret cabals? He had always been a party man. Nor did he, any more than anybody else, see how popular government could be worked without party—though neither to party, nor to the people, nor to the Crown, nor to its representative, would he sacrifice one particle of principle. In truth he had a ready answer to the charge of want of loyalty. On the 11th of June he had written a letter to M. Morin, saying that he could not attend a meeting of Reformers where the question of testing on the election of a Speaker the strength of the administration of which he was a member, was to be discussed.

He then read the passage from the letter of the 12th June, 1841, in which he tendered his advice to the Governor. In that letter he informed him that the union of the Reformers of the Eastern and those of the Western sections of the Province, into one united party, had taken place; that that party represented the political views of the vast majority of the people of the Province; that its members had no confidence in the administration, the want of confidence however not extending to the Head of the Government; that he was bound therefore to declare to his Excellency, that the administration, as then constituted, did not possess the confidence of Parliament or the country; that to place it upon a footing to obtain such confidence, it would be expedient, that Mr. Sullivan (his own cousin and brother-in-law), Mr. Odgen, Mr. Draper, and Mr. Day should no longer form a part of it; and that some gentlemen from among the reformers of Lower Canada should be introduced into the administration, whose accession to office would bring with them the support of the Lower Canada section of reformers, and with that the confidence of the whole reform party of the United Province. In the faithful discharge of the sacred duty imposed upon him by his oath of office, he felt bound respectfully to tender to His Excellency his humble advice that the reconstruction of the administration upon the basis suggested was a measure essential to the successful and happy conduct of public affairs.

Could anything be more reasonable? Could anything be more statesmanlike? What course so calculated to conciliate Lower

Canada as that suggested? How true a statesman Baldwin was, the history of the country since proves. His advice not being taken he resigned. He concluded by throwing himself with confidence on the judgment of the House and the country. He was supported both by the House and the country. In the House, Isaac Buchanan stated that, when the exact position of parties was kept in view, the retirement from office of Mr. Baldwin would be seen to be a much more important circumstance in the discussion of the address than some honourable members seemed willing to allow. It was not to be pretended that the address, or indeed any future measure of government, could pass this House without the assistance of the liberal members from Upper Canada. That large portion of the House, whatever might be their individual views as to the propriety, under the circumstances, of Mr. Baldwin's resignation, still reposed full confidence in his political integrity, and still continued to hold that it was only on liberal principles that the Colonial Government could hope to succeed. Outside the House the feeling in Baldwin's favour was not less pronounced. A meeting of the Reformers of the City of Toronto, was convened at Elliott's Temperance House, Yonge Street, on Saturday evening, the 3rd July—Captain Eccles in the chair; Mr. J. Lesslie acting as secretary.

Captain Eccles was an old Peninsular officer, who entered the 61st regiment as ensign in 1802. He was a native of Wicklow, and was educated at Trinity College, where he took his degree of B.A. the same year in which he joined his regiment. He served with distinction throughout the entire Peninsular campaign. At Corunna he was wounded in the side and leg. His arm was shattered on a later field. He retired, in 1817, on his laurels, and having married settled down in Wales. In 1830, he went to Somersetshire, and in 1835 emigrated to Canada, residing at Niagara until 1841, in which year he removed to Toronto, where he died in his eighty-second year in 1858.

Captain Eccles came to emigrate in this wise: During the great reform movement in England he was chairman of the committee of the Liberal candidate for Somersetshire. After a hard contest the Liberal candidate was returned. This gave Captain Eccles some claims on the Government of Earl Grey,



and he was sent to Canada to receive a report on lands suitable for emigrants from Admiral Vansittart and Captain Drew, R.N. Having received their report, he returned to England and reported unfavourably on their scheme, but most favourably on Upper Canada as an agricultural country. He contended that no private company should be permitted to control emigration, that it should be a matter entirely in the hands of the Government, and advised the authorities to encourage in every way the settlement of British subjects in Upper Canada.

From the time of his arrival in Canada to his departure he evinced great interest in political affairs, and shortly after he sent in his report on Admiral Vansittart and Captain Drew's emigration scheme, he made a report on the political condition of Canada, denouncing some of the most prominent political leaders there as disloyal, and described the country as in much the same disorganized condition as the New England colonies on the eve of the rebellion. He urged the necessity of speedy action in regard to Canada. As he was not sent to Canada to make a report on the political condition of that colony, he was censured for exceeding his instructions, and his report was not acted upon.

Having decided to come to Canada with his family, he proceeded to the Town of Niagara, near which he purchased some farms and a house in the town. He brought out a few families from Somersetshire, farm implements and several head of blooded live stock. At the breaking out of the rebellion of 1837, he organized and commanded a regiment of volunteers on the Niagara frontier, doing good service for the Government. He was always intensely loyal, and could not forgive a man who raised his hand against the British flag.

On the arrival of Lord Durham, who had with him the report of Captain Eccles, he sent for the veteran, and consulted him as to the most fitting measures of redress. Captain Eccles remained with Lord Durham for several weeks assisting him. In return for his services he was offered several Government positions, which he declined.

In Toronto, he took an active part in public questions, and actively supported charitable institutions. Though he had acted as colonel of volunteers, he never allowed himself to be addressed

by any rank but Captain. He was of the old school. In personal appearance he was every inch the soldier—six feet high, with iron grey hair and moustachios, and perfectly erect up to a year or two before his death; his helpless right arm in a sling, a lasting memento of "the Peninsula." He left behind him three sons and three daughters. Among the sons was the late Henry Eccles, the eminent Q. C., who was so powerful as an advocate.

Such was the chairman of the meeting, which was the forerunner of the great meetings in the time of Metcalfe. In opening the proceedings he stated that the object they had in view was to give some public testimony to the noble conduct of the Hon. Robert Baldwin, in retiring from the Executive Council, and resigning the office of Solicitor-General. A committee, composed of Messrs. Beaty, McLellan, O'Beirne, Dunleavy, and Lesslie, was appointed to prepare a series of resolutions. The first resolution expressed the confidence of Reformers in Baldwin, as the uncompromising champion of the civil and religious liberties of the people of United Canada. The second resolution declared his explanations in Parliament entirely satisfactory. An honourable and independent man had no course but to resign. The third resolution declared the reorganization of the Cabinet a step imperatively called for.

At this distance of time we can appreciate both Baldwin and Sydenham. While the Tory press attacked Baldwin for his resignation, and his name, though associated with inflexibility of principle, sterling integrity, and irreproachableness of character, became an object of foul aspersion, Lord Sydenham was assailed by his enemies with a corresponding vituperative exaggeration. The journals of those days are not uninteresting reading. The editors used to do some things which would create a smile now. Thus a vigorous attack on Draper is ushered in with a latin scene. The admirable manner in which Lord Sydenham kept his own counsel was peculiarly irritating. This was in part policy, in part explicable on the same principle as the apathy of Canning's needy knife-grinder. But it maddened the brilliant editors, who thought they ought to know everything. With a satire which seems strangely blunt to-day, it was pointed out that in Pagan times there was a secret worship paid to divin-

ities, to which none were admitted but those who had been carefully initiated. Of the secret worship there were two mysteries, the lesser and the greater. A knowledge of the greater mysteries was generally reserved for the favoured few, whose understanding scorned the imposture which their policy approved; and both the greater and the lesser mysteries were sedulously concealed from the multitude lest their disclosure should convert reverence into contempt. The classical recollections of Lord Sydenham taught him to apply this practice to his system of politics; and, save himself, and perhaps the "gifted Draper," there was no man in the country who could safely pronounce upon his Lordship's measures, or pierce the shroud which invested his intentions.

At this time one of the newspapers of Kingston had a series of sketches of prominent members of the House. The first article was devoted to Mr. Draper and Mr. Hincks. Draper was described as "the most plausible of mortals, bland, insinuating, persuasive, and somewhat eloquent. When speaking, one would suppose he was honesty of intention personified. If you don't look out he will make you believe he is the most candid, open and frank of all public men. While he is making earnest declarations of all this, he is squirming, twisting and moulding a delicate little loop-hole, which few but himself see, out of which he will afterwards creep, and no one can dare accuse him of inconsistency. His manner is the most taking, and he gains a great deal by this. Himself the most prejudiced of mortals—the greatest stickler for prescriptive rights and usages—he takes good care not to do violence to the prejudices of others. No, he is not to be forced into any such imprudence, any more than he is to be compelled to make open confession of all he thinks. Wedded to notions of Church and State, he is a century behind the spirit of the age. Yet, to gain his end, he will even ape liberality of sentiment." The writer goes on to say, that he had no political liberality, that he was a faint imitator of Sir Robert Peel, that his enemies admitted he was the most easy and most ready speaker in the House, and that he had few competitors in debate; that he was a thorough Tory; that though smooth and insinuating, he often involved a subject and left it more misty than he found it, and that the polish of education had done much for him.

The following is the sketch of Mr. Hincks:—"The first look at this gentleman will be apt to deceive the common observer. There is nothing of *empressement* about him, and it strikes one that there cannot be anything of intellectual dignity or power in such a head as his. About Mr. Hincks, there is evidently considerable force of character, clearness of perception, and shrewd concentration of mind; whatever powers he does possess, he has the ability to make the most of them; and this is no ordinary talent. Without fancy, indeed without a single spark of that celestial force of *ideality*, which throws a charm even around matters of fact, he is a common sense person, who makes everything he writes or speaks go home at once to the understanding of the least enlightened. Want of commanding weight is compensated for by great activity of temperament and the power of concentrating his thoughts. Shrewd, concise, clear, he is not to be misled by plausibility or sophistry. Viewing things through a practical medium—he has not the forethought and grasp of conception to follow out his premises to their conclusions. He has that organization which leads to popularity with the people, and his power will emanate from and lie entirely with them. Careless of the opinions of the great, he would court that of the many. He will not owe his popularity to his power of addressing himself to the passions of the people. If he reaches them at all, it will be through an array of facts, applied in such a way as to rouse indignation and excite anger. To speak at once to the passions requires eloquence and high command of language, and he has not the remotest pretension to the one and scarcely any to the other. But he is matter of fact—clear. It is impossible to misunderstand what he aims at. He has not the faculty of comprehensively summing up the whole. Mr. Hincks' talents are more useful than brilliant—more practical than poetical. He is exactly such a man as is useful to the people. Such as he will be a stumbling block in the path of any man or set of men who aim at illegal power or the abridgement of their rights."

R. B. Sullivan, William B. Coffin and W. Fullam were appointed to enquire into the disturbances which took place in Toronto, a day or two after the election, at which a man lost his life.

At this time Messrs. Baldwin and Hincks sat on the extreme left.

On the 18th of June in the Legislative Council, M. Quesnel spoke in opposition to one of the clauses of the address, and was replied to by Mr. Sullivan, who made a masterly speech in defence of the Government and its policy.

Not many weeks passed before the power of Baldwin in the country was seen. Had he remained in the Council the attacks on it of a reformed House would have been robbed of their sting.

In July, Hincks supported an enquiry into the riots at the elections in the Lower Province, an enquiry which the Government opposed. Even at this time, the promises of the Government as to Responsible Government, were regarded by many Reformers and others as idle mockery. "The men, who only ten days since so pompously pledged themselves to resign if unsupported by the country in their policy actually array themselves against the Province, and are banded together not in defence of the sovereign's prerogative—not in a patriotic resistance to an invasion of the public liberty—but they are found united, opposing the demands of the people of Canada."\* What demands? The demands for enquiry into the condition of things during the elections in Lower Canada. But it had been decided that the laws relating to contested elections in Lower Canada were in force, and the necessary recognizances not having been entered into, the petitions fell through. Some thought that the House, notwithstanding, would entertain them.

Lord Sydenham and his advisers were accused of having "suckled corruption and famished freedom;" of having obtained from the people's representatives a dishonourable surrender of the people's liberties; of having eluded all that was really valuable in the promised concessions to colonists. Her Majesty's advisers had resisted Sir Allan MacNab's Bill to secure to the "defrauded constituencies" of Lower Canada the power of establishing the facts.

The session of 1841, was a memorable one. In it was laid the foundation of our municipal system, and the important questions connected with education, customs, and currency were placed in right channels. On the 6th of August, the House sat until long after midnight debating the Municipal Council Bill for Upper

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\* *Times*, Montreal, July 27th, 1841.

Canada. The debate turned entirely on the question of the appointment of the Warden, whether it should be in the hands of the Executive, or should be elective. After everything had been said that could be said for and against the point, in a two days' debate a division was taken at a late hour, and the numbers stood 34 to 34. The vote of the Chairman, Mr. Caleb Hopkins, was then given in favour of the Governor having the appointment.

During the discussion, Mr. Hincks came out strongly in behalf of the Ministry, and urged upon the House the necessity of abandoning the contest as to the appointment of the Warden, rather than lose all chance of the Province obtaining the other benefits to be derived from the municipal system. His position created some surprise in the minds of a greater audience than had ever assembled within the walls of the House. The union of Sir Allan McNab, Messrs. Moffatt, Cartwright, and others, with Messrs. Viger, Baldwin, Aylwin, and the rest of the Opposition, was looked upon as equally strange. Sir Allan MacNab and his friends opposed the Bill, as tending too much to democracy; while Messrs. Viger and Baldwin, not satisfied with the concessions already made to popular influence, opposed the Ministerial measure, because it was not democratic enough. "The effect of this coalition," wrote a correspondent, "is truly to be regretted: the local Ministry must be embarrassed, when they do not receive a fair share of that support to which they have proved themselves entitled."

The leading Conservative papers of Montreal denounced the attitude of Sir Allan MacNab and Mr. Moffatt. Baldwin's great objection to the Bill that the Wardenship was not made elective was peculiarly offensive to the supporters of the Government. "This objection has been stated in various forms, and advocated in speeches of different degrees of merit and length, in the specious and Joseph-Surface-like oration of Mr. Baldwin—the excited and passionate phillipic of that violent admirer of British institutions, Mr. Viger—and in the sparkling antitheses and well-rounded periods, remarkable for so much neatness and so little matter, of Mr. Aylwin. There has indeed been a great amount of talk expended, but very little argument that will stand a moment's examination. We contend that the appointment of the Wardens by the Governor is in every view preferable to their election by the

people. It is more consonant to the spirit of the other institutions of the empire ; it secures to Government in each district the services of an individual in whom they have complete confidence—with whom they can unreservedly communicate in all matters relating either to its improvement or its security.”\*

On the 19th the Assembly was in session till after midnight, the whole subject of discussion being the third reading of the Municipal Bill. Mr. Baldwin moved that it be read a third time that day six months. This produced a long and protracted debate—in which everything that had been hitherto said was repeated, and every member seemed anxious to have a word on this “most important” measure ; there being a clear impossibility, of his giving a “silent vote.” At near midnight the vote was taken. Yeas, 30 ; Nays, 42.

Several speakers having given their reasons for their votes, Mr. Hincks said that when first called on to give a vote on the question, he felt considerable embarrassment for he found himself compelled to vote in opposition to Baldwin, with whom he was accustomed to act. But he was convinced the course he took was called for by his duty to his constituents and his country. “Now, sir,” said Mr. Hincks, with some acidity, “I confess that it is a matter of some surprise to me to hear the very extraordinary differences of opinion that have been expressed on this subject. In another part of this building, only a few minutes ago, I heard it pronounced a measure ‘liberal without a precedent.’ The honourable and gallant Knight from Hamilton, and the honourable the learned member for Lennox and Addington say that it is republican and democratic in principle, and that if it be adopted, the people will have almost uncontrolled power. At the same time we are assured by the honourable and learned member for Hastings that it is ‘an abominable Bill,’ ‘a monstrous abortion,’ which he views with detestation. It is certainly not a little surprising that two parties, so very opposite in their views on this very question, should unite, and I cannot help observing that charges of coalition are quite as applicable to one side of the House as to the other.”

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\* *Gazette.* (Montreal), August, 1841.

The newspaper of which Mr. Hincks was editor, had come out very strongly on reform principles, and the power Reformers would have in the House, and when he took the course he did on the Municipal Bill, it was natural that he should be denounced as a renegade. He had regularly joined a party. The leader of that party had a right to rely on him, and the detail of a municipal bill was not a sufficient ground for playing fast and loose with party allegiance. His defence was as follows :—

“ I know, Mr. Speaker, the deep responsibility I have taken on myself in adopting this course. I am well aware, sir, that already every species of slander and calumny has been resorted to, in order to destroy my public character. I have been held up in the public prints as having sold myself to Government. From political opponents I can expect nothing else but such attacks, but, sir, I confess I have been pained at the insinuations which have proceeded from other quarters. The allusions to ‘ expectants of office,’ to ‘ government influence,’ I cannot, I ought not affect to misunderstand. I shall leave the Reformers of Upper Canada to judge whether I have deceived them, and I have, I think, some claims upon the sympathy of Reformers. My first connexion with political life was at a very eventful period in the history of this Colony, at a time, Sir, when hardly a journal in the Province dared to stand forth in defence of the great principle which is now recognised as the only one on which our government should be administered. During a very dark period of our history, I defended that principle and the party who supported it, and it was a time when I had nothing to expect but incarceration in a dungeon as my reward. The difficulties and embarrassments to which a public journalist is exposed cannot readily be imagined by those who have not encountered them, and not the least of them is the odium to which a faithful advocate of popular rights is necessarily exposed. He is the mark for all the animosity of the hostile party. I have, Sir, at least endeavoured to discharge my arduous duty faithfully and conscientiously. I have never asked a favour from any Governor since I took up my residence in this Province, and no one knows better than the hon. and learned member for Hastings (Baldwin), that when he was in place, and when there were prospects of our party having influence, I enev



stipulated for any personal reward. I was willing to give our party an independent support to the utmost of my ability. With regard to the people of Lower Canada, I feel that from them I certainly deserve better than that they should ascribe to me improper motives. I have fought their battles through good report and through evil report, and, Sir, it is with deep regret that I ever give a vote in opposition to them. I am not desirous, Mr. Speaker, of occupying the time of the House with remarks which must be in some degree of a personal character. I would not however have done justice to myself, had I not availed myself of the present opportunity to repel the insinuations which have been made against my political integrity, and to assert that my vote in favour of that bill is as conscientious and independent as that of any hon. member on the floor of this House. It is dictated solely by a deep sense of the duty which I owe to my constituents and my country, and I know and feel that it will be appreciated by them."

While Hincks was speaking, he was warmly cheered by Draper. Mr. Price said, if he was always found voting with Ministers on questions the loss of which would endanger the administration, and against them on matters not of so serious a character, he must not think it strange if he was accused of deserting his party. "He states" continued that gentleman "that on the Ballot he voted against Ministers. Did he on that important question say a single word? No, not one word. Did he not know that if that question had carried, the Ministers would not have cared? They never considered it a question to affect the Administration, one way or the other. Only one question during the session came up, on the loss of which the Ministry would have resigned; and upon that question the hon. member not only voted with the Ministers, but canvassed and repeatedly spoke for them. I should like to know from the hon. member, if he and others did not make some compromise with the leader on the treasury benches, that upon certain concessions being made by the Government, the Bill would be supported by the Liberals? Were not those concessions acceded to by the hon. leader, and was it not understood that many of the appointments of officers provided for in the Bill were to be in the hands of the people? How then does it happen, that the most

strenuous advocate of those concessions, should, on the very next day, surrender them up to the Government, and quietly swallow the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill?"

Baldwin then rose and said, that with respect to the doubts which had insinuated themselves in some quarters as to Hincks' course, he had neither originated them, repeated them, nor sanctioned them, and with the hon. member himself must necessarily rest the means of demonstrating their utter groundlessness. Again, the hon. member had referred to the support which he had afforded to the Reform cause. No one more highly appreciated his talents than he did, and no one was more ready to acknowledge the important benefits which, as a journalist and an orator, Mr. Hincks had conferred upon the country by his powerful advocacy of the great principle of Responsible Government. These most valuable services of the hon. member he ever had, now did, and ever should acknowledge with cheerfulness and satisfaction, whatever the political relation in which that hon. gentleman and himself might stand to each other; and he was equally ready, and should be on all occasions, to acknowledge the personal support which he had received from that hon. gentleman. But if, what he could not and did not believe, the charge of ingratitude, which had escaped the lips of the hon. member, was meant to be applied to him, he would take leave to say, and no one knew it better than the hon. member himself, that support had not been all on one side; that on all occasions and in all places, wherever he thought he could be useful to him, as well in the highest society in the Province as in that of the honest yeomen who had done the hon. member the honour of returning him to that House, he had stood by his character, private and political, and not unfrequently with the discomfort of knowing that he was listened to with anything but satisfaction. He did this in those hours of storm to which the hon. gentleman had so feelingly alluded, as well as when, from altered circumstances, more cheering prospects opened upon the cause. For himself, all who knew him were aware, that though slow to enter into connexions of any kind, he ever clung with tenacity to such as he did once form, and he assured the hon. member for Oxford, that if the time should come when the political tie which bound them to each other was

to be severed for ever, it would be to him by far the most painful which had occurred in the course of his political life.

When in September some members of the House were looking impracticably at the loan which the Imperial Government was to guarantee, Mr. Hincks brought them to their senses by a few shrewd remarks. He had heard it said that the loan was all a humbug. He was, therefore, desirous of throwing it upon the Administration to carry out their own offer, and fulfil the pledge they had given. The plain and business-like view of the case was this. They had a revenue of £300,000. They owed a debt of about £1,300,000. And the expenses of the Government, with the interest of the debt, were about equal to the revenue. The Government were willing to lend a million and a half to pay the debt, or as much of it as could be demanded—provided that they had the security that the interest of that debt would be the first claim on the revenue, as provided by the Union Act; but he doubted whether the Imperial Parliament would be disposed to guarantee so large a sum on the security of new taxes, the productiveness of which had never been tested.

On the 3rd of September, Baldwin moved and passed a series of resolutions emphatically affirming the principles of Responsible Government. On the 7th of September, Lord Sydenham's horse fell with him and the fall aggravated the gout from which his lordship suffered. Pleasure and toil doing the work of years had broken down his constitution, and he died on the 19th of September, 1841. His last act was to subscribe the instruments of the first Legislature of United Canada, his last wish, to be buried at Kingston. He must ever remain one of our great men.

He seems to have been a man of singular tact, easy of access, unaffected in manners. Affable and ready in conversation, he knew how to introduce the topic he desired to discuss. He was a consummate man of business and a born statesman.

He evidently felt the cold hand stealing near him. In July he had asked leave to resign, and immediately devolve the Government on the officer next to him. He said Neilson, of Quebec was stirring up the habitans, but he had no fear. Never was there a man in Canada who had more faith in its future, and when a column is raised to his memory, the words he wrote of

the country, he adopted on his death bed, should be inscribed on the well-deserved memorial.

“I should do injustice to my own feelings if I were not to state to your Lordship the impression which has been left on my mind by the inspection which I have made of the Upper Province. It is really impossible to say too much of the advantages which nature has bestowed upon it, especially that part of the country which lies between the three Lakes—Ontario, Erie, and Huron. If these great advantages be properly used, I foresee in the course of a very few years Upper Canada must become one of the most valuable possessions of the British Empire. Its population may be trebled, and its products increased in an immense ratio; whilst, if properly governed, its inhabitants will, I am satisfied, become the most loyal, intelligent, and industrious subjects which Her Majesty can number.”

It was a melancholy thing to read in the speech closing Parliament,—“Well, I cannot look back on the last two years without feelings of the deepest emotion. My anticipations for the future are full of hope and confidence”—and to know he was lying dead. On the 24th September he was buried at Kingston with becoming pomp.\*

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\* The following epitaph is engraven on his tomb :—

Near this spot lies the body of  
 The Right Honourable  
 CHARLES POULETT THOMPSON,  
 Baron Sydenham,  
 Of Sydenham, County of Kent, and Toronto, in Canada.  
 Born September 13th, 1799,  
 Bred a Merchant of London and St. Petersburg,  
 He, from an early age,  
 Devoted himself to the service of his country.  
 He sat in Parliament for Dover and Manchester  
 From 1826 to 1839 :  
 Was Vice-President of the Board of Trade  
 From 1830 to 1834,  
 And President, with a Seat in the Cabinet,  
 From 1834 to August, 1839 ;  
 When he was appointed  
 Governor-General of British North America.  
 While in this High Office he accomplished  
 The Re-union of the Canadas,  
 And laboured unceasingly

The first Parliament of United Canada had ended well. A foundation for valuable legislation had been prepared, and the principle of responsible government unmistakably asserted. Nevertheless the great fight was still to come off.

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## CHAPTER X.

UP to 1816 education in Canada was at a very low ebb. In that year, the Legislature provided for the establishment and maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada, but, owing to jobbery and the suspicion which was thus created, the grant was reduced in 1820 from \$24,000 to \$10,000. This brought the grant to each district down to \$1,000, and to each teacher from \$500 to \$250 per annum.

In 1819, the Executive Council had recommended that 500,000 acres of land should be sold for the purpose of establishing a University in Upper Canada. In 1823, Sir Peregrine Maitland submitted to the Colonial Office a plan for a general system of education, and obtained permission to establish a Board for the management of the University and School lands. In 1827, he obtained a charter for King's College, and the Imperial Government granted \$5,000 per annum for erecting the necessary buildings, the fund to be taken out of the moneys paid by the Canada Company. The Governor was authorized on receipt of the des-

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To found a system of institutions fitted to secure

The permanent peace and prosperity of this country.

A fatal accident occasioned his premature death

At this place, on the 19th September, 1841. Ætat. 42.

“He rests from his labours, and his works do follow him.”

[Authorities for chapters X and XI.—Original sources. “A View of Upper Canada,” by Mr. Smith, Baltimore. “The Origin, History and Management of the University of King's College, Toronto:” printed by George Brown, Yonge Street, 1844. “Eighty Years' Progress, from 1781 to 1801.” “Life of Lord Metcalfe,” by John William Kaye. MacMullen's “History.” Newspapers of the period. “Hansard.”]

patch to exchange such Crown Reserves as had not been made over to that Company for an equal portion of the lands set apart for the purpose of education and the foundation of a University and to proceed to endow King's College. The charter of the new college did not escape criticism. It was too exclusive. A Committee of the House of Commons in 1828 recommended that the Established Churches of England and Scotland should each be represented by a professor. Even this mild suggestion in the direction of liberality and justice was not acted on.

In 1829, Sir John Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaton) established Upper Canada College on the ruins of the District School of York, having obtained for it an endowment of 66,000 acres of school lands together with some town lots. On the 4th of January, 1830, the college was formally opened. At this time many of the school teachers were from below the line, and children were taught false history and inspired with passions hostile to the parent state; nor was it until 1846, that a stop was put to this abuse of confidence by men whom Dr. Rolph characterised as "anti-British adventurers." Meanwhile in the midst of ignorance and impudent suggestions from men honoured with the confidence of constituencies, but unfit to be anything in parliament but a door-keeper or serjeant-at-arms, the best minds of the country were actively engaged on the vital question of public instruction, and in 1836 a Commission was appointed by the Legislature to examine the system pursued in the United States. The three Commissioners deputed Dr. Charles Duncombe to make the necessary investigations. The result was a report and carefully draughted bill in which he proposed that \$60,000 annually should be granted in aid of schools. He thought the system of education at that time prevailing in the States as bad as that which they were seeking to remedy in Canada. Of eighty thousand teachers in the Republic, hardly any had made preparations for the duties they had to discharge.

The Legislature petitioned the King to amend the charter for King's College University in a less exclusive direction. The petition was granted and the Provincial Legislature endowed with the necessary powers. A bill amending the charter, and incorporating Upper Canada College with the University was passed

in the Spring of 1837. In April, 1842, the foundation stone of King's College was laid by Sir Charles Bagot, Chancellor of the University, and a library was formed. In 1843 the University was opened with Bishop Strachan for President. Up to this time the Council for the University used to meet in a frame house just opposite the College Avenue. In 1849 as the result of agitation and enlightened discussion, the faculty of divinity was abolished in order that the University should be truly national.

These educational movements attracted more than one remarkable Irishman to the Province. A young man, named Mack, was studying for a fellowship at Trinity College, when he fell in love. Falling in love would not prevent him being a Fellow of his college. Many a Fellow has fallen in love. But Mack went further and married, and that put an end to his dreams of a fellowship. He determined to come to Canada. Armed with letters to Sir John Colborne, from the Provincial Secretary, he expected, on arriving in Canada, to be appointed the first classical master of Upper Canada College. He was disappointed, and was on his way back to Ireland, when he was persuaded by Bishop Stuart to enter the Church. He opened up the parish of Osnabruck, near Cornwall. His son, Theophilus Mack, who was about four years' old when he left Ireland, was in due time sent to Upper Canada College. Young Mack was one of the first boys who entered under Dr. Harris, who preceded Dr. McCaul.

The Rev. Mr. Mack opened up another parish at Wellington Square. He was then removed to Amherstburg, where he was rector and garrison chaplain. He retired from active work about five or six years ago.

Dr. McCaul came out here in 1839. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where, at an unusually early age, he obtained the highest honours. Dr. Harley, Archbishop of Canterbury had heard of his reputation for scholarship, and, in 1838, offered him the Principalship of Upper Canada College. The offer was accepted, and in the following year Mr. McCaul entered on his duties, which he discharged with such credit, that, in 1842, he was made Vice-President of King's College, and Professor in that University, of the Council of which he, as Principal of Upper Canada College, had been an *ex-officio* member. Six years after-

wards he was appointed President on the resignation of the office by the Bishop of Toronto, and thenceforward took a useful and active part in all matters of public interest. He used to be particularly happy as an after-dinner speaker. His heart was, however, centered in the University. As we should expect one of the objects at which he aimed was a Consolidated University, whose degrees would be respected, and whose honours would be highly prized. His hopes in this direction were blighted when the Legislature gave University powers to other institutions. The way the students speak of him is the best testimony to his character as President. His reputation as an author is as wide as the world of erudition.

The late Vice-Chancellor Blake was Professor of Law in the University, and of the five medical lecturers three were Irish, Doctors King, Herrick, and Gwynne. The ideas of Dr. Gwynne with regard to education were advanced, and he petitioned the Legislature with regard to the constitution of the Council. This was regarded by Bishop Strachan as "a contoomaashus sleight of our authority," and he tried to have Dr. Gwynne and his friends dismissed. But liberal ideas were then coming to the front, and the efforts of Dr. Strachan failed. Dr. Gwynne next devoted himself specially, and not without success, to reforming the financial affairs of King's College. As to the general principles of foundation and management, he advocated every reform which was ultimately made. He denounced class distinctions such as can hardly be conceived at the present time. His skill in physiology, comparative anatomy, and cognate subjects, combined with happiness of expression, made him a lecturer to whom the student listened with rapt attention.

In 1841, the Tories came into power in England, with a very strong Government; Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, Sir James Graham, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Stanley (the late Lord Derby) and others. The Ministry was afterwards reinforced by Sidney Herbert and Mr. Gladstone. Sir Charles Bagot who was chosen to succeed Lord Lyndhurst was, as we might expect, a Tory. There need be no surprise that he showed a strong grasp of constitutional questions, for no truer friends of the Constitution existed at that time than Sir Robert



Peel and Sir James Graham. Great fears were expressed that he would not find it easy to follow Lord Sydenham. Lord Sydenham had been his own Executive Council and his own Chief Secretary. He had done nothing to improve the defective administrations of the various executive departments, and blame would fall on his successor alone if the work which he had so well begun was not carried to completeness.

The Conservatives of that day made a mistake which has often been made. They supposed that English Conservatives must necessarily feel drawn to Canadian Conservatives, and English Reformers to Canadian Reformers. They fell into further error in thinking that the natures of all Governors are the same, and in not perceiving the changes which were going forward. Wrapped up in their own self-conceit, they thought Sir Charles Bagot would act like a Governor of ten or fifteen years before, without Sir Charles Bagot's constitutional views, in a Canada quite different from that in which he was about to commence his pro-consular career, and having been educated in an England different from that in which he had received his most-recent lessons on political questions. The Governor threw himself into the hands of neither party.

During the winter and the spring, he occupied himself in acquiring a knowledge of the condition of the country. He determined from the first to act with that party which had the support of the country and a majority in the House of Assembly. Unlike Lord Sydenham, he would have had no objection to admit to his Council, even those who had been connected with the rebellion, if only they had the confidence of the people and the requisite ability, and this at a time when loyal men and men of culture were driven from society by the "best" people as "rebels," because they had stopped a few days in the house of Mr. Francis Hincks, or been guilty of some equally heinous act of treason.

In June, 1842, Mr. Hincks was induced to join the Government as Inspector-General, a step for which, in the press and parliament, he was severely criticised. Several appointments, calculated to conciliate the discontented, especially among the French, had been made. An amusing discussion on this policy took place, when the Solicitor-Generalship of Canada West was offered.

to Mr. Cartwright. This gentleman declined the position, and the letter in which he informed the Governor of his determination, shows him to have been a narrow-minded man, utterly unfit to play any part requiring statesmanlike capacity. The Conservatives of Upper Canada were disgusted with recent appointments, and considered them as evidence that the Government was indifferent to the political principles of men, even though their principles were unfriendly to British supremacy in the British North American Colonies. The dangerous character of Responsible Government was dwelt on, and its incompatibility with the position of Canada as a colony explained. He pushed the people on one side with splendid disdain, and then "went for" Mr. Hincks, the "apologist of the movement party," the defender of Papineau and Mackenzie up to the very moment of the outbreak. To go into a Government with "this individual" would ruin his character as a public man. The "individual's" talents were admitted, but it would be impossible for Mr. Cartwright to enter the same Government with such a character.

Sir Charles Bagot hastened to assure Mr. Cartwright that the grounds on which he based his refusal showed the steadiness of his principles and the elevation of his feelings. He was, indeed, anxious to avail himself of Mr. Hincks' very superior talents in the inspection of the public accounts, and he confessed he would consider it a serious misfortune to the country if his employment of such services as he felt best suited for any particular purpose, should deprive him of the support and assistance of men for whom he felt an unfeigned respect.

The House met on the 8th September. The change for the better which had taken place in the revenue, the advancement of the public works, the progress of education, the spirit of content which pervaded all classes, such were the topics dwelt upon in the speech from the throne. A debate took place, the upshot of which was, that the Reformers came into power. Both Lafontaine and Baldwin had severally refused office, though accompanied by offers respecting friends which were considered by the Conservative press far too generous. The fact was, Baldwin, at this time, had nearly the whole of Lower Canada, as well as all

the Reformers of Upper Canada, with him, and he did not want to come into power unless as master of the situation.

On the 13th September the House of Assembly was crowded to suffocation in order to hear an exciting debate on the consideration of the reply to His Excellency's speech. Nor were those who crushed into the scant accommodation disappointed. Mr. Forbes introduced the resolutions for the adoption of a reply, and Mr. J. S. Macdonald\* seconded them. In doing this he drew a very gratifying picture of the prosperity of the country. He called for a response, unanimous and cordial, to the address of the Representative of Her Majesty.

Mr. Draper then spoke at great length and with his usual eloquence. He dwelt on the offers which had been made to Lafontaine, and explained the circumstances which led to the existing state of things. In the course of his remarks, he declared he could not sit in the same Government as Baldwin. About the same time, Sullivan was making an explanation to the Legislative Council. On the death of Lord Sydenham, there was but one opinion amongst the advisers of the Crown, that instead of carrying on the Government by bare majorities, and slavishly courting a few leading men, the Administration should be formed on a broader basis, and liberal offers be made to all parties to come in and work harmoniously together. In order to do this, many of them were prepared to sacrifice their own private opinions. This policy had been urged on His Excellency (Sir Charles Bagot), and they were delighted to find that the advice commended itself to him. Many of them forgetting old prejudices and animosities, had gone so far as, to recommend that the very persons who had poured obloquy on the Government should be invited to forget the past, and to come and give their strength to the conduct of affairs. This was a wise and statesmanlike resolve. If carried out it would have closed the mouths of the people whom they represented. It would have given confidence to that portion of the people hitherto treated with con-

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\* The newspapers of the day spell the name Macdonnell and sometimes McDonald. There is in the case of many other names a like conflict. In all instances the spelling adhered to has been decided to be the better or the best after the fullest investigation at my command.

tempt. "I never," said Sullivan, "was so vain as to imagine that the people of the other Province would consent to accept of justice at my hands; I knew it must come from some of themselves." The object was frustrated, owing to the difficulty of conferring favour. This had, in many instances, prevented the progress of useful measures. At last this eventful session came. "Now," cried Mr. Sullivan, with what the reporter describes as much energy and emphasis, while his broad square forehead shone over his dark brows—"We wish to know whether we are to carry on the Government fairly and upon liberal principles, or by dint of miserable majorities; whether by the latter, or by the united acclamations of the people (*cries of 'hear, hear.'*)—whether, in fact, there is sufficient patriotism to allow us to work for the good of the people?" Kindly and fraternal affections might have prevailed. But they had not; and Sullivan proceeded to tell how Lafontaine and Baldwin and their friends had met all the overtures of the Government.

Now we leave the Legislative Council and go back to the Assembly. Draper having made a speech not unlike that of Sullivan in the Upper House, Lafontaine got up and, speaking in French, read the offer made to him of the Attorney-Generalship east, told how he had refused the position, as well as the appointments for his friends placed at his disposal.

Then Baldwin rose. It was his hour of triumph. The advice he had given twelve months before as to the necessity for conciliating the French Canadians, and of conducting the affairs of the country in accordance with constitutional principles, was acknowledged to be not only sound but imperative by those very persons who had bitterly opposed him then. He concluded by moving an amendment to the address.

Lafontaine again spoke. How could he accept office while the member who had stood forward in defence of Lower Canada was excluded from the Government? This was Baldwin. The attempt to draw away his Lower Canadian support had failed. Lafontaine complained that there was not a single Lower Canadian in the Council.

Other Reformers followed, amongst them Mr. Aylwin, who defended Baldwin, attacked Draper and Hincks, and character-

ized the late Governor as the greatest curse which had ever befallen the country. Some barbs had entered between the joints of Hincks' harness. He started up made a vigorous defence of his conduct, and denied that he had been a pupil of Baldwin. He had fought by his side for Union, which he had advocated for the purpose of securing the interests of Lower Canada, and he proceeded to recount his services as a journalist.

In the course of the debate a very effective weapon was used against him. It was shewn that the *Examiner* had attacked the character of the "gifted Draper" and of Mr. Harrison. His political apostacy was denounced. Baldwin said he had never, prior to entering the Government, consulted him or the party to which he belonged. Nor from the point of view of party morality can Hincks' conduct be defended if we admit that the machinery of party was then in full operation. It was twelve o'clock when Draper closed the debate. Everybody left the House determined to return at three o'clock on the morrow, when a stormy sitting was expected.

From an early hour what the reporter of the period calls the "halls of legislation" were thronged. There was but one desire, wrote a parliamentary correspondent, that the fight should go forward. The reply to the address, and Baldwin's amendments thereto, was the first order of the day. Much to the annoyance of the impatient crowd, a large number of small topics were brought on, causing an irritating delay.

At last the supreme moment arrived. What had happened? A change had come over the spirit of somebody's dreams. Member who yesterday were full of excitement to-day chatted and joked or sat listless and meditative. There was a stir among the audience and then a hush of expectancy when Mr. Hincks rose. That incisive tongue would say something which would draw blood. But the Inspector-General merely moved that the debate on the amendment of Mr. Baldwin should be postponed until Friday. Not a voice from the regular opposition was raised against this motion.

One or two independent members, Mr. Johnston and Dr. Dunlop—"Tiger Dunlop," as he was called—opposed delay. But the motion was carried, and the disappointed crowd dispersed.

On Friday, the 16th, the galleries were again thronged. There was, however, no sanguine hopes of a fight, for in the meantime Mr. Draper had resigned, and Baldwin and Lafontaine had been induced to enter the Government. On the 19th, Mr. Duncombe moved a resolution congratulating the Governor on calling Baldwin to his Councils, and inviting that large portion of Canadian citizens who were of French origin to share in the government of the country. The resolution was carried in an amended form. Hincks expressed his gratification at the source whence it came—a British merchant connected with the British people, who had no connexion and no probability of connexion with the Government. The press throughout the Province had abused the change which had lately taken place in the Government. This abuse would have gone to England as the opinion of the people, and the sooner it was corrected by a vote of that House the better.

In reply to Mr. Moffatt, Mr. Hincks said he had never pledged himself to support the Union as it was passed. He was strongly opposed to the Civil List, unless voted by the Assembly and not by the Imperial Parliament. Upon this Mr. Cartwright attacked him. There had been he said "suspicions as to him." Mr. Hincks started to his feet and called the Speaker's attention to the words. Though requested by the Speaker to do so, Mr. Cartwright would not withdraw them. Then followed a scene of dreadful confusion, during which the galleries were cleared.

At this sitting the policy of giving a pension to Mr. Ogden and others was mooted, and was strongly opposed by several members. Mr. Ogden had been a member of the Executive Council. This question was taken up a few weeks afterwards. On the 11th of October, Mr. Hincks moved an address to His Excellency, praying that a pension should be granted to Messrs. Ogden and Davidson. An amendment by Mr. Neilson, that the consideration of the address should be postponed until the following session, was carried by thirty-five to fifteen. Adequate ground for Mr. Hincks' proposal, there was none.

The House was prorogued on the 22nd of October. Little work could have been done in a session of six weeks, during which a change of government had taken place. Thirty Acts had been passed, most of them of small importance. But the law respecting-

the vacating of seats by members of parliament on taking office, had been made uniform, and authority was given to raise a loan in England of \$7,500,000, for public works.

As the winter of 1842 laid its benumbing fingers on the life of nature, Sir Charles Bagot, unfortunately for Canada, felt his vital powers failing, and requested to be recalled. Like his predecessor, he was destined never to leave our shores. The chestnut trees of Canada excited his admiration on his arrival here. When he fell ill, the trees were bare. But life was in the frozen bough, and ere he lay dead, the rapid vegetation had made all the world green, and scattered white, tower-like blossoms amid the wealth of foliage of the trees he loved so well. He died on the 19th of May, 1843.

On the receipt of Sir Charles Bagot's resignation, Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed Governor-General. The new Governor had arrived nearly two months before Sir Charles Bagot's decease. He entered Kingston on the 29th of March, 1843.\* On the following day he took charge of the government. It was a pity he ever came to Canada. He had been eminently successful. He had climbed up the ladder of promotion, from a writership in the service of the East India Company, until, in 1834, he wielded the government of that vast territory from which Her Majesty is proud to take an additional title to-day. Neither his experience in India, nor as Governor of Jamaica, was calculated to dispose his mind to the study of constitutional government. Rather was it calculated to unfit him for the part of a constitutional ruler. A cancer in his face drove him from Jamaica. His health improved in England. But it was not without hesitation, not without misgivings that he accepted Lord Stanley's offer of the Governorship

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\* MacMullen says he arrived at Kingston on the 25th of March, but this must be a mistake. He writes on the 24th of March, from Albany, whence he did not depart until daylight of the 25th. He took that whole day to get to Utica. From Utica to Kingston was 170 miles by sleighs. Owing to the bad winter, that journey took nearly four days. It must, therefore, have been the 29th when he arrived at Kingston, the day on which his biographer declares he arrived. On the 30th he took charge of the government. The *Times* of Montreal, writing on the 27th, said Sir Charles Metcalfe had arrived. In Sir Charles Metcalfe's own letter he says he did not arrive until the 29th. —Kaye's Life, Vol. ii, p. 468.

of Canada. Such misgivings are the monitions of fate. When our hearts fail us, we are sure to fail.\*

What he says about his duties shows how unfit he was for the responsible and weighty task he had before him. "My official prospects are not better than they were when I accepted the charge that I have undertaken. Party spirit is acrimonious in the extreme. My chief object will be to bring all into harmony; but I do not expect success. I have not the same materials to work with that I had in Jamaica." When we leave his political intelligence, and go to his character, we can do nothing but admire the man. "My establishment," he says, "will be larger and more expensive than it was in Jamaica. My official income is less. And as there it was not sufficient without aid from my private fortune, I must, of course, expect the same will be the case here to a large extent. This, however, is a matter of little consequence, and I wish that all others could be as easily managed."

The whole male population of Kingston turned out to meet him. The sleigh was met by a vast concourse of people, by a military escort, composed of a detachment of the incorporated lancers, and the guard of honour from the 23rd Regiment. There had been many disappointments, as he was expected on the 25th, but the enthusiasm was none the less. The St. Patrick Society, the St. Andrew's, and the St. George's turned out with their banners. The streets through which he should pass were lined by the military. A newspaper correspondent describes him as "a thorough-looking Englishman with a jolly visage, but old-looking."

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\* He wrote to Captain Higginson:—"I have accepted the Government of Canada, without being sure that I have done right. For I do not see my way so clearly as I wish; neither do I expect to do so, before I reach my destination." [Dated Mivart's Hotel, January 19th, 1843.] On the same date he wrote to Mrs. Smythe:—"I have just returned from Lord Stanley. I have accepted the Government of Canada. And thus there is an end to the happiness that I was enjoying with you, and that I hoped would last during my life. What is it that moves me to resign such a prospect for the cares and uncertainties of public life and distant service? Is it pure patriotism, and a sense of duty, or is it foolishness and lurking ambition?"

On the 21st he writes to the same lady:—"When I wrote my first note this morning, I had a gleam of hope that I might have a justifiable ground for declining to go to Canada; but I have since been at the Colonial Office, and the obstacle, which was of a public nature, has been removed. So I must still go." *Kaye's Life*, Vol. ii. p. 458.



When he looked into the system of government now established in Canada, the question he asked himself was, not what course he should take, which would be the best for the country, but what under such a state of things was to become of the Governor-General? We are perhaps bound to suppose he considered the question synonymous with, what was to become of the Imperial authority? There is a further excuse to be made for Metcalfe. There are times when Canada presents one of the most hateful spectacles that can be witnessed on earth—when slander, fired by political passions, is rampant, and the impression is conveyed that every man hates his fellow. It is bad enough to have some real but small human defects having public bearings made the foundation of invective. But when a tower of mendacity is built on a fact utterly unconnected with public affairs—a pyramid of calumny, a mountain of abuse piled on some comparatively virtuous life, the country is easily misunderstood, especially by a stranger.

The moment it became known that his term was drawing to a close, the opposition press began to howl about the “downfall of Sir Charles Bagot,” and to proclaim that he had been recalled because he had disregarded his duty to his sovereign. No vilification was too vile to hurl at the head of the departing governor, and it was said that Lord Stanley and the whole Imperial Cabinet were dissatisfied with his policy and were determined to dismiss him. Now British loyalty would raise its drooping head. Constitutionalism had proved a failure. A faction, as weak as it was wicked, had been forced on the people. The worst of such diatribes is this—they have a tendency to give false impressions and in the present instance had probably their designed effect in the capital of the Empire.

When the question was brought before the Imperial Parliament, Lord Stanley expressly declared that when Sir Charles Bagot went out to Canada as Governor General, his instructions were, if possible, to reconcile—to unite—all parties; to bring about a combination for the general good and prosperity of the Province, and he had wisely acted under these orders. The acts of Sir Charles Bagot were in unison with, and in conformity to, the instructions he had received from Her Majesty's Government.

Without entering into abstract questions of policy, he would say that it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to act as far as possible in unison with the wishes of the Legislative Assembly. Sir Charles Metcalfe might well have thought that the method of Sir Charles Bagot had not been the best means of fulfilling the instructions he received. Yet, as the new Governor was leaving English shores, the utterances regarding Canada of two distinguished statesmen, occupying seats on different sides of the House of Commons—utterances meant for his ears—were precisely what Mr. Baldwin would have echoed. But one of the persons who sent a sinister blessing after the new Governor was Sir Francis Bond Head.\*

It is impossible to defend Sir Charles Metcalfe save at the expense of his political intelligence. He seems to have looked with scorn on power in the hands of the people. Contempt and hatred are excited by the very idea of Responsible Government. In his first confidential despatch to the Colonial Office, he wrote that Lord Sydenham had no intention of surrendering the government into the hands of the Executive Council. He was not aware that any great change had taken place during the period of the administration of Sir Charles Bagot, which preceded the meeting of the Legislature. But, after this, were seen the consequences of making the officers of the Government "virtually dependent for the possession of their places on the pleasure of the Representative body." He sneers at the habit of speaking of the "Ministry," as one might sneer at a person who stole a crest. He gives the history of the fall of the Draper Government. The two extreme parties in Upper Canada, most violently opposed to each other, coalesced solely for the purpose of turning out the "office holders" or, as it was termed, "the Ministry of that day," with no real bond of union, and with a mutual understanding that having accomplished that purpose, they would take the chance of the conse-

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\* Previous to Sir Charles Metcalfe's departure from London, he was entertained by the Colonial Association. Among those present was Sir Francis Bond Head, who said what was undoubtedly and deservedly true, that Sir Charles Metcalfe went out to Canada with the confidence of the whole empire. The hints and advice of a man like Head must have been anything but wholesome for a governor with such little political knowledge as Sir Charles Metcalfe.

quences and should be at liberty to follow their respective courses. The French party joined in this coalition, and compact and united formed its greatest strength. Those parties together accomplished their purpose. They had expected to do so by a vote of the Assembly, but, the Governor-General, in apprehension of the threatened vote of want of confidence in members of his Council, opened negotiations with the leaders of the French party and these negotiations terminated in the resignation or removal from the Council of "those members who belonged to what is called by themselves the Conservative party." Five members of the united French and Reform parties were introduced into the Council. The remaining members of the Council were either of "the so-called Reform party, or if not formerly of that party, were willing to fight under its banners." All over the country, and by all classes and parties, he admits that these events were considered as bringing the system of Responsible Government into full force. Henceforward the "tone of the members of Council, and the tone of the public voice regarding Responsible Government" became "greatly exalted." He adds with insolent contempt: "The Council are now spoken of by themselves and others generally as 'the Ministers,' 'the Administration,' 'the Cabinet,' 'the Government' and so forth." And were they not? Was the inquiry of Lord Durham to be fruitless? Was the inauguration of Responsible Government a sham? To the horror of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the pretensions of those poor Colonial Statesmen were on a par with their new nomenclature. They actually regarded themselves as a Responsible "Ministry," and expected that the policy and conduct of the Governor should be subservient to their views and party purposes.\* And why not? That is just what Lord Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel would have demanded of their Royal Mistress. When Lord Stanley received this despatch he ought to have recalled Sir Charles Metcalfe.

At this time the Ministry was a singularly capable one and must have been free from any strong desire to "shoot Niagara" or do anything else that was reckless.† It contained, at least, three

\* Lord Metcalfe's Confidential Despatch to Colonial Office, 24th April, 1843.

† The following constituted the Government:—Robert Baldwin, Attorney-General West; L. H. Lafontaine, Attorney-General East; J. E. Small, Solicitor-General West;

men superior in ability to the Governor-General, and their only fault evidently was that, with unblushing audacity, they insisted on styling themselves a Ministry, and believed the Government should stand or fall according as they had or had not the confidence of Parliament.

It is quite evident Sir Charles Metcalfe hated Responsible Government, and, studying his life, it is hard to escape from the conviction that there was some ground for the charge that from the first he acted secretly against his Ministers. In May he again wrote to the Colonial Office, and complained that he was required to submit himself entirely to the Council; to abandon himself altogether to their discretion; to have no opinion of his own; to confer the patronage of the Government exclusively on their partisans; to proscribe their opponents, and make some public and unequivocal declaration of his adhesion to such conditions as would carry with them the complete nullification of her Majesty's Government. When the speech of Lord Stanley containing these words, quoted from Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch, appeared in Canada, the Ministers were astonished, for up to the date of the despatch, they never had the least difference with His Excellency, and the foundation of the statement seemed to be an after dinner conversation between M. Lafontaine and one of the Secretaries of the Governor, Captain Higginson.

The biographer and apologist of Lord Metcalfe says he was called on to govern, and to submit to the government of Canada, by a party, and that party one with which he had no sympathy. But as a Constitutional ruler, he had no business to have sympathies, and if he had them, he had no right to act on them. How had he seen the Queen, his Sovereign, act within the period of his return to England and his departure for Canada? Had he not seen her transfer her confidence from Lord Melbourne, for whom she had a filial attachment, to Sir Robert Peel, whom she never really liked? And why? Because she knew as a Constitutional Sovereign, her business was to give her confidence to,

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T. C. Aylwin, Solicitor-General East; J. H. Dunn, Receiver-General; Francis Hincks, Inspector-General; A. N. Morin, Commissioner of Crown Lands; R. B. Sullivan, President of the Council; D. Daly, Secretary of the Province; H. H. Killaly, President of Board of Works. Not of the Cabinet—Thomas Parke, Esq., Surveyor-General; Malcolm Cameron, Esq., Commissioner of Customs.

and call to her councils those men who had the support of the Representatives of the people.

John William Kaye, who seems to have been one of those wretches on whose mind the contemplation of human liberty acts like a red rag on a bull, tells us that foremost among the great difficulties which beset Metcalfe's career in Canada, was the composition of his Council. There were indeed, he admits, able and honest men in the administration, but for the most part, they were not moderate; they held extreme opinions; they were men of intractable temper. "They were principally Irishmen, Frenchmen, or men of American stock. The true British element in the Executive Council was comparatively small." There were five Irishmen in the Cabinet, every one of whom was as truly British in the proper acceptation of that term even then, as Sir Robert Peel or the Duke of Wellington. There was at least one Scotchman and two Frenchmen. The rest were probably English, certainly Dunn was. Dunn was not a man of ability. Killaly, as we might infer from Adamson's sketch, did not care much for politics. But he was a good head of a department, and was never happier than when engrossed with its practical duties. Small was a man of honour and respectable talents. Aylwyn was the best debater in the Assembly, adroit, pointed, eloquent. Hincks is admitted by Kaye to be a remarkable man. "Even the most strenuous of his opponents admitted his fitness for the office he held." Lord Metcalfe's apologist adds however that this able Minister was vehement and unscrupulous, and had a tongue which cut like a sword, and no discretion to keep it in order. The abilities of Sullivan are admitted to have been such as would have made him conspicuous in any part of the world. Mr. Daly was peculiarly acceptable to Lord Metcalfe. He would have probably made himself acceptable to the devil, had that dark personage come to govern Canada. Lafontaine the leader of the French party is also admitted to have been a man of ability, all whose better qualities were natural to him, while his worse qualities were the growth of circumstances, which cradling him and his people in wrong had made him mistrustful and suspicious; a just and honourable man; his motives above suspicion; warmly attached to his country; occupying a high position rather by the

force of his moral than his intellectual qualities; trusted and respected rather than admired, occupying as a leader of a United Party, a large space in the eyes of the public. A far abler and more energetic man in Kaye's opinion, and therefore, in Metcalfe's, was Robert Baldwin, on whose mind the lessons he had learned from his father were deeply impressed by the atrocious misgovernment of his country,\* the oppressive exclusiveness of a dominant faction. "He was thoroughly in earnest, thoroughly conscientious, but to the last degree uncompromising and intolerant."

The man who struck those who knew him best as mildness itself, who never lifted a hand to one of his children, to the prejudiced mind of Kaye, seemed to delight in strife. The might of mildness he laughed to scorn. He was not satisfied to conquer unless his victory was attended with violence. Concessions were valueless unless wrenched from opponents by the strong hand of "unbounded arrogance and self-conceit;" he neither made nor sought for allowances. "There was a sort of sublime egotism about him --magnificent self-esteem, which caused him to look upon himself as a patriot, whilst he was serving his own ends by the promotion of his ambition, the gratification of his vanity or spite. His strong passions and his uncompromising spirit made him a mischievous party leader and a dangerous opponent. His influence was very great; he was above corruption; and there were many who accepted his estimate of himself and believed him to be the only true patriot in the country. The activity of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who did everything himself and exerted himself to keep every one in his proper place, were extremely distasteful to him." In this dark photograph the impartial eye recognises the statesman, the patriot, the great party leader who was not to be turned away by fear or favour from the work before him. Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote himself that the men composing his Council were generally able men.†

Scarcely was Sir Charles Metcalfe six weeks in the country when the clouds began to gather. When a just demand was made

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\* He describes him as the son of a gentleman of Toronto, of American descent!

† Despatch, April 24th, 1843.

respecting patronage he chose to consider it as an attack on the prerogative of the Crown.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's conduct in certain conjunctures showed that had he, in youth or middle-age, been placed in favourable circumstances he would have become an able constitutional ruler. In the summer the Irish presented a sad spectacle in Kingston. The streets were placarded with bills inviting the people to attend a meeting to strengthen the hands of repealers in Ireland. On the same walls stood other bills calling together another class of Irishmen to put down such a meeting—"peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary." To see Irishmen at home flying at each other's throats is painful. To see them here in Canada, settled here, with all their interest here, removed from the only fruitful standpoint of practical citizenship by which to judge old country issues, fighting old country battles and squabbling over the ghosts of old country controversies, is about the most absurd thing which can well be imagined. The magistrates were alarmed. Metcalfe was appealed to. He should suppress the meeting by force. The Governor-General, like a wise man, recommended that the power of persuasion should be tried. This was done and the meeting was not held.

Suspicious of disloyalty were cast on the Irish Roman Catholics, though they had fought in 1837 on the side of the British flag, under which they enjoy an aggregation of advantages such as they could not have in any of the great countries or empires of the world. Sir Charles Metcalfe writing on this subject to the Colonial Office adumbrates the miserable Fenian raids. If collisions were to occur in Ireland between the Government and the disaffected, it was thought that the Roman Catholic Irish in the States would pour into Canada, who would at once be reinforced by the Roman Catholic Irish here. French officers were drilling the Irish in New York, with a view to the invasion of Canada. "I cannot say," adds Sir Charles Metcalfe "that I give credit to this intelligence." It is possible some fools in New York were being drilled when they should have been attending a night school. But Sir Charles Metcalfe had seen too much of the world not to know that alarming gossip such as that dwelt on in his despatch furnishes no ground for alarm or even serious thought. Unaccustomed, however, as

he was to popular institutions, it naturally seemed to him that Responsible Government was an impossibility, with, as he used to put it, war between Upper Canada and Lower Canada, between the French and English settlers, between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Irish, between the Radical and Conservative English, and finally between himself and his Council. Not even the grand receptions, loyal addresses and abundant display of bunting when he went through the country, could afford him comfort and assurance. He feared the whole concern was rotten at the core.\* Amid the deluge of addresses which poured on him one from the Irish inhabitants of Brantford, struck the noblest key. "We anxiously wish," said these Irish people, who were doing so much to build up what to-day is the City of Brantford, "to live in good-will with our fellow men of every creed and clime, and will hail with delight reciprocal feelings, for we are perfectly aware that nothing conduces more to the happiness and prosperity of a town or people than peace and good order." Sometimes, he received two contradictory addresses from the same place, each claiming to be the address of the people. At Pelham he was presented with an address for, and another address against the Government. Some of the addresses gave a deplorable picture of the condition of the country. Thus, we find the inhabitants of the Township of Compton mourning that agriculture was depressed, that they had no market, that Americans shut them out of their market, and then drove them from their natural market in Canada. Their municipal institutions were insufficient. The administration of justice was not what it should be.

In July he seems to have had a long conversation on the condition of the Province, with Mr. Ogle R. Gowan, M.P.P., who was then Grand-Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of Canada, and who wielded an enormous power. Mr. Gowan wrote a letter to his partner Mr. William Harris, giving an account of his interview with the Governor-General, a letter which that partner was wretch enough to give to the public in the following year.†

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\* Sir Charles Metcalfe to Mrs. Smythe, *Kaye's Life*, Vol. II, pp. 504, 505.

† "I have been at Government House since you left; *being specially sent for!* After a very long interview of a strictly confidential nature, and dining there the same evening,



The tug of war, as Sir Charles Metcalfe phrased it, was now fast approaching. The Assembly was summoned for the 28th of September. Metcalfe, with a consciousness of coming strife in his breast, hurried to Kingston. At two o'clock, p. m., he drove to where Parliament met. The streets were gay with troops. A large body of people followed the Governor and his suite. In the chamber all the beauty and fashion of Kingston and of the United Province was to be seen. The speech from the throne was a satisfactory one, but was of a nature to call for no comment, especially here. Harrison, the member for Kingston, differing with Metcalfe and his colleagues on the seat of Government question, retired from the Provincial-Secretaryship. Among those gazetted as members of the Legislative Council was William Warren Baldwin, the father of Robert Baldwin.

The Opposition in the Legislative Assembly failed to take up immediately the gauge thrown down to them. The consequence was that the wind was taken out of their sails by a spirited debate in the Legislative Council. On the 30th September, the debate was closed in the Legislative Council by a masterly speech from the rapid Sullivan, the Rupert of debate in Canada as Stanley was the Rupert of debate in England. The Opposition, he said, had pursued an unusual course. Instead of remarking on subjects to which their attention had been called by the Speech, they had gone into a review of the whole policy of the Government; instead of confining themselves to some part or expected part of the policy of the Executive, they had waded through the whole encyclopædia of colonial government.

The resolutions having been passed a Committee was appointed to draught an address and present it to His Excellency.

On Monday, the 2nd October, when the debate in the Assembly

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I have given in my views *maturely and in writing*, next day. I have no doubt *my plan* has been approved, as the first person named in it by me in the long list of *shelving and shifting* (the Chief Justice) has already arrived at Head-Quarters—what the result may be it will take some time to tell, as a great deal of negotiation, and many removals are involved. Don't be surprised if Baldwin, Hincks, and Harrison '*walk*,' or that Cartwright succeeds the latter. This may all be done *without offending the Radicals, and without losing the interest of either of the three who retire!* This, to you, must appear a paradox, but it is so nevertheless. I have received in writing, marked '*Private*,' His Excellency's thanks for my memorandum of plan."

was expected, Mr. James Johnston and Dr. Dunlop made characteristic speeches. M. Viger then proposed, and Mr. Merritt seconded the resolution in answer to the Speech. On the following day Mr. Hincks encountered Mr. Sherwood and gave a good account of him. Everybody thought the matter of the address was settled on the 2nd of October, but the Opposition, as it were on second thought, raised a debate which had to be adjourned. Sir Allan MacNab actually made it a matter of reproach to Baldwin that he had, in 1837, gone with a flag of truce to the rebels. At whose instance did he go? Was it not at the personal desire, and upon the urgent solicitation of the panic-stricken Government of Upper Canada, which came to him in the person of the High Sheriff, to request his interference to stop the deluded men who were approaching the city?

Mr. Lossing, the Warden of the District of Brock, had been falsely accused of complicity in the rebellion. When Mr. Baldwin dealt with Sir Allan MacNab's threats against this person and his unjustifiable insinuations against him after a verdict of a jury had set him free, the galleries broke through all the restraints of decorum.

In reply to the extraordinary charge that he gave patronage to the members of his own party, he explained his position which was that which every party leader must assume. If he found capable men in his own party, he would always give them the preference. This is the only course which can be taken by a party leader, and the people may rejoice if, not finding competent men in their own party, political leaders will go outside of it. He concluded in a manner which displayed his powers of satire and invective. "What had been said, and what had not been said fully warranted the conclusion that there were in fact no substantial objections to bring forward. Had it been otherwise, yesterday probably they would have known it. That was the day appointed by the gallant knight and his friends for that onslaught upon the ministerial benches which was to prove their destruction. But the day came and passed away. The gallant knight and his friends came down in their panoply, and when the fearful hour arrived, in which he (Mr. Baldwin) and his colleagues were to receive their quietus from the formidable Opposition, not a blow did they strike,

not a word had they to offer. The great business of the day was allowed to pass almost *sub silentio*. The honourable and gallant knight, however, did not intend they should escape so easily. If his spirits drooped yesterday, he was in full courage to-day; and after five days' deliberation, and then another day's postponement, the great statesman upon whom the hopes of the Opposition were fixed, actually got the length of an amendment upon the address to the important effect, of its still further being postponed until 'to-morrow.' (The manner in which he emphasized "to-morrow" created much laughter and cheering). This really was the miserable conclusion to which the gallant leader of the Opposition and his friends had come, after detaining the House for the better part of a week from the discharge of its constitutional duty of making a suitable reply to the Speech with which his Excellency had opened the session."

The Government had an easy triumph.

From a letter written on the 11th of October 1843, by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a member of Parliament, to R. D. Mangles, Esq., a member of the British Parliament, it is clear that those who could read the signs knew that a breach between the Governor and his Council was imminent.

On the 13th October, the seat of Government question was discussed in the Legislative Council, and Sullivan made an able speech in favour of Montreal. On the 2nd November, Baldwin spoke in the same strain in the House of Assembly.

Towards the close of November, Metcalfe made an appointment which was distasteful both to Baldwin and Lafontaine. Both waited on the Governor and urged their views. During two long sittings of the Council on the 24th and 25th November, Baldwin and Lafontaine pressed their demands, but they could not move him. At last the rupture came when Metcalfe told them that since his arrival in the country he had observed an antagonism between them and him on the subject of Responsible Government. On the following day all the members of the Government, excepting Mr. Dominick Daly, resigned their seats. On the 29th the resignation was announced to the House, and M. Viger and Mr. Wakefield, full of hope, gathered round Mr. Daly. Both Baldwin and Lafontaine explained their reasons for

resigning, which have, perhaps, been sufficiently indicated above. On the 30th of November, Mr. Daly read the Governor's account of the causes which led the Ministers to resign. About the same time the Ministry of Nova Scotia resigned on the question of appointments to office.

The resignation was not a happy thing for education, as on the previous day Mr. Baldwin had moved the second reading of his University Bill.

On the 2nd of December, the House of Assembly passed a vote of confidence in the retired Ministers, for having stood by their right to be consulted on appointments to office. This was in strict accordance with the resolutions adopted in 1841, to which the Governor-General said, in what sense he was himself best judge, he subscribed.

During the week following the resignation of Ministers, His Excellency sent for a large number of the members of the Legislature, but none of them were charged with the formation of an Administration. On the 3rd of December, Mr. Barthe was sent for and offered a seat in the Cabinet, which he refused. On the following day M. Viger announced that the Governor was engaged in the formation of a Ministry. On the 9th of December, Parliament was prorogued without a Ministry having been formed. On the 10th, Edward Gibbon Wakefield published a letter saying that the following day M. Viger would form an Administration the strongest that had ever existed. On the 13th of December, the Hon. W. H. Draper and the Hon. D. B. Viger were gazetted as Executive Councillors.

The whole Colony was in a fever of excitement. Metcalfe was on his trial. He was, of course, assailed by the press supporting Baldwin and his friends. Those opposed to Baldwin held meetings and sent addresses to the Governor endorsing his conduct. The opposite party always accuse their opponents of "getting up" addresses. No doubt such addresses can be got up. Meetings can be got up. Demonstrations can be got up. But it is easy to see whether there is any real base of popular feeling in addresses and in meetings or demonstrations, and if there is not they have no effect. An impartial student of those times will come to the conclusion that there was something more than wire-

pulling in the addresses. Many of the people did not yet understand the nature of Responsible Government.

The way Metcalfe writes to his private friends at this time, while displaying the pleasant side of his character, shows how utterly unfit he was to be Governor-General of Canada, especially at such a period. At Eton he had been a studious boy and his boyish journal makes us acquainted with a fine young fellow, but somewhat self-opinionated and stubborn. The child was father to the man. His stubborn will and studious habits followed him through life. When he pens a letter to an old school-fellow, we find that he has not forgotten his classics. His frequent citations indicate more than the "overflowing memory"—that he was wanting in originality. In the present crisis, he cites in a private letter that splendid ode in which Horace not only celebrates integrity and resolution, but the glories of Imperial Rome—an ode which naturally occurred to a scholar who was, perhaps, too conscious of his recitude, and the greater part of whose life had passed away as one of the servants of an Empire, in a portion of its dominions governed as a dependency. "You will see," he writes, "that I am engaged in a contest with the '*civium ardor prava jubentium*'\* To the question at issue, which is, whether the Governor is to be in some degree what his title imports, or a mere tool in the hands of the party that can obtain a majority in the representative body, I am, I conceive, '*vir justus*,'† and I certainly mean to be '*tenax propositi*,'‡ and hope, '*si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruine.*'"§ The whole ode throws light on the unconstitutional view of his position.

What was there in common between the constitutional remonstrances of a Baldwin, a Hincks, and a Sullivan, and the "*civium ardor prava jubentium*?" A man arguing against a college Don, in respect to a disputed passage, might as well say he had entered the shambles and was making headway against all billingsgate.

Again writing to one of his old Indian friends, he compares his position to that of an Indian governor, who might have to rule

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\* The passion of citizens commanding wrongful acts.

† An upright man.

‡ Fixed in purpose.

§ If the shattered sphere fall the wreck will strike him undismayed.

through the agency of a Mahomedan Ministry and a Mahomedan Parliament !

If his friends were busy getting up addresses, his opponents were not idle. They, too, sought to influence the mind of the country, and on the 28th of December, the ex-ministers were entertained in Toronto, at a public banquet. All the addresses he received were not intended to encourage him. Not a few discussed the question at issue, and decided against the Governor. The most remarkable of these came from sixteen members of the Municipal Council of the Gore District. They assured the Governor that public opinion in that district and throughout the length and breadth of Canada would fully sustain the late executive in the stand they had taken, and the views they had expressed in relation to colonial administration under the principle of Responsible Government.

In the Governor's response, which is an exceedingly able document in its way, his sincerity is palpable, as is his incapacity to grasp the possibility of a Colonial Governor acting the part of a constitutional ruler. The analogy between a Governor of a dependency and a constitutional King, does not run on all fours. The King can do no wrong, but the Governor can. He is responsible to the Imperial Parliament, and may be impeached. Nevertheless, it has now been abundantly proved, that what seemed to Metcalfe's mind impossible is perfectly feasible.

He did not know, he said, the exact views of the Gore Councilors on Responsible Government. If they meant that the Governor was to be a mere tool in the hands of the Council, he disagreed with them ; if that his every word and deed was to be beforehand submitted to the Council, they proposed an impossibility, if business was to be duly despatched ; if that the patronage of the Crown was to be surrendered for exclusively party purposes, they were at issue, for such a surrender of the prerogatives of the Crown was, in his opinion, incompatible with the existence of a British colony. If that the Governor was an irresponsible officer, who could, without responsibility, adopt the advice of the Council, then he conceived they were again in error. The Governor was responsible to the Crown, and the Parliament, and the people of the mother country, for every act he performed or suffered to be done,

whether it originated with himself or was adopted on the advice of others; nor could he divest himself of that responsibility by pleading the advice of the Council. He was also responsible to the people of the colony.

Now all this, with the exception of the last proposition, is true; and it would be significant and pointed if Baldwin and his fellow Councillors had asked him to do something which would have injured the empire. But it is utterly wide of the wicket, when we remember what it was his late Ministers demanded. That a Governor is responsible to the colony over which he rules, is not true in the same sense that he is responsible to the Imperial Parliament, or that Ministers under a constitutional government are responsible to the people, and the above statement is therefore fallacious. No one is responsible to another unless that other has some power over him, and the inhabitants of this country have no direct power over a Governor.

He went on to say that he agreed with the Gore Councillors, if they meant that it should be competent to the Council to offer advice on all occasions, whether as to patronage or otherwise, which should be received with due attention; that there should be cordial co-operation between Governor and Council; that the Council should be responsible to the Provincial Parliament and people; and that when the acts of the Governor were such as they did not choose to be responsible for, they should be at liberty to resign.

How could the Council be held responsible for acts over which they had no control? Here again, we have the idea of responsibility trifled with. Suppose a mistress were to say to her cook:—"Mary, I will cook the dinner, but if the veal is roasted to a cinder, you will be good enough to take the responsibility. If the fish is sent up half cooked, if the soup is a mass of fat, if the turkey is raw, the whole brunt of the master's storming must fall on you."

As the Tories attacked Sir Charles Bagot, the Reformers now reviled Sir Charles Metcalfe. The Tories made a mistake in attacking Sir Charles Bagot in the manner they did. The Reformers weakened their position by reviling Sir Charles Metcalfe. The constitutional position in which they were entrenched was enfeebled by this folly. It should have been remembered that he was the representative of the Sovereign, and that if a mistaken, he was

a distinguished man, who had done good service for the Empire. He was spoken of as "Charles the Simple," as "Old Square Toes;"\* he was held up to execration as a designing and unscrupulous despot. He was the great butt of after dinner speeches and banquet orations.

On February the 2nd, 1844, Mr. S. Wortley asked, in the Imperial Parliament, whether the proceedings of Sir Charles Metcalfe received the sanction and approbation of the Government. Lord Stanley, who had supported Sir Charles Bagot against the Tories, now supported Sir Charles Metcalfe against the Reformers. He answered in the affirmative. Yet when we remember the utterances of Sir Robert Peel, we must place his approval to the account of official loyalty rather than conviction. The Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry had resigned at the end of November. At the end of February no Ministry had been formed, and the statutory period at which Parliament must meet approaching! The Governor had to continue to issue addresses. In some of these he declared that there was an insuperable barrier between him and his late Ministers. What! Even supposing they were supported by the people at a general election!

The utterly false position assumed by Sir Charles Metcalfe is thrown into relief in a letter to Lord Stanley, in which he states that, on the resignation of his "dictatorial cabinet," the Conservative party came forward manfully and generously to his support, and if he could have thrown himself into their arms, that support would have been complete and enthusiastic. But under Responsible Government this is what he should have done. He attempted a task impossible to perform with success or dignity. In a country in which constitutional government had been established, and where there were two clearly-defined parties, the one known as Reformers, the other as Tories or Conservatives, he wanted to administer public affairs independent of party. The desire may have been beautiful and amiable in theory. But was it a practicable desire? Would it ring clear on the flags of every day life? Did it belong to the currency of fact? He did not

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\* This phrase has descended to our own time, and has been frequently applied to a gentleman who has had his own share of civic honours.



even act strongly. He found the Reformers in power. We have seen he had no sympathy with them. He was too weakly bland, too hesitatingly prudent to remove them. Nevertheless, he was covertly hostile, and at last placed himself in open but indirect antagonism to them by appointing to place men who were their foes. The consequence was, of course, that he was wholly deserted by the Reformers, and against his will, there being no middle party, was at last driven to lean on the extremest wing of the Conservative party. What Lord Bute unsuccessfully attempted in England, Sir Charles Metcalfe in United Canada, and Lord Falkland in Nova Scotia sought to accomplish, and with equal glory. These men really aimed at establishing two ministries; one responsible and powerless; the other secret, powerful, and irresponsible. Agitation rose high.

On the 25th of March, the first of a series of great meetings of the Reform Association took place. The Association which was formed in December, 1843, had leased a suite of rooms at the corner of Front and Scott Streets. The meeting was called at the early hour of six o'clock. By half-past six the room was densely crowded. Hundreds went away unable to gain admission. The Hon. Robert Baldwin who occupied the chair was greeted with enthusiastic cheers when he rose. He was glad to be called on to preside at such a meeting because it showed him that, in the opinion of his fellow citizens, he had proved himself the firm and uncompromising friend of the great and vital principles of constitutional liberty. He quoted largely from Lord Durham's report in support of the proposition that it was not by weakening, but strengthening the influence of the people, not by enlarging, but by cooping within narrow limits the power of the Imperial authorities in colonial affairs, that harmony was to be restored, where dissension had long prevailed, and a vigour hitherto unknown introduced into the administration of these provinces. All that was necessary was to follow out the principles of the British Constitution. But Sir Charles Metcalfe held that it was only necessary for him to consult his Ministers on occasions of "adequate importance," a doctrine which would reduce them to the merest tools. Upon the practical application of the principle of Responsible Government in all local affairs depended not

only the happiness and prosperity of the colony but its connexion with the parent state. This was no new opinion of his. He had communicated it to Lord Glenelg in 1836 and to Lord Durham in 1838. Born under the British flag, under the protection of that standard he wished to live and die and to leave that protection as an inheritance to his children, not as a mark of degradation but as the precious seal of honour and safety. He spoke at length, with great power and not without some gleams of humour.

He was followed by the Honourable Henry John Boulton, who proposed the first resolution. Mr. William Hume Blake proposed the second resolution, that ministerial responsibility to the people of the country for every act of the Executive connected with local affairs was an essential ingredient of our constitution. Mr. Blake's speech gives one the impression of a kind of untamed force. He paid a magnificent tribute to Baldwin and argued the question like a scholar and an orator. So vehement was he that his voice broke down in the excitement of his delivery. After a brief pause he went on to denounce the complaints uttered against men asking their undoubted rights, not as the language of genuine love to British greatness and British liberty, but as the foul offspring of flattery and slander. He was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause.

Mr. William L. Perrin having spoken, Mr. James Henry Price followed with a resolution which was seconded by Mr. Jesse Ketchum. Then rose the Honourable R. B. Sullivan with a resolution and a speech on which it is not necessary to dwell now. Mr. William A. Baldwin, Mr. Cathcart, Mr. Skeffington Connor followed. On this occasion Mr. (the Honourable) George Brown made his first speech. That he would speak with force would at once be inferred by everybody, but the present generation would not perhaps expect him to speak with humour. In concluding his speech he ridiculed the idea of carrying on the Government of the country by a Ministry selected from various parties, and as his remarks bear on a question we have all discussed within recent years and display the quality I have mentioned, I will give them.

“Imagine, sir, for a moment, yourself seated at the Council table, and Mr. Draper at the bottom—on your right hand we will place

the Episcopal Bishop of Toronto, and on your left, the Rev. Egerton Ryerson—on the right of Mr. Draper sits Sir Allan MacNab, and on his left Mr. Hincks. We will fill up the other chairs by gentlemen admirably adapted for their situations, by the most extreme imaginable differences of opinion. We will seat his Excellency at the middle of the table, on a chair raised above warring elements below, prepared to receive the advice of his constitutional conscience-keepers. We will suppose you, sir, to rise and propose the opening of King's College to all Her Majesty's subjects—and then, sir, we will have the happiness of seeing the discordant-producing-harmony-principle in the full vigour of peaceful operation. Oh, sir, it is an admirable system—there would not be a single point on which you could be brought to agree, and his Excellency might kindly interfere at any time to prevent the possibility of your adopting the absurdity of a united principle of action. \* \* His Excellency might let the Council fire off at one another—he could not of course adopt the advice of *all*, and so to keep the peace among the belligerents, he would kindly decide the point for them, and carry out his own ideas. Where is the man who would accept office under such an absurd and anti-British principle ? ”

Among the other speakers were Dr. Workman, Mr. M. O'Donoghue, Mr. Joseph C. Morrison (the judge), Mr. John Macara and Mr. Boyd.

Metcalfe had raised a storm which was never to abate until amid obloquy and the pangs of death, he had turned his back on our—to him—unhappy shores.

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## CHAPTER XI.

THE spectacle presented by the country for nearly a year was distressing. Nor need we be surprised that the Baldwin and independent press are full of notes of exclamation; nor that everything

takes the hue of the party passions which are flaming to heaven.

Lord Metcalfe in his extremity sent for Dr. Ryerson, of Victoria College, and the *British Whig* of Kingston, announced that he was to be Chief Superintendent of Education with a seat in the Executive Council, an announcement which the *Globe* of March 8th, 1844, characterised as an "alarming feeler." The rumour was vehemently denied at the time, but the Doctor defended Metcalfe in pamphlets which dropped with ease from his facile pen dipped in no pale ink. Party violence was never more pronounced. A meeting of the friends of the late Administration at Hamilton was broken up, and Metcalfe's secretary wrote a letter to the Sheriff of the Gore District in regard to the unjustifiable rowdyism, in a congratulatory tone, glad—notwithstanding the difference of opinion as to the construction of the statute—that everything passed in a manner so creditable to the inhabitants of the town and township. One day you read that the "loose fish are veering round." Another an article is headed "More Perverts." The Hon. S. B. Harrison, afterwards County Judge for York, was coquetting with the Government. Elmes Steele, of Simcoe, and Boswell, of Cobourg, were feeling the "draw" of "vice-regal blandishments." On the 9th of April an article was headed "Ryerson traded for." Later still we are told "Tommy Parke does something for a living." Mr. Parke, though not a member of the late Executive Council was a member of the late Government and had voted for Price's motion condemning the Governor. The sneer had reference to a letter he wrote defending Sir Charles Metcalfe.

On the 27th May Mr. Ryerson published a letter defending Sir Charles Metcalfe. The newspapers put it that he had turned "political slash-buckler." On the 8th of June, a meeting was called in West Gwillimbury to organize a Reform Association. Baldwin and Skeffington Connor went out to attend it. But Mr. George Duggan, M.P.P., (the late Judge) and Mr. E. G. O'Brien, with some of their friends paraded in a hostile manner, and the meeting was postponed.

About this time a meeting was held at Kingston to establish a United Empire Association which should resist all attempts—

come whencesoever they might—to sever Canada from Great Britain. Among the leading men who took part were Mr. John A. Macdonald, Ogle R. Gowan and Mr. Henry Smith.

Meanwhile Sir Charles Metcalfe left no stone unturned, no expedient untried in order to win the support of the French Canadian party. Viger believed that his countrymen would come round to “reason and justice.” But the astute Draper was not so sanguine, though he advised Metcalfe to put off trying to form the Upper Canadian portion of his Council until the upshot of the Lower Canadian negotiations was seen. At the end of June, Draper—the Governor’s “mainstay in Upper Canada”—went to Montreal to satisfy himself as to the exact state of Lower Canadian sentiment. After three weeks’ investigation he wrote that the aid of the French Canadian party was not to be obtained save on the terms of the restoration of Lafontaine and Baldwin. Was this a hint to the Governor to return to constitutional methods? The country had been seven months without an executive government, and one of the ablest and most experienced men in the country told him he could have Lower Canadian support only on conditions which he chose to consider impossible, his mind being unable to grasp the truth that a constitutional ruler should not have the slightest preference for one party above another. What was to be done? The country was suffering disastrously. Mr. Draper, with I think, a patriotic and constitutional object, assured the Governor that the tension of the situation was becoming unbearable, that every hour during which the offices of government remained vacant was fraught with momentous consequences, that the long interregnum of a suspended constitution had already injured commercial credit, that the revenue would be seriously affected, that the want of a responsible officer to represent the Crown in the Courts of Justice was proving a great public inconvenience, that men’s minds were unsettled, that vague apprehensions of evil were paralyzing industrial energies.

But how to form a Ministry? The Governor had placed himself in a false position, by seeking to play the part of governor and prime minister; by setting himself in antagonism to one of the parties of the country; by holding language more fit for a demagogue than a ruler of a state. The Nemesis of that false posi-

tion now confronted him. He felt that the right step would be to recall Baldwin and Lafontaine. They had the confidence of the country. But to recall them would be to acknowledge a defeat.—Defeat! a word of which as Governor he should have known nothing. To form a Ministry without them would be to form a ministry without the confidence of Lower Canada and with but partial support in Upper Canada, a Ministry which, as his apologist admits, would be incapable of carrying on the government according to the principles of Responsible Government.

There was one means of possible escape from his difficulties—to dissolve. This was not favoured by Draper. The answer to the appeal in Upper Canada might be favourable. In Lower Canada it would be certainly the reverse. What then was in prospect? A revolution? “It might be,” writes the subservient Kaye, “an abandonment of Responsible Government,” or “the severance of the existing union between the two Canadas,” or “the establishment of a federal union of all the North American colonies,” or what else might be “determined by or forced upon the Imperial Government.” “The difficulty,” adds the biographer in words which are the severest condemnation of Metcalfe’s policy, “might be dealt with by the Crown or by the people. It was impossible to say how it was to be dealt with by the Governor-General.” Poor Sir Charles Metcalfe! He sometimes now sighed for the ease he had left, the peaceful sanctuary of home, his learned leisure, the society of his beloved sister, on which he had turned his back to launch on a stormy sea for the navigation of which all his previous training unfitted him. But he was a man with a strong sense of duty, a *vir justus* undoubtedly, and he felt however mistakingly that he was on duty’s path. He addressed himself to one politician after another. The Attorney-Generalship of Lower Canada he offered in succession to four leading men of the French Canadian party only to receive four successive refusals. The Lower Canadians had been made the victims of exclusiveness, and like that portion of the Irish people who once suffered from the same oppression, a popular leader opposed to the Government had a hold on their affections which nothing could shake. O’Connell’s power would have crumbled to dust had he taken a seat in the British Cabinet, and Lafontaine at feud with the Government

was ten times as powerful, was a hundred fold more popular than Lafontaine at the head of an Administration would be, with all the patronage of Lower Canada in his hands.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's conduct was brought before the Imperial Parliament. In Committee of Supply Mr. Roebuck recalled the Governor's words that he intended to govern in accordance with the principles of Responsible Government. Unfortunately, said Mr. Roebuck, what he meant by Responsible Government he never attempted to explain. Were not the feelings of Canadians properly hurt when he made an offer of the speakership of the Upper House to a man who was one of the most bitter opponents of his Ministers? What would the noble lord (Stanley, secretary for the Colonies) have thought if he had been told that the speakership of the House of Lords had been offered to Lord Cottenham? Yet that was the kind of policy Sir Charles Metcalfe told his advisers he intended to pursue. They resigned, and ever since Canada had been without an Administration.

Lord Stanley, though generously supporting Metcalfe, and dwelling on his high character, indirectly condemned him. He declared that he understood by Responsible Government an administration carried on by the heads of departments enjoying the confidence of the people of Canada, the confidence of the Legislature, responsible to both; the Governor guided by their advice; they taking the responsibility of conducting their measures through Parliament. The principle of Responsible Government had been fully and frankly conceded, and it was upon that principle that Sir Charles Metcalfe had avowed his determination to conduct the Government of Canada. Lord Stanley, however, proceeded to point out that in a small community, patronage was better distributed by the Crown than by party. His speech was inconsistent with itself, as indeed was his conduct as Colonial Secretary, so far as Canada was concerned. He denied the analogy between a responsible Ministry in Canada and the Minister of the Crown in England, a question which I have already sufficiently discussed.

Lord John Russell was not more consistent. It was impossible for the Governor to consent to say that, in all cases, he would follow the will of the Executive Council, and thus make himself a

cipher. He would have condemned Sir Charles Metcalfe if he had said he would in no case take the opinion of his Executive Council respecting appointments. This he had not done. With regard to the charge that the Governor had reserved a bill without letting his advisers know that he intended to reserve it, the House had been told that on that point of dispute there were differences of opinion as to the facts. The honourable member for Montrose (Mr. Hume), said it was merely a question whether or not a slight had been put on the Legislature by reserving the bill; but if that were so, it could not be made a ground for the resignation of the members of Council. If their opinion was that Sir Charles Metcalfe should listen to them, and not obey his instructions from England, they took an exaggerated view of their power, to which it was impossible for the Governor to give way. Taking, then, the high authority of Sir Charles Metcalfe for the fact—and there could be no higher authority—it appeared to Lord John Russell that Sir Charles Metcalfe was right in the disputes with his late Executive Council. He was sure that they would not improve the situation by endeavouring to deprive the Governor of that authority which was so necessary for the maintenance of the connexion between England and the Colony.

It is clear that Lord John Russell, relying on Sir Charles Metcalfe's version, wholly misunderstood the facts. There was no desire to reduce the Governor to a cipher, none to interfere with the legitimate power of the Government in London.

Sir Robert Peel also defended Metcalfe. The Governor would act unworthily if he did not consult his Council in all local matters, but it might be for the interest of the governed that the Governor should resist the appointments of persons recommended by the Council. But surely the appointment of officers for local purposes must be a local matter.

One of the ex-Ministers had removed to Montreal, and started a newspaper, the *Pilot*. Montreal had been fixed on as the future seat of Government, and Mr. Hincks thought that would be the best place to advocate the cause he had espoused. He was violently attacked by the Government press. He was a Marat, a Robespierre, a Carnot. He conducted the paper with rare energy,



and with the same ability he had displayed on his newspaper in Toronto.

An address to the people from the ex-Ministers, well-calculated to stir up the popular mind was, in anticipation of an election, scattered over the country. On the 16th of May, a general meeting of the Reform Association was held, the Hon. Adam Ferguson in the chair. When the Hon. Robert Baldwin spoke, he commenced by congratulating the Province at large on the gratifying fact that a distinguished member of the Upper House of Parliament presided over such a meeting. He recalled the time which was not very distant in the history of Upper Canada, when persons occupying elevated positions in the Council of the Province were accustomed to hold themselves aloof from the great body of the people, as if their struggle for liberty was a matter in which they had neither part nor lot; ensconcing themselves within an exclusive and narrow circle, inside whose bounds the profane eyes of commoners were not permitted to peep. The chairman had thanked Baldwin and his colleagues for the truly British stand they had made for constitutional principles.

In referring to this, Baldwin said that he "declaimed any other merit than that of having simply done his duty." He added that whether taking office, or abandoning it, he had never been influenced but by one motive—a sincere desire to sacrifice every personal consideration to what he believed to be his duty to his country and his Sovereign.

He then brought up the draft of an address which was read by Skeffington Connor, the Corresponding Secretary. The address pointed out why the late Councillors resigned, showed that Sir Charles Metcalfe and his "Rump" were transgressing the conditions of Representative Government, and warned the people of the dangers to their freedom. Was it to be permitted that for month after month the Government should be unconstitutionally administered? Those who were always opposed to Constitutional Government supported the Governor and served under him. They were right, and from them all might be hoped if only the constitution was placed beneath their feet. But the people should beware of those who talked in favour of Responsible Government, and betrayed it in their acts. "We recommend you," said the

address in one of its concluding paragraphs, "to weigh and understand well the question to be submitted to you; to meet and to discuss in every convenient manner the points of view in which it has been placed; to have no halting between two opinions; to allow of no indifference. This is not a mere party struggle. It is Canada against her oppressors. The people of Canada claiming the British constitution against those who withhold it; the might of public opinion against fashion and corruption."

The adoption of the address was moved by the Hon. Captain Irving, and seconded by Peter Perry, of Whitby.

If able men on one hand were denouncing the Government as a "rump," and as "Gowan's ministry," Dr. Ryerson wrote strongly and eloquently on behalf of Sir Charles Metcalfe. "Sir Charles Metcalfe," he said, "is not a fortune seeker, but a fortune spender in the country from which it is intended to ostracise him—a fortune spender in public charity."\* Not only did Dr. Ryerson defend the Governor, Presbyteries proposed votes supporting him.

Mr. Baldwin during the summer made a tour in the Lower Province, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm; the Lower Canadian newspapers described his visit as one triumphant procession. Addresses poured in on him, and his conduct and that of his colleagues was everywhere endorsed.

On the 13th of August, the leading organ of the Baldwin party had an article headed "The Vacant Ministry," and, from the opening of Cicero's oration against Catiline, a motto which was meant to carry a sting with it—*Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra?*—How long, O, Catiline, wilt thou abuse our patience? The period of the ministerial interregnum was now running the ninth month, and there was no sign of relief from the depressing situation.

The Attorney-Generalship of Lower Canada, already declined by four Lower Canadians, was now declined by two Upper Canadians. A seventh offer was more successful. Mr. Smith accepted the position. Little by little progress was made towards the formation of a Council, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, with feelings

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\* The *Colonist* which had mainly through Dr. Ryerson's influence, been turned into an "organ" of the Governor's.

infinitely relieved, was able on the 27th August, to write to the Colonial Office that he expected in a few days to be able to announce the completion of the Executive Council of the Province.

In this Ministry the three leading figures were our old friends. Viger, Draper, and Daly; the first was president of the Council; the second Attorney-General for Upper Canada; the third retained his old post, Provincial Secretary for Upper Canada; Mr. Morris was Receiver General; Mr. D. B. Papineau (brother of the rebel leader), Commissioner of Crown Lands. Thus, with Mr. Smith, Attorney-General for Lower Canada, the six most important offices in the Executive Council were filled. Metcalfe believed he was now in a position to meet his parliament. But in the Representative Assembly a vote of want of confidence would have been carried by an overwhelming majority. The question of dissolution was therefore discussed in the Council. After much doubt and debate, a dissolution was resolved on. It was determined not to fill the minor offices until after the elections. There would then probably be a larger field of choice.

The crisis was described by the Governor as important—it was momentous. On the 24th of September, a banquet was given to the Hon. Mr. Young, who had in Nova Scotia, fought the same battle Baldwin had fought and was fighting here. Baldwin took the opportunity of reviewing certain portions of the speech of Lord Stanley. Was it a matter of imperial concern whether Mr. A. or Mr. B. should be appointed to office? Who, during the previous session, was attacked by Sir Allan MacNab, the Governor or himself? If he was to bear the brunt of attack, surely he ought to have the power which was implied by responsibility? Was it a thing to be tolerated that a Ministry should learn for the first time of the appointments of the Government on the street? How long would the noble lord have remained one of Her Majesty's Ministers, if placed in such a situation? He was aware of the difference between the Ministry in London and the Ministry in a colony, a difference which necessarily followed from the fact that one was the paramount executive of the empire, the other only the executive of a dependency of that empire. But when this difference was pressed beyond its limits of Imperial concerns, and made the pretence for the refusal of liberty—for

the denial of the right of the people to govern through their representatives—when it was made an instrument of degradation, the brand of an inferior race—a view was taken which would never be acquiesced in by any colony where constitutional government obtained, and where there lingered a single spark of British feeling to light British principles. In the course of a long speech, Baldwin was frequently cheered, and the speech well deserved the applause.

The Hon. R. B. Sullivan spoke with great eloquence, and the Hon. Geo. Brown replied for the Reform press of British North America. As on the occasion of his first speech a few months before, he spoke with considerable humour.

Parliament was dissolved on the 23rd of September. The writs were issued on the 24th, and made returnable on the 10th of November. On the 1st of October the *Globe* contained an appeal to the electors. Baldwin resigned his patent of Queen's Counsel. A placard was circulated throughout the country, stating that the late Ministry, in order to insult the Presbyterians and Baptists, while passing a Bill through Parliament, giving these bodies additional power with respect to the holding of land had introduced a clause contemptuously associating them with Tunkers, Barkers, Shavers, Shakers, Sharpers, and Gypsies. The *Globe* subsequently characterized this placard as an "infamous" fabrication, and declared that it had influenced several electors. "It is questionable," wrote that paper, a few years afterwards, "whether this lying trick did not exercise more influence than all the letters of Buchanan and Ryerson." Now we have already seen that before this placard was given to the world, Presbyterians sided with Metcalfe, nor can there be a doubt that the people were in some places unenlightened as to the real issue. The placard, too, might be considered in the court of electioneering morality fair. However, there is no evidence that it was not put forth in good faith. Of course the late Ministers never did anything so absurd as associate Barkers and Presbyterians, Shakers and Baptists. But a young clerk had scribbled the words in fun in the printers' "copy," and forgot to cross them out. How were those who saw the objectionable words in the bill to divine the accident?

While the elections were proceeding, Mr. Henry Sherwood became Solicitor-General for Canada West.

The Conservative candidates went to the country on the Governor's ticket. Mr. George P. Ridout, in his address, said :— "I have the honour to solicit your suffrages at the approaching election, and take for my motto, 'The Governor-General and British connection.'" The excitement was extreme. There was on all sides apprehension of riot and bloodshed. All kinds of violent handbills were circulated ; the walls glared with stimulating posters. Large bodies of Irishmen turned out to support Baldwin. His enemies said they were hired to keep freedom of election in control by club law. Serious disturbances were expected. The troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness. "The contest," says Metcalfe's biographer, with audacious mendacity, "was between loyalty on one side and disaffection to Her Majesty's Government on the other." Of Sir Charles Metcalfe, we are told, perhaps with truth, that he felt that he was doing battle for his Sovereign against a rebellious people. When, on the 5th of November, all the returns were known, it was found that the Government had a small majority. Of course, there were charges of foul play. The returning officers were said to be bitter Tory partizans, and to have abused their opportunities. Their machinations, aided by an unscrupulous exercise of Government authority, it was said, helped to secure a majority for the Conservatives. We may be sure both parties did all they could to secure a victory. It is possible that the country felt that Baldwin and Lafontaine might have been less uncompromising, and that knowing Sir Charles Metcalfe's determination not to work with them, fears of another interregnum influenced some votes. After the fight is over, it is useless, however, to squabble over battles which have been decided. Bazaine and Frederick Charles exchanging recriminations over Gravelotte would be as edifying a spectacle as a game of scolding over an election once it is past. For my own part, I should think it more profitable to discuss the issue between Thierry and the Abbé Laffetay respecting the date of the Bayeux tapestry. The Reformers contended that the Government had only a majority of two. But when the House met, it turned out to be a little larger.

Viger was defeated in Richelieu by Dr. Nelson, an Irishman, who had been transported to Bermuda for the part he took in the rebellion. Hincks lost Oxford. In Lower Canada there was a large majority against the Government. Morin was returned for two constituencies.\*

The new Parliament met at Montreal. The first fight came off on the Speakership. The Government candidate was Sir Allan MacNab, who had been knighted for his services in the rebellion; the Opposition, M. Morin. Though with two exceptions, all the French Canadians supported M. Morin, the Ministerial candidate was voted into the chair by a majority of three. On the day Parliament met, seventy-seven members answered to their names. Six members, Merritt, Harrison, Cameron, Robinson, Watts and Le Bouthillier, were absent. M. Morin's double return completed the eighty-four. On the division, seventy-five voted, thirty-nine for MacNab, and thirty-six for M. Morin. The Reformers were furious at the election of MacNab—an "Ultra Tory," a "High Churchman," the "dictator of the Family Compact." One of the Government papers had called the Government a "liberal" one. "A liberal Government indeed!" exclaimed the correspondent of the *Globe*, "its leaders being Ogle R. Gowan, Geo. Duggan, Sir Allan MacNab, Henry Sherwood and Edward Murney!!"

Mr. Hincks was asked to come forward for the seat for which Morin elected not to sit, but he refused.

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\* According to the *Globe*, the result was—the Governor-General-party in Upper Canada had declared for them:—Counties, 20; Towns, 9. In Lower Canada:—Counties, 10; Towns, 4. Total, 43. In Canada West, the Reformers had declared in their favour—Counties, 13. In Canada East:—Counties, 26; Quebec City, 2. Total, 41. The following are the names of the Ministerialists—the names of those protested against having an asterisk:—Le Bouthillier; Watts; Sherwood, G.; Stewart, W.; \*McDonald, R.; McDonell, G.; Williams; Smith; Henry; \*Jessup; Chalmers; MacNab; Murney; Dunlop; McDonald, J. A.; Foster; \*Gowan; Seymour; \*Cummings; Lawrason; \*Ermatinger; Dickson; Meyers; Hall; \*Riddell; Stewart, N.; Petrie; Robinson; Sherwood, H.; Boulton; Duggan; \*Webster; Johnston; Colville; \*Daly; Smith, Jas.; \*Moffatt; \*De Bleury; Papineau; Hale; Grieve; Scott; Brooks; McConnell. And the following were the Reformers:—Prince; McDonald, J. S.; Thompson; Harrison; \*Cameron; \*Merritt; \*Powell; Roblin; \*McDonell, D. Æ.; \*Smith, Dr.; \*Small; \*Baldwin; Chabot; Price; Lacoste; Guillet; Taschereau; Christie; Lemoine; Berthelot; De Witt; Tache; Laurin; Jobin; Drummond; Aylwin; Methot; Morin; Chauveau; Nelson; Bertrand; Franchere; Morin; Desaulnier; Lafontaine; Lesslie; \*Rousseau; Lantier; Armstrong; Cauchon; \*Bouthillier.

The speech expressed a hope that some satisfactory arrangement might be come to respecting the University of King's College, and that the communications throughout the Province might be improved. All that was said about the interregnum was, that extraordinary obstacles had prevented the filling up of vacancies in the Ministry.

Baldwin, in moving the amendment to the address, expressed his disappointment at the extraordinary circumstance that the House was left in doubt as to the intentions of the Government. He attacked the Ministers for the way things had been conducted since he had resigned, and ridiculed the piebald character of the politics on the Treasury Bench. His sarcasm was withering without being harsh or at war with good taste.\* The whole speech told on the House in a striking manner. At two o'clock on the night of the seventh of December, he rose to wind up the debate. He denounced the unparliamentary course pursued by the Government during the debate. They had not announced a single principle. He ridiculed their professions that they would make no appointments to strengthen their position. The speech, wrote a correspondent, was admitted to be the most powerful speech ever heard within the walls of a Canadian Parliament. It was four o'clock when Mr. Baldwin resumed his seat; but there had been no signs of impatience. On a division, the amendment was lost, the Government having a majority of six.

In the Legislative Council, Mr. Draper defended Sir Charles Metcalfe with great plausibility. The principles of Responsible Government were founded on this, that there must be for every act of a government some person responsible to Parliament. The Crown could not be made a party. A Minister could not plead in justification of an obnoxious Act, that it was done by the King's command. It was on the principle that the King could do no wrong that the whole system of Responsible Government rested. Let that principle be applied to recent acts, and the result would be an ample vindication of the course pursued by the Head of the Government. The King being incapable of doing wrong, when in the exercise of his constitutional right he dismissed a Ministry,

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\* Correspondence of *Globe*, 5th December, 1844.

those who accepted the vacant places took upon themselves the responsibility of the act of dismissal, and for that act became amenable to the judgment of the country. If the country sustained them they retained office; if the contrary, they resigned. But when a Ministry tendered their resignation as a voluntary act, with them alone rested the responsibility. It would not be pretended that the late Ministers did not resign their offices. Therefore, with them alone, rested the responsibility of the act. Under what circumstances did their resignation take place? Did they resign in accordance with British parliamentary practice? No; and he had a right to call on the leaders of the Opposition, to show that the course they had thought fit to take was the acknowledged usage of the British Parliament. He was bold to assert that nothing had been placed before the country which gave an issue on which the people could come to a decision. The issue on which the people had to decide was not whether the principles of Responsible Government had or had not been violated, but a question of fact stated by Sir Charles Metcalfe and his late Ministers—the issue was, which of the parties had told the truth.

Now all this was mere special pleading. It is true the Ministers published one account of the rupture, Metcalfe another. But nobody who understood the question then, nobody who has since considered it, has had any doubt of the fact proved by the whole tenor of Metcalfe's conduct, proved by his despatches to Lord Stanley, proved by his private letters, proved by the view he took of the nature of his functions, that he made an appointment without consulting his Ministers, and to which they were opposed. To make appointments without consulting the responsible Ministers is the most high-handed way of refusing to act on their advice. What was the value of Mr. Draper's bold assertion, that there was no precedent? Did not Pitt resign after the union, because George III would not take his advice? Constitutional Government as we understand it, and as explained by Mr. Draper in his opening remarks, came into play in England only in the reign of Queen Anne. She chose Ministers who enjoyed the confidence of Parliament. The first two Georges were obliged to act in the same way. William the Third, though he ultimately gave his confidence to Whigs alone, began by selecting Ministers from



all parties. But William the Third was an exceptional ruler in exceptional times, and an analogy might be drawn between the fashion in which he, the inaugurator of Modern Constitutional Government England acted, and the mode of procedure adopted by Lord Sydenham in inaugurating constitutional government among ourselves. George the Third determined to do in England, very much what Sir Charles Metcalfe determined to do here, and both found themselves in consequence, at times, in antagonism to parliament. When George the Third was forced to entrust the Government to Whigs, he thwarted them and intrigued against them, just as Sir Charles Metcalfe thwarted and intrigued against Lafontaine and Baldwin. The great doctrine enunciated by the greatest men in the English Parliament, was that the King in choosing his advisers should defer to the wishes of Parliament. If Sir Charles Metcalfe did this, he would have sent again for his Ministers who had resigned as Mr. Draper seemed once and again to hint he should have done. The Revolution of 1688, transferred the Sovereignty of England, not from James the Second to William and Mary, but from Kings ruling by divine right to the House of Commons. The King reigns, Parliament governs. The King is the head of the Executive, and remains, unsullied by faction, because he carries out the wishes of Parliament. He selects servants, who for the time being, have the confidence of Parliament, and who are responsible to it. That they are so responsible is the real ground for the proposition, the King can do no wrong, a proposition which is the impassable bulwark to revolution, so long as correlative propositions are understood, and acted on. If therefore, a King or Governor seeks to act independently of Ministers, he assumes responsibility, and that moment the proposition that he can do no wrong ceases to apply. What then becomes of Mr. Draper's argument? His remarks regarding the responsibility of an incoming Ministry intended to shield Sir Charles Metcalfe, will not cover the Governor's conduct during nearly a year.

Mr. Draper went on to guard against its being understood that when he laid down the principle that the King can do no wrong, he meant to imply that the same was true of a Governor-General. But the same is and must be true of a Governor-General, so far

as he is a constitutional ruler, and in relation to the people over whom he plays that important part. The Governor, Mr. Draper pointed out, was a responsible servant of the Crown. It would be absurd to hold that a man who was liable to impeachment could do no wrong. Thus to establish a charge against the Head of the Government his opponent had been thrown into a false position.

It is hard to believe so acute a mind as that of Mr. Draper did not see that he was here suggesting a false issue. Neither Baldwin nor anybody else ever asserted that the Governor-General could do no wrong or was not a responsible servant, so far as Imperial matters were concerned, but they did assert that so far as he was a constitutional ruler in regard to our local affairs, he was bound to act in such a manner as would be consistent with a proposition which means no more than that he should not act like a minister, inasmuch as he was not responsible to parliament and could not by parliament be called to account for his acts. It is however, barely possible Mr. Draper did not grasp all the bearings of the controversy. But he has seemed to me to have been much more than a mere successful lawyer. It has too often been shewn that the most brilliant successes at the bar are no guarantees for statesmanship, and the warping effects of *nisi prius* advocacy and Court of Chancery contentions round the points of needles, and over the splitting of hairs, ought to be allowed due weight in deciding respecting his sincerity.

The removal of Mr. Draper to the Legislative Council had left a gap in the House of Assembly not unlike that which Chatham's acceptance of an earldom left in the House of Commons. Neither Attorney-General Smith nor Solicitor-General Sherwood were competent to lead the House. Indeed their conduct at times was scarcely up to the level of a discussion in a pot-house. Before parliament was sitting two weeks they gave a signal instance of their shamelessness of political character. On the 12th of December, Mr. Small moved for leave to bring in a petition against the return of Messrs, Sherwood and Boulton. The Ministry objected to its being received. Petitions should be brought within fourteen days after the elections, and that period had expired. The Opposition appealed to the Speaker who decided against them. Scarcely

had the echo of the Speaker's words died away when Mr. Dickson wished to present a petition against a Reformer, Mr. L. T. Drummond. Both Smith and Sherwood had the effrontery to stand up and argue that the petition should be received. The Opposition appealed to the Speaker, whereupon the Ministerialists, unable even to stand the mildewed corn of their miserable majority, shouted "No! No!"—Mr. Sherwood being one of those who led the cry. The Speaker however, was a man who could measure such politicians as the Sherwoods and Smiths. He rose and decided that the petition could not be received. And what did the enlightened Ministers then do? They acted like half-tipsy rowdies. They appealed from the decision of the Speaker they had themselves helped to elect, and demanded a division. They were beaten by forty-seven to twenty-three. We need not be surprised if, in the face of such conduct, the Governor thought of urging Mr. Draper to leave the Legislative Council and seek a seat in the Assembly. Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote piteously that none of the Executive Council could exercise much influence over the party supporting the Government. If Mr. Draper was to get a seat some member must resign. Mr. Robinson having accepted the Inspector-Generalship had to go to his constituents. The absence of two members would be a serious matter in a House in which both parties were so evenly balanced. A long adjournment was therefore determined on and a motion was made for the adjournment of the House from the 20th of December until the 1st of February. There could be no reasonable excuse for so long an adjournment which would cost the country some \$60,000. Mr. Gowan thereupon moved an amendment that the adjournment should only extend to the 7th of January. The amendment was lost. Mr. Cameron fearing the original motion might be passed moved that the House stand adjourned from the 24th of December to the 3rd of January. Now the question arose as to the passing of Mr. Cameron's motion. During the debate the Ministers had declared there was no collusion between them and the movers of long adjournments. When Mr. Christie moved as an amendment that the adjournment should extend only over the religious holidays, the Ministers said that was just what they wanted. When however the vote was called their true sentiments were seen.

They did not want to vote for Christie's motion because Christie's motion was the last thing they desired, and their declarations during the debate would have made voting against it too indecent even for their indecent sense of fitness. They therefore sneaked out of the House. But the question was one too near their hearts for their anxiety not to betray itself. They hovered about the entrance, they peeped through the slit, they bobbed in their heads through the half-opened door. A member saw them and moved that the Sergeant-at-arms should take them into custody and bring them up to vote. They were brought in and told they must vote. Every one of them voted for the long adjournment. Unfortunate men! The vote decided by a majority of one that there should be no holidays but the three religious ones. However the question was raised again, influence having meanwhile been brought to bear on members. Gowan carried his motion by a majority of ten.

On January 21st, 1845, Mr. Gowan moved an address to his Excellency to grant an inquiry into the management of the Board of Works, in which there had been a great deal of jobbing. Men who came paupers a few weeks before, with tenders in their hands, were now worth twenty thousand pounds. The Inspector-General opposed Mr. Gowan's motion, who withdrew it under protest and expressions of regret that a member of the Administration should be found to assist in stifling inquiry. A few days afterwards, another supporter of the Government, Dr. Dunlop, said the Board of Works had become a curse.

About this time the Government brought in a Bill forbidding persons to carry arms unless licensed. A search for arms was to be authorized, with all the tyranny of forcible entry. Certain districts were to be placed under a ban, and one hundred mounted police raised to carry out the Act. This measure seems to have been directed at those of the Irish people who were building the canals.

Mr. Hale, the Government member for Sherbrooke, said the Bill had been described as one to put down Irishmen. No; but the Bill would have the effect of preventing quarrels among a warm-blooded people, and that was sufficient reason for passing it. It was a measure inspired by the contractors, some of whom,

in our own day, have sought to influence Governments to bring in Bills which would enable them to oppress their poor workmen.

The followers of Baldwin defended the labourers, most or all of whom came from the cradle of Baldwin's family. Mr. Drummond (now Judge Drummond) reminded the House of the report signed by himself and his brother commissioners appointed to inquire into the canal riots. Men who had been branded as "savage," were not savage by nature—were not wanton violators of the peace, but had been goaded to error by the violence of their task-masters.

At this time the condition of things, so far as Responsible Government was concerned, was no better than when Metcalfe was without an Executive Council. Ministers took no notice whatever of a defeat. The whole party or mob professing to support them, presented a sickening picture of corruption, deceit, and self-seeking in all its multifarious forms.\*

Sir Charles Metcalfe's malady was hastening that departure for which his enemies longed. In January, he wrote home a pathetic account of his position. He had lost the use of one eye, and the eye which was still useful sympathised with that which was destroyed; nor was there any hope of the eradication of the cancer. He had now, to his great regret, to use the hand of another to write his letters and despatches. He was racked by pains above the

\* Dr. Barker, the editor of the *British Whig*, a Conservative journal, wrote, on the 14th February, 1845:—

"A defeat is now a matter of ordinary occurrence, happening whenever half a dozen Conservative members want anything to be done which is unpalatable to the Ministry. The last defeat was on the Reduction of Salaries' Bill—the one before was on the Canada Company Tax Bill. On this subject the Upper Canada members were divided, it being a matter of doubt whether the wild lands of the Company, in the Huron tract, should be liable to the ordinary District Tax or not. The Ministry were of opinion that an exception should be taken in the Company's favour, seeing which, the whole Opposition rose in one body and voted for the Bill. The numbers were 52 to 12.

"I am heartily sick and disgusted with Montreal and the House of Assembly, and wish myself at home a thousand times. I go every day after dinner to pass the evening in the reporter's box, and when I get there can't stay an hour. Some piece of chicanery or double-faced intrigue is sure to provoke me, and send me out with a flea in my lug. Let the matter be ever so bare-faced or scandalous, you are sure to see lots of honourable members advocate it and defend it unblushingly.

"The Lower Canada members appear to much greater advantage than their upper country brethren. All the quarrelling and fighting—all the fending and proving—all the special pleading and false colouring—are left to the Conservatives."

eye and down the right side of the face as far as the chin. The cheek towards the nose and mouth was permanently swelled. He could not open his mouth to its usual width, and it was with difficulty he inserted and masticated food. He no longer looked forward to a cure. On this point he was hopeless. He would have been glad to return home. But he could not, he wrote, reconcile it to his sense of duty to quit his post in the existing state of affairs.

Among the dreams of his youth was to be a peer. The Imperial Government knowing this, remembering his past services, and his present difficulties, and it may be, that they would have added, his mistakes, remembering also the state of his health, recommended Her Majesty to raise him to the peerage. A peerage it was thought would add to his strength in his struggles with the constitutional party which was represented in Metcalfe's despatches as tainted with rebellion. Both Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley wrote him private letters of congratulation, full of that generous spirit which characterizes English politics. Alas! the honour came too late for Metcalfe to enjoy it. There was a time, he wrote to his sister, when he would have rejoiced in a peerage. He would have highly prized the privilege of devoting his life to the service of his Queen and country in the House of Lords. But he was now without any ground of confidence that he should ever be able to undertake that duty with any efficiency. The only gratification it could bring him now was this: it proved that his services were not unappreciated; he knew that kind hearts would rejoice at his elevation. Now, as at all times, he was kindly, and gentle, and affectionate in his private relations.

On the 25th February, Mr. Prince, seconded by Mr. Roblin, moved an address to His Excellency on his elevation to the peerage. The resolution expressed the gratitude of the House to the Sovereign for rewarding the merit of the Governor. This address was passed by a majority of twenty in a house of seventy members. Baldwin made a speech which can only be excused by remembering the heated passions of the time. Aylwin said he could congratulate neither Sir Charles Metcalfe nor the British House of Peers. So far from deserving a peerage, he said Metcalfe should have been taken home and tried for high crimes and misdemea-

nours. Others spoke in a like strain. The proper thing was to have given a silent vote.

On the 16th of March, Mr. Draper introduced his University Bill, which proposed that the University of Upper Canada should embrace three colleges: King's as the Episcopalian; Queen's, for the established Presbyterians; and Victoria for the Methodist. On the 11th, the Bill was brought up for second reading, when, after an able speech from Draper, urging his fellow Churchmen, who objected even to attend a literary class with dissenters, to beware, the debate was adjourned until the 18th instant. On that day, Mr. Hagarty, now Chief Justice, was heard at the bar as counsel for the University.

Boulton moved the rejection of the Bill. Mr. Robinson, who had been appointed Solicitor-General for Lower Canada, resigned. Metcalfe wrote despondingly to Lord Stanley. In the previous year, during nine months, he had laboured in vain to complete his Council. Now he had again to fish in troubled waters for a Solicitor-General for Lower Canada. Draper assured the Governor that the Government could not possibly survive without an infusion of new vigour. The Ministers wanted weight and influence. Several members declared that they only voted for the second reading to keep the Ministers in, but that, if the Bill went farther they would vote against it. This was the attitude of one of the Ministers himself—Solicitor-General Sherwood. The second reading was passed; but the Bill had to be dropped. Mr. Draper had declared, on the 4th of March, that he and his colleagues would stand or fall with the measure. There was no sign of one of them quitting his seat.

The conduct of Mr. Robinson appears amid the wretched political morality of his colleagues like a lily in a stagnant fen. Among such reeds as Smith and such rushes as Sherwood, Robinson stood like an elm. He might, he said, with a manliness which must have cut like a sword the heart of Sherwood, under some private understanding have voted for the second reading and yet retained his office. "But, Mr. Speaker, though I am poor I can afford to lose my office, but I cannot afford to lose my character." At these words Sherwood held a paper before his face.

A few days later one of those disagreeable and discreditable

scenes which have so frequently disfigured Canadian politics occurred. M. Papineau had introduced an Education Bill. M. Morin, speaking on this measure, said the Government had attempted by corruption to procure assistance from the Liberal side of the House. Smith, the Attorney-General, sprang to his feet and challenged proof of the fact. Lafontaine replied that he was prepared at any moment to prove attempts to corrupt the House on the part of the Ministry. Many of the French Canadian members on applying to the Government regarding the business of their counties were met by the answer that they did not support the Government. Mr. Bertrand had had replies of this kind from both Mr. Daly and M. Papineau. Daly declared that in no conversation he ever had with any member of the Opposition was there a word which was capable of such a construction. Bertrand then rose and confirmed what Lafontaine had stated. He said he was willing to believe that Mr. Daly was joking. With M. Papineau, however, the case was quite different. He was quite serious. He had said expressly that he regretted he could do no more for his countrymen, but that they gave him no support in Parliament. If they did this he might do something for them. To this Bertrand said he replied:—"What! must we sell our conscience to procure justice in this House?"

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of March. The session had lasted four months, and the legislative fruit was small. Everything of any magnitude that was promised was where it was when Parliament met. The University, the Administration of Justice, the Militia, the Civil List, the Prisons and Lunatic Asylums, on all of which measures had been promised, the close of the session found untouched; and naturally, for a weak Ministry can never do more than buttress up an ignoble tenure of office by disreputable shifts.

And poor Metcalfe, whose nature shrank from intrigue, who was quite unfit for the position of a party leader, which he had practically assumed, when he looked back over those four months, felt heartily ashamed of himself. In seeking to strengthen himself, he had leaned on broken reeds which had pierced his hand. In clutching helplessly at power he had had to touch pitch, and the sense of defilement stung that upright soul. He abhorred tactics, and



had become the vilest of tacticians,—the tactician who does not make but is made the victim. He loved what was straightforward, and had become the meanest of tricksters,—the trickster that has to carry out the machinations of meaner and baser hearts. He had fallen from the Alpine height of his own proud self-esteem, and it was in vain that he tried to persuade himself that he still stood on the faultless and splendid pinnacle of Horace's magnificent ode. He was working side by side with allies in whose company it was no honour to fight. He had to sanction their acts. He had to put himself on the plain of their depraved political morality. And he had to do all this because he had determined to work against a man whose character must, in his better moments, have commanded his admiration, whose character, indeed, had much in it akin to his own; a man who, like Turenne, always spoke the truth; who loved virtue for her own sake; whom no one could appreciate without being the better for it; whose society inspired those who shared his confidence with a horror of duplicity; whose loyalty to his friends had in it some of the noble devotion with which he cherished the beautiful memory of the dead.

In his speech closing Parliament, Metcalfe used language which displayed a want of that imagination which can realize the feelings of persons differently situated to ourselves. He told the members of both houses that they were about to return to their homes, to resume those occupations which, in most cases, were indispensable for the support of their families, and which were inevitably interrupted with some degree of injury to themselves, by attendance on their parliamentary duties. This, which was perfectly true, was not in good taste. The Baldwin press commented with perhaps uncalled-for bitterness on his words. But the provocation had been great.

The Governor's malady grew worse. In body and spirit he was ill at ease. In June he gave a pitiable account of his condition in a private letter to his friend Mr. Martin. Yet he thought he could not quit his post without mischievous consequences following. In his darkened room or sheltered carriage, he was, in the midst of bodily and mental anguish, determined to be the Governor, as he understood the duties of the office. It is touching to see how he tried to make light of his sufferings. A life of perpetual chloride

of zinc was far from easy. There were, however, greater pains and afflictions in the world. He had experienced mercies for which gratitude was due. He could not shut his right eye. After the next application he feared he would be unable to open his mouth. This was "very satisfactory."

He had impressed Lord Stanley with the idea that it was important that he should remain in Canada. His presence and his administration were vital to preserving Canada to the Empire. Lord Stanley—the kindness of whose chivalrous character comes out strongly in his private despatches—urged him if possible to hold on to the helm. The Colonial Secretary believed he was guiding the ship into port when he was running her among the breakers.

In the gloom of his darkened room he was cheered by rumours that the tide was rising in his favour. There were some little waves playing with the dry sand, and the sanguine expected that the waters were at the turn. At the end of June old M. Viger had been returned for the Three Rivers. But some of the supporters of the Governor were his worst enemies. One paper alarmed the moderate wing of the Conservatives by declaring that the representative form of government was "the unceasing enemy of the peace and prosperity of Canada East and West." Every storm which had desolated the country owed its origin to the unwholesome and poisonous atmosphere of the Halls of the Legislature. The gift of representation had been to the young limbs of the country like the poisoned garment of Nessus, the touch of which was fatal to the destroyer of the Nemean lion.\* Raving of this kind could produce but one effect.

On the 8th of August Mr. Cayley was made Inspector-General of the Province, and this was the signal for a chorus of discontent from quarters where the Government might have expected support. Colonel Prince described the new Minister as the clerk of a company of blacksmiths in the Town of Niagara. Boulton declared war against his old friends, and a dozen Government papers made fun of Cayley's name, with the view of emphasizing his obscurity. Was it Cayley or Kaley? Mr. Gowan declared

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\*See the *Patriot* July 4th, 1845.

that outside of Toronto there were not a dozen readers who knew who Mr. Cayley was.

Towards the end of September Mr. Crofton, the editor of a Cobourg paper,\* began over the signature of "Uncle Ben," to shell the Government. The author was found out and given a place. This did not stop the tendency to ratting. A stronger, though not a more justifiable move, was to take the Government deposits and business from the Bank of Montreal, where Mr. Holmes was cashier. Mr. Holmes was deprived of his position whereupon the deposits and business were restored.

The end of Lord Metcalfe's troubles in Canada and in the world was at hand. Disease was fighting his will with more success than hostile politicians. He reflected with bitter mortification that, however strong his resolution and however clear his intellect, it would soon be physically impossible for him to administer with credit and efficiency the affairs of the Government. In October he wrote to Lord Stanley that disease had affected his articulation and all the functions of the mouth. There was a hole through the cheek into the interior of the mouth. His doctors warned him that it would soon be out of his power to perform his duties. If the season were not so far advanced he would request his recall. Sixteen days later he again described his sufferings. The disease had made further progress. He was unable to entertain company or to receive visitors. His official business had to be conducted at his country house. The doctors thought it would not be safe that he should leave Canada in the winter, and the question was, whether under the circumstances, he could not best perform his duty to his country by working on at the head of the Government to the best of his ability. He clung to the struggle to the last.

At this time the public were aware that he would soon depart from among them. The press, in a most dastardly manner, attacked him. It was like hitting a man down. Whatever his faults, there he was, a suffering, nay, a dying man. Lord Stanley wrote to him in a tone of unflinching sympathy. Amid disappointment, amid sickness, in that darkened room, around which surged truculent

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\* *The Star*.

abuse and coarse invective, the letters of Lord Stanley must have been read with no little emotion. On the 2nd of November Lord Stanley wrote enclosing an official letter accepting his resignation, but authorizing him to make use of it or not as he saw fit. The Queen sent him the kindest messages.

The navigation was now about to close. Metcalfe must at once decide whether he would remain at Montreal or go to England. The question presented itself to his mind in another form also: whether he should go away from a scene where the safety and the interests of the Empire seemed to be identified with his presence. His mind was no longer what it was when he was the ruler of Delhi, and perhaps at no time was his enormous self-confidence wholly destitute of a tendency to lean on others. He had written from the Delhi Residency to his aunt, approving of her giving up the idea of her son's appointment to India—Why should she make herself and her son miserable by parting never to meet again? "Take my situation," he had written on September the 10th, 1811—"I have been more than eleven years from England; and it will be certainly more than eleven years before I can return. In these twenty-two or twenty-four years the best part of my life will have passed away—that part in which all my feelings will have been most alive to the different sensations of happiness and misery arising out of different circumstances. I left my father and mother just as I became acquainted with them as a man. I have not once had their cheering smile to encourage my labours in my profession." He was always tantalized by visions of family peace and encouragement from beloved relatives. All his life he was denied this, and now he had come to the end. With all his stern sense of duty and capacity for labour there was a slight touch of the lotus-eater in him. Nor does he ever seem to have realized the persistent tragedy of life.

In the present crisis he would not trust his own judgment. He invited the leading members of his Council to attend him at Monklands. He told them how matters stood and left the issue in their hands. The scene in that darkened room could never be forgotten by those who assisted at it. It was not merely the aged cheek of Viger that was bedewed with tears. Tears rolled down the stern face of Draper, then in the prime of

life and intellect. There was something heroic at that moment about Metcalfe. Wealthy, distinguished, a Job in suffering, he was still willing to remain in an uncongenial clime, and (as he deemed it) an ungrateful colony, to die at his post, provided he could serve his country, and was necessary to the men whom he had with so much difficulty got around him. If they desired his continuance at the head of the Government he would remain. If the cause they had at heart, for which they had fought side by side required it, he would still hold on. But he shook his head, and told them of the Queen's willingness to relieve him. They knew what was the opinion of the doctor. They saw what a wreck was before them. They could come to but one decision. They had learned to love him. They were to see him no more. He was not merely an object of devotion but of pity. They advised him with sobs to seek rest and restoration in his native land, away from the cares and anxieties of a trying position. On the 25th November, he embarked for England without popular demonstration of any sort. He stole away without a cheer.

He arrived in England on the 16th December, 1845. Death was now merely a question of time. A private residence was secured for him in Mansfield Street, where Sir Benjamin Brodie visited him daily. He had hoped to take his seat in the House of Lords. But this it seemed was not to be. Garter-King-of-Arms wrote him inclosing a formula of the ceremony. Court robe-makers wanted to wait on him. A sorrowful smile passed over his distorted mouth when he thought of the dream of his young ambition. Never for a second was he free from pain unless when drugged. He bore his sufferings with a touching fortitude. His gracious tenderness of manner did not desert him. Old friends wrote to him that, if they should ever be afflicted, they had learned from him a grand heroic lesson, and beautiful as it was great. He would not take to a sick-room. He moved about the house; received visits from intimate friends; dictated letters; showed interest in what was read to him; took his drive in the Park; his bandaged face hidden from vulgar gaze behind the curtains of the closed carriage. He was deluged by letters and receipts and prescriptions from every quack and amateur doctor in the country. He was pestered with begging letters. These

he did not consign to the waste-paper basket. He had inquiries instituted into each case. His bountiful hand was as active as ever. His nature sensitive as ever to approval and sympathy, a kindly address from the Oriental Club, which proved to have been a wreath cast on his bier, was specially grateful to him. Still more welcome, if possible, was an address from the people of Calcutta. Though aware that his end was at hand, he wished everything to go on as if he was in the prime of life. He had a number of cases of books unpacked, and bookshelves run up to the very attic windows. He continued to converse cheerfully. His sense of humour laughed like a faun in the face of death. He was more uncomplaining than in his vigorous youth. The most querulous word he uttered was a reply to the remark, "I hope your Lordship has enjoyed your drive;" he cast a look upward, and said, "Enjoyment is now no word for me." He sent parting tokens to his friends. The carriage now began to go away from the door as it came. In the month of April he retired to a quiet country seat in the neighbourhood of Basingstoke. The disease caused a vein in the neck to burst. The hæmorrhage was alarming. Mr. Martin was summoned by telegraph from London. He found Lord Metcalfe in his sitting-room exhausted from loss of blood. His attendants and family had failed to overcome his stubborn determination. He would not suffer himself to be carried to his sleeping apartment. "I am glad you are come," he said to Martin, "for I feel rather faint from loss of blood. They wanted to carry me up stairs, but to that I have strong objections—what do you say?" Martin said he might be able to walk up to his bedroom. "That is right," he said, "I would not allow them to carry me." He took a number of walking sticks, the spoils of travel, and across his mind flashed the scenes of the Mahrattas war; the campaigns under Lake and Wellesley; that struggle with robbers on his way from Calcutta to the camp, in which he lost the tops of two fingers, the after faintness on the brink of the broad river, on the skirt of the perilous jungle; the storming the fortress of Deeg, and himself a mere youth and a civilian, the first to enter the breach, the praise of a great soldier, the noble title of the "Little Stormer;" the mission to Lahore; the Hyderabad Presidency; his power in Cal-

cutta ; the landing at Fort-Henderson in Jamaica—cane piece and blue mountain and tropical sea ; Canada with its flashing snows, the wampum dyes of its Indian summer, its mediterranean seas, its queenly rivers, its imperial cataracts ; all this with the labour and glory and power and disappointment of his life came before the inner eye of the dying man. He selected from the bundle of sticks one he had cut on that steep bank on which Brock's monument stands sentinel, which looks down on the whirling foam of the stream rising out of the hell of rushing, hissing waters. "You keep that," he said to Martin. Then selecting a bamboo—called in India a Penang Lawyer, which he had brought from the shores of the Sacred River, he said, "Now with Martin on the one side, and the Penang Lawyer on the other, I think we shall make it out." Thus leaning on Martin and the Penang Lawyer he went to his room.

The wasted ruin of himself, he still experienced a vivid interest in Indian affairs. He regretted he could not take his seat in the House of Lords, to vote in favour of Peel's Corn Bill. He dictated a letter on its bearings in regard to Canada. He thought Canada would ultimately derive benefit from freedom of trade.

From the time his malady became acute, it had always affected him most in the autumn of the year. With the close of the month of August a fever set in. The presentiment of near death was in his breast. All, or nearly all whom he loved were around him. There was one absent, little Mary Higginson, the daughter of his friend and companion, Captain Higginson. "I think, Higginson," he said, "the end is near. I desire to see Mary before it comes. Hitherto, on her account, I have denied myself the gratification of her company. You go and fetch her to me." When she came, two days afterwards, the meeting quite overcame him. When he recovered, he derived much comfort from the society, the sympathy, the innocence and beauty of the child. She spent most of her time in his room, reading to him the story of that life of infinite power and gentleness and love, on the crown of whose glory and mysterious pangs is written :—"Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." At the end of a week he said to her father : "I cannot have many more days to live. You had better take Mary away that the dear

child may not witness the event." His quick sympathy, his consideration for others, his exquisite urbanity accompanied him to the very gate of death. When Captain Higginson returned, Metcalfe was no more.

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## CHAPTER XII.

ON Lord Metcalfe's departure, Lord Cathcart became administrator of the Government. On the 20th of March, 1846, Parliament was opened, and on the 23rd the answer to the address was carried by forty-three to twenty-seven votes. On the motion of Mr. Solicitor-General Sherwood, that the Clergy Reserves should be handed over to the Church of England, the Ministry, though sustained by the eloquence of Mr. Draper, was defeated. In a House of fifty-one, the Government could only get fourteen votes. It is unnecessary to say they did not resign. Again, on May the 29th, they were beaten. They proposed that certain cattle should be brought into Canada from the United States free of duty. Baldwin and his friends made a vigorous opposition to the measure, for which the farmers of Canada were called on to thank these gentlemen.\* The session closed, leaving the Ministry in a more damaged position than ever. Of the conduct of Baldwin in the debate, papers which had denounced him in unsparing terms were constrained to speak in terms of eulogy.† Ministers had been frequently defeated; King's College, the Clergy Reserves, the Civil List, were all made open questions. In the previous Session, provision had been made for the payment in Upper Canada of losses consequent on the

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[AUTHORITIES:—"Letters of Lord Elgin;" "The Men of '48," by Col. James McGee; O'Neil Daunt's "Ireland and Her Agitators;" Lord Grey's "Colonial Policy;" "The Great Game," republished in Canada, with an introduction by a Canadian (Nicholas Flood Davia); Alison's "History;" Morgan's "Celebrities;" The Newspapers.]

\* The *Globe*.

† The *Colonist*, Nov. 17th, 1846.



rebellion. During Lord Metcalfe's time, a Commission was issued to inquire into the losses of Her Majesty's loyal subjects in Lower Canada, and the Commission was renewed by Lord Cathcart. On an unsatisfactory report of the Commission, the Ministry, with the view of conciliating Lower Canadian support, introduced a Bill dealing with the losses. This, and especially the efforts made by Draper, to get the assistance of Papineau, by recommending that his application for arrears of salary as Speaker of the Lower Canadian House of Assembly should be considered, combined with his unconcealed dissatisfaction with some of his colleagues, made him unpopular with a portion of his own party. No Minister can satisfy the hunger of all his greedy supporters, and the Tories were now showing Draper their tusks, because he had thrown a morsel or two to the more moderate members of the party. In July there was a reconstruction of the Ministry, which resulted in Mr. Henry Sherwood going out, and Mr. John Hillyard Cameron coming in as Solicitor-General, and bringing with him Mr. W. B. Robinson. The opinion entertained of Cameron must have been very high, for he was made a Minister before he had a seat in Parliament. On the other hand, there must have been very little political talent in Parliament. At this time it was not merely the Reform papers which assailed the members of the Government, especially "Sweet William," the "Artful Dodger," the "Gifted Draper," as he was variously called, the ministerial press and leading ministerial supporters assailed them. Their conduct was described by their own journals as calculated to shake the confidence of their friends.\* Measures had been so dealt with that the Ministry was no more responsible for them than the Opposition.† Other men had been in office, but Mr. Baldwin had been in power. The Ministry was an anomaly, a thing of shreds and patches,‡ to which it was barely possible the introduction of fresh material would bring more vigour and political wisdom.§ A momentary aid was purchased at the cost of principle by a Government, which, unfortunately,

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\* *Montreal Courier*, July 23rd.

† *Montreal Gazette*, July 21.

‡ *Woodstock Herald*, July 24th.

§ *Kingston News*, July 24th.

was not above suspicion nor free from intrigue,\* and Mr. Draper and his friends, who had long ceased to care for reputation, held their offices for the sake of their salaries.† Mr. Gowan, Mr. Mofatt, Mr. Henry Sherwood (the late Solicitor-General) and others, were unsparing in their criticism. When the boys of Upper Canada College gave Mr. John Hillyard Cameron a dinner, a bitter article appeared in one of the cleverest papers of that day, saying that the new Solicitor-General was evidently to contribute the virtue of the reconstituted administration, which was to resemble a parish pudding, having a little of everything. At one time, indeed, it was intended that all the cardinal and other virtues should be represented, beginning with candour, in the person of Mr. Draper, and ending with liberality, in the person of Mr. Robinson. Mr. Cayley was to personify humility, and Mr. Smith, having neither virtues nor vices, was to be justified as the incarnation of constitutional law.‡

On November the 14th, the Reformers of West Halton entertained the Hon. Robert Baldwin at a public dinner. Two days afterwards the Reformers of Norfolk paid him a similar compliment.

Sick of public life, Mr. Draper, it was well known, had determined to go on the bench. There was some discussion as to who should lead the Conservative party in that event. There could be no greater evidence of the ability and precocious statesmanship of Mr. John A. Macdonald than that he should have been one of the persons whose claims were discussed.

A new hope came to the Baldwinites by the advent of a man whose conduct in Canada, had he distinguished himself nowhere else, would have entitled him to the praise of the historian.

\* *Hamilton Spectator*.

† *British Whig*.

‡ The *Times* of Montreal, a Conservative paper. The remarks of the *Times* were suggested by J. Hillyard Cameron, concluding his speech with the lines—

“ If I'm traduced by tongues, which neither know  
My faculties or person, yet will be  
The chroniclers of my doing—  
'Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake  
That virtue must go through.”

James, the eighth Earl of Elgin and twelfth Earl of Kincardine, was born in London on the 20th July, 1811. His father was the hero of the Elgin marbles. Lord Byron's satire puts a curse into the mouth of Pallas which happily was not fulfilled, and the future Governor-General of Canada gave promise at an early age of the large gifts which illustrated his manhood. At Eton he was the contemporary of Lord Canning, Lord Dalhousie, the Duke of Newcastle, Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Gladstone. At Oxford he took a first class in classics. He and Mr. Gladstone read Plato and the prose works of Milton together. Having left the University, he divided his time between disentangling the family property from its embarrassments, commanding a troop of yeomanry, presiding at farmers' dinners, speaking on the same platforms as Dr. Chalmers in favour of church extension. During this period he used to take long solitary rides over field and fell, beating out his thoughts into sonnets and dreaming of greatness.

In 1840 he became heir to the earldom, and the following year married. A general election took place in July, 1841, and he stood for Southampton. He was returned at the head of the poll. At a banquet where he was entertained he gave an admirable account of his political views. "I am a Conservative," he said, "not upon principles of exclusionism—not from narrowness of view, or illiberality of sentiment—but because I believe that our admirable constitution, on principles more exalted and under sanctions more holy than those which Owenism or Socialism can boast, proclaims between men of all classes in the body politic, a sacred bond of brotherhood in the recognition of a common warfare here and a common hope hereafter. I am a Conservative, not because I am adverse to improvement, not because I am unwilling to repair what is wasted, or to supply what is defective in the political fabric, but because I am satisfied that in order to improve effectually you must be resolved most religiously to preserve." Just as he was giving promise of distinction in the House of Commons the death of his father removed him to the House of Lords, where the foundation of a great political career can never be laid. When, therefore, in 1842, Lord Stanley offered him the post of Governor of Jamaica he had no temptation to refuse it. He played a difficult part well and returned to England in 1846, on leave, to find

the Colonial Office ruled by his old schoolfellow, Mr. Gladstone, into whose hands the seals passed on the break up of the Tory party in the spring. Mr. Gladstone was soon succeeded by Lord Grey who having failed to induce Lord Elgin to retain the government of Jamaica, offered him that of Canada. His first wife died in 1843. He now married Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, daughter of the first Earl of Durham, and in the early days of the year 1847 they sailed for the American continent. His second marriage to a child of the man who had embodied Baldwin's views in an elaborate report, would not diminish his desire to carry out constitutional principles.

He arrived at Montreal on the 29th of January, 1847. He agreed to make his entrance into Montreal on the following day. Accordingly he got into a one-horse sleigh and drove to the entrance of the town where a procession was formed, in which the various societies took part. It was in his favour that—unlike his predecessors—he was a man in the vigour of early middle age, that he was the husband of Lord Durham's daughter, that he spoke with fluency and grace. There was, however, much to disquiet an observant Governor. The Ministry was as weak as a lot of spilled peas, and when a change of Administration occurred to His Excellency as a probability, he reflected that there was no real political life, only that pale and distorted reflection of it which is apt to exist in a colony, before it has learned to look within itself for the centre of power. Parties formed themselves, not on the base of principle but with reference to petty local and personal interests.

He would have been willing to meet the Assembly at once. But for this his Ministers were too weak. These Ministers were convinced that the regular Opposition would resist whatever they proposed, and that any fragments of their own side who happened not to be able to get what they wanted would join the Opposition. When he advised them to go down to Parliament with good measures and the prestige of a new Governor, when he bade them rely on the support of public opinion, they smiled and shook their heads. They were not credulous of the existence of such a controlling power. Their faith in appeals to selfish and sordid motives was unqualified. Nevertheless the Governor knew that as a statesman he must take the world as he found it. There is no use in

looking for five legs of mutton from a sheep. If new elements of strength were required to enable the Government to go on, he thought the French should have an opportunity of entering the Ministry in the first instance. He showed his foresight by determining to aim at splitting the French into a Liberal and a Conservative party. If this split took place the national element would be merged in the political.

In the months of April and May the tottering Ministry made desperate efforts to strengthen itself, but all persuasion failed with French leaders of the least influence. Mr. Draper and Mr. Smith slipped into judgeships, and Messrs. Daly and Cayley sought to re-constitute the Ministry. Mr. John Hillyard Cameron was offered the post of Attorney-General for Western Canada, and the leadership in the House of Assembly. On going to Montreal, however, where he found Henry Sherwood raging at what he considered the slight placed on him, Mr. Cameron determined to remain Solicitor-General and let the position of leader be an open question. Mr. William Badgley, a judge in one of the Bankrupt Courts, was induced to take the Attorney-Generalship, whereupon M. Taschereau, the Solicitor-General, who felt that a slur had been cast upon him, threw up his office and expressed his determination to go into Opposition—a danger which was avoided by giving the angry lawyer a Circuit-Judgeship. Mr. Morris, having vacated the Receiver-Generalship to succeed M. Viger as President of the Council, Mr. John A. Macdonald, “a young Kingston lawyer,” became Receiver-General. Against the new Minister were brought the damning charges of youth: that during two sessions he had scarcely opened his mouth—blessed example for the present day if men would only follow it!—and that he was a third-class lawyer, who knew nothing about fiscal affairs.

Lord Elgin's diagnosis of the diseased condition of things in his time is worthy of study. Several cases co-operated to give to personal and party interest an over-weening importance. There were no real grievances to stir the depths of the popular mind. The Canadian people were a comfortable people with plenty to eat and drink. Envy was not excited by a privileged class. There were no taxes to irritate. It would be an ungrateful thing to view with the least regret such blessings, which nevertheless

accounted for the selfishness of public men and their indifference to the higher aims of statesmanship. The popular bodies consisting of a small number of members were unfavourable to high principle and feeling in statesmen. A majority of ten in an assembly of seventy might be, according to Cocker, equivalent to a majority of one hundred in an assembly of seven hundred. In practice it was far otherwise. A defection of two or three put the Administration in peril. Hence the perpetual patch-work and trafficking to secure this vote and that, which so engrossed the time and thoughts of Ministers that they had no leisure for matters of greater moment. His course was under the circumstances clearly, frankly, and without reserve to give his Ministers all constitutional support. In return he expected them to carry out his views to the best of their ability for the maintenance of British connexion. He never concealed from them that he intended to do nothing which would prevent him from working cordially with their opponents if they were forced on him. That Ministers and opponents should occasionally change places was the very essence of our constitutional system. Nor was it the least conservative element it contained. Subjecting all sections of politicians in their turn to official responsibilities obliged heated partisans to place some restraint on passion, and to confine the patriotic zeal of the cold shade within the bounds of decency. To secure these advantages it was indispensable that the head of the government should show that he had confidence in the loyalty of all the influential parties with which he had to deal. What trouble and failure Lord Metcalfe might have saved himself had he only taken this wise, logical, and constitutional view. All Lord Elgin's letters are instinct with the conviction that the remedy for most of the evils he regretted was to be found in the principles of government, first enunciated by Baldwin and put in an authoritative shape by Lord Durham.

Parliament was opened at Montreal on the 2nd of June by Lord Elgin. In his Speech there was not much to provoke adverse criticism. The Imperial Government was prepared to surrender to colonial authorities the control of the Post-office Department. The House was empowered by Imperial statute to repeal the different duties in favour of British manufactures. To provide

increased warehouse facilities for inland ports had become a matter of immediate necessity. Reference was made to the survey of the proposed rail-road from Quebec to Halifax, to the copyright question, and to the preparations for the immense immigration which was imminent. If the debate had been at once raised and the division had been immediately taken there would have been a tie and the casting vote of the Speaker would have caused the fall of the Ministry. Sherwood, John A. Macdonald, and Badgley were absent for re-election. There were two seats vacant, Dorchester and London. The answer to the address was put off by the Government as long as possible. When at last it came on the Opposition led by Baldwin made a vigorous attack on the Ministry. Mr. Draper had been offered a judicial appointment, but put off accepting it until after the division. The discussion was kept up until Mr. Badgley was elected. When he entered the house on the eleventh night of the session the division was taken. Mr. Badgley theoretically knew nothing of the discussion. He voted however as a matter of course with his colleagues.

Mr. Draper closed the debate and made his farewell speech. On the first day of the session he spoke from the independent seats, but now he spoke from his old place on the ministerial benches. In his speech he justified Baldwin's resignation, for he pronounced Responsible Government to be the only system on which Canada could be governed. He had the audacity to asseverate that on that principle he held office under Lord Metcalfe. He avowed his conviction that government patronage should be used for strengthening the hands of the Administration of the day, and that for all appointments including the militia appointments the Government were responsible. Had the Governor General appointed any gentleman to the Deputy Adjutant Generalship without consulting him while he was his confidential adviser he could not have thrown off his responsibility, he would have instantly resigned his office. This statement was received with cheers and cries of "hear! hear!" from the Opposition. "Hear! hear! or not" he cried, "that was my position as to militia and all other appointments. It is the first time I stated it publicly, but I had no hesitation in doing it in the proper place." The cheering again burst forth from the Opposition. Mr.

Draper's farewell was a satire on Lord Metcalfe and a eulogy by implication on Mr. Baldwin.

On a division Baldwin's amendment was negatived by a majority of two. Each clause of the answer of the Government was voted on, and with the same result. On the yeas and nays being called and the name of Draper appearing among the yeas, Mr. Aylwin, amid great confusion, asked him whether he had not accepted a judgeship. Dominick Daly said Mr. Draper had not accepted a judgeship. Mr. Aylwin insisted on knowing whether Mr. Draper had not publicly stated that he had accepted a Queen's Bench Judgeship and would preside at the next assize. Mr. Draper now rose and said he would not answer that question. He had not accepted the vacant Queen's Bench Judgeship, but he would do so within twelve hours. This declaration was received with uproar on the opposition benches.

Notwithstanding the weakness of the Ministry, a fair share of business was got through, and when the session terminated on the 28th of July, it was found that one hundred and ten Acts had been passed. But the Ministry had sustained serious defeats and everything pointed to a dissolution and a general election. Both parties made vigorous preparations for the coming struggle, and throughout the country for four or five months nothing was done but to hold conventions, nominate candidates, start newspapers, agitate and organize. Mr. Hincks who had paid a visit to his native country, was, in his absence, nominated for Oxford.

Parliament was dissolved on the 10th of December, the writs being made returnable for the 24th of January. The Baldwinites swept everything before them. Hincks was returned for Oxford, Baldwin for the fourth Riding of York; Blake was returned for the third Riding; for Montreal, L. H. Lafontaine and Benjamin Holmes. Among the Reformers we see Joseph Cauchon returned for Montmorenci. The Reformers or Baldwinites counted on fifty-seven votes, the Tories having only twenty-seven. Of course, our old friend Dominick Daly made his appearance, for the faithful Megantic had again returned him.

Meanwhile an immense emigration had poured into the country. The Irish famine drove the half dying peasant across the Atlantic only to find a grave on Canadian soil. One pallid army



after another stopped at Grosse Isle, and there leaving their dead behind them pushed on in overcrowded steamers to the western towns and villages. A peasant, Mr. McGraa, who is now a rich farmer in Bentinek, who worked in Ireland for a miserable pittance breaking stones, who worked afterwards on Grosse Isle, writes to me in bad spelling, but vigorous language, that you would have thought the poor people were the ghosts of Irish emigrants, not the emigrants themselves.

Lord Elgin wrote home to Lord Grey that the immigration was a frightful scourge, that thousands upon thousands of poor wretches were arriving, incapable of work, and scattering the seeds of disease and death. Already five or six hundred orphans had accumulated at Montreal. The Canadian people behaved well in the face of this in-coming tide of want and misery. Irishmen should always remember that, when the doors of the United States were closed against the sick and miserable of their countrymen, Canada's gates were open.\*

Before the starving emigrants touched these shores, the heart of the people of Canada went out in sympathy to Ireland, over which the pall of famine was spread, where the coroners were exhausted, their verdicts being in all cases, "Death from starvation," and large sums were collected to relieve the distress in Ireland and in the islands of Scotland.

In February, a meeting was held at the old City Hall at Toronto to devise measures for the relief of Ireland. The Hall was filled to overflowing. Ladies were numerous, as they always are whenever there is any good to be done. The Hon. Robert Baldwin occupied the chair, and among the speakers who moved resolutions and urged the claims of the suffering Irish on the benevolence of their fellow-countrymen were the Rev. Dr. McCaul, Mr. John Duggan, Mr. Skeffington Connor, Mr. George Duggan, Mr. (now Chief Justice) Hagarty, who spoke with great feeling and elo-

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\* By the laws of the State of New York, the shipowners importing emigrants were bound to enter into bonds which were forfeited when any of these became chargeable on the public. It is not wholly true, therefore, what one of the United States poets says:—

“For her free latch-string never was drawn in  
Against the poorest child of Adam's kin.”

quence, the Hon. R. B. Sullivan, Dr. Hayes, and Colonel Baldwin. A large committee was appointed, in which the names of Baldwin, Blake, Bradley, Beaty, Bernard, Bowes, Brown, Duggan, Dunlevy, Daly, Davis, French, Fitzgerald, Fitzgibbon, J. W. Gwynne, Clarke Gamble, and George Herrick, are found among many others. A large subscription made up of donations of £25, £15, and the like was taken on the spot.

It was from such distress as Connor described that the crowded shiploads of miserable emigrants sailed from the Loch of Belfast, from Dublin Bay, from Cork Harbour, from the Shannon. The Roman Catholic Archbishop Power fell a victim here to the emigrant fever.

To return to politics. The question now was, what would the Ministry do? Would they resign before meeting Parliament? Or would they, as they seemed bound to do, meet Parliament, and offer such explanations as the circumstances suggested.

Parliament met on the 25th February, 1848. The Hon. W. Cayley proposed Sir Allan MacNab as Chairman, and Colonel Prince, the father of Captain Prince, and who was accustomed to describe himself as "an English gentleman," seconded the motion. It was lost by a majority of thirty-five in a house of seventy-three. The Reformers were elated. Morin was then chosen unanimously. The "editorial" correspondent of a Toronto paper—no other, I believe, than Mr. George Brown—proceeded to quiz the Ministers in a humorous manner.\*

The Ministry which had struggled so hard to keep in power, fell at last. Immediately after the division on the address on Saturday, the 4th day of March, they tendered their resignations in a body, and Baldwin and Lafontaine were entrusted with the work of forming a government. Mr. Blake was out of the country at this time, but on his return he was made Solicitor-General (West); Baldwin being Attorney-General; Lafontaine, Attorney-General (East); Aylwin, Solicitor-General (East); Mr. Sullivan,

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\* Among the quizzed was John A. Macdonald. He was told to go back to Kingston, for his "stories have lost the *prestige* with which the rollicking boys about town received them, and when people ask you ten years hence how, in the name of common sense, you got 'Hon.' attached to your name, you can scratch your wig, and tell them if you can."

became Secretary of the Province of Canada; Hincks, Inspector-General of Public Accounts; James Lesslie, President of the Committee of the Executive Council; Caron, Speaker of the Legislative Council; James Harvey Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Viger, Receiver-General; Tache, Chief Commissioner of Public Works; Mr. Cameron, Assistant-Commissioner. This was one of the ablest Cabinets which has ever directed our affairs. The triumph of the principle of Responsible Government, after a gallant struggle of more than ten years, conducted almost wholly by Irish leaders, was now complete.

A few days after the change of Ministry, news reached Canada of the revolution of February, in Paris. Lord Elgin rejoiced that he had committed the flag of Britain to the custody of those who were supported by the large majority of the representatives of the people. There were not wanting persons who might have sought to turn that news to account, and make it an opportunity for seditious harangues.

The repeal movement in Ireland threatened at one time to give trouble to Canada. In June, the walls of Montreal were full of placards calling an Irish Republican meeting. A Mr. O'Connor, who represented himself to be editor of a New York paper, and a member of the Irish Republican Union, was to speak. He was, meanwhile, busy getting persons to give him their names to propose and second resolutions. He tried the tempers of Irish members of the legislature, and asked a member of the Opposition to give him assistance. Before September there would be a general rising in Ireland. The body to which O'Connor belonged had been instituted to abet the movement. The great mass of the people of the States, according to O'Connor, supported it. Funds were forthcoming in plenty. Arms were being sent across the Atlantic. Soldiers were hastening to Ireland to act as drill sergeants in the clubs. An American General just returned from Mexico, was to take command at the proper time. From seven hundred to eight hundred thousand men, a force with which Great Britain could not cope, would be brought in the field. When the English had been expelled, the Irish would be called on to determine whether the Queen was to be the head of the political system, or not. O'Connor had come to Canada to arrange for a diversion here, at

the time of the outbreak in Ireland. Fifty thousand Irish were ready to march into Canada at a moment's notice. There was no sacrifice which O'Connor and thousands who felt with him, were not ready to make if they could only humble England and reduce her to a third-rate power. Mark this, credulous Irishmen and Irishwomen, who trust such wind-bags and subscribe your money to enable them to play the travelling conspirator. Five minutes after the discreet O'Connor had told all this to an M.P.P. (whose secret went down to the grave with Lord Elgin), that M.P.P. had put Lord Elgin in possession of all the conspirator's great schemes!

The place originally selected for this monster meeting was the Bonsecours Market, a covered building under the control of the Corporation. The Government sent for the Mayor, and told him they considered it unbecoming that he should give the room for such a purpose. The Mayor thereupon withdrew his permission. The leaders of the movement then fixed on an open space near the centre of the town for their gathering.

The meeting took place on the 17th of July, and proved a complete failure. The Irish of Montreal had more sense than Mr. O'Connor gave them credit for. Not a single man of importance among the Repeal party attended. Some hundreds of persons went to hear the speeches, but were dispersed by a timely thunder shower. O'Connor was of course violent. Had he not taken himself off, he would probably have been arrested.

In the autumn, the Government, the Legislative Council, the country lost the great services of Sullivan as a politician. When the Baldwin Government resigned office, Mr. Sullivan resumed the practice of his profession in Toronto, and no stronger evidence could be given of the public appreciation of his abilities than the success which he attained. He obtained almost immediately an extensive practice in the Upper Canada Courts, and was likewise much occupied in the political contests which were carried on during that whole period of intense excitement with unabated zeal by the Reformers. It was at this time that Mr. Sullivan wrote the letters under the *nom de plume* of "Legion," in reply to the Rev. Mr. Ryerson, who undertook the defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe. Those letters, which produced a considerable effect at the time, have been recalled to the memory of those living during

the stormy period of Lord Metcalfe's Government, by an article on Canadian *noms de plume*, in the "Canadian Journal of Science, Literature and History," by the Rev. Dr. Scadding of Toronto. Of the New Ministry of 1848, Mr. Sullivan became, as a matter of course, a member, as Secretary of State. In the autumn of that year a vacancy occurred on the Upper Canada Bench by the death of Judge Jones, and the vacant appointment, having been offered to Mr. Sullivan, was accepted by him. He had only just made arrangements for his residence in Montreal, when he was obliged to return to Toronto, where he continued in the discharge of his judicial duties until his death, in the year 1853, in the fifty-second year of his age. Mr. Sullivan was never a strong party politician, but no statesman of his time entertained larger views on the great measures for the advancement of his adopted country. When President of the Council, he used to sit silent, making pen and ink drawings, while his colleagues discussed measures and projects. Sometimes he would say:—"Fix on your policy. Take what course you like, and I will find you good reasons for doing so." He was without political passion, though a statesman. His mind had too much of the advocate in it. He inaugurated the free grant system. Of all the great public improvements he was a zealous advocate. He was, perhaps, too prone to undervalue those questions to which the leaders of the rival parties attached great weight. He was a persuasive orator, and wrote with great clearness and rapidity. For several years all the minutes of Council and other State papers were written by him. Mr. Sullivan was twice married—first, in 1829, to Cecilia Eliza, daughter of Captain John Matthews, R.A., and M.P.P., of Lobo, County of Middlesex, by whom he had one daughter, who died in infancy; secondly, in December, 1833, to Emily Louisa, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Delatre, by whom he had a numerous family. This lady is now Lady Hincks.

Sullivan's place in the Legislative Council was filled by Mr. John Ross, who was born in the County of Antrim in 1818, and was brought to Canada a few months afterwards. He was called to the bar in 1839. He worked hard for Baldwin in the County of Hastings. He established a paper in the interest of the Reform party. In the year following his elevation to the Legislative

Council he was offered a seat in the Executive, but declined it. When Mr. Hincks reconstituted the Government in 1851, however, he accepted the post of Solicitor-General. In 1852 he went to England to complete the contracts for the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, of which he became president. He took a prominent part in the construction of the Victoria Bridge. On the elevation of Mr. Richards to the bench he became Attorney-General. On the formation of MacNab's Coalition Government, he became Speaker of the Legislative Council. In the Macdonald Ministry of 1858, he became Receiver-General. He was President of the Council in Cartier's Administration.

Why Sullivan, in the prime of his powers, should have gone on the bench is a puzzle. Perhaps he thought there was no further ground for strife in Canadian politics. If so he was mistaken. As the year drew to its close the repeal of the Navigation Laws turned men's minds away from Irish and French affairs. The abolition of those laws was accidentally connected with a question which was not to be settled before violence had disgraced and injured the country.

The opposition leaders were mostly drawn from the débris of the Family Compact; and the real Conservatives—those men who only sought the good of the country, and believed that good could best be produced by hastening slowly, were either thrust out of sight by the busy noisy activity of the baffled, disappointed, angry minions of a dethroned oligarchy, which combined the vices of a tyranny and a faction, the exclusive pride of an aristocracy, with the meanness of bureaucratic paupers—men who wanted to be Ministers, and did not understand the Constitution they would administer. Fighting side by side with such men were others like Mr. John A. Macdonald, who had had no connexion with the unholy Compact, who understood constitutional principles and knew the value to the country of an effective Opposition. But the great wave of Conservative feeling went to swell the tide which upbore Baldwin. It was easy to see which was the more constitutional statesman, Baldwin or Sherwood.

There were even men without Sherwood's political dulness, who would have loathed to imitate or endorse his brazen conduct, who yet, from the fact that their families had been so long in power

had come to think reigning was theirs by prescription. All the wrath with which the dying Family Compact was stirred on seeing "rebels," as the French leaders were considered by some, taken into the confidence of the Governor-General, was not unrighteous though illogical, while the discontent and the sense of injury from another cause were not unreasonable.

The Free Trade Act of 1846, which dealt the Irish farmer so severe a blow, hit very hard the wealthy farmers and "aristocracy" of Canada, who had gone largely into the flour trade. By the Canada Corn Act of 1843 not only the wheat of Canada but also its flour was admitted into England at a nominal duty. To-day we see the Reformers holding by free trade and Conservatives arguing for a modified protection. Baldwin defeated an effort made by the leading men of the Tories, and supported by members of the Draper Government to reduce the duty on corn imported by the States into Canada. The millers would, of course, have benefited while the farmers would have suffered. A great amount of capital had in fact been invested in mills to grind American wheat for the British market. "But" says Lord Grey, "almost before these arrangements were fully completed, and the newly built mills fairly at work, the Act of 1846 swept away the advantage conferred upon Canada in respect to the corn trade with this country, and thus brought upon the Province a frightful amount of loss to individuals and a great derangement of the colonial finances." Lord Elgin pressed the hardships of Canada on the Colonial Office. He pointed out how Stanley's Bill had attracted all the produce of the west to the St. Lawrence, and drew all the disposable capital of the Province into grinding-mills, warehouses, and forwarding establishments. Peel's Bill, on the other hand, drove the whole product down the New York channels of communication, destroying the revenue Canada had expected from cereal dues. Millowners, forwarders, and merchants were ruined. Private property became unsaleable. Not a shilling, Lord Elgin wrote, could be raised on the credit of the Province. The country was reduced to the necessity of paying every public officer, from the Governor-General to a landing waiter in debentures which were not exchangeable at par. What made the matter more serious was this. The

prosperity of which Canada was robbed was transferred below the line, "as if," wrote His Excellency, "to make Canadians feel more bitterly how much kinder England is to the children who desert her than to those who remain faithful. For," he added, "I care not whether you be protectionist or free trader it is the inconsistency of Imperial legislation, and not the adoption of one policy rather than another, which is the bane of the colonies. I believe the conviction that they would be better if they were 'annexed' is almost universal among the commercial classes at present, and the peaceful condition of the Province under all the circumstances of the times is, I must confess, often a matter of great astonishment to myself." Lord Elgin held enlightened views on free trade. He had just entered the House of Commons in 1842, and was chosen to second the Address. In the course of a remarkable first speech, he said he would always be prepared to vote for free trade on "principles of reciprocity." In 1848, when almost the whole of the Empire was being converted, not merely to Adam Smith's views, but to a politico-economic fanaticism which was being superstructured on the clear, sound, and save in minor details, irrefragable treatise of the great Scotchman, it would have been useless to advocate a return to a protective policy. Nor is there any evidence to lead us to suppose that Lord Elgin, had it been feasible, would have counselled such a course. He and Baldwin seem, on the contrary, to have felt that the remedy for Canada's distress was to be found in a further development of the free trade principle. The Navigation Laws cramped the commerce of Canada by restricting it to British vessels. Trade with the United States was hampered, as it is to-day, by an unwise and, in the domain of political economy, untenable system of duties. Baldwin and Lord Elgin felt that the dawn of renewed prosperity would follow the repeal of the Navigation Laws and the establishment of a treaty arrangement with the United States, giving them the navigation of the St. Lawrence on the admission to their markets of Canadian produce free of duty. Elgin's cultivated, thoughtful mind had felt the captivity of the idea of the British Empire one vast Zollverein, with free interchange of commodities and uniform duties against the world without. He saw, however, that this would be impossible without Federal Legislation, such as has of



late been frequently advocated in totally impracticable and doubtfully practical forms. Under such a system, the component parts of the Empire would be united by the closest bonds, which could not be supplied by the policy on which the Imperial Legislature was then entering. The die was cast, and Canada should be allowed to turn to the best possible account her contiguity to the States. The Canadian farmer got less for his wheat than the American farmer—a state of things which, in its probable effect on the loyalty of the farmers, filled the Governor's mind with the gravest apprehensions. He saw the great advantage the admission of Americans to the St. Lawrence would be to them, and a *quid pro quo* ought to be exacted. He was sanguine that the necessary measures would have been at once brought to play on the strained situation. When he found himself disappointed his anxiety deepened. On the 10th of August, 1848, he wrote that the news from Ireland, the determination of Government not to repeal the Navigation Laws then, doubts whether the American Congress would pass Reciprocity, menaces of rebellious sympathisers in the Republic, all flung alarming hues over the position of the colony.

First, there was the Irish Repeal body. He need not describe them. The Colonial Minister might look at home. They were in Canada just what they were in Ireland. And what good it may be asked here, in passing, did this Irish Repeal party in Canada do? Agitating for repeal of the Union in Canada was folly, because the lever of agitation on this side of the Atlantic could never touch the object to be moved; the fulcrum had no solidity, and rested on a yielding base; the agitators themselves, so far as Ireland was concerned, were but the pale reflections of agitators cast from onesphere on to another. They were men in the moon trying to plough the fields on our planet. They could disturb Canada. They could not serve Ireland. But if they could not serve Ireland, they could injure themselves and their fellow Irishmen. They could impart to the community at large the impression that Irishmen were impracticable; they could tend to make the best Irishmen in the land apathetic regarding Irish brotherly feeling; they could waste precious hours and priceless energies which might have been devoted to elevating their own position, and

furthering the prosperity of their adopted country ; they could squander time in rant which should have been given up to reading. It has been the bane of Irishmen to be over-flattered by their orators, and by those who have written about them with any sympathy. But there are men who love and respect Irishmen too much to flatter them, who believe that no other foundation can be laid for individual or national greatness, than truth, who have not drunk of the maddening cup of distorting passion, who have not bowed the knee to the foul idol of literary misrepresentation, on whose ear—spanning the chasm where boil, and rage, and struggle, and howl the conflicts of the hour—fall the rhythmic harmonies of the movements of God's purposes, sweetening the bitter heart, and giving to the distressed mind, notwithstanding all disturbing memories, calm.

Among the other causes enumerated by Lord Elgin, as calculated to create uneasiness, was the French population. Their attitude as regarded England and America, was that of an armed neutrality. They did not exactly like the Americans, but they were "the conquered, oppressed subjects of England," notwithstanding such trifles as governing themselves, and paying no taxes. They were the victims of British egotism. Was not the union of the Provinces carried without their consent, and with the object of establishing British domination ? Did not Papineau, their press, and other authorities tell them so ?

The mercantile classes were thoroughly disgusted and "lukewarm in their allegiance." Like all colonists they charged their misfortunes, let them come whence they might, on the Mother Country. Lord Elgin admitted that, as matters stood, it was easy to show that the faithful subject of Her Majesty was placed on a worse footing as regarded trade with the Mother country than the rebels over the lines. The same man who met the candidate for the English borough with :—"Why sir, I voted red all my life, and I never got anything by it ; this time I intend to vote blue"—addressed you in Canada with "I have been all along one of the steadiest supporters of the British Government, but really, if claims such as mine are not more thought of, I shall begin to consider whether other institutions are not preferable to ours."

Such were the difficulties with which Lord Elgin and Baldwin

had to contend. But the dangers were dispelled mainly by the frank adoption and consistent maintenance of the principle of Responsible Government. The words of Lord Melbourne applied by Mr. Walrond to Lord Elgin are quite as applicable to the originator of the idea of Responsible Government, Robert Baldwin:—"My Lords, you can never fully appreciate the merits of that great man. You can appreciate the acts which he publicly performed, but you cannot appreciate, for you cannot know, the great mischiefs which he unostentatiously prevented." In addition to his political functions Lord Elgin added the equally noble capacity of being a social force, though his speeches smell slightly of the lamp, and all he does smacks somewhat of the prig.

Canada has seen many a prosperous day since 1848. It is always useful to recall the gloomy feelings of a time of depression. Dr. Johnson used to tell his friends who were in trouble or who suffered from loss, to consider how little they would think of the matter twelve months after. This sound philosophy holds for nations and parties as well as for individuals. At the close of the Franco-Germanic war, France seemed to many, in a condition of despair. Those who knew her wealth and the happy elasticity of the human mind, looked forward with confidence to what we see to-day. The winter of 1848 in Canada passed quietly away through a tunnel of commercial gloom. Lord Elgin found himself, when writing to the Colonial Office, using the words, "downward progress of events." Property in most Canadian towns, and especially in Montreal, had fallen fifty per cent. in value within three years. Three-fourths of the commercial men had, owing to free trade, become bankrupt. A large proportion of the exportable produce was obliged to seek a market in the States, and paid twenty per cent. on the frontier. How long could such a state of things last? Commercial embarrassment was the real difficulty. Political discontent, properly speaking, there was none. There would be no difficulty in carrying Canada through all the evils of transition if the level of material prosperity was raised. The way to achieve this—Baldwin and Elgin urged with equal zeal—was by free navigation and reciprocal trade with the Union. Without these the worst might be feared. Events of a more recent date show that Lord Elgin

took too strong a view of the necessity of reciprocity. It would be impossible to exaggerate the advantage to the country of reciprocity, but it is not indispensable to us. The troubles which were imminent had not their source in commercial depression, but in the heated feelings of disappointed partisans, whose passions took from the hardness of the times a fiercer character.

Parliament met on the 18th of January. The Governor-General, taking advantage of the abolition of the law restricting the use of the French language, delivered his speech in French as well as in English, a graceful and conciliatory act, which the leaders and press of the Opposition made the ground of reproach. The speech dwelt on the tranquillity of the country, the speedy completion of the St. Lawrence Canals, the transfer of the Post Office Department to the Provincial authorities. The Opposition was angry with all the fury of anger, unreasonable and factious, at seeing what they called "rebels" in the seat of power. But when a Bill was introduced to provide for the indemnification of parties in Lower Canada who had suffered loss during the Rebellion of 1837 and 1838, the waves of their fury rose above all bounds. Baldwin's Administration had no choice but to bring in such a measure—such a questionable measure, if you will. Who were responsible? The very men guided by Draper, who now deprived of his counsel, were denouncing the Governor-General and the Baldwin Government. It was not Mr. Baldwin nor his friends who, in Lord Metcalfe's time, had recommended the payment of the Rebellion losses in Lower Canada. It was not Mr. Baldwin and his supporters, but Mr. Draper and his Ministry, who, in Lord Cathcart's time, introduced a Bill founded on the unsatisfactory report of their own commissioners. The Bill was clearly inevitable, and its preamble declared that it was introduced in order to redeem the pledges already given to persons in Lower Canada. No one who had been convicted, or had pleaded guilty to treason during the Rebellion was to be indemnified. The Bill authorised the appointment of commissioners for carrying out its purposes, and the appropriation of £90,000 sterling for the payment of such claims as might be admitted. Such was the measure, so inevitable, so modest, which led to riot, had like to cause a rebellion in Canada, and exposed the Governor-

General and his advisers at the time to censure in England, from quarters whence a very different judgment would have come, had all the facts been known.

The second reading was moved on the 13th February. A stormy debate extending over several sittings followed, a debate in which Mr. Blake spoke with great power. The second reading was carried by a large majority. The Governor-General was meanwhile attacked in a most discourteous manner, not to use stronger and perhaps more appropriate language. He was peremptorily required to dissolve a parliament elected a year before under the auspices of the clamorous Opposition who now screamed for its dissolution. The measure, wrote Lord Elgin, on the 1st of March to Earl Grey, might not be free from objection. But his advisers, he believed, had no other course open to them but that which they had followed. His predecessors had already gone a good deal more than half-way in the same direction. If the Ministry had failed to complete a work of justice to Lower Canada, which had been commenced by their predecessors, M. Papineau would have made strong government impossible.

When the letter embodying these views was placed on Earl Grey's table, it was side by side with an issue of the *Times*, which newspaper was then well above the horizon on its way to its present supremacy as the first journal in the world. In that issue there was a remarkable article. Mr. Mackenzie, M. P., had given notice that on the 21st of March he would ask for some explanations regarding the doings of the Canadian Legislature. The *Times* sympathized with the curiosity, not to say the amazement, which had prompted the notice. If they had not asked similar questions themselves, it was because the allusions to the "objectionable measures" in the Canadian press, were so mixed up with factions as scarcely to afford a safe basis even for inquiry. The *Montreal Gazette* was positively dangerous on this subject. Leaders, letters, parliamentary reports, paragraphs, calls for public meetings, met one at every corner of the paper. The remonstrants had every right to feel the greatest indignation. It was not possible to conceive a more determined and unpardonable insult to the loyal population, or a more suicidal act, than that a tax should be levied on the whole people to compensate rebels

for their losses "and even," said the *Times*, with sublime ignorance of the Bill "for their legal punishments." The writer proceeds to say it was, however, impossible to form a sound judgment without the Bill, and speaks of Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues as the "rebel camp" and the "Opposition," as the "loyal" party. After a style of writing which students of the *Times* to-day will not be wholly unfamiliar with, the article, having boxed the whole compass and written in a strain which would have delighted Mr. Henry Sherwood, concluded with the chilling remark, that after all the excitement might be put down to the fact that parties had changed places, and that the Colonial clique which had for generations monopolized office and power, and pay, and which had scandalously abused its trust, was now in opposition.\* Other critics were not as ready to sit on the fence, and, as we shall see, able statesmen denounced the salutary measures of the Government. The Governor-General's old friend, Mr. Gladstone took a harsh view of his conduct, and the conduct of his Government, at a time when he was showing that in the face of any excitement he could hold his head. "The Tory party" he says, "are doing what they can by menace, intimidation, and appeals to passion to drive me to a *Coup d'Etat*." He pointed out again with a bitter sense of men's unreasonableness and the trying position of a constitutional ruler, that the measure against which there was so loud an outcry was the strict logical following out of their own acts. He again referred to the action of the Draper Administration. He was able to put forth a fact still more damaging to the Opposition. One of the rebels of 1837 who had been banished to Bermuda by Lord Durham, was Mr. Masson. He had been, however, appointed to an office by the predecessors of Lafontaine and Baldwin. He was of course excluded from compensation under the Bill of the Lafontaine-Baldwin government. This gentleman wrote to the newspapers, saying that Lord Metcalfe and some of his Ministry assured him that he would be included in the list of those indemnified.

Petitions against the measure were got up all over the Province. Instead of being sent to the Assembly, or to the Legislative Coun-

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\*The *Times*, March 21st, 1849.

cil, or to the Home Government, they were always addressed to Lord Elgin, the obvious purpose being to produce a collision between him and Parliament. The prayer of these petitions was disjunctive: that Parliament should be dissolved, or that the Bill should be reserved for the royal sanction. Deputations of remonstrants and malecontents waited on him, and he received them with the utmost civility. But he never expressed an opinion on a controverted point. We have had other Governors in Canada who shared the same power of maintaining a constitutional position. He was carrying out in the spirit and to the letter Responsible Government. How poor Lord Metcalfe's head would have gone in such a storm.

To have dissolved the House would have been an act of unpardonable weakness and folly. The Assembly had been elected under a Tory administration only a year before. There was no evidence that it did not represent the sentiment of the people at large, as it most certainly did twelve months earlier. The measure was no new one. It had been in contemplation by the preceding Tory Administration. If Cayley and Sherwood and MacNab had come into power they would have had to pass such a Bill, and would have been glad to do it if they could only thereby keep their places. But if Parliament were dissolved on the question of the rebellion losses, that step would be attended with the utmost risk, while the sacred tribe of the Family Compact would not have come into power. "If," wrote Lord Elgin, "I had dissolved Parliament, I might have produced a rebellion, but most assuredly I should not have produced a change of Ministry. The leaders of the party know that as well as I do, and were it possible to play tricks in such grave concerns it would have been easy to throw them into utter confusion by merely calling upon them to form a Government. They were aware, however, that I could not for the sake of discomfitting them hazard so desperate a policy: so they have played out their game of faction and violence without fear of consequence." To reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Home Government appears at a glance to have been open to no "such objections." It was the opinion of his friends in England that this was his wisest course. But, on the mind of Lord Elgin, Baldwin pressed objections against reserving the Bill, which

seemed, with other objections that occurred to himself, insurmountable—whatever “obloquy” he might bring on himself for a time, by refusing to lend himself to the machinations of a demoralized and desperate Opposition. The Bill for the relief of a corresponding class of persons in Upper Canada was not reserved. By reserving the Bill he would throw on Her Majesty a responsibility which should rest on his shoulders. If the Bill passed and mischief ensued the evil could be repaired by sacrificing him. If the case were referred to England, Her Majesty might have before her the alternative of provoking a rebellion in Lower Canada, or of wounding the susceptibilities of some of the best subjects she had in the Province. Among the objectors to the Bill were some of the best men in the country—men whose honest minds were worked on by selfish and designing bureaucratic office-seekers to whom the principles of constitutional government were unfathomable mysteries, and who regarded the representative of royalty as the butt of an intense and relentless indignation, when political affairs were not administered in accordance with their views. Lord Elgin trusted to time to tone down the violence of the Opposition, to the reasonableness of the proposal under discussion, to the growth of a patriotic spirit, to the many excellent measures brought in by the Ministry—“the first really efficient and working government that Canada had had since the Union.” Nor were his hopes without being partially justified. One of the Tory papers wrote that bad as the payment of the rebellion losses was it would be better to submit to pay twenty rebellion losses than have what was nominally a free constitution, fettered and restrained each time a measure distasteful to the minority was passed. On the 12th April Lord Elgin wrote that a marked change had taken place within a few weeks in the tone of the press and of the Opposition leaders, some of whom had given him to understand that they regretted things had gone so far. He was apprehensive, however, that the gales from England would again raise the tempest, and it must be confessed the “gales,” in the shape of speeches and leaders in newspapers, were not calculated to repress the storm which was now rising. There was abundance of denunciation of the suicidal folly of rewarding rebels for rebellion. The British population were able to take care of themselves. They would find some



means of resisting the heavy discouraging blow which was aimed at them. Such hints and passages were not calculated to repress violence. Lord Elgin's biographer, however, doubts whether extraneous influences had much to do with the volcanic outbursts of local passions which followed the passing of the Bill.

The resolutions of M. Lafontaine, on which legislation was founded, were passed by a majority of fifty to twenty-two. The Bill was passed by a majority of forty-seven to eighteen, a vote which showed that no pressure could have been put on members during the discussion. On investigating the vote, it appears that out of thirty-one members from Upper Canada, seventeen, and of ten members for Lower Canada of British descent, six, supported the measure. This showed conclusively that the issue was not one on which the two races were arrayed against each other. Had Lord Elgin, under the circumstances, reserved the Bill, he would have cast doubts on the sincerity of his determination to carry out constitutional government. Lord Elgin felt this, and expressed his conviction in his letters to Earl Grey.

The Governor's assent, therefore, to the Rebellion Losses Bill was no impulsive act. The assent was given sooner than he intended, owing to the following circumstance. On the 25th of April, the Customs Bill had passed the Legislative Council. Scarcely had it passed when a member of the Assembly rushed into the House, and told the Ministers that a ship had just arrived. They at once waited on Lord Elgin, and asked him to come down to Parliament and give his assent to the Customs Bill. Lord Elgin thought as he was giving his assent to one Bill, he would give his assent to all the others which were awaiting his decision. Among these was the Bill which was viewed with such conflicting feelings here and in England.

The news spread like wildfire. A crowd by no means large, and led by persons of a respectable class in society, gathered outside the House, who received Lord Elgin as he left the Parliament Buildings with hootings and groans, the "respectable" individuals pelting the carriage with rotten eggs.\* The fact that nobody

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\* Lord Elgin shrank from giving the offensive weapons their proper name. He described them euphuistically as "missiles which they must have brought with them for the purpose."—Letters, p. 82.

could have known that the Governor was about to give his assent to the obnoxious Bill relieves the real leaders of any party existing at the time, of responsibility for the blackguard behaviour of the mob. While the violence was proceeding outside, the Assembly continued in session. Sir Allan MacNab in vain warned the Government that a riot might be looked for. Unfortunately the confidence of the Government in the good sense of all sections of the community was misplaced. Before there was time to cleanse the Governor's carriage of the foul missiles hurled at it, a notice was issued calling a meeting in the open air, at the Champ de Mars, at eight o'clock. Towards that hour the fire bells were rung to call the populace together. A large number of persons assembled. Inflammatory speeches were made. A person named Perry, a very violent man, cried out, "To the Parliament House!" The mob hurried to the Parliament Buildings. Their shouts and yells interrupted the Assembly in the discussion of the Judicature Bill for Lower Canada. In a few moments a shower of stones crashed in through the windows. The strangers fled from the gallery. Some members made their escape by this gallery. Others crouched behind the chairs, while stones continued to hail into the chamber. The mob then forced their way into the building. Men appeared in the chamber armed with sticks. The few lingering members and clerks made their escape, the Sergeant-at-arms alone remaining. One of the rioters placed himself in the Speaker's chair and cried out, "I dissolve the House." The benches were pulled to pieces and piled in the middle of the floor. Chandeliers were broken; the Speaker's mace, notwithstanding the heroic exertions of the courageous Sergeant-at-arms, was seized. A cry was soon heard—"The Parliament House is on fire." The broken chandeliers were flaming, and some boys sought, foolishly, to put them out by throwing cushions at them. This only made matters worse. The evidence is conflicting, and some have held that the mob did not intend to burn down the buildings. Attempts were made to save the more valuable books in the library but the flames spread too rapidly. Sir Allan MacNab succeeded in bearing off the picture of the Queen. Having destroyed valuable public property, and two libraries which a scholar pronounced to be excellent, the crowd dispersed. The men who thus dispersed

themselves could not have been French, nor were they Irish. A large body of Catholic Irish were drawn up between the Parliament Buildings and the Nunnery, with the view of protecting this last structure. The mob in dispersing visited the office of Francis Hincks' newspaper,\* the windows of which they demolished. The military had meanwhile been called out.

Great excitement prevailed during the two following days, and further acts of incendiarism were perpetrated. The next day inciters to riot were arrested and the mob threatened to rescue them. Some of the supporters of Baldwin were insulted and beaten. The mob had to be forced back by the bayonets of the military from the old Guard House where the Ministry had assembled in council. When night fell the mob swelled in numbers and proceeded to the house of Lafontaine which they wrecked. They broke the windows of the houses of Dr. Wolfred Nelson,† Hincks, Holmes, and Charles Wilson. They would in this same way have wreaked their vengeance on the boarding-house of Mr. Baldwin and that of Mr. Cameron. The military did police duty; but objections being made to this, a body of French and Irish constables were sworn in. The military force was also further increased. The leading men of the Opposition seeing what their violent, unpatriotic and false agitation had culminated in, sought to restrain their followers from violence, and urged a petition to the Queen to recall the Governor and to disallow the Bill.‡ But when the passions of men are roused it is not so easy to calm them. On this occasion there was no great leader or none willing to use his power. There was only half of Virgil's splendid picture. There was sedition; the vile rage of the vile; flying stones, rotten eggs, perhaps the torch of the incendiary; but where was the venerable man of weight and merit, and eloquence of whom it could be said

Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet?

\* The *Pilot*.

† Alison speaks of him as a "brave" man. He behaved like a brave, good man, "rebel though he was." He was a fine looking man. As Mayor of Montreal he called to men's minds the idea of a Roman Senator.

‡ "The leaders of the disaffected party have shown a disposition to restrain their followers, and to direct their energies towards the more constitutional object of petitioning the Queen for my recall and the disallowance of the obnoxious Bill."—Lord Elgin to Earl Grey, April 28th, 1849.

Were such a man found, he would have earned a noble place in our history.

The House of Assembly, by a majority of thirty-six to sixteen, had voted an address to the Governor, expressing their abhorrence at the outrages which had been heaped on the Queen's Representative, and approving of his just and impartial administration of the Government with his late as well as his present advisers. This address he was to receive at Government House, not at Monklands. He drove into the city, escorted by a troop of volunteer dragoons and accompanied by several of his suite. Showers of stones greeted his progress, and one, at least, fell into his carriage. The Riot Act was read, but the crowd had no ill feeling towards the military, and showed at that time no desire to give an excuse for their interference. The sole object of their hatred was the Governor-General. They waited his reappearance to renew the assault. But he went back by a different route. Discovering what he had done, every vehicle they could press into their service was launched in pursuit, and when they came up with the Vice-regal carriage they assailed it murderously. When the carriage cleared the mob, the head of the Governor's brother was found to be cut, the chief of the police and the captain of the escort injured. Every panel of the carriage had been driven in. It was now no longer safe for members to appear in the street. Monklands was threatened with a hostile visit. For some weeks Lord Elgin did not enter Montreal, but kept within the bounds of his country seat.

It would be easy to reproach Lord Elgin, as wanting in pluck, even as persons were found ready to condemn the Ministry for want of prevision in not making preparations against those unhappy and disgraceful events. Lord Elgin behaved with the truest manliness. No one could doubt the courage of the Duke of Wellington, yet he shrank from going into the City of London in the excited days of 1830. Did the victor of Assaye and Waterloo fear? He would not have been an Irishman had he known what it was to fear, and the Scotch blood in Elgin is a guarantee that no cowardly consideration could have weight with him. The Duke of Wellington said he would have gone into the city had the law been equal to his protection. Fifty dragoons would have done it.

But suppose firing became necessary, who could say where it would stop? Ten innocent persons would fall for one guilty. "Would this," asked the Duke, "have been wise or humane, for a little bravado, or that the country might not be alarmed for a day or two?" Lord Elgin reasoned in the same spirit. He knew that the French of Lower Canada were ready to rise as one man in support of the Government. What would have been his self-reproach had he, for the sake of a "little bravado," been the cause of a collision between the two races? Major Campbell, his Secretary, who was with him during the whole time, bears evidence to his coolness and manliness of bearing. Though no taunt and no advice could make him risk shedding blood, he was, when the fury of the populace was at its height, determined to yield nothing to mob clamour.\* At the same time, he thought it his duty to tender his resignation, to which offer Lord Grey replied as we might expect.

The insults to Lord Elgin and the Baldwin Government were not confined to Montreal. Effigy burning, that sensible practice, took place in Toronto, while portions of the Tory press talked disloyalty. One journal asked, "whether our loyalty was to be contemned or not?"† Another was in favour of separation.‡ The correspondent of another wrote from Montreal that it was better to become a State of the Union, where British laws and precedents were respected, than be governed by bigoted, unenterprising, domineering Frenchmen.§ Of course most of this sort of trash was mere peevishness, and what the Americans in their way would call "cussedness," in men raging at their dethronement from power, and their banishment from the sweets of oppression and monopoly.

The Legislature, which had sat since the riots in a temporary building, was prorogued on the 30th of May. Early in June the Rebellion Losses Bill was brought under the notice of the Imperial Parliament. Mr Gladstone, with characteristic vehemence, denounced it as a measure for rewarding rebels. The debate was sustained for two nights, the Act being defended by Lord Russell

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\* See Letter to Lord Grey, dated 30th April, 1849.

† *Patriot*. ‡ The *Provincialist*, of Hamilton.

‡ Correspondent of the *Hamilton Spectator*.

and Sir Robert Peel. A majority of 141 supported common justice and constitutionalism. A few nights later, in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham moved a resolution similar to that of Mr. Herries in the Commons, calling on Her Majesty to disallow the Act. Unfortunately the motion was negatived only by three votes, and this was not done without the aid of proxies. But the attitude of the House of Commons was the important matter. This, combined with the firmness of the Government and the patriotic speech of Sir Robert Peel, did much to quiet the angry feelings of the misguided and misguided among the Opposition. The conduct of the Ministry worked in the same direction. The Commissioners of the Conservative Government were re-appointed. They were furnished with instructions which placed upon the Act the most restricted and loyalist construction. A marked change took place in the Tory papers. On one point all were agreed. The habit of abusing the French must be discontinued. We must, they said, live with them on terms of amity and affection. Such was the first fruit of Baldwin's policy, which heated partisans had declared would bring about a war of races.

Two months later, unfortunately, the fires were again rekindled. Some persons implicated in the destruction of the parliamentary buildings were arrested. All except one who was committed for arson were bailed by the magistrates. They would not have been taken before the magistrates if a sufficient number of grand jurors to form a court could have been got together. This was impossible owing to the cholera, and the Government thought they could not with propriety put off action against these persons until November. The man committed for trial was bailed the next day by one of the judges of the Supreme Court. All this surely showed no vindictive spirit on the part of the Government; but it seemed otherwise to the mob. On the night of the 18th of August, a crowd attacked M. Lafontaine's house. Unfortunately, some of the persons within fired, and one of the assailants fell. The more riotous now cried out that Anglo-Saxon blood had been spilled by a Frenchman. Violent attacks were made on Lafontaine in the papers. A vast number of men wearing red scarves and ribands, attended the funeral of the poor misguided young

fellow. Incendiaries were busy in several parts of the city. A coroner's jury, however, after a searching investigation, unanimously agreed to a verdict acquitting M. Lafontaine of all blame, "This verdict," says Lord Elgin's biographer, "was important, for two of the jury were Orangemen who had marched in the procession at the funeral of the young man who was shot." The Orangemen might march at a young fellow's funeral, and yet have no hand in the riots. If they had any hand in the riots they must have forgotten the principles of 1688, and the teaching of William III. However, the verdict had a good effect. Two of the most violent papers published articles apologising to Lafontaine for having unfavourably judged him before hand. But weeks passed on, and there was nothing to warrant confidence that in future the Parliament could with safety meet at Montreal. On the 3rd September, Lord Elgin wrote: "The existence of a perfect understanding between the more outrageous and the more respectable factions of the Tory party in the town, is rendered even more manifest by the readiness with which the former, through their organs, have yielded to the latter when they preached moderation in good earnest." Lord Elgin clung to the idea of continuing the meeting of parliament in Montreal. Not until November did he acknowledge that there was no other course to be taken but that pressed on him by his Ministers, that the Legislature should sit alternately at Toronto and Quebec. He determined to summon parliament for the next two sessions at Toronto. The perambulating system lasted until 1858, when Ottawa was chosen as the capital. Meanwhile, it did much good by removing the feeling of alienation which existed between the Canadians of French and the Canadians of British descent, acting just as mixed schools act on the sentiments of Protestants and Roman Catholics. Closer communication begat mutual esteem and respect.\*

While these arrangements were being discussed, the feeling of Western Canada as to Baldwin and Baldwin's policy was tested by Lord Elgin making a tour in the stronghold of British feeling, accompanied only by an aide-de-camp and a servant. Everywhere he was received with cordiality, and in most places with enthu-

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\*Lord Grey's Colonial Policy, i. 235. See also "Letters of Lord Elgin," p. 94.

siasm. But a long time elapsed before the "Family Compact" section of the Tories forgave the Governor. They made him a subject of ceaseless detraction. They were the dominant class still in society, and their disparaging tone was echoed by travellers in England, with the result of giving the impression that Lord Elgin was deficient in nerve and vigour. Anybody who has observed to what perfection the use of mendacious slander is carried here in Canada, will sympathise with the calm, generous-hearted, great man, who afterwards displayed so much energy and boldness in China. But time, the friend of truth and genius, the baffler of those foul things of twilight, the spy, and the slanderer, brought his vindication.

We have seen something of an annexation feeling, the fruit of the ignoble tendency of minorities, to look abroad for aid against the power of the majority. We have seen also that the word "rebel" had actually been applied to Baldwin and his friends. What did those rebels do, when a manifesto, in favour of annexation, was put forward, bearing the signatures of magistrates, Queen's counsel, militia officers, and others holding commissions of one kind or other at the pleasure of the Crown? They advised Lord Elgin to remove from such offices as were held during the pleasure of the Crown, the gentlemen who admitted the genuineness of their signatures, and those who refused to disavow them.

In June, 1849, an Act, dear to Baldwin's heart, was passed by the Imperial parliament, which, by lowering freights, increased the profits of the Canadian trade in wheat and timber, and greatly advanced the prosperity of Canada. Reciprocity did not come so quickly. As the year closed, disloyal utterances grew fainter, but did not wholly subside.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

THE Ministry now applied themselves with energy to developing the resources of the country. Reciprocity was pressed on the

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[AUTHORITIES.—The same as the previous Chapter; the Clergy Reserves, by Charles Lindsey; *Dublin University Magazine*, November, 1876.]



authorities at Washington. Hincks raised Canadian credit on the London Stock Exchange, and Canadian securities began to be quoted in the English market.

The first week of 1850, Hincks held several successful meetings in Oxford. The "demonstration," at Woodstock was very large, and a vote of confidence in Mr. Hincks and the Administration was passed unanimously. The leading organ of the Administration declared that the reception given to the Inspector-General afforded a positive proof that the insidious efforts of the *Examiner* (edited by Mr. Charles Lindsey) and other newspapers, to divide the Reform party, had been without effect.\* Malcolm Cameron had left the Ministry, and had now, with Rolph, Caleb Hopkins, James Leslie, and Peter Perry, formed a "clear grit" party, on which the *Globe* poured down scorn and invective, calling them, among other things, "a little miserable clique of office-seeking buncombe-talking cormorants, who met in a certain lawyer's office in King Street, and announced their intention to form a new party on 'Clear Grit' principles." As the spring wore on, the *Examiner* went openly into opposition. On the 23rd of March, a meeting was held in the Township of Markham, where Mr. Peter Perry was made the mouth-piece of the "Clear Grits," or "Calebites," as they were variously called. Their platform was universal suffrage, vote by ballot, no qualification for candidates for Parliament, fixed elections—that is to say, the day and time of the general election should be fixed, the time of the meeting of Parliament to be fixed by law—retrenchment, the doing away with pensions to judges, lowering law costs, the abolition of the Court of Chancery and the Court of Common Pleas—leaving only the Queen's Bench, County Courts and Township Courts—free trade and direct taxation, the application of the clergy reserves to general public purposes, the abolition of primogeniture, juries to be taken by ballot, not from one locality, but from the several townships of a county, the abolition of the usury laws which were no protection against high interest, and which prevented money coming into the country. The Reform party, of which Baldwin was the head, agreed with some of these principles. Baldwin had expressed himself in

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\* *Globe*, January 8th, 1850.

favour of the ballot so early as 1846. The *Globe* said there was no use blinking the fact that what the Clear Grits wanted was the republican form of government. The *Huron Signal* asked what had the Administration done or not done to render it unpopular? On what principles of human policy did the Opposition found their hopes of office? The one error, if it was an error, was the "Chancery affair." That journal was not disposed to regard the new party as "Clear Grits" or "Calebites," or as "Young Canada," but as a portion of the Reform party, a little more enthusiastic and sanguine in the cause. On the other hand, the *Globe*, which deserves great credit for the unqualified and able manner in which it fought the battle of loyalty and common sense at this period, said it was best to recognise all avowed republicans as a distinct and separate party, and to distinguish them by some understood title. The country then as now was loyal, and on the 17th April the annexationist organ in Toronto—the *Independent*—died.

In March, in the Imperial Parliament, Lord John Russell made a speech on the colonies, of which Lord Elgin and Baldwin and the whole Government approved, but for one sentence, the sting in the tail. Lord Elgin communicated to Earl Grey his fears that when the liberal and enlightened sentiments of the body of the speech, calculated, as they were, to make the colonists sensible of the advantages they derived from their connexion with Great Britain and Ireland, had passed from men's memories there would not be wanting those who would remind them that the Prime Minister of England, amid the plaudits of a full senate, declared that he looked forward to the day when the ties which he was endeavouring to render so easy and mutually advantageous, would be severed. Wherefore this foreboding? asked Lord Elgin. Was not "foreboding," however, too strong a word? Judging by the comments of the press on Lord John's declaration, one would imagine that the prospect of these sucking democracies leaving their old mother in the lurch and setting up as rivals, after they had drained her life-blood, and this just at a time when their increasing strength might render them a support instead of a burden, was one of the most cheering which could at that time have presented itself to the English imagination. But why was this foreboding or anticipation entertained? Because

Lord John and the people of England persisted in assuming that the colonial relation was incompatible with maturity and full development. Was this so incontestable a truth that it was a duty not only to hold, but to maintain it?

While Lord Elgin was in the midst of a letter urging the opposite view, two newspapers were placed in his hand, the *Herald*, of Montreal, which he characterized as "annexationist," and the *Mirror*, of Toronto, which was "quasi-annexationist," both of which made use of Lord John Russell's speech to further their peculiar views. He was still more annoyed, he wrote, by what had occurred the previous day in council. They had to determine whether or not to dismiss from his offices a gentleman who was both M.P.P., Q.C., and J.P., and who had issued a flaming manifesto in favour, not of annexation, but of an immediate declaration of independence as a step to it. The Board generally contended that it would be impossible to maintain that persons who had declared their intention to throw off their allegiance to the Queen, with a view to annexation, were unfit to retain offices granted during pleasure, if persons who made a similar declaration with a view to independence, were to be differently dealt with. Baldwin had Lord John's speech in his hand. "He is," said Lord Elgin, "a man of singularly placid demeanour." But on this occasion he was greatly moved. He asked the Governor-General whether he had read the latter part of Lord John Russell's speech. The Governor nodded. "For myself," said Baldwin, "if the anticipations therein expressed prove to be well-founded, my interest in public affairs is gone for ever. But is it not hard upon us, while we are labouring through good and evil report to thwart the designs of those who would dismember the Empire, that our adversaries should be informed that the difference between them and the Prime Minister of England is only one of time? If the British Government has really come to the conclusion that we are a burden to be cast off whenever a favourable opportunity offers, surely we ought to be warned."

Lord Elgin assured Baldwin that he thought the theory that British colonies could not attain maturity without separation unsound and dangerous, and that his interest in labouring with them to bring into full play the principles of Constitutional Govern-

ment in Canada would cease the moment he adopted such a theory. He said this with misgiving. But it was possible he exaggerated the then probable effects of Lord John Russell's declaration. "Politicians of the Baldwin stamp," he wrote with a just appreciation of that "great and good statesman,"\* the "noble Baldwin,"† "with distinct views and aims, who having struggled to obtain a government on British principles desire to preserve it, are not I fear very numerous in Canada; the great mass move on with very indefinite purposes, and not much inquiring whither they are going." Of one thing he was certain there could not be any peace, contentment, progress or credit in the colony, while the idea obtained that the connexion with England was a millstone about its neck which should be cast off as soon as it could be conveniently managed.

A distinction was drawn at the Colonial Office between separation with a view to annexation, and separation with a view to independence. The former was considered an act of treason, the latter a natural and legitimate step in progress. This was plausible; but its plausibility vanished the moment it was known that no one advocated independence in Canada but as a means to the end, annexation. Nor was it apart from this, tenable. If the colonial existence was one with which colonists ought not to rest satisfied, how could those who desired for any purpose to substitute the Stars and Stripes for the Union Jack be denounced without reserve and measure? If a father told his great lubberly boy that he was too big for the nursery, and that he had no room for him in his own house, how could he decline to let him lodge with his elder brother?

Late in the year he again addressed Earl Grey, saying that Sir Henry Bulwer‡ and Sir Edmund Head had spent a few days with him, and that he thought he had sent them away reassured on many points of Canadian domestic policy. With one important truth, he had always laboured to impress everybody with whom he came in contact that the faithful carrying out of the principles of Consti-

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\* Sir John A. Macdonald's speech at Brampton, June, 1877.

† Mr. Mackenzie's speech at Kingston, June, 1877.

‡ Afterwards Sir Henry Bulwer-Lytton, and subsequently Lord Lytton.

tutional Government was a departure from not an approximation to the American model, and was, therefore, a departure from Republicanism in its only workable shape. The American system was the old colonial system, with the principle of popular election substituted for that of nomination by the Crown. Mr. Fillmore stood to his Congress as Lord Elgin stood to his Assembly in Jamaica. There was the same absence of effective responsibility in the conduct of legislation, the same want of concurrent action between the parts of the political machine. The whole business of legislation in the American Congress, as well as in the State Legislatures, Lord Elgin contended, was conducted in the manner in which railway business was conducted in the House of Commons, at a time when it was to be feared that notwithstanding the high standard of honour in the British Parliament, jobbing was rife. "For instance," he said, "our reciprocity measure was passed by us at Washington last session. He is writing in November, 1860—"just as a Railway Bill in 1845 or 1846 would have been passed in Parliament. There was no Government to deal with. The interests of the Union, as a whole, and distinct from local and sectional interests, had no organ in the representative bodies; it was all a question of canvassing this member of Congress or the other. It is easy to perceive that, under such a system, jobbery must become, not the exception, but the rule." This great statesman went on to express his strong conviction that when a people have been once accustomed to the working of such a Parliamentary system as ours in Canada, they would never consent to revert to the clumsy, irresponsible mechanism of the United States.

Later still he again wrote to Earl Grey. Earl Grey had written that, when there was so much pressing business in hand, it seemed idle to correspond on what might be termed speculative questions. Lord Elgin knew, however, that he had something to teach Ministers at home, and not a few of my readers to-day may also learn much from him. He had a practical object in view in calling Earl Grey's attention to the contrasts which present themselves in the working of Canadian Institutions, and those of our neighbours in the States. What was that object? When Ministers in London conceded to the colonists Constitutional Government in

its integrity, they were reproached with leading them to Republicanism and the American Union. Lord Stanley (the late Lord Derby) had declared in 1849, amid the cheers of the House of Commons, that, if the Colonial Secretary was in the habit of consulting Ministers of the Crown in the Colony before placing persons on the colonial pension list, he had no hesitation in saying they had already established a republic in Canada. "Now I believe on the contrary," wrote Lord Elgin, an English Tory, be it remembered, but one who had more statesmanship than most of the first men in England of either party at that time, "that it may be demonstrated that the concession of constitutional government has a tendency to draw the colonists the other way; firstly, because it slakes the thirst for self-government which seizes on all British communities when they approach maturity, and secondly, because it habituates the colonists to the working of a political mechanism which is both intrinsically superior to that of the Americans, and more unlike it than our old colonial system."

Earl Grey, admitting the superiority of the Canadian political system to that of the United States, argued that the people of the Union had the remedy in their hands; that, without abandoning their republicanism, they and their brethren in France had nothing to do but to dismiss their Presidents and to substitute the British or Canadian constitution without a King or a Governor—the body without the head—in order to get rid of the inconveniences they experienced; and the Colonial Secretary quoted with approbation the project submitted by M. Grévy and the Red Republicans to the French Constituent Assembly. The usurpation of Napoleon III. was a cynical commentary on the statesmanship and foresight of Earl Grey.

Earl Grey did not see that the monarch or a constitutional governor is an indispensable element in our constitutional mechanism. The advantages of that system are not to be had without him. Earl Grey had said that the system the Red Republicans would have established in France would have been the nearest possible approach to that of England. "It is possible," wrote Lord Elgin, "perhaps probable, that as the House of Commons becomes more democratic in its composition, and consequently more arrogant in its bearing, it may cast off the shackles which

the other powers of the State impose on its self-will, and even utterly abolish them, but I venture to believe that those who last till that day comes will find they are living under a very different constitution from that which we now enjoy; that they have traversed the interval which separates a temperate and cautious administration of public affairs resting on the balance of powers and interests, from a reckless and overbearing tyranny, based on the caprices and passions of an absolute irresponsible body. You talk somewhat lightly of the check of the Crown, although you acknowledge its utility. But is it indeed so light a matter even as our constitution now works? Is it a light matter that the Crown should have the power of dissolving Parliament, in other words, of deposing the tyrant at will? Is it a light matter that for several months in each year the House of Commons should be in abeyance, during which period the nation looks to Ministers not as slaves of Parliament, but as servants of the Crown? Is it a light matter that there should be such respect for the monarchical principle, that servants of that visible unity, yept the Crown, are enabled to carry on much of the details of internal and foreign administration without consulting Parliament, and even without its cognisance? Or do you suppose that the Red Republicans, when they advocated the nomination of a revocable *mandat*, intended to create a Frankenstein,\* endowed with powers in some cases paramount to, and in others running parallel with, the authority of this omnipotent body to which it owed its existence? My own impression is, that they meant a set of delegates to be appointed, who should exercise certain functions of legislative initiation and executive patronage so long as they reflected clearly

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\* Lord Elgin fell into not an uncommon error of busy people who make allusions to books they have not read, and put the creator for the monster he created. In 1816, Lord Byron and Mr. and Mrs. Shelley having amused themselves with reading German ghost-stories, agreed to write something in imitation of them. Byron began the "Vampire" but never finished it. Mrs. Shelley conceived and wrote her powerful romance of "Frankenstein." It was published in 1817. Frankenstein discovers that, by his study of natural philosophy, he can create a living sentient being, and he constructs and animates a gigantic figure eight feet in height. The monster becomes a terror to his creator, demands that a help mate shall be made for him. Frankenstein failing to comply with his demands, he murders the friend of his creator, strangles his bride on his wedding night, and ultimately frightens Frankenstein into a condition which leads to his death.

in the former, the passions, and in the latter, the interests of the majority for the time being and no longer." To have a Republican form of government in a great country, the executive and legislative departments must be separated, as in the United States, and the people must submit to the tyranny of the majority, not the more tolerable because capricious, and wielded by a tyrant with many heads. How much more violent would be the proceedings of the majorities in the American Legislatures, how much more reckless would be their appeals to popular passion, how much oftener would the interests of the nation and individual rights be sacrificed to making political capital, if debates or discussions affected the tenure of office. Only under a monarchy can the executive and the legislative departments of the State be made to work together with that degree of harmony which shall give the maximum of strength and of mutual independence by which freedom and the rights of minorities are secured. Nor can the moral power of a monarch, or a governor be measured by his recognised power, so long as the people are monarchical in sentiment. When it was urged that Lord Elgin, in maintaining and carrying out these views, committed official suicide, and degraded himself into a *roi fainéant*, he used to say that he had tried both systems. "In Jamaica there was no Responsible Government, but I had not half the power I have here with my Constitutional and Changing Cabinet." Under the Vice-regal Throne of India, he missed something of the authority and influence he enjoyed as constitutional Governor in Canada.\* The honour of bringing about this wise system of Government, belongs, more than to any other man, to Robert Baldwin, who so early as 1825, had taken in the whole situation with its imperative needs.

Parliament met at Toronto on the 14th of May, and a vigorous debate took place on the address, the attack being led by "Clear

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\* Letters of Lord Elgin, pp. 115-124. Compare the views respecting the American and English constitutions with the remarks of Mr. Caleb Cushing on the same subject. "The Treaty of Washington," by Caleb Cushing, p. 44-46. Mr. Cushing's remarks are more suggestive than instructive. But they emphasize the opinions propounded by Lord Elgin, and they show how paramount the necessity of lifting the people here and in England, by education, out of the ignorance which makes them the sport of unprincipled demagogues.



Grits," and sore heads. In division after division, the Government was sustained, though it was evident they were not prepared to move as fast as the requirements of the country needed. When disloyalty raised its head, Baldwin showed entire sympathy with the country by moving that the petition in favour of independence, presented by Colonel Prince, the self-styled "English gentleman," should not be received—a motion which was carried by fifty-seven to seventeen.

He was not, however, abreast of the time in maintaining, as he did, with all his influence and force of argument, that the setting apart the Clergy Reserves for the support of the Protestant clergy, was a just and a proper measure, and that it did not establish a particular body as a dominant church. When a Reform leader hangs behind his party, his time is up. Mr. Drummond, an Irishman of considerable power, spoke strongly in favour of the secularization of the Clergy Reserves.

Baldwin's scrupulousness struck many as weakness. A conscientious man often appears feeble to the unscrupulous. About this time an instance of his rare tenderness of political conscience occurred. When a vacancy took place on the bench, Mr. Boulton, a Conservative, who had aided in the struggle for Responsible Government, claimed the reward of a party man. He wished to get the appointment. There can be no doubt he should have had it. He was, in all respects, a man to make an efficient judge. Baldwin desired to give him the position. But letters poured in on him from all sides deprecating that course. The conflict between his desire to do right, and his desire not to injure the party, made him ill. Leave the thing to us, Mr. Francis Hincks said, and we will settle it. They settled it by appointing Mr Robert E. Burns.

In the first days of January, the municipal elections were going forward. Platt was one of the common council men, elected for St. Lawrence Ward. Bowes, who has been mentioned in an earlier chapter was elected Alderman for St. James' Ward.

On Twelfth Night, Lord Elgin had a large party at Elmsley House, on King Street—originally the private residence of Chief-Justice Elmsley, which had been purchased after the war of 1812-14, for the use of the Lieutenant-Governor. Among the company,

were, Chancellor and Mrs. Blake, Judge and Mrs. Sullivan, Messrs. Baldwin, Hincks and others. The attendance at his receptions showed, it was contended, that he had the confidence of the country. The argument supported a true proposition, though the reasoning was far from cogent. It was not, however, so much the case then, as it is now, that the doors of society open to the golden key, no matter by whose hand applied.

\*Notwithstanding the split in the Reform Party, Ministers went

\* McMullen conveys the impression that the *Globe* had ceased to support Baldwin's Administration in 1850. The *Globe*, on the contrary, supported Baldwin to the last, and denounced the *Examiner* and the "Clear Grits" for dividing the party. The *Globe* began to take a more critical stand in 1850. In an article in the autumn of that year, it reviewed the struggle since 1838, and concluded as follows ;

"We have thus on the political carpet of Upper Canada :—Ultra Tories—represented by Mr. W. B. Robinson and others in the House, and a numerous party out of it, whose prominent characteristic is High Churchism. Moderate Tories—represented by John A. Macdonald, and Henry Sherwood and others in the House, and a large section out of it—who have no principles in particular but their opposition to the Ministry. Ministerialists—comprising two-thirds of the people of Upper Canada. Leaguers—comprising several active leaders, but few followers. Their strength, at an election would lie in dividing the enemy and receiving tribute from all. Their principles are very diversified according to the locality and the man to be run. Clear Grits—comprising disappointed Ministerialists, ultra English Radicals, Republicans, Annexationists. Their ultra principles find little sympathy, and their formal proposal for a Convention has been a ridiculous botch. They have made the most of the slips of the Ministry, and discontent among their supporters—but as a party on their own footing they are powerless, except to do mischief. All these parties are now contending for the dominancy in Upper Canada, but with a feebleness quite new in our political history. Were the Ministerialists united, and the constituencies fairly adjusted, there could be no doubt that, at a trial of strength, they would sweep all before them. But they are far from being united, and we propose to take another opportunity of showing the causes of the existing division. Party landmarks have in a great measure been swept away by the legislation of the last few years ; and the straggling parties are forming anew. The establishment of Responsible Government removed the main wall of separation ; and the successful establishment of the Municipal Council and National Common School systems did almost as much. Then the settlement of the King's College question, and the probable settlement of Clergy Reserves will take away fertile elements of bitter contention in past years. We are glad that so many grounds of strife are removed ; but as believers in party government we wish the lines separating parties were more clearly drawn on great questions of public policy. We see constant allusions to a coming Coalition Ministry, which, in the opinion of many, the position of parties naturally points to. We sincerely trust that as far as the Ministerial Party is concerned, no such movement is in any way contemplated. The constitutional Reform Party of Upper Canada needs no assistance, and we are sure that any attempt at coalition with Toryism would be fatal to all who touched it. That a re-organization of the Liberal Party is necessary few will deny ; but that a more progressive policy, a firmer step, and more sympathy within the

triumphantly through the session, and were enabled to pass a large number of useful measures, amongst them an admirable Jury Bill, a just Assessment Bill, a Division Court Bill, an Election Law. They dealt with the extension of Municipal Institutions, University Reform, Post Office Reform, the Court of Chancery. They passed resolutions respecting the Clergy Reserves, a Public Road Act, a Railways' Assistance Act, a School Fund Act. Banking and Medical incorporation, the promotion of the exchange of products between the Provinces of British North America, and fifty other important matters had received fruitful attention.

Something like Confederation had early hovered before men's minds, and an Irishman, Mr. Stephens had advocated it in a letter to Lord Durham in 1839. A league was formed called the British American League, by the Hon. George Moffatt, Thomas Wilson, the Hon. George Crawford (Irish), the Hon. Asa A. Burnham, John W. Gamble (Irish), Mr. Aikman, Ogle R. Gowan (Irish), John Duggan (Irish), the Hon. Col. Frazer, George Benjamin, the Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, and to use the words of the Hon. George Brown,\* "last, though not least," the Hon. John A. Macdonald, for the purpose of framing a constitution which should embrace a union of the British North American Provinces on mutually advantageous and fairly arranged terms, with the concession from the Mother Country of enlarged powers of self-government. The question was kept before the public in 1850, and its promoters were stigmatized by the Baldwin press as constitution mongers.

Bowes was elected mayor for 1851. Parliament met in May, and the debate on the address was concluded in one evening. The most notable thing, during the session, was the retirement of Baldwin from the Ministry. W. Lyon Mackenzie had been returned for Haldimand, and he proposed a resolution to do away with the Court of Chancery. On this resolution being carried, by a majority of the Upper Canada members, Baldwin, true to the principle of a double majority, resigned. Nor could anything

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party than heretofore, would reunite the constitutional portion of the party more heartily than ever and carry it triumphantly through the election of 1851, we feel perfectly confident."

\* Debates on Confederation, p. 111.

move him from his resolve, not though members who had voted with Mackenzie assured him that they would have voted with him if they had known beforehand the result of their action would be so serious, not though they protested if the question was brought up again they would be guided by him. He was Attorney-General when Mr. Blake's Chancery Bill was passed. Scarcely two years had since elapsed, and nearly all the members of the profession were prepared to do away with the Court. Baldwin said he had no other course but to resign. He bade farewell to his colleagues. He was deeply affected, and at one time was overcome with emotion. Hincks wished to resign with him, but he urged him not to do so.

In July, 1851, the defection of the *Globe* from the Reform party, as it now existed, was complete. Hincks was accused of having thrown Baldwin over, whereupon Baldwin wrote him a letter saying such was not a fact, and that he had remained in office at his suggestion.\*

With the retirement of Baldwin from the Ministry, what may, in a work of this kind be called the Irish period began to decline. He found the country agitated, ill at ease, uncertain as to its future; he left it prosperous, contented, and ready to apply its energies to the development of material prosperity. He was beaten in North York at the ensuing election. There was no ground for supposing that a man who voted for Price's resolution would have objected to a settlement of the Clergy Reserves, and though he might have preferred to have the Reserves devoted to their original purpose, it is evident from his speeches and votes in 1850 and 1851, that he would have been prepared to apply them to educational purposes.† There can be no doubt, however, that he was too Conservative for the Reform party at this time. New questions were coming up in which he took no interest. But a reform constituency should have hesitated long before they turned away the faithful servant who had done so much for them and the country. His defeat combined with subsequent ingratitude, prob-

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\* See the Letter of Baldwin, 20th Dec., 1851.

† Both in 1850 and 1851, Baldwin voted for Price's resolutions. MacMullen therefore conveys a false impression in his "History," page 514.

ably hastened his death, which took place in 1858. He stands boldly out in our history, the purest of our statesmen, the father of our Constitution.

The session closed on the 30th August. Lord Elgin was able to congratulate the House and the country on the work which had been done, the grants which had been made for the erection of lighthouses, and for improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The reduction of the immigrant tax, the favourable state of the revenue, the encouragement of railway enterprise, the creditable appearance made by Canada at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, the quieter condition of the public mind, were proper subjects for thankfulness, as was Canada's increased prosperity which began to attract the attention of the outside world. Several countries expressed their desire to add to the volume of their commerce on the St. Lawrence. A large traffic had sprung up with the United States.

The "Clear Grit" element began to make itself felt. Lafontaine retired, whereupon, Lord Elgin sent for Hincks, who was entirely successful in forming a new Government. Dr. Rolph and Malcolm Cameron were both taken into the Cabinet. Malcolm Cameron became President of the Council. He had proposed to abolish this office. His inconsistency was dwelt on in every key from ridicule to invective.

The general election, which followed the reconstruction of the Cabinet, introduced some new blood into Parliament, and gave a majority to the Government. Mr. Joseph Hartman replaced Robert Baldwin, and William Lyon Mackenzie, who had, in 1859, returned to Canada, and had early found a seat, beat Mr. George Brown in Haldimand.

A passion for developing the country now seized on the public mind, and this was aided by the influx of emigrants from Ireland and elsewhere. Emigration and famine had reduced the population of Ireland from 8,176,124 in 1841, to 6,575,793 in 1851. Nevertheless, in this year 275,000 Irishmen turned their backs on Ireland, and a large proportion of these found their way to Canada.

Early in the summer, an Irishman, Mr. J. W. Gwynne, pressed his railway scheme, the Toronto and Goderich Railway, on the attention of the public. In 1847, a dozen gentlemen, at the instance

of Mr. Gwynne, had formed themselves into a company to make a railroad from Toronto to Goderich. Mr. Gwynne had also taken an interest in other railway schemes, and he deserves to be placed in the foremost ranks of our railway pioneers, though his suggestions ultimately helped the builders of the Grand Trunk more than himself. Among those who supported him was George Herrick. As any one turning over the files of those days will see, he spent much time and money in seeking to supply the needed railways for the Province; but he was not in Parliament, and he was too upright to resort to the arts of lobbying. While such material issues were under discussion, the public mind was arrested, as it has been lately, by a great conflagration. A large part of Montreal was laid waste by fire.

The seat of Government had been removed to Quebec, where Parliament met on the 16th August. The late Sandfield Macdonald was chosen Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. The Governor-General in his opening speech struck the knell of the system of Seigniorial tenure, though that question was not immediately settled. The speech dwelt on the expediency of having a line of steamers from Canada to England, the alteration of the currency on a decimal basis, and the propriety of increasing the Parliamentary representation.

Mr. Hincks introduced and passed a series of resolutions respecting the Clergy Reserves, pledging the Assembly to a settlement of the question in a liberal direction. He informed the House that he had reason to believe that the Imperial Parliament would soon pass a measure giving the Canadian Legislature power to deal finally with the Reserves. An address was passed, praying the Home Government to make no concessions to the Americans in the fishery dispute unless they conceded reciprocity. Mr. Hincks was inclined to retaliate on the narrow policy of the United States, by adopting differential duties in favour of British commerce, and by closing the canals to the American marine. Free Trade was at this time near its complete sway over English opinion, and the proposal of the Ministry was so unpopular in Canada, that it had to be abandoned. Nevertheless, it is hard to see why Canada should not have retaliated, especially at a time when all that was to be considered was the interest of the two

Provinces. The remarkable feature of the Session was its railway legislation. Fifteen bills were placed on the Statute Book, which included the Act relating to the Grand Trunk Railway. Mr. Hincks also passed an Act enabling municipalities to borrow money on the credit of the Province for local improvements, railways, bridges, and macadamized roads, and the like: an Act which had an incalculable influence in developing the country, but which undoubtedly led to much extravagance. The legislation of 1852, greatly increased the liabilities of the two Provinces, and led to the annual deficit of succeeding years. The whole debt of Canada at the close of 1852, was \$22,355,413; the revenue, \$3,976,706; the expenditure, \$3,059,081. This prosperous state of things raised the credit of the country, and Canadian six per cents began to be quoted at sixteen per cent premium on the London Stock Exchange. On the 10th of November, the Legislature adjourned until the 14th of February, 1853. The sleepless energy of Mr. Francis Hincks' Government is attested by the fact that ere the Parliament adjourned, the Governor assented to one hundred and ninety-three Bills, of which twenty-eight reflected the railway mania of the hour. The Parliamentary Representation Act raised the number of members in the Assembly to a figure more in accordance with the progress the country had made since Lord Sydenham's time. The constituencies were redistributed, and the representation increased from eighty-four to one hundred and thirty—sixty-five for Upper and sixty-five for Lower Canada. After the termination of the sitting Parliament, Toronto would return two members instead of one; Montreal and Quebec three members each; some of the smaller towns had townships attached to them for the purpose of representation; nor was Parliament less busy in the spring. When the House rose in June, Lord Elgin was able to dwell on a Municipal Act; a School Act; an Act to regulate the practice of the Superior Courts; with many other useful measures. Meanwhile, the Imperial Parliament had empowered the Canadian Legislature to deal with the Clergy Reserves as they might think fit, saving only existing interests and annual stipends of clergy during the lives of the incumbents.

The last days of the session passed away amid the excitement caused by Father Gavazzi's lectures in Quebec. There was a riot.

The mob went in search of Mr. Brown, on whom they wished to wreak their vengeance. The riot led to an informal discussion in the House of Assembly. Gavazzi now proceeded to Montreal, where his lectures gave rise to still greater rioting than disgraced Quebec. On the 9th of June he was lecturing in Zion Congregational Church, when a vast crowd attacked the building, notwithstanding the presence of a strong force of military and police. Stones flew, pistols were fired; the audience broke up. But while they went homewards, the military, acting, it was alleged under the orders of Mr. Charles Wilson, the Mayor of the City, fired into them, killing five persons and wounding many more.

The Mayor was a Roman Catholic. The Protestant public received the impression that the Government did not make a sufficiently thorough inquest into his conduct, and their indignation knew no bounds. The Protestant sense of injustice tended to swell the stream of Mr. George Brown's rising popularity in Upper Canada. He and Lyon Mackenzie were now shelling the Ministerial breast-works with much skill and energy. Hincks had made the mistake of not surrounding himself with ability. Sullivan, Blake, Baldwin, Lafontaine, had dropped away, and the only first-class man in the Government was Hincks himself. When, in July, on the death of Sullivan, Richards, the Attorney-General, appointed himself to the vacant judgeship, the Ministry became still further attenuated. The people never like to see weak men ruling them. Rumours got abroad that there was no intention of dealing immediately with the Clergy Reserves. These rumours received colour from letters of Hincks and Rolph, and from a speech of Malcolm Cameron. Worse rumours still gathered round the declining Administration. Charges of corruption were insinuated and sometimes openly made. People talked about stories of investments made by men who a few months before were not worth a cent or a sou. One Cabinet Minister had invested \$100,000 in real estate. He had purchased, it was said, Castleford on the Ottawa, above Bytown, for \$27,500; a private residence near Quebec for \$30,000. He had a large interest in a purchase of \$40,000 made near Montreal. One thing was certain. The members of the Administration were known to have been individually poor men; some of them embarrassed: yet though living in a style



commensurate with their position, they could afford to make investments! All this was very extraordinary. A similar phenomenon was presented by their subordinates, who, from being pinched and starved, as the Apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*, now appeared in all the sublime magnificence of small capitalists. Such was the tone held by correspondents of hostile journals.

In Canada, opposition papers do not spare ministerial character, and the moment a man takes a portfolio, he is assailed as if he had picked a pocket.

The people might, therefore, have paid little attention to these charges of corruption had not damaging facts been brought out in the chancery suit in which Mr. Bowes, the Mayor of Toronto, was the defendant. It was proved that Mr. Hincks and Mr. Bowes had purchased \$250,000 worth of the debentures of the Ontario capital at a discount of 20 per cent, and that the Premier had a Bill afterwards passed which raised the debentures to par. Other charges followed. Public lands at Point Levi and elsewhere had been bought by Ministers with the view of being re-sold to railway corporations. The public had taken alarm and nothing was too bad to be believed. Nor unhappily did the Parliamentary inquiry which took place in 1853 rehabilitate the Hincks Administration in the mind of the people. It must be said, however, that Hincks, when his Government fell, was still a poor man. Some of his colleagues, perhaps—certainly Malcolm Cameron—had amassed money.

Dissatisfaction was created among the Reformers by the appointment of Tory magistrates. Mr. James Harvy Price was so indignant on the subject that he wrote a letter to the papers complaining that he had been included in the list of new magistrates, while so many of those whose names were in a draft he had prepared when in the Government, were left out. The excitement about the Gavazzi riots was kept up. The relations of some of those killed in consequence of the supposed order of the Mayor, served him with notices of action laying damages at five and ten thousand dollars. Mr. Drummond, the Attorney-General East and the Premier Mr. Hincks were seen publicly in company with him. The popular sentiment of a large portion of the community may be gathered from the fact, that he was hissed at the St. Hyacinthe

rages. The enemies of the Government accounted for the conduct of Ministers by saying that there was a good deal of Ministerial paper at one of the banks with Wilson's endorsement. Mr. Drummond, a Catholic Irishman, made an excellent speech immediately following the Gavazzi riots; but he displayed little energy as Attorney-General in bringing the offenders to justice. The Solicitor-General for Lower Canada, M. Chauveau, was as apathetic as his chief, and was described by the Opposition press as a young gentleman who wrote novels himself and trusted to others for his law.

The Irish period, that period during which the foundation of our present constitution was laid, during which nearly all the great reforms were passed, was about to pass away, to give place to what may be not inappropriately termed the Scotch period, during which the leading forces have been the Hon. George Brown and Sir John A. Macdonald. The former was now swelling the ranks of opposition and with sleepless activity leading a charge against the Government, in which Hincks alone represented the genius and energy which had within a few years achieved so much.

Mr. Brown has from the first been a remarkable man. He has not in recent years done justice to himself as a politician, but perhaps he has not been therefore less useful to the country. Indeed he insists that he has retired from politics. The rising generation can hardly realize the restless fiery ambition of Mr. Brown twenty years ago. Then he was full of hope, and his sanguine mind laid the future under all sorts of tribute. At that time he was still a rising man. There were heights yet to climb. By reason of his energy and ability, and as yet undivided heart, the George Brown of twenty years ago was, apart from any paper, a formidable man, and calculated to do great harm to whatever Ministry he opposed, but more especially to a Reform Ministry. A Reform Ministry he could attack in flank with guns on which they were in the earlier hours of battle accustomed to rely. When indignant—and he was often indignant—he wrote and spoke like a man who had been from youth up in one long towering passion. This gave him great force. His style was that of rapids rather than rivers, and seemed to break and bear all before it with resistless fury. Of late years,

Mr. Brown has been and might well be content with the influence given him by his paper, and the real though not nominal headship of a great party. When in the Rape of the Lock, the guardian Sylph of the heroine explains to her the transition of fine ladies on their death into Sylphs, she says:—

“ Think not when woman's transient breath is fled  
That all her vanities at once are dead :  
Succeeding vanities she still regards,  
And tho' she plays no more, o'erlooks the cards.”

This might be parodied in the case of party leaders, and where a party leader owns the leading organ of his party, I don't see how his abdication is possible.

It was of course necessary, if possible, to account for Mr. Brown's hostility to the Government, on grounds which would blunt the point of his attack. The Ministers and their leading supporters were feasted in Upper Canada during the months succeeding the rising of Parliament. At a dinner at Berlin, Mr. David Christie, the present Speaker of the Senate, said that Mr. Brown's hostility to the Hincks' administration arose from the fact that the Government would not take him in, or even recognise his newspaper as the Ministerial organ.\*

Mr. George Brown, in his newspaper, characterised this as an infamous falsehood, whereupon Mr. Christie appealed to Mr. Wm. MacDougall, then editor of the *North American*. Mr. MacDougall wrote that what Mr. Christie said was strictly true. Mr. Brown denounced both as in the same boat, and stigmatized the Government organ as the “Pope's brass band.” In modern times, when we no longer have the duel, over the decline of which Mr. Goldwin Smith sometimes utters a pensive sigh, though of course he would

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\* “ I wish to say a word or two about the union of Reformers, which led to the formation of the present Government, in reply to what has been said by Mr. Brown. He has stated that he dropped the matter because he had no confidence in the arrangements. The reverse is the case—he was dropped because confidence could not be placed in him. (Loud laughter and applause.) Even then he would have gone with us had he been continued as the organ. On being informed that a union of parties had been effected, the first question he put was, ‘What about newspapers?’ From the reply made to this query, he argued that the *Globe* would not be the organ; he then said, ‘I'll knock the bottom out of it—I'll smash it up.’ As yet he has not been able to do this, but he has tried hard to effect his object.”—*Speech of Mr. David Christie, M.P. at Berlin.*

not defend the morality of duelling, if a man gives another the lie, the only thing is to retort with "you're another." It is very wrong to take another's life, even when you give him a chance of taking yours. But, in striking a balance of advantages and disadvantages between the old and present practices, a Devil's advocate might be able to say something for the duel.

At a dinner at Port Sarnia, Mr. Drummond styled Mr. Brown a disappointed office-seeker. Without answering the charge, and without defending Mr. Brown, I have no hesitation in saying Mr. Hincks ought to have had Mr. Brown in his Ministry. He had, by word and pen, in a paper conducted even then, with extraordinary spirit, supported the Government. He was, next to Mr. Hincks himself, at this time the ablest man in the Reform party. Why, then, was he left out in the cold? It would have been much better for the country had Mr. Brown been taken into the Ministry, while it would have strengthened Mr. Hincks' hands. Mr. Brown's after career would have been, perhaps, one of enhanced usefulness had Mr. Hincks adopted the constitutional course. It is always a narrow personal motive which prevents a Premier taking the strong man of his party into his Cabinet.

In 1854, Lord Elgin went to England to take part in negotiations respecting a question dear to his own heart and that of the blameless Baldwin, who now lived in retirement at Spadina, reading his favourite authors, cultivating his garden, and cherishing the memory of his dead wife with the beautiful devotion of a Petrarch or a Mill. All preliminaries to a Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States having been agreed to, Lord Elgin was appointed on a special embassy to Washington. He invited Mr. Hincks, who was in England at the time, to accompany him. A convention having been agreed to, Lord Elgin and Mr. Hincks returned to Canada. Parliament was opened on the 13th of June. The speech, among other things, alluded to the Reciprocity Treaty which had been concluded; to the propriety of carrying into early operation the Act of the previous session, for the extension of the elective franchise; to the prosperous condition of the revenue; the credit of Canada abroad, and the interest taken in England in its affairs. But, notwithstanding the Governor's speech of 1852, there was nothing now said about the settlement

of the seignorial tenure. Notwithstanding the action of the Imperial Parliament, not a word was uttered respecting the Clergy Reserves.

The Hincks Administration was at that time, and has been frequently since, condemned for these omissions. Putting off meeting Parliament until June has also been commented on adversely. This, however, must be said, that with Lord Elgin and Mr. Hincks out of the country, Parliament could not very well have met. As to the omissions, it might be pleaded that measures of a political character should not be dealt with by an expiring Parliament, and at a time when an addition to the list of the enfranchised, and an extended representation were imminent.\*

A Parliamentary Opposition have one thing in common with the wicked—their tender mercies are cruel; and neither Sir Allan MacNab nor John A. Macdonald, nor George Brown, took this view of the case. The two former drew their Conservative allies up in order of battle, while Mr. Brown with his band of Brownites, brought their aid to the Conservatives, and the Government fell just as Lord Russell's Government had fallen in England two years earlier, before the assaults of the Conservatives, aided by discontented Liberals. The division of the Reform ranks in England put Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli in office for some three hundred days; the split in the Reform ranks in Canada put Sir. John A. Macdonald in power for twenty years.

Mr. Cauchon moved an amendment to the address, condemning the Government for not being prepared to legislate on the seignorial tenure. A short debate followed, after which an amendment of Sicotte's regarding the Clergy Reserves was added to Cauchon's. Ministers were beaten on the 21st June by a majority of thirteen, in a house of seventy one. Mr. Hincks did not resign. He got Lord Elgin to come down next day and prorogue Parliament, though at the eleventh hour Sir Allan MacNab on behalf of the Opposition had offered to return a respectful answer to the ad-

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\* "Mr. Hincks and his colleagues were of opinion that a material change in the Parliamentary Representation as well as an alteration in the franchise, having been already sanctioned by Parliament, it was inexpedient that any measures of a political character should be dealt with by an expiring Parliament." "Our Portrait Gallery"—*Dublin University Magazine*, Nov., 1876, p., 539.

dress. "But," says MacMullen, "it was evidently part of Mr. Hincks' policy to force an adverse vote with a view to a dissolution," and his vantage ground once secured he refused to recede from it.

In July the country was deep in the excitement of a general election. Mr. Hincks was returned for two ridings. His colleague, Malcolm Cameron, was beaten by Mr. Brown in Lambton. Among the new members was Robert Spence, an Irishman of an enthusiastic turn of mind, who had some years before made a speech in a somewhat exalted strain on the function of newspapers. He was born in Dublin. He came to Canada early in life and fought his way in several vocations: now an auctioneer; now a school-master; now a newspaper editor and proprietor; without extraneous advantages he won for himself honourable distinction. For many years he ran a paper in Dundas in which he advocated effectively the political principles of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Hincks.

Another new member was Irish, and was destined to win distinction and display brilliant talent, Michael Hamilton Foley. He was the son of Mr. Foley of Port Colborne, and brother of Bernard Foley, Judge of the County of Haldimand. He was a native of Sligo, where he was born in 1820. He was brought by his father to Canada in 1822. Having become a barrister, he turned his attention to newspaper work, and from 1845 to 1853 divided his time between the *Simcoe Advocate*, the *Norfolk Messenger*, and the *Brantford Herald*. He was now returned for the North Riding of Waterloo. As we shall see he was returned for two constituencies at the general election of 1861, namely, Waterloo and Perth, but he elected to sit for his old seat.

Mr. Spence moved George E. Cartier, the Ministerial candidate for the Speakership, to the Chair. The motion was seconded by François Lemieux. The influence of the Opposition newspapers—all the Conservative, and some of the most rigorous of the Reform—had been felt at the polls.\* Antoine A. Dorion proposed Louis Victor Sicotte as Speaker, his seconder being Joseph Hartman. Cartier was defeated by a majority of three. The Ministerial

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\* The *Toronto Leader*, a new but able journal, supported the Ministry. But the *Globe*, the *North American*, the *Examiner*, *Mackenzie's Messenger*, and other Reform journals, were against them.

candidate had, from Lower Canada, a majority of nine, but he was in a minority of twelve as regarded the Ontario vote. The hostile character of the House could hardly be more clearly shown. But the Government thought that the liberal measures they were able to promise would carry them triumphantly through the session. On the 6th of September, the Governor-General opened the Legislature with a Speech, in which he informed Parliament that the Home Government had empowered them to make the Upper House elective. It was desirable that the Reserves and Seigniorial tenure should be dealt with, and that the tariff should be remodelled in accordance with the provisions of the Reciprocity Treaty.\*

But it soon became evident that Mr. Hincks misjudged the unbending temper of Mr. Brown, and the discipline of his followers. This time the whale was not to be diverted from upsetting the boat by a paltry tub. Dr. Rolph began to "squirm," and to think of resigning. On a question of privilege he voted with the Opposition, and the Government was again beaten. The Hincks Administration had now no course left but to step down and out. The Premier at once tendered his resignation to Lord Elgin.

Sir Allan MacNab was sent for. But though Mr. Hincks was beaten, he was a power in the Assembly. His followers were still larger than either those of MacNab or Brown. Against George Brown they felt the resentment, we feel against friends who have deserted us. The first step, therefore, which Sir Allan MacNab took was to open negotiations with Morin, the leader of the Lower Canadian Conservative Party, which had supported Hincks. "Morin and his friends" says MacMullen, "disliked the section of the Reform Party led by Mr. Brown infinitely more than they did the Conservative Party of Upper Canada, and readily entered into the proposed alliance." Hincks' support was secured on the ground that two gentlemen having his confidence and that of his friends should be taken into the new administration. One of those so taken in was Robert Spence, who became Postmaster General. The Premier, Sir Allan MacNab, was President of the Council and Minister of Agriculture; John A.

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\* It came into active operation in March, 1855.

Macdonald, Attorney-General West; William Cayley, Finance Minister. The Coalition was displeasing to several Hinckites, who joined Mr. Brown. But notwithstanding, the new Reform Opposition stood in a helpless minority. Here we witness the decease of one Reform party and the birth of another. The new Reform party was not a lineal descendant of the old Reform party.\* Baldwin was the founder of the first Reform party; George Brown of the second; and as the founders were unlike, so were the parties they founded. MacMullen, writing in 1867, says the new party had never won for itself the prestige of the old one. It made great strides after 1867, and, taking advantage of the faults and follies of the Conservatives, who had been longer in power than was good for them, attained a position of overwhelming strength.

When the new Ministers came back to Parliament, after re-election, they found themselves in the presence of a well-organized Opposition. It was composed of the Rouges led by M. Dorion; of the Extreme Reformers, or, as they were termed "Clear Grits,"† under the leadership of Mr. Brown; of several Moderate Reformers, who regarded John Sandfield Macdonald as their Chief, who aiming to be consistent with party traditions, now refused to aid a Coalition Government in passing most important Reform measures. This was clearly a mistake, even from the point of view of tactics. It gave a factious character to their opposition, and prevented them from reaping the benefit in popularity of these Reform measures. How differently the Liberals in England led by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright acted in 1867.

The Government passed a Bill handing over the Clergy Reserves to certain corporations for secular purposes. The life interests of the clergy were commuted with the consent of the clergy,

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\*"Mr. Brown had been completely outwitted by the *coup d'état* of Sir Allan MacNab, and found himself utterly unable to reap any benefit from the important victory he had, after so much exertion achieved, and at the same time the destruction of the Hincks' Cabinet [which had the support of the Lower Canadian Convention], and the consequent union of the Conservative parties of Upper and Lower Canada, may be regarded as the death-knell of the old Reform party of this country, so long cohesive hitherto, and so formidable under the leadership of Robert Baldwin."—MACMULLEN, p. 526.

† It will have been seen this name did not originally belong to the Brownites.



and the foundation of a small permanent endowment made in a manner to which nobody could reasonably object, but which, nevertheless, found objectors among the Opposition. The Seigniorial Tenure was abolished; the Grand Trunk Railway Act amended; the Canada Ocean Steamship Company incorporated; and a new Customs Tariff adopted in accordance with the Reciprocity Treaty. On the 11th of December, Parliament was adjourned to the 23rd of February, 1855,

Lord Elgin had experienced the difficulty a Governor finds in times of crisis in carrying out the idea of a constitutional ruler, and contrary to his own principles had identified himself too entirely with one party. Notwithstanding the calm he displayed during the unhappy events which destroyed the hopes of Montreal of being the seat of Government, the indignities he had met with, at as he believed the hands of the Conservative Party, had created prejudice and inspired resentment. He was glad to resign, though fickle popular favour was becoming warmer towards him. His career in Japan and China is well known, and how he fell a victim to the climate of India amid the greatness and splendour of a ruler of its dusky millions.

The curtain has fallen on the Irish period. Mr. Hincks soon followed Lord Elgin to the old country, and sought to forget his disappointments and loss of popularity amid the enchanting beauties of his native land. While thus employed, Sir William Molesworth who knew his great abilities, offered him the appointment of Governor-in-Chief in Barbadoes and the Windward Islands. Having accepted the offer, he came back to Canada, whence he proceeded with his family to the scene of his new duties. He remained at Barbadoes for the full term of six years, with the exception of a brief visit to Canada and England in 1859. In 1861, the Duke of Newcastle promoted him to the Government of British Guinea, where he remained until 1869, when he was created a K. C. M. G. He had previously been created a C. B. Early in 1869, he returned to England. He was then sixty-one years of age, and in his two governorships had well earned the Colonial Governor's pension, which he received on retiring from the Imperial service. But his career as a statesman was not yet over.

## CHAPTER XIV.

AFTER the rebellion, the stream of Irish emigration continued to flow, and the tide rose to its highest during those years of famine, which though attended with so much misery, form an epoch in Irish history, when the country began to separate itself from its past, from the days of Donnybrook Fair and Harry Lorrequer.

The immigration, since 1837, has brought us from Ireland men of as much enterprise and success as the earlier immigration, but for obvious reasons I cannot dwell on their careers at the same length.

The late James Shanly, of "The Abbey," Queen's County, a member of the Irish bar, emigrated to Canada about the time of the rebellion and settled in the County of Middlesex, Ontario. The sons of this gentleman are men of whom the Irish people may be very proud; their integrity and fine sense of honour would mark them out in a community where sharpness had not begun to take hold. I have never met these gentlemen, but I have heard much of their singularly high standpoint in regard to whatever they busy themselves with; a great deal, which implies not merely that sense of honour which would feel a stain like a wound, but a goodness of heart which at the present day is only too rare. The Shanly family is an old Celtic one which has been known for centuries in the County Leitrim, and the family characteristics are traceable to the proud, kindly Celtic blood.

Walter Shanly, who for some time represented South Grenville, the third living son of the late James Shanly, was born at the family seat, "The Abbey," in Stradbally, County Leitrim. Having been educated by a private tutor, he became a civil engineer. He

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[AUTHORITIES—Original Sources; "Ireland in 1872," By James Macaulay. M.A., M.D., Edinburgh; "The Queen vs. Thomas Kirkpatrick and others," reported for the *British Whig* by Alexander Duncan, 1847; the newspapers; "Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America," by Paul Kane. "Paul Kane the Canadian artist," by D. W. (Professor Daniel Wilson) in the *Canadian Journal. Canada Law Journal.*]

has executed many public works of great magnitude. He was resident engineer under the Board of Works, on Beauharnois and Welland Canals, from 1843 to 1848; engineer of the Ottawa and Prescott Railway, from 1851 to 1853; engineer of the Western Division of the Grand Trunk Railway—from Toronto to Sarnia—from 1851 to 1857; engineer of the Ottawa and French River Navigation Surveys, from 1856 to 1858; General Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway from 1858 to 1862. He is connected with many large institutions, in presidential and directorial capacities. The greatest undertaking in which he has engaged was the contract for making the Hoosac Tunnel, a stupendous work, which was accomplished successfully from an engineering point of view. Mr. Frank Shanly has been engaged with his brother in engineering. Mr. James Shanly has been a successful barrister, and resides in London, where he is Master in Chancery.

In Ottawa, we have John Henry—"Honest John" as he is called—who came here in 1842, from Cavan, and who has long been a consistent temperance advocate; Mr. William Davis, who left Tipperary in 1842, who has completed some important works in Ottawa, and made wealth out of his brains and hands; Mr. Martin O'Gara, from Galway, the first and only Stipendiary Magistrate Ottawa has had; the Friels, who have been prominent in politics and journalism; Mr. Richard Nagle who came from Mitchell's Town to Canada in 1840, and now as a great lumberer gives employment to hundreds; another great lumberer, Mr. Christopher O'Keefe, who came here from Dublin; Mr. W. H. Waller, who came hither from Tipperary in 1853, and settled in Toronto, whence after serving six years in the *Globe* office, he removed to Ottawa to take a position on the *Union* newspaper, and ultimately climb to be President of the St. Patrick's Society, and Mayor of the Capital of the Dominion; the Baskerville family, who came in 1848, and are now wealthy; Mr. Thomas Langrell, a successful contractor, who came here from Wicklow in 1837, and who has been followed by a large number of his family; Mr. Edward Allen Meredith, of Trinity College, Dublin, Deputy Minister of the Interior, who came from the County Tyrone, and has done good service as a literary man and a centre of culture; Mr. Daniel John O'Donoghue, M.P.P., a descendant of the O'Donoghues of "the Glen," who came

here with his father in 1852; Mr. James Goodwin, who arrived here in 1844, and has succeeded as a contractor; Captain Stewart, whose advent took place in the year 1857, and who in twenty years has made himself one of the most prominent citizens of Ottawa; Mr. James Keays a native of Castlecomer, County Kilkenny, who steered his course here in 1842, and settling in the wilderness twenty miles from Bytown, drew a settlement around him of which he became the leading spirit.

In Renfrew, the career of James Bonfield, M.P.P., is as striking as that of Mr. Egan.

In Montreal, we find similar results from the post-rebellion immigration. Both before and since that period the O'Murphys, of Wexford, the ancient land of the O'Murphys, sent good specimens of a great stock here. The Murrows, of the County Wexford, and the Morrows, of the County Cork, the McMurrays of Ireland, and the McMurrichs of Scotland, the Murroghs of old Irish history, and the Murphys of modern times, are all the same. Mr. Edward Murphy, merchant, son of the late Daniel Murphy, Mr. P. S. Murphy, brother of Edward, the first man who introduced india-rubber manufacture into Montreal, belongs originally to the Murrows of Wexford. Mr. Alderman William Clendinning, who came here in 1847, would deserve a little pamphlet to himself. He has been singularly successful and public spirited. Leslie Gault, Matthew Hamilton Gault, Mr. Frederick Gault, and Mr. Robert Gault, all shed lustre alike on the land of their birth and the land of their adoption. Energetic and intelligent, liberal in his opinions and charitable in his gifts, Michael Mullarky deserves the high position he has attained, as does William Hingston, M.D., allied to the Cotters of Cork, the Latouches and Hales, as well as to the ancient family of the Careys, a man honoured as a citizen and as a doctor, and who has written much that is valuable. I regret to have to dismiss with too scant a notice representative men like Mr. Francis Cassidy, Mr. Michael Patrick Ryan, Mr. Thomas Macfarlane Bryson, manufacturer, and others of note and influence. Quite a remarkable man is Mr. John Lovell, the founder of the publishing business in the Province of Quebec. He prosecuted his design of issuing a Dominion Directory, under circumstances that would have deterred a man of less courage and energy. He established

a business at Rouse's Point some years ago, and is also a leading partner in the firm of Lovell, Adam Wesson & Co. Mr. Lovell published for years the leading magazine of Canada—the *Literary Garland*—to which Mrs. Moodie and Mrs. Traill, the sister of Mrs. Moodie, were regular contributors. Mr. James Lovell, whose sons carry on business in Toronto, conducted the Upper Canada branch of the business.

In Bedford, Quebec, there are a good many Irish settlers, who all deserve a place in this work if there was room. Mr. Gough ought to be mentioned. In 1823, Henry Gough, of Cavan, emigrated to America, and died soon afterwards in the Southern States. In 1836, his wife and her son emigrated, first going to New York, and a few years afterwards settling in Canada, near their relatives in Bedford, of whom John Smyth died in 1858, holding the commission of Captain in the Militia, and Michael O'Flaherty, who left behind him a good property. Mr. J. J. Murphy is in the City of Quebec, a well known man among his countrymen. Then there is Mr. Owen Murphy, Mayor of Quebec. There is a good Irish settlement in Missisquoi.

I have, in earlier pages, spoken of Kingston. It would be hard to do full justice to the Irish in that city. It is not possible to deal at sufficient length with the late Judge Macarow and the present Judge Burrows; Mr. James Agnew, City Solicitor; Dr. Sullivan, the first Roman Catholic Mayor of Kingston; Mr. Flanagan, City Clerk; Mr. James Sharman, proprietor of the *Daily News*; Mr. John Creighton, Warden of the Penitentiary, and many others. Mr. George A. Kirkpatrick, M.P., belongs to a family which has long been connected with Kingston. His father fought a noble battle for the poor Irish emigrants in 1847.

In Brantford there are W. J. Scarfe, who was seven years in the Council and Reeve for three years; J. W. Digby, M.D., Mayor for three years; J. J. Hawkins, Reeve for two years; W. Mathews, who died last January, and who was forty years in the country and had been mayor for five years; W. Thompson, of Oakland, in the Council for twenty years, late Warden of the County; Dr. Kelly, Inspector of Schools, who has written much in the *Hamilton Times*; and many other Irishmen of ability and enterprise. Mr. Scarfe is a representative man, whose energy, talents for public

business and generosity make him a force in his city. His reputation is that he can "put through" anything he takes in hand. He has a fine presence, sound judgment, and command of an audience and, should he go into Parliament, cannot fail to play an important part. Mr. Scarfe is a Reformer.

The member in the local House for Dundas, Mr. Andrew Broder, is an Irishman. In this connection we might mention the Griers, the Hyndmans, the Robertsons, the Molloys, the Clarks, the Reddicks, the Stuarts, the McConnells, the Wallaces, and many others.

The Rev. Samuel B. Ardagh was a remarkable man. His eldest son, John Anderson Ardagh, who was born at Waterford, in 1835, was only seven years old when he came to this country with his father. He attended the first district school of Barrie, and afterwards was a private pupil of the Rev. Arthur Hill. Having been educated at Trinity College, where he took a scholarship, he was called to the Bar in 1861. In 1869 he was appointed Deputy-Judge of the County of Simcoe, and in 1872 Junior Judge both of Law and Equity.

Among the many Irishmen in and near Barrie, Mr. Richard Power, of Woodlands, stands out as a representative man of a type largely supplied to this country by Ireland—the gentleman who brings his culture and his money to increase our wealth and make Canada morally and socially more attractive. Mr. Power was born in 1827, at Glen Mills, County Cork. His father was John Power, of the County Tipperary. In 1853 Mr. Richard Power married Ellen, the eldest daughter of the late Michael Ardagh, High Sheriff of the County of Waterford. From 1853 until 1869 he carried on extensive milling operations in the County Waterford. He came to Canada on a visit in 1868, and being much pleased with the country, left Ireland in July, 1869, and settled on a picturesque spot beautifully situated on Kempenfeldt Bay, where he built his present fine residence, whence he and his accomplished family diffuse a happy and graceful influence.

In Toronto, the Census speaks for itself, and the instances of success are very numerous. A man like John Woods, of West Toronto, who came here from Ireland thirty years ago, and who has become a successful merchant, is typical of the energy and power of his countrymen.

Amongst the builders Ireland has sent here, Mr. Kivas Tully, Architect and Civil Engineer, Department of Public Works, and Mr. John Tully, his brother, and of the same profession, deserve to be mentioned. Mr. John Harrington was a successful business man in Toronto, who came here in 1841, made money, took an interest in public affairs, and was killed by a fall from his horse. His ample fortune descended in the main to his sister, the wife of Mr. David Blain, M.P., for West York. A characteristic Irish emigrant was, or rather is, Richard Reynolds, of Yonge street, Toronto. In his eighteenth year he came from Ballybrood where it was "the regulation thing" to have a fight on the 12th of June. This was the day Mr. Reynolds left home, and he regretted that he would not be "in with the fight"—a fight which had this beautiful attraction, it was never known to pass off without a man or two being killed. The military used to be brought from Limerick. Sticks were going and so were drinks—punch and porter, and the women arms akimbo dancing in the tents. I have always been reminded of those Irish jigs when reading the scene in *Faust—Bauern unter der Linde*:—the dance and song would suit admirably an Irish fair where there is or used to be nothing but flirting and dancing before the fighting began. A school-boy version of this song—a callow and crude attempt to hibernise it may perhaps here be given.

Now Paddy to the dancing flew,  
 His shirt was clean, his necktie new,  
 And Peggy's gown and face were beaming;  
 Beneath the canvas every spark  
 Was gay as dewy morning's lark.  
 Juchhe! Juchhe!  
 Juchheisa! Heisa! He!  
 The fiddlesticks were screaming.

And Phelim sidled up to Proo,  
 And round her waist his arm he drew:  
 The spalpeen sure was raving;  
 The pretty colleen jumped aside,  
 Half crimson with offended pride;  
 Juchhe! Juchhe!  
 Juchheisa! Heisa! He!  
 Now don't be misbehaving.

But at his smile offence takes flight ;  
 They dance to left, they dance to right :  
 Their hands their hips are clutching ;  
 They grow quite red, they grow quite warm,  
 Then proudly walk off arm in arm ;  
 Juchhe ! Juchhe !  
 Juchheisa ! Heisa ! He !  
 'Neath the trees their lips are touching.

Come, come Sir, be not quite so bold,  
 Or you shall find that I can scold,  
 This is the way of men's betraying ;  
 He comes the blarney, utters vows,  
 And on they roam 'neath blossom'd boughs ;  
 Juchhe ! Juchhe !  
 Juchheisa ! Heisa ! He !  
 And far from crowds the two are straying.

In Thornhill, Mr Reynolds met many of his countrymen—the Howards, the Holmes, and others. He came here without a trade. He always had a desire for the Church—for a controversial ecclesiastic his experience at Ballybrood would have, perhaps, been useful. He went to Trinity College, and for two years, being a man of fine abilities, got along well. But, when the controversy broke out between the Bishop of Huron—Bishop Cronyn, a brother Irishman—and the Bishop of Toronto, he took sides with the former, who declared that Trinity College was teaching semi-Roman Catholic doctrines. Owing to the stand taken by Mr. Reynolds, the college became too hot for him, and he had to leave.

Mr. Reynolds went to the University, where he passed in every subject except chemistry. He took honours in the Oriental languages. It was urged by Professor Wilson and others, that his honours should stand against his backwardness in chemistry. This was not allowed, and he gave up the idea of entering the Church. He then went into the boot and shoe business in which he has succeeded. In connexion with his trade he published a paper for five years, and he still keeps up a correspondence with the members of the craft throughout the country. Altogether, Mr. Reynolds is quite a remarkable man. He would have made a very effective, perhaps a great minister. But he has been in his calling a useful man, and by reason of his intelligence and capacity, a tonic force amongst his fellow citizens.

One of the most successful men who have come here for many



a day, is Mr. P. G. Close, the head of the firm of P. G. Close & Co., Toronto, who is Alderman, and connected with several large railway and financial undertakings. He is a man of great executive power, of sound judgment and large, liberal views, and should he determine to enter Parliament would be calculated to do good work for his party and the country. Similar instances of rapid success and great business capacity, are Mr. Christopher Bunting, Mr. Warring Kennedy, Mr. Dan. Hayes, Captain Larkin, of St. Catharines; the Hennesseys, of Hamilton; the Johnsons, of Belleville. Mr. Bunting is a man of reading and reflection. He has a fine presence, and is a good speaker. I hope ere long to see him in the House of Commons. Mr. Warring Kennedy is a man who also has public talents, which will, no doubt, be one day pressed into the service of his adopted country. In official life Mr. Thomas Devine, F.R. G. S. is a man whose services to Canada, it would be hard to overestimate. An engineer who has graduated in the best schools, his maps and plans, made and published since he became Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, display the highest topographic skill. His field book is one of the best known to surveyors. He is a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, a corresponding member of the Berlin Geographical Society, and of the American Geographical and Statistical Society.

In the Township of Pickering, there is a settlement of the Society of Friends, which includes members of the family of Richardson from Queen's County; of the Taylors, from Tipperary; of the Collins's, and the Wrights; and of others who came there when that country was primeval forest. At Whitby, Mr. W. H. Higgins, editor of the *Whitby Chronicle*, is in the midst of the two sections of his countrymen, and popular with both. In 1856, when he established the *Chronicle*, there was no Roman Catholic Church in Whitby. Mr. Higgins and the priest of the mission, Father Shea, went out and got in one evening, mainly from Protestants, \$600, and so the church was commenced.

Little has been said, and perhaps little need be said of the Irishman as a social force, or of his activity in the learned professions. Such men as Mr. A. Thornton Todd fulfil an important function in society. Mr. Todd is the youngest son of William Thornton Todd, of Buncrana Castle, County Donegal, grand

nephew and representative in Canada of Isaac Todd, whose letters I have quoted when endeavouring to paint the local feeling during the war of 1812-14. Mr. Todd founded the old Toronto Club, of which he was long honorary Secretary and Treasurer. He also built the Racket Court, racket being a game of which he used to be passionately fond, and in which he excelled.

A very famous person was the late Dr. George Herrick, M.D., who was born in Cork, in 1789, and having graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, studied medicine there and at Edinburgh. For a short time prior to his coming to this country in 1844, he was resident physician of the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital. He never married, but kept bachelor's quarters until a short time before his death. Most hospitable, he seldom sat down to dinner without half a dozen friends. There was no ostentation. Every one was glad to dine with him, for you were sure to meet a pleasant party and have a pleasant evening. The private friends who had partaken of his hospitality, and the officers of several regiments quartered in Toronto, presented him with many pieces of plate.

Besides the daily dinners, Dr. Herrick had two special dinners, one was on old Christmas Day, the 12th of January, the other on his father's birthday. He selected the young for his companions and his invitation was very peculiar. It was never expressed in writing or words. He would catch a glimpse of a desirable guest, perhaps on the other side of the way and put his hand over his shoulder with the thumb reaching out—hence he was called "Old Thumbby"—and would say, "Roast Beef" or "Leg of Mutton." On the special occasions, however, he wrote a formal invitation.

The fare he gave his guests consisted of three courses with sherry and ale, and plenty of punch afterwards. At the table you would hear discussions and anecdotes relating to all the horse races and all the leading families in Great Britain and Ireland. He believed in blood both in men and horses. He must have had a little private means. He was systematic in his habits. He always got up at a certain hour. In the afternoon he would come home about 4 o'clock and take a sleep until six. Then he got up for dinner, his dress for that meal being a loose coat. He retired at nine o'clock, generally telling his guests to move off. If strangers

not knowing his habits tarried, he would say : " Did you see those puppies go out there ? " " Yes. " " Then you had better follow them. "

He was lecturer on diseases of women at King's College and afterwards at the University of Toronto. His lectures were concise and brief and thoroughly practical. " You must not " he would say, pointing with his thumb over his shoulder, " take the advice of those people over there, " meaning the medical men of the United States, " because if you do, you may as well leave the place at once. " At the hospital it was necessary to know his different signs, as he would only say,—" Give them that powder, " as he put the right hand over the left shoulder. He never said, " Put out your tongue " to a patient. He simply put out his own. He was a good accoucheur. From Dr. Thorburn, who studied with him, and who learned from him much of his skill in *lucinice lubores*, I have gleaned many particulars respecting this eccentric man.

He belonged to the old school of Irish gentlemen. In personal appearance he was tall and stout. He wore a big collar and side-whiskers. He preferred walking to riding. He had neither carpets nor gas in his house.

Dr. John King, his contemporary and colleague was a great friend of his. Herrick always called him " Rex. " Dr. King was like himself, a representative Irishman of a now vanished type.

Another contemporary and brother medical man was James John Hayes, sometime member of the Senate, and of the Endowment Board of the University in which capacity he did good service, and saved the University much money. All his sons fill honourable positions.

Dr. Mack's name has been already mentioned in connexion with his father's. During the troubles of '37 he joined a small band of youthful British residents, to repel an expected invasion of the so-called batteries of Amherstburg. They were surrounded by a hostile population. For fourteen nights those boys, not one of them more than seventeen years old, stood sentry, without any place to sleep, and the enemy firing boiler cuttings on the town. The young lads, all of whom, with one exception, are dead, performed the duties of soldiers with rare pluck.

After this, Mack was appointed a lieutenant to an armed

schooner. He was practically captain, for the man who should have discharged the duties was nearly always drunk. In the spring and summer following he served under Captain the Hon. John Elmsley.

After eighteen months' service in connexion with the temporary navy, he commenced the study of medicine in the office of Dr. George Grasett, and at the Military Hospital, which he was permitted to attend as a special favour to the son of the Garrison chaplain. He graduated in the United States, in 1843, soon after which he obtained his Provincial license. In 1844, he commenced the practice of his profession at St. Catharines, as there was a large field for surgery among the vast body of Irishmen then engaged in the enlargement of the Welland Canal.

Dr. Mack was the first man in this country who commenced the treatment of female ailments surgically. As has so often happened, two minds were pursuing the same studies with the same results. At the time Dr. Mack was working out important medico-surgical problems, Dr. Simpson, of Edinburgh, was similarly employed, and both arrived at the same conclusions. Like every man of original views, Dr. Mack had to face the storm which the ignorant, the envious, and the interested raise up against those who seek to serve mankind in a better way than by going in the old rut.

Very soon after going to St. Catharines, he saw the benefit that might be derived from the saline waters of the place, which were then in the hands of a mere quack, one Dr. Chase, a distiller and store-keeper. The well was first excavated, for the purpose of supplying the soldiers and the inhabitants with salt, when an embargo was placed on that article by the Americans in 1812. Witness the needs of the times in the "salt-licks" along the Twelve-mile Creek. Two wells were dug, that at the Stephenson Hotel, now in the hands of the Hon. W. P. Howland, and the well connected with Springbank. When the property, on which the Stephenson House now stands, came into the hands of A. W. Stephenson, he went to Dr. Mack, begging him to introduce his water, and promising him that there should be no quackery if he would take the matter up. It is the only mineral water with which quackery has not been associated. Dr. Mack communicated with his friends in the United States, and wrote upon the

subject in the leading medical journals, placing the merits of the waters fairly and scientifically before the public. The result was unexampled success. The Town of St. Catharines was so crowded that private houses had to be thrown open, and some of the pilgrims of health slept in carts. The profession endorsed the work, and everything went as the sanguine and honest could desire, until the cupidity of the hotel-keepers almost ruined the beneficent enterprise.

Seeing the way things were going, Dr. Mack determined to build an hotel and sanitarium, where he could carry out his own plans, and bring the administration of the waters to perfection. But the business has been so damaged that it will take half a century to bring it up to what it was. Dr. Mack has, from the first, been faithful to those waters on which, directly, but indirectly on humanity, his generous heart and noble professional enthusiasm have led him to sacrifice wealth and alluring prospects. Fourteen years ago, he was offered a large and lucrative practice in Boston, where he would have been backed up by the leading members of the profession, particularly in his surgical specialty. But instead of accepting that offer, he built Springbank, in which he has sunk over \$140,000.

At that time a great honour was conferred on him. He was asked to fill the chair of *Materia Medica*, at the University of Buffalo, which he did for three years. Buffalo University has turned out such men as Dalton, the two Flints, and others. Dr. Mack was offered the permanent charge, but, feeling unable to go over there twice a week, declined the appointment.

Prior to this offer being made to him, he spent eight months in Europe, where he had the pleasure of meeting all the leading men of the profession in England, in France, and in Italy, to whom Sir James Simpson gave him letters of introduction. All showed him the greatest kindness.

In 1860, he commenced a work which he has recently brought into a more complete state, a work for which he deserves to be ever held in honour. He raised a six penny contribution among the lake mariners for the establishment of a marine hospital in some central place on the lakes. Five years he struggled in this truly humane cause. Here, too, he received opposition. The opposi-

tion, however, in this case, came mainly from Lower Canada. The Lower Canada medical men thought his project would interfere with the Marine Hospital of Lower Canada. St. Catharines, a point by which all the vessels passed, was specially suited for an hospital; here they could be treated and sent on their way healed, up or down the lakes. Dr. Mack pressed the case on the Government. But finding that he could get no aid from them, he fell back on his own efforts, and on those of the ladies. He determined to unite with the marine hospital a general department for the benefit of St. Catharines. By his activity, and the assistance of the ladies, many of them belonging to the United States, he kept the hospital going for two years, after which time the Government came to his aid, in 1862. We need not wonder that the party to which he belonged desired to bring him into public life, or that he was nominated as a candidate. But he, doubtless, remembered Paul's great words, "This one thing I do," and chose the better part of exclusive devotion to his profession. The Dominion Government made him a grant of \$500 for the marine department, while Mr. Charles Rykert obtained a larger grant from the Ontario Government. The hospital has now become an institution of which, according to Mr. Langmuir, the place has just reason to be proud. I went over the hospital, and can endorse what Mr. Langmuir says. The maternity wing, which is now being added, will make it still more complete.

In 1874, Dr. Mack established the first training school for nurses ever established in British America. It has been a decided success, and a blessing to the neighbourhood. Mack has always identified himself with the rise and progress of the place. During the last twenty years there must have been from \$80,000 to \$100,000, a year, spent in St. Catharines through his instrumentality. His own professional income was for a long time from ten to twelve thousand dollars a year. For many years all his energy has been devoted to making Springbank an institution for the successful treatment of chronic disease, and all the ailments prevalent in the country; rheumatism, gout, and diseases of malarious origin.

Dr. Mack was the first man in Canada to use Dr. Chapman's ice bags applied to the spine for nervous and other diseases, and

he has found them as efficacious here as they have, to my knowledge, been found in London. A great cure has been effected within the last few months by means of spinal ice bags. A lady in a very bad condition has been brought from the confines of that pitiful world, where reason is not. "I have found them highly useful" says Dr. Mack, in reply to a question concerning those ice bags, "in the treatment of diseases of a nervous origin."

Some of the most brilliant, able, and best educated journalists in every city of Canada are Irishmen, or of Irish extraction. Mr. M. J. Griffin, of Halifax, is not only a journalist of first-class power, but a literary man, who bids fair to carve out for himself a great reputation. In Kingston, we have Mr. J. Johnston, an able writer. Mr. Fahey, formerly of the *Hamilton Spectator*, and known as "Rupert" to the readers of the *Mail*, edits the *Stratford Herald* with great ability. Mr. Tyner, of the *Hamilton Times*, is known for his brilliancy as a journalist throughout the whole Dominion. In Toronto, Mr. Edward Farrer's humour, invective, eloquence, all bear the stamp of native ability. In Montreal, there are at least four men of great literary power, Mr. Meany, Captain Kirwin, Mr. White, the proprietor and editor of the *Gazette*, and Mr. Reade, one of the editors of that paper. It is only the other day that the Rev. Father Murphy's beautiful English, redolent of Tennysonian studies, was delighting and elevating the readers of the leading Roman Catholic newspaper of Montreal.

Mr. John Reade, who was born at Ballyshannon, County Donegal, and educated partly there and partly at Enniskillen, and Belfast, is a poet of which the country of Moore and Goldsmith may be proud. A critic speaking with the responsibility of a first class magazine, says of "The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems," that it is a volume in every way worthy of the land of the Lakes, well written, well printed and well bound. "The author in his verses unites power with sweetness. He is a disciple of Tennyson, whose writings he has studied with earnestness and care. The longest poem, 'The Prophecy of Merlin,' is thoroughly readable, and though modelled on the 'Idylls,' is in no degree an imitation. That Mr. Reade is capable of selecting a subject and treating it effectively, his poem on 'Vashti' is ample evidence. The local colouring of some of the poems gives the book an especial interest for colonial

readers. Every page in it is worth perusal.”\* “The translations in the volume are good. In ‘Andre Chenier’s Death-Song,’ Mr. Reade has attained a success which reminds the reader of the spirited translations of Beranger, by Father Prout.”†

Mr. C. H. Mackintosh, the publisher and editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, is Canadian-Irish. He was born in London, Ontario. Having studied law for some time he entered on a journalistic career in 1862. His father William Mackintosh, was the son of Captain Duncan Mackintosh, of the British army, whose wife was a niece of the Earl of Dysart. Captain Duncan Mackintosh settled in the County of Wicklow, where he bought landed property, and where his son William was born. This gentleman having been educated at Dublin, and having married, came to Canada, where he was connected with the Ordnance Department, at London and Kingston. Subsequently he was engaged in the survey of the Great Western Railway, from Hamilton to Chatham. He was afterwards for many years county engineer for Middlesex. His widow is still living, together with several sons and daughters.

The able editor of the *Irish Canadian*, Mr. Patrick Boyle, is so well known that it would be superfluous to seek to give my readers any idea of his personality or abilities. Mr. Bailey, the editor of the *Orange Sentinel*, is an enterprising North of Ireland man, of whom I can say that he entertains liberal desires respecting the friendly relations which should exist between all classes of his countrymen.

A passing reference has been made to the Honourable Mr. Justice Gwynne. He is the son of the Rev. Dr. Gwynne, of Castle Knock, Dublin. Mr. Gwynne was educated at Trinity College, which he left without taking a degree. He came to Canada in 1832, and commenced to study law with Thomas Kirkpatrick. In the same year, his brother, Dr. Gwynne, came to Canada, and established himself in Toronto as a medical man. In the following year, his eldest brother, the Rev. George Gwynne, and his second eldest brother, Mr. Hugh Nelson Gwynne, both scholars of Trinity College, came out. But the Rev. George Gwynne soon returned to Ireland. Hugh Nelson Gwynne remained here and became a master in Upper Canada College. His connexion

\* *Dublin University Magazine*.

† *New York World*.



with the college was severed owing to the influence of Dr. Strachan. He went and lived in the country the life of a hermit until 1840, when he became Secretary and Treasurer of the Law Society, which office he filled until he retired in December, 1872, in which month he died suddenly.

In 1837, Mr. John W. Gwynne was called to the Bar. In 1844, he went to England, and studied for fifteen months in Mr. Rolt's chambers. While there he conceived his railway plans. In 1849, he was made a Q.C., and his career at the Bar and as a Judge is well known.

A brother judge emigrated somewhat earlier. The Honourable Christopher Salmon Patterson, the youngest surviving son of Mr. John Patterson, well known in London and Belfast as a merchant, came to Canada when quite a youth, in 1845. He was called to the Bar in 1851, and after a successful professional career was appointed Judge of the new Court of Appeal in 1874.

Two years later than Mr. Justice Gwynne, Chief Justice Hagarty emigrated—a man whose usefulness to Canada is not to be measured by his ability as a lawyer and as a judge; his literary acquirements and taste, his social qualities, his wit, his high character—all have been, from 1834 until the present hour, a valuable part of the best wealth of the community. He was born, on the 17th of December 1816, in Dublin, and his father, Matthew Hagarty, Examiner of His Majesty's Court of Prerogative for Ireland, sent him early to the school of the Rev. Mr. Haddart. He entered Trinity College in his sixteenth year, and emigrated in 1824, having left his University without a degree. He settled in Toronto in 1835, and was called to the Bar in 1840. He was appointed a Q.C. by the Baldwin Administration in 1850, and raised to the Bench in 1856. He became Chief Justice in 1868. His firm, Crawford and Hagarty, enjoyed a great reputation for sound law and fearless integrity.

Mr. Hagarty was no mean element in that literary and social influence which has done so much for the cultivation of Canada. Scotland supplied a Galt; but the main stream of literary influence has been swelled by Irishmen from Moore down. Mrs. Jameson was the daughter of Murphy, the painter to H.R.H. the Princess Charlotte. She was, in Toronto, a great cultivating

power, and her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada," seemed to bring the charm of the country home to the imagination alike of the Old World and the New, and to-day is a living book.

She opens with a description of Toronto as it appeared to her nearly half a century ago. She mingles her German studies with descriptions of Canadian scenes and Canadian society, and Schiller, sculpture, and Upper Canada newspapers, are all dealt with in a charming manner. Her sketches of Indians and Indian scenes are models in their kind.

In 1847, Dr. McCaul started a Canadian annual called the "Maple Leaf," beautifully bound, and illustrated with steel engravings. To this Annual, Mr. Hagarty contributed poems which Shelley would not have blushed to acknowledge. The poem on the cry of the Ten Thousand—"The Sea, The Sea"—is instinct with the genuine fire of poetry. Not inferior in quality is "The funeral of Napoleon I." No one could read either poem without being stirred. The music and power of the "Funeral of Napoleon I." fasten it on ear and imagination. The nervous lines are so numerous in this fine poem that selection would be difficult.\*

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\* The reader will thank me for giving this poem here.

#### THE FUNERAL OF NAPOLEON I.

(15th December 1840.)

Cold and brilliant streams the sunlight on the wintry banks of Seine,  
Gloriously the imperial city rears her pride of tower and fane—  
Solemnly with deep voice pealeth, Notre Dame, thine ancient chime,  
Minute guns the death-bell answer in the same deep measured time.

On the unwonted stillness gather sounds of an advancing host,  
As the rising tempest chafeth on St. Helen's far-off coast;  
Nearer rolls a mighty pageant—clearer swells the funeral strain,  
From the barrier arch of Neuilly pours the giant burial train.

Dark with eagles is the sunlight—darkly on the golden air  
Flap the folds of faded standards, eloquently mourning there—  
O'er the pomp of glittering thousands, like a battle-phantom flits  
Tatter'd flag of Jena, Friedland, Arcola, and Austerlitz.

Eagle-crown'd and garland-circled, slowly moves the stately car,  
'Mid a sea of plumes and horsemen—all the burial pomp of war—  
Riderless, a war-worn charger follows his dead master's bier—  
Long since battle-trumpet roused him—he but lived to follow here.

The dramatic fire and enthusiasm of battle will surprise those whose knowledge of the Chief Justice does not go deeper than his demeanour in court or in a drawing room. A good poet was sacrificed to the lawyer and the judge.

The senior judge of the County of Simcoe emigrated the same year as Mr. Justice Gwynne. Mr. Gowan is now one of the most venerable and learned figures on the bench. When, in 1842, Mr. Baldwin made him judge of the District of Simcoe, he was the youngest judge of the Province. Many a time in those days he had to ride seventy miles a day to meet his court engagements,

From his grave 'mid ocean's dirges, moaning surge and sparkling foam,  
Lo, the Imperial Dead returneth ! lo, the Hero-dust comes home !  
He hath left the Atlantic island, lonely vale and willow tree,  
'Neath the Invalides to slumber, 'mid the Gallic chivalry.

Glorious tomb o'er glorious sleepers ! gallant fellowship to share—  
Paladin and Peer and Marshal—France, thy noblest dust is there !  
Names that light thy battle annals—names that shook the heart of earth !  
Stars in crimson War's horizon—synonymes for martial worth !

Room within that shrine of heroes ! place, pale spectres of the past !  
Homage yield, ye battle phantoms ! Lo, your mightiest comes at last !  
Was *his* course the Woe out-thunder'd from prophetic trumpet's lips ?  
Was *his* type the ghostly horseman shadow'd in the Apocalypse ?

Gray-haired soldiers gather round him, relics of an age of war,  
Followers of the Victor-Eagle, when his flight was wild and far :  
Men who panted in the death-stife on Rodrigo's bloody ridge,  
Hearts that sicken'd at the death-shriek from the Russian's shatter'd bridge ;

Men who heard the immortal war-cry of the wild Egyptian fight—  
"Forty centuries o'erlook us from yon Pyramid's gray height !"  
They who heard the moans of Jaffa, and the breach of Acre knew—  
They who rushed their foaming war-steeds on the squares of Waterloo—

They who loved him—they who fear'd him—they who in his dark hour fled—  
Round the mighty burial gather, spell-bound by the awful Dead !  
Churchmen—Princes—Statesmen—Warriors—all a kingdom's chief array,  
And the Fox stands—crownèd Mourner—by the Eagle's hero-clay !

But the last high rite is paid him, and the last deep knell is rung—  
And the cannons' iron voices have their thunder-requiem sung—  
And, 'mid banners idly drooping, silent gloom and mouldering state,  
Shall the Trampler of the world upon the Judgment-trumpet wait.

Yet his ancient foes had given him nobler monumental pile,  
Where the everlasting dirges moan'd around the burial Isle—  
Pyramid upheaved by Ocean in his loneliest wilds afar,  
For the War-King thunder-stricken from his fiery battle-cry !

and his adventures by flood and field would make a little volume. Yet he was scarcely ever absent from his duties. A pioneer judge, he is yet an erudite lawyer, and he has been a leading mind in all the great legal reforms. He has more than once been tempted in vain with offers of a seat on the bench of the Superior Courts.

Another example of early elevation to judicial office, is the second son of the late Chancellor Blake, the Hon. Samuel Hume Blake, who was born in 1835. Educated at Upper Canada College he left it to embark in commercial life, with which growing dissatisfied after a few years, he entered as a student the law office of his uncle, the late Dr. Connor, who was subsequently raised to the bench. He began to read at the same time for a degree, which he took in 1858, and was called to the bar two years after.

He had already, as an attorney, entered into partnership with his brother, the Hon. Edward Blake, a partnership which was severed only when Sir John Macdonald offered him the Vice-Chancellorship—an offer from a political opponent equally creditable to the Prime Minister and Mr. Blake. The attention of both brothers was confined almost entirely to equity, and the Hon. Edward Blake was without an equal in that arena. Mr. Blake made considerable pecuniary sacrifice in abandoning practice; but the position of Vice-Chancellor is honourable, and he is now the senior Vice-Chancellor. He is an accomplished elocutionist, an earnest member of the Church of England, of the evangelical party, and the President of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society. He has acted as one of the Commissioners of the Crooks License Law, and in many ways proves that his public spirit is not asleep. He has achieved a reputation for acuteness, fairness, and despatch as a judge.

Another very young and brilliant judge is Mr. Justice Moss, the eldest son of the late John Moss, of Toronto. Born at Cobourg, in 1836, his early education was at Knox's College, then called Gale's Institute. In 1850, he entered Upper Canada College, and there carried all before him as he did subsequently at the University. In 1858, he graduated with triple first-class honours. In 1859, he took his Master's degree and the prize thesis for the year.

It might be thought that all this brilliancy and solid attainment, the capacity and industry implied by a career of such unvarying

success, implied an ambition more eagle-like in its instincts than one which could content itself with a prosperous professional career and an early elevation to the bench—a most honourable position, but one nevertheless in which men of strong political instincts and large capacities put on and are properly bound to put on ermine manacles, and bury one of the choicest privileges of free citizenship in the marble tomb of dignity; or perhaps the case might be more justly stated by saying that the judges have to make great sacrifices on the altar of public usefulness. However, what was the loss of politics was the gain of the Law Courts. Called to the bar in 1861, he commenced practice in partnership with Mr. Hector Cameron. He afterwards associated himself with the Hon. James Patton and Mr. Osler. When commencing practice in the Court of Chancery he had to contend against men who would have distinguished themselves at any bar in the world. Nor could aught but industry and shining parts, have enabled him so rapidly as he did, to come into public notice and win public confidence.

Early appointed Equity Lecturer, and one of the examiners to the Law Society; examiner to the University of Toronto; a Q.C., in 1872; a bencher of his inn about the same time; one of the Commissioners to report on the fusion of law and equity; Vice-Chancellor of his University; ultimately judge of the highest court in the Province; he was a strong swimmer who had never to battle with heavy seas, whose teeth never proved the toughness of the *vache enragée*, whose iron fibre has nourished so much human greatness of that Alpine sort—thunder-scarred, solitary, sublime—which flings its vast shadow over the future, and to which generations as they spread their sails and skim lightly along, turn ere they pass away, once and again from love and laughter, from hoaxing and huxtering, to contemplate with admiration and awe, the slowly piled up monument of Titanic energy, and mournful immortal longings begotten of some divine despair.

At the same time, with Mr. Justice Moss, was raised to the bench as Chief Justice of Ontario, a man whose name has already been mentioned, as the first fruit to Canada of an Irish family just come to our shores. Born at Montreal on the 3rd of August, 1833, and educated at Upper Canada College, Chief Justice Harrison

early gave promise of his future success. He was in 1855 called to the bar with honours. He then commenced one of the most prosperous professional careers which has been known in Canada, during which he was counsel for the Crown in several important cases. He was one of those chosen to defend Ministers when they were accused of violating the Independence of Parliament Act. "In fact," writes an authority, "since 1859, when he entered into partnership with the late James Paterson and Mr. Thomas Hodgins and commenced his practice at the bar, there has been scarcely a case of public importance in which he has not been retained, and the number of briefs he yearly held must have entailed an immense amount of labour, anxiety and thought. We believe no member of the profession in this country has held so many briefs as Mr. Harrison during the time he has been at the Bar. At many of the Assizes for York and the City of Toronto, Mr. Harrison has been retained in three-fourths of the criminal, and as large a proportion of the defended cases on the docket." During some terms he has moved no less than eighty rules. That with such an amount of work he should also have accomplished much in legal literature implies extraordinary system and capacity for labour.

He was made a Q. C. in 1867, and elected a bencher of the Law Society, in 1871. His last act as bencher will, I hope, bear fruit. He moved a resolution appointing a committee to consult with the Attorney-General and the Municipal Councils of York and Toronto, on the subject of building a new Court House for Assize and County business, on Osgoode Hall grounds. In 1865, he was elected Alderman, and as a Conservative represented West Toronto from 1867 to 1872.

Mr. Harrison attributes his success to perseverance, industry, and down right toil. These will take any man far; but there is a limit, beyond which certain minds aided by all the industry in the world cannot go. The power of hard work is a great gift—one indeed of the greatest, as it is one of the rarest—one without which, the highest genius can accomplish little, and which is seldom found unless in conjunction with high intellectual power. The legal history of two years proves that the Chief Justiceship was placed in no idle hands. When Mr. Harrison became Chief Justice,

there were large arrears in his Court. To-day, there is no such evidence of supineness.

The Honourable Mr. Justice Doherty was born in the County Derry, in 1830. He came to this country with his father. He was educated at St. Hyacinthe and in Vermont, where having graduated, he went to the Lower Canadian Bar, and commenced a lucrative practice in Montreal.

Judge Drummond's name has already been mentioned in connexion with politics. Judge McCord, of Montreal ; Judge McCord, of the Three Rivers ; Judge Maguire, of Quebec ; George Dunbar, Q.C., of Quebec, an eloquent pleader—all illustrate the forensic talents of Irishmen.

Art began early to attract some attention. Ireland which had done so much in other walks for the infant nation was destined to give it the first impulse towards art. Michael Kane, and his Dublin wife, accompanied Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe to Western Canada. Having left the army, Michael settled in York, where his son was born in 1810. The little arrival was christened Paul. The child's growing mind could not fail to be influenced by the picturesque Indian figures still to be seen haunting the Don. Indian trails ran where King and Yonge streets are to-day. In the preface to his travels, Kane, in 1844, accounts for his resolve to devote himself to painting a series of studies of North American scenery and Indian life, by saying "the subject was one in which I felt a deep interest in my boyhood. I had been accustomed to see hundreds of Indians about my native village, then Little York, muddy and dirty, just struggling into existence ; now the City of Toronto, bursting forth in all its energy and commercial strength."

Yet Little York was not a favourable place for a youth of genius to grow up. The District Grammar School was the only introduction into the world of knowledge, and thought, and art. Here there was Mr. Drury, an eccentric drawing master, who taught the future artist the elements of what was to be his ill-paid craft. His artistic bias was regarded in the light of want of application and distaste for steady industry. "The circumstances of the community" says Professor Wilson, "were indeed too frequently inimical to the fostering of settled

habits among its youth. Dr. Scadding has remarked, when describing the first years of the District Grammar School that 'during the time of the early settlements in this country, the sons of even the most respectable families were brought in contact with semi-barbarous characters. A sporting ramble through the woods, a fishing excursion on the waters, could not be undertaken without communication with Indians and half-breeds, and bad specimens of the French voyageurs. It was from such sources that a certain idea was derived which, as we remember was in great vogue among the more fractious of the lads at the school at York. The proposition circulated about, when anything ever went counter to their notions, always was to run away to the Nor'-West! What that process really involved, or what the Nor'-West precisely was, were things vaguely realized. A sort of savage land of Cocagne, a region of perfect freedom, among the Indians, was imagined, and to reach it, Lakes Huron and Superior were to be traversed.' In this way young Kane's mind was early familiarized with the idea of that expedition across the continent to green shores beyond the Rocky Mountains of which he has left so many memorials by means of his facile pencil and pen."

The "totems" which formed the sign manual of the Indian chiefs and their graphic picture writing on birch bark might by some be considered the dawn of Canadian art. A good deal of this art is still to be found emblazoned on the skin lodges of the prairies; while remains of pottery, copper, arms, and the like, show traces of a still higher culture, and no inconsiderable development of technical skill in a previous age. All this was, however, perhaps, rather the end of a phase of art in a decaying race, than the beginning of it in Canada.

We see from portraits and paintings which remain, executed in early days of European settlements, that art and artists, to some small extent, overflowed from other countries into Canada. The first notable cases where it took local colour, and men were inspired to portray scenes and characters distinctively Canadian, are Krieghoff, in Lower and Paul Kane, in Upper Canada. Krieghoff devoted himself, especially, to winter scenes and the habitants, and it is due, in no small degree, to the profusion of the spirited sketches and paintings of this character which he threw off,



that Canada is looked upon, in England, as a land of perpetual snow; the inhabitants muffled up the year round in blanket-coats, hunting moose on snow-shoes, or tearing about in carioles.

Paul Kane had a truer feeling for art, and painted less for popularity and for the market. Consequently, while Krieghoff caught the fancy of his customers and made a fortune, Kane sold few pictures.

At an early age, Kane entered the employment of Mr Conger, who afterwards became Sheriff of Peterborough, but who was at this time engaged in the manufacture of household furniture. In ornamenting the furniture, scope was given to the boy's artistic genius, and some small recognition followed. But, we may be sure, no patron was found at that day. Our times are more advanced, yet no rich man has sought for himself the honour of securing an artistic training for Mr. Bengough, whose versatile genius is capable of the very highest things if he had only the requisite culture.\* Still Kane obtained remuneration for his early efforts as an artist.

A prophet has no honour in the place where he is born or settles. When pearls are scattered at peoples' doors, they don't believe them to be pearls, unless the pearls are puffed by an organ of somebody interested in them. Kane, therefore, left Toronto for Cobourg, where he made enough of money to pay his way, and to start for the States, where he hoped to make sufficient to enable him to visit Europe, with the view of studying the works of the great masters.

Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb  
The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar?

His father promised to assist him. The young fellow was full of hope. Wandering along the margin of the broad Detroit river he felt the passion for beauty strong upon him. He would be no artist did he not dream along the lines of the great infirmity of noble minds, if his spirit did not glow at once at the thought of giving form to the ideal shapes which rounded all his life with ecstasy, and at the vision of renown, the child of splendid desire. He was in his twenty-sixth year, and all the future was

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\* Mr. Bengough is well known as the cartoonist of *Grip*, and a lecturer of power and humour.

bathed in hues of promise. He would roam through the halls of immortal work in the Louvre; he would stand in Imperial Rome amid all the glories of art. While he thus muses, a letter arrives from his father, telling him that difficulties would prevent his Italian excursion.

But he did not give up his purpose. He wandered from city to city, like the great Italian painters, when a Leo was on the throne of the Vatican, and another Medici ruled at Florence, and in the June of 1841, he sailed from Orleans for Marseilles. He spent four years in Europe, studying and copying the works of the great men of old, in Paris, at Geneva, at Milan, Verona, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Naples, Rome; the galleries of all he studied, in order that he might come back to be a true father to Canadian art. While in Naples, he was offered a passage in a Levantine cruiser, and thus he was enabled to visit the shores of Asia and Africa. He was on his way to Jerusalem with a party of Syrian explorers, when he and his friends were obliged to make for the coast in consequence of being deserted by their Arab guides. On his return he endured great hardships, but he landed on the African coast, and this consoled him, as he was able to boast he had been in every quarter of the globe.

He brought back with him a mind enlarged by observation, by communion with great artists, and well stored with pictures of famous scenes. He also brought copies of the most renowned pictures in the galleries of Venice, Florence, and Rome. An Irish artist whose friendship he had acquired while in the Imperial city, gave him an introduction to the Rev. Dr. Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati. In this introduction, the artist urged the Bishop on no account to miss seeing Kane's admirable copy of Raffaele's portrait of Pope Paul II. Among the paintings he copied, and of which he bore across the Atlantic copies, were Raffaele's Madonna in the Pitti Palace, and his portrait of Pope Julius II; the portraits of Leonardo da Vinci, and of Rembrandt, painted by themselves, and which are among the glories of the Florentine gallery; of Murillo's Madonna, and Busato's portrait of Pope Gregory XVI.

One of his special friends, while he was in Italy, was Stewart Watson, a Scottish artist. They fraternized with that readiness with which Irishmen and Scotchmen proverbially fraternize when they

meet abroad. They travelled together from Italy to London. They shared the same lodgings at "Mr. Martin's, Russell Street." Mr. Hope James Stewart was another Scotch artist, whose friendship he enjoyed while in Italy. This gentleman wrote to him from Edinburgh:—"After London this place looks like a dead city, and reminds me much of the way you and I felt the quietness of Rome, after our trip to that noisy and favourite place, Naples."

"In 1844," says Professor Wilson, "Mr. Kane returned to Canada with all the prestige of a skilled artist, who, by his own unaided energy had overcome every obstacle, and achieved for himself opportunities of studying the works of the great masters in the most famous galleries of Europe. He was now to display the same indomitable energy and self-reliance in widely different scenes. In the preface to his 'Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America,' he remarks—'On my return to Canada from the continent of Europe, I determined to devote whatever talents and proficiency I possessed, to the painting of a series of pictures illustrative of the North American Indians and scenery.'" Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, entered cordially into his plans. His romantic experiences and adventures are related with graphic power and the fidelity of an artist, in his "Wanderings," published by Longman in 1859. He crossed the continent, travelling weary miles a-foot, or paddling over lake or river in a canoe. He visited the Saskatchewan, traversed the vast prairie, crossed the Rocky Mountains, navigated the Columbia River to Oregon, explored Puget's Sound, visited Vancouver Island and other wild scenes, amongst which he describes himself as straying almost alone, scarcely meeting a white man, or hearing the sound of his own language. His pencil was ever busy. Chiefs, women, medicine men, hunting scenes, Indian games and dances, rites and costumes, all were transferred to his canvas

He returned to Toronto in 1848, with a well-stocked portfolio. Sir George Simpson had given him a commission for a dozen paintings of savage life:—buffalo hunts, Indian camps, councils, feasts, conjuring matches, dances, warlike exhibitions, or whatever he might consider most attractive and interesting. In 1852, the Legislature of the Province of Canada passed a vote authoriz-

ing him to execute a series of Indian pictures, before which the visitor to the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, never fails to linger long. His most liberal patron was the Hon. G. W. Allan to whom he dedicated the narrative of his wanderings.

He married, in 1853, Miss Harriet Clench, of Cobourg, herself an artist of no mean skill. He now devoted himself to his art with great zeal, and painted a hundred pictures; Indian scenes, landscapes, portraits, Indian groups coming into vivid portraiture beneath his forming hand. These paintings are in the possession of the Hon. G. W. Allan, of whose collection, at Moss Park, they form the principal attraction.

He visited Europe in 1857, to superintend the execution of the chromo-lithographic illustrations of his "Wanderings." On his return he resumed his pencil. He was about to follow up that volume with another, when his eye-sight failed. Unfortunately his art was not one he could prosecute without the eye. He died on the 20th of February, 1871, from an abscess of the liver. His portrait of Queen Victoria, after the picture by Chalons, is amongst his best works.

Living so much with the Indians, he acquired something of their quiet unimpressible manner. His memory was strong. When he gave them scope, his descriptive powers were of a high order. His gifts, however, in this respect would remain wholly hid from those who did not sympathize with his pursuits. "But," says Professor Wilson, who knew him, "he was a man of acute observation, and when questioned by an intelligent inquirer, abounded with curious information in reference to the native tribes among whom he had sojourned." His career is one of the most creditable in our annals. Irishmen and Canadians may well be proud of a man who taught himself a divine art, though he had to face poverty's all but "unconquerable bar." Though he studied our scenery and Indian customs at first hand, he did not wholly give himself up to nature. The Indian horses are Greek horses; the hills have much of the colour and form of those of Ruysdael, and the early European landscape painters; the foregrounds have more of the characteristics of old pictures than of our out-of-doors. All this is more particularly true of his later work, when, instead of going to

nature, he remained in his studio, and painted and repainted his early sketches.

The glory and beauty of Canadian landscape is not yet fully appreciated. The mission of Canadian Art is still before it,—to record and impress upon the people the peculiar beauties in atmosphere, colour, water, trees, rocks, all that makes our out-of-doors (if Canadians would only believe it!) second, in its own way, to nothing else in the world. It is important that this should be realized, since our art, for the present, must be landscape art. We have, and for some time can have, no other. We are in a transition state. The ingredients of a great people are being brought together. There can be no local colour where all is changing. The human element here must crystallize before it is picturesque or artistically attractive. At present it is bustling, noisy, pretentious, vulgar and ugly. The Indian has passed away, and his ghost is dirty, and wears the cast-off clothes of his white brother. The Acadian is gone. All that remains of him is Longfellow's "Evangeline." Railroads are reforming and mixing up the most conservative habitans. The artist must find subjects and inspiration in still solitudes, as yet undefiled by the foot of man. The human pot is boiling; the scum sometimes comes to the top; but let us wait in hope for the result of the enormous brew.

It would be invidious if it was sought here to designate any of our artists on whom Kane's mantle has fallen. Mr. Fraser, Mr. Martin, Mr. Verner, and others, all have studied our Canadian scenes; but none of them with the same love for Canada as Mr. Lucius O'Brien. This is not said because the blood in his veins is Irish. He has the true artistic spirit, and his oil paintings and water colours have an exquisite finish, a delicacy of feeling and a truthfulness of instinct combined with technical strength, which would give him a foremost place as an artist in any part of the world.

Photography is a useful if humble handmaiden to art, and the honour of introducing it to Western Canada belongs to Mr. William Armstrong, who came to Canada the year Baldwin retired from the Ministry. Mr. Armstrong, who belongs to a good family, was born in Dublin in 1822. His father, a general in the Royal Irish Artillery—which was merged in the regular service during

the rebellion of 1798—sent young Armstrong to the celebrated engineer Thomas Jackson Woodhouse to learn engineering. Having served as engineer in various important undertakings in England, he bethought him of emigrating to Canada where he was immediately employed under Mr. H. C. Seymour on the Northern Railway. He also served under Messrs. Shanly and Gzowski on the Grand Trunk Railway. It seems Colonel Gzowski gave him facilities for the introduction of photography. Mr. Armstrong's sketches of Lake Superior scenery—which he was the first to delineate—have been highly appreciated at exhibitions in the old country.

A far greater honour the Irishman in Canada may claim than the initiatory step to the introduction of photography. A Scotchman, himself a poet of considerable merit, the Rev. William Wye Smith, pointed out in a lecture upon the poets of Canada, that "Hamilton," a poem by W. A. Stephens, the Collector of Customs, Owen Sound, was the first volume of poems published in Upper Canada. Mr. Stephens, who was born in Belfast in 1809, came early to this country with his father. Prior to his acceptance of his office, now nearly thirty years ago, he did much both by word and pen to influence opinion in a Reform direction.

Mr. Stephens' poem deserved better treatment than it received at the time of publication. It is very unequal. But it has considerable merit in places. The conception is exceedingly good, and had the execution throughout been what it occasionally rises to, "Hamilton" might have won an enduring place in literature.

I have already referred to Mr. Reade's poetry. We have in our midst a genuine child of song, and a literary man who is engaged in the useful task of writing the Constitutional History of Canada—Samuel James Watson, the Librarian of the Ontario Legislative Library. Mr. Watson—an Irishman *pur sang*—had, before accepting his present position, done good service as a writer on the *Globe*, and other leading papers. Amid the wearying and wasting labours of journalism, he found time to cultivate the divine art of song, and he has lately produced a volume which will cause his name to be syllabled after he himself has passed away. That which the literary man especially hungers for, he will find in Mr. Watson's poetry. Tired of the blaze of Homer or Byron, the mind of the

student will turn away to a more tolerable light, and will not miss in Mr. Watson, the serene and silvery radiance she longs for, the sweet and simple solace she craves. The cry of the heart in its more tender and pensive moments will be satisfied.

“ Read from some humbler poet,  
Whose songs gush from the heart ;  
As rain from the clouds of summer,  
Or tears from the eyelids start ;  
Who, through long days of labour,  
And nights devoid of ease,  
Still heard in his soul the music  
Of wonderful melodies.”

“The Legend of the Roses, a Poem, and Ravlan, a Drama,” both show that Mr. Watson has not merely the inspiration, but what Wordsworth calls “the accomplishment of verse,” though there may be here and there signs that he has not been permitted to court the Muse with undivided attention.

In the Legend of the Roses, how the most beautiful of flowers sprang up on a scene meant to be one of destruction and ghastly death is described. In music and beauty the whole poem running over sixty pages is worthy of the close.

Then lo ! as if the more to swell  
The wonder of the miracle,  
And splendour out of Death to bring,  
And cause from ashes life to spring,  
The burning embers, hissing warm,  
Obeying his almighty power,  
Change in a moment, to a form  
Of beauty only seen that hour ;  
And as the shape of flowers they take,  
’Tis as Red Roses, they awake ;  
And next, the unkindled brands arise  
And a fresh miracle disclose,  
Opening, the first time to the skies,  
The bosoms of the fair White Rose.

Mr. Watson is at times most happily sententious, thus :—

Danger that warns is never dangerous ;  
*But danger, when it comes unheralded.*  
*Is but another name for destiny.*

Again :

’Tis often found  
That a lie and hot haste are fervent friends.

A witch scene in weirdness and lyrical power will bear comparison with the most famous scenes of the kind, and we know that this brings Faust and Macbeth into the field.

Here is a fine piece of painting. A babe is cast upon the

Chill and oozy sand  
From which *the white tusks of the howling sea,*  
*Were tearing ravenous mouthfuls every second.*

A founder in his own line was Colonel Henry Goodwin, who was a few months ago borne to his last resting place with military honours, followed by gallant men who felt that the remains of their military father were about to be committed to the hospitable, blessedly-transforming bosom of the "bountiful mother." When he died, the clubs rang with his praises from the lips of volunteer officers. No man ever came away from him without being inspired with military ardour. He was endeared to a wide circle, young and old, whom he had educated. He had great force of character, and raised himself to the position he held by his perseverance, his military genius, and his integrity.

Born in the County Tyrone, on the 2nd June, 1795, of Catholic parents, he lived with his family as a farmer's boy until 1812. He was then seventeen years of age, and must have been a splendid looking young fellow, for as South says—he who in his old age is comely, must in his youth have been very fair. On the 4th of July, a recruiting party of the Royal Horse Artillery passed through the town land where his father's farm stood. Gunpowder was in the air in those days, and it must have been hard for a gallant young fellow to keep out of the fray. He took the shilling; joined the expedition to Flanders; was present at Waterloo where he was twice wounded; joined, on recovery, the Grand Army at the Paris Camp; remained with the army of occupation until 1818; returned to Woolwich; received his discharge on the reduction of the army; remained at his home in the County Tyrone a little over a year; married and enlisted in the King's Light Infantry. He was soon made head drill instructor. In 1837 he was discharged with a pension which he drew to the hour of his death.

During the three years he was in France he acquired great pro-



iciency in fencing, gymnastics, and sword exercise. He was awarded the highest prize for sword and gymnastic exercise in every country he had visited: France, Spain, Italy, England and Ireland. In the two last countries he kept schools for instruction in gymnastics and the use of the sword.

In 1850 he determined to emigrate to Canada. He arrived at Quebec on the 1st of April. Here he opened a school, and at once attracted the attention of Lady Elgin, who employed him to give instruction to her children in calisthenics, general deportment, and riding. So much satisfaction did he give, that Lord Elgin urged Dr. Ryerson to engage him as a teacher of gymnastics, fencing, and general deportment. From 1853 until 1877, he taught in the Normal and Model Schools. He wrote on the 27th of last January: "I will continue to teach as long as I can give satisfaction to the establishments with which I am engaged, namely, Normal and Model Schools, Upper Canada College, Bishop Strachan's Ladies School, Mrs. Neville's Ladies School, Mrs. Nixon's Ladies School, and private families."

He proved a valuable man to the military department. He drilled all the independent corps organized before the embodiment of the permanent militia, officers and men, artillery, cavalry and infantry. He assisted Colonel G. Denison to organize the Toronto Field Battery and remained with it as adjutant and drill-instructor five years, when the 2nd or Queen's Own and 10th Royals had to be formed. Colonel Denison, then commandant would not form them unless Goodwin became adjutant and drill instructor. The duties of this position he discharged with so much skill and courtesy, that the officers would not allow him to leave the battalion, but passed a unanimous vote that he was still to remain a member. "I still belong to the 10th Battalion," said the brave old fellow two months before he died, "and will do so as long as God gives me health to serve them."

Colonel Goodwin was also store-keeper for the Militia Store Department, and from 1856 until 1877 not a cent's worth of the stores under his charge had been lost or mislaid.

The Colonel was twice married and had two families. By his first wife who died in 1835 he had five children. He married his second wife in 1837. By her he had eleven children. From

accidents and other causes only two of his children were alive in January last.

He was a thorough soldier, one of the noble military characters which make the army so popular. He retained his military bearing to the last and died in harness.

Another veteran was Colonel Kingsmill, who passed away some twelve months ago in his eighty-third year, at the residence of his son, Mr. Nicol Kingsmill. The son of Major Kingsmill, of 1st (Royal) Regiment, who served in the American War, he was born in Kilkenny in 1794. He was educated at Kilkenny College. He joined the 66th Regiment when quite a lad. This regiment served in Spain during the Peninsular War. Young Kingsmill was present at Busaco, Torres Vedras, Badajoz, the Pyrenees.

When Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, the 66th Regiment was ordered thither to guard him. Kingsmill was then a lieutenant. Early in the second quarter of the present century, he came to Canada with his regiment and soon retired from the service as senior Captain. When the rebellion of 1837 broke out he raised two regiments of volunteers. He afterwards commanded the 3rd Incorporated Militia, until his appointment to the office of Sheriff of the District of Niagara. After twenty years' service he resigned the shrievalty in consequence of failing health. He was afterwards appointed postmaster of Guelph, which office he held until his death.

He was in compliance with his wishes buried at Niagara. To his burial was accorded full military honours. He had four sons of whom two survive, Judge Kingsmill, of the County of Bruce, and Mr. Nicol Kingsmill, of the firm of Crooks, Kingsmill & Cattanach.

Colonel Charles Todd Gillmor was an apt pupil of Colonel Goodwin. He was born at Sligo, and came to Canada in 1858. He joined the Volunteers in 1862, and commanded the Queen's Own Rifles from 1866 to 1874. He was in command of this Regiment at Ridgeway, June 2nd, 1866. He was appointed Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario by the Sandfield Macdonald Government on December 27th, 1867. Colonel Gillmor was a great acquisition to Toronto Society.

Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable James Shaw has long been

connected with the Volunteer Militia Service, and was on active service during the rebellion of 1837-8. He was born in the County of Wexford, and emigrated to Canada in 1820. From 1851 to 1854, he sat for Lanark and Renfrew in the Canadian Assembly, and was in 1867, called to the Senate by Royal Proclamation.

As I close this chapter, my attention is attracted by a letter in the *Globe*, bearing date the 12th June, 1877, which recounts the capacity and promptness displayed by Major Walsh in the North-West.

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## CHAPTER XV.

NOT less important, certainly, than military, legal, literary, or artistic forces, are those which train the youthful intellect, and direct the soul. The character of the soldier, the lawyer, and the literary man; a nation's courage, foresight, jurisprudence, literature, all depend on the schoolmaster and the divine. Ignorance and superstition are the parents of degrading literature, of cruel and unrighteous laws, of cowardice, or at best of a mere fitful bravery. To have a false idea of the Deity may, according to the extent of the misconception, be worse than atheism. Before we can form just views on the subject of the supernatural, the intellect must be cultivated. We talk of the battle of life, but parents and guardians too often forget where it is lost or won. It was not on the field, Gravelotte and Sedan, and the other great German victories were assured, but in the school-room and the drill ground. The fate of most men is determined in the years between eight and sixteen.

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[AUTHORITIES :—Newspapers, religious and secular. Original sources. Official Reports. *Journal of Education*. "Memoir of the Rev. S. B. Ardagh," Edited by the Rev. S. J. Boddy, M.A." "The Clerical Guide and Churchman's Directory," Edited by C. V. Fordice Bliss. "Dred," by Mrs. Beecher Stowe. "Sketch of the Buxton Mission and Elgin Settlement." "Religious Endowments in Canada," by Sir Francis Hincks.]

I have already glanced at Ireland's contributions to the various forms of religious force in Canada. It will now be my duty to write of the representative men not already mentioned, who, according to their light, have laboured amongst us in the most important of all causes. The same impartiality which has obtained, I hope, throughout, must prevail here. My task is to chronicle, not criticise ; to give facts, not to discuss tenets ; still less to harmonize discordant voices to which there may yet be a master note whereof we know nothing.

"Were the wax  
Moulded with nice exactness, and the heav'n  
In its disposing influence supreme,  
The lustre of the seal should be complete :  
But nature renders it imperfect ever,  
Resembling thus the artist in her work,  
Whose faltering hand is faithless to his skill."\*

One of the latest elevations to the Episcopal Bench in the Church of England will not be thought to be improperly brought within the scope of this book. Brevet Major Fuller, of the 41st Foot, was a scion of a well-known and highly respectable family in the County Cork. He came to Canada with his regiment, some years previous to the war of 1812. He died at Adolphustown, in 1814. His son, Thomas Brock Fuller, the future bishop of Niagara, was born in the garrison of Kingston, on the 16th of July, 1810.

He lost both parents while yet a mere child, and was left dependent on a widowed aunt, a sister of his mother, who was a daughter of Captain Poole England, and cousin of Sir Richard England, who commanded the third division in the Crimean war. He received his early education at Kingston and at York, at Lundy's Lane, at Niagara, and again at York. He studied divinity at Chambly, Lower Canada, and was ordained on the 8th of December, 1833. He was immediately sent to Adolphustown, as the *locum tenens* for the missionary of that mission, who had gone for eight months to Ireland, his native country. The following year he was sent as Second Assistant Minister of Christ Church, Montreal, and missionary at Lachine. While in Montreal, he, in 1835, married Cynthia, eldest daughter of the late Samuel Street,

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\* Cary's Dante : Paradise, Canto xiii. 67-73.

of Niagara Falls. In 1836 he was sent as missionary to Chatham, Upper Canada, where he remained for five years, the only clergyman within a radius of forty miles. Whilst here he published a tract entitled, "Thoughts on the Present State and Future Prospects of the Church of England in Canada, with Hints for some Improvements in her Ecclesiastical Arrangements." At the time there was no Synod of the Church of England anywhere. In this tract he suggested the formation of a Synod. He said: "We require some change; a change which, under God, will meet our wants and narrow our difficulties. No change will effect this, less than one, by which we may be enabled, together with lay delegates from our parishes, frequently to meet in General Council." There being no printing press west of Toronto, he had this little treatise printed at Detroit, and a copy sent to the Bishop and each clergyman of the Diocese. The result was, that in 1853 the first Synod was constituted in Toronto, and now there is not a colony of the British Empire which has not followed the example of the Diocese of Toronto.

In 1840 he was appointed Rector of Thorold, and in 1849 Rural Dean. Here he was mainly instrumental in building a very fine stone church. Most if not all the money was supplied by him. When he was nominated Rector of St. George's Church, Toronto, he presented the fine edifice at Thorold to his congregation, by whom he was much beloved. In 1867 he was appointed Archdeacon of Niagara, and on St. Patrick's Day, 1875, he was almost unanimously elected Bishop of the new Diocese of Niagara. The Right Reverend Prelate has published tracts on "Religious Excitement," "Systematic Beneficence," "Forms of Prayer," and on other subjects connected with his profession.

The Right Reverend John Travers Lewis, LL.D., the Bishop of Ontario, is from the County Cork, where he was born in 1826. His father, the late Rev. John Lewis, M.A., was formerly Rector of St. Anne's, Shandon, in the City of Cork. Bishop Lewis graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, as senior moderator in ethics and logic. He was gold medallist and obtained the degrees of LL.D., B.D. and D.D. He was ordained in 1847, and soon after came to Canada. For four years he laboured in the Parish of Hawkesbury. At the end of that time he was appointed Rector of Brockville,

where he worked for seven years. In 1862 he was elected Bishop of the new Diocese of Ontario, and took up his episcopal residence at Kingston. After some time he removed to Ottawa. When elected Bishop he was, perhaps, the youngest Prelate on this continent. He has written "The Church of the New Testament," "Does the Bible require Retranslation?" "The Primitive Mode of Ordaining Bishops," and several other works. He is considered "high," but his sermons are said to be evangelical.

The Rev. William McMurray was born in the parish of Seagoe, near Portadown, on the 19th September, 1810, and was brought to Canada by his parents in the following year. The family settled in York. When eight years of age he entered the school of Dr. Strachan, with whom he afterwards read as student of Divinity and under whose care he remained until he was ordained. In 1832, when he was yet a year under the canonical age, he was appointed missionary by the Society for Converting and Civilizing the Indians, as well as by Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, to Sault Ste. Marie, then almost an unknown land, for the purpose of establishing missions among the Chippewa Indians, on the north shores of Lakes Superior and Huron. If it is asked why Sir John Colborne should have interfered with the choice of a young missionary, the answer is that the Government at that time had the appointment of clergymen to the Indian missions. In the August of 1833, Mr. McMurray was ordained, and in the following month he married Charlotte Agenebugoqua, the third daughter of the late John Johnston, Esq., of whose family an interesting account is given by Mrs. Jameson. This marriage must have greatly aided the influence of Mr. McMurray with the Indians, and he succeeded in establishing a flourishing mission. In 1838 in consequence of the illness of his wife he had to leave. In the five years he baptized one hundred and sixty Indians, and admitted forty devout members of the church to the Holy Communion. In 1840 he succeeded the Rev. John Millar, as Rector of Ancaster. In February, 1867, he was appointed Rural Dean of Lincoln and Welland by the late Bishop of Toronto, and on the setting apart of the Diocese of Niagara, Archdeacon of the new Diocese by the Bishop of Niagara.

During his ministerial life, Dr. McMurray has filled three most

important missions. In 1853, he was delegated to the Episcopal Church of the United States, to ask assistance for Trinity College. While on this mission, Trinity College, Hartford, conferred on him the degree of M.A., and Columbia College, that of D.D. In 1854, he was requested by Dr. Strachan to go to Quebec to look after the interests of the Church, by watching the Clergy Reserves Bill. He did good service, as may be gathered from Sir Francis Hincks' pamphlet. When he returned to Toronto, Trinity College conferred on him the honorary degree of D.C.L., and appointed him a member of its Council. In 1864, he went to England, to ask assistance for the "infant University" from the Church in the mother country. He was received with open arms by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the bishops, clergy and laity, as well as by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Soon after his arrival in London, a very high honour was conferred on him. The present Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, appointed him special preacher at the services under the Dome of St. Paul's, on which occasions over seven thousand persons were present. He was also admitted as an honorary member of the Athenæum Club. His mission to England was most successful. Mr. Gladstone, notwithstanding the pressure on his time, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, behaved, as from his interest in the Church and his noble self-abnegation we might expect him to have done. He gave Mr. McMurray introductions to persons of the highest position in the kingdom. Mrs. Gladstone was equally interested in the mission, and of her kindness and attention, Dr. McMurray speaks to-day with a gratitude which he can never forget. Were Dr. McMurray not amongst us, as he happily is, I might dwell on the qualities, moral, intellectual and social, which recommended him to so shrewd a man as Dr. Strachan, and which rendered his missions so successful.

The venerable John Strutt Lauder, Archdeacon of Ottawa, was born in Westmeath, in 1829. He came to Canada in 1849. Having graduated at Trinity College, he was ordained in 1853. He has been mainly instrumental in all the improvements in the way of buildings and extensions of the Church of England in Ottawa, where he has worked for twenty years.

Among the Church of England clergymen who have passed away,

no nobler specimen of the devoted divine could be found, than the Rev. Samuel B. Ardagh, the late Rector of Barrie, the graceful memoir of whom, published for private circulation, might with advantage, alike to literature and the church, be addressed to a larger audience.

In 1871, Bishop Cronyn, the first Bishop of Huron, died. He was born in Kilkenny, and educated at Trinity College. He was for sometime Rector of St. Paul's, London, Ontario, and on the division of the Diocese and the erection of that of Huron, he was nominated as first Bishop and consecrated in 1857.

The number of Church of England ministers all over the Dominion, who have come from Ireland is surprisingly large, and any attempt to lay all the facts before the reader would be impossible here. How dwell at proper length on the career and work of the Rev. F. H. Clayton, the Incumbent of Bolton; the Rev. J. C. Davidson, the Incumbent of St. Luke's, Hemmingford; the Rev. William Henderson, of Pembroke; the Rev. John Ker, missionary at Glen Sutton; the Archdeacon of Hochelaga, the venerable Richard Lonsdell, M.A.; the Rev. Joseph Merrick, Incumbent of St. John's Church, Kildare; the Rev. Thomas Motherwell, B.A., Incumbent of St. George's, Portage du Fort; the Rev. John Seaman, Incumbent of North Wakefield; the Dean of Ontario, James Lyster, LL. D., T. C. D., Rector of Kingston; the Rev. W. Daunt, M.A., Incumbent of Thamesford; the Rev. Thomas Davis, B.A., Aylmer; the Rev. Wm. B. Davis, of Wingham; the Rev. John Downie, of Morpeth; the venerable Edward Lindsay Elwood, M.A.?

In the list of the clergy of Nova Scotia, we have such names as Downing, Brine, Cochran, Bell, Gray, Manning, Uniacke, White. The Rev. John Paine Sargent, B.A., and the Rev. Mr. Starnes, should also be mentioned.

In Prince Edward Island and in the Diocese of Quebec, we have a large number of Irishmen in orders.

In the Diocese of Toronto, the Rev. S. Lett, D.D., LL.D., the Rev. T. W. Allen and——but the task of enumeration is out of the question.

One name which should be mentioned in connexion with the Diocese of Huron, must, however, not be suffered to lie unnoticed. Some thirty-seven years ago, a family arrived here,



well known at St. Catharines, and one of whom is in Toronto, a barrister—the family of Boomer. In the same year the Very Rev. Michael Boomer, M.A. LL.D., came out as a missionary sent by the Gospel Propagation Society. He was among the first batch “John Toronto” ordained. Born at Hill Hall, near Lisburn, County Antrim, he was educated at the Belfast Royal Academical Institution of which he was for five years Foundation Scholar. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1838, was ordained deacon in 1840, and priest in 1841, and immediately appointed to the Mission of Galt which he retained for thirty-two years. In 1872 he was removed by the present Bishop of Huron to London, and appointed Dean of Huron and Principal of Huron College.

The Rev. Arthur Henry Baldwin, though born in Toronto, claims, in virtue of his name and blood, a place here. Educated at Upper Canada College, he is a graduate of Queen’s College, Oxford. He was, in 1866, ordained a deacon in Yorkminster by the Archbishop of York, and a priest in 1867 by the Bishop of Ely. Having been curate at Luton in Bedfordshire and at Belleville in Ontario, he became Rector of All Saints’ Church, Toronto, and as such has for some few years worked with energy. How he has drawn around him a congregation; built a church; given a powerful impulse to piety among the young; and with what beautiful simplicity and convincing earnestness he preaches, is known to hundreds outside his own communion.

Mr. Rainsford, it need not be said, is an Irishman, and he may probably yet settle here. As it is, he, in a certain sense belongs to Canada.

In the Methodist Church, Irish ministers are so numerous that one is tempted to doubt whether that body has any other. The most prominent are the Rev. Wellington Jeffers, D.D.; the Rev. William Briggs; the Rev. John Bredin; the Rev. John Carroll, D.D.; the Rev. Ephraim B. Harper, M.A.; the Rev. W. H. Poole; the Rev. S. J. Hunter; the Rev. W. J. Hunter; the Rev. Mathew Richey, D.D.; the Rev. James Elliott, D.D. The Rev. E. H. Dewart is a man of extraordinary energy; a journalist, a preacher, an orator, a leader in the temperance movement, a real man in all respects who has shown he can act on principle in defiance of prejudice. He is a Reformer in politics and voted in accordance

with his principles, when sectarian passions were calculated to bear him in another direction.

The Rev. John Potts is widely known. Born in 1838, at Maguire's Bridge, County Fermanagh, he early determined to push his fortunes in the New World. A boy of seventeen, he started for the Southern States. Happily for Canada, happily for the Methodist Church, happily for social progress, on his way to "down South," he stopped with some relatives living at Kingston. He could have sojourned nowhere in Canada where he would gain happier impressions. He went south. But so pleasant were the impressions made on him in Kingston that he resolved to make Canada his home, a purpose which he fulfilled, and to which, unlike so many others who seem to think the white tie emancipates them from all the feelings and claims of citizenship and country, he has, notwithstanding tempting offers (may they not merit the name of bribes?) from the States, persistently clung. On coming here from the South he spent some time in mercantile pursuits. Originally an Episcopalian, the accident that his Kingston friends were Wesleyans, led him, under the spiritual guidance of the Rev. George Douglas to take the step which was to secure for the Methodist Church its brightest ornament. His talents, his power of expression, his seriousness, all seemed to point to a sphere where such gifts would have more play than in mercantile pursuits. His own desires leaned in the direction in which his talents pointed, and he proceeded to the University of Victoria College, Cobourg. Yielding to pressure from outside, before he had completed his arts' course, he entered the ministry.

At the early age of nineteen—surely far too early—we find him making the Markham circuit; then on the Aurora and Newmarket circuit; then at Thorold, where he remained for three years. Meanwhile during those years of probation he applied himself assiduously to his theological studies. Four years after he had been all too early taken away from College, we find him at the age of twenty-three received into full connexion with the Conference.

Having been ordained Mr. Potts was entrusted with the charge of North Street Church, London, whence, after the full term of three years, he was appointed to labour in connexion with the

Rev. E. H. Dewart, then pastor of the Elm Street Church, Toronto. By this time he was a man of acknowledged talent. Eighteen hundred and sixty-six was the centennial year of American Methodism. It was resolved to erect in Hamilton a commemorative church. In anticipation of the opening of the church, Mr. Potts was invited by the trustees of the new church to become its first pastor. The church being projected on a large scale the Stationing Committee of the Conference hesitated to agree to his taking so important a position; but such was the pressure placed upon them they ratified his acceptance of the offer. Many thought the Centenary Church would be too large, but within a month after the opening—on which occasion Dr. Punshon preached—it was completely filled. The prescribed three years having passed, the congregation Mr. Potts had gathered round him sought to keep him for another three years. But the Conference was inexorable.

The Metropolitan Church project was now on foot. Dr. Punshon was the life of the movement. He knew the advantage of eloquence and of having a pulpit filled by an able man. He and the congregation about to change their shell were both anxious to secure Mr. Potts' coöperation. But shrinking from work which was not exactly that to which he had devoted his life, he decided to go to Montreal, where, at St. James Church, he succeeded Dr. Douglas. In Montreal he made a great reputation as a preacher. The three years having expired, again, but equally in vain, was an attempt made by his church and congregation to keep him for three years more. The invitation from the Metropolitan Church was renewed. This time it was accepted, and in the course of his ministry he more than doubled the membership, and each service crowded the church. His success has everywhere been unqualified, partly because of his pulpit power, but also because—like so many of his countrymen—he knows how to oil jarring wheels, and has pondered the philosophy of O'Connell, that you will catch more flies with a spoonful of honey than with a bucket of vinegar. His old Hamilton charge wanted to get him back. He himself would not have been unwilling to go. But there was an impediment in the way. Owing to arrangements as to districts, which had meanwhile taken place, he would have, were he to go to Hamilton, to sever his connexion with the Toronto and join the

London Conference—a step to which he had an objection. He therefore elected to “build up” for this year his old congregation of Elm Street.

Mr. Potts is a man of liberal views, more a pulpit than a platform orator, more a pastor than a manager or a shining light at Congress.

Just as one of the ablest Presbyterian ministers of to-day is a native of Belfast, so some of the noblest figures among pioneers of the Presbyterians was born in the County of Antrim. Here the Rev. Dr. Boyd was born in 1791. In 1820, he came to Canada and commenced his work at Prescott, where he had to teach school to eke out a living. The Rev. William Smart, who preached his funeral sermon, tells how laboriously he cultivated his large field of labour. Dr. Boyd died in 1872, leaving behind him considerable property; a stone dwelling-house and several valuable town lots; all of which he willed, after the death of Mrs. Boyd, to the Church, and when Mrs. Boyd died in 1876, the property was duly conveyed.

The first settled Presbyterian minister in Toronto was an Irishman, the Rev. James Harris, who came to Canada in 1820. He was also the first secretary to the Bible Society. Since he commenced to labour here, Presbyterianism has, like everything else made great progress. He lived to see fields wilderness when he first saw them, green with rich pastures, and gold with yellowing harvests. When a young man of thirty, in 1823, he administered the Communion on the second Sabbath of September, Toronto was “muddy York,” Knox’s Church was a humble building. The congregation, which is now one of the largest and wealthiest in Ontario, numbered only twenty-eight. After long years of usefulness, he passed away amid universal respect. Not without sincere sighs, and a starting tear, was the “good gray head” missed from our streets.

Among the Irish Presbyterian missionaries the Rev. Thomas McPherson and the Rev. David Evans, D.D., should be mentioned; while in the field of benevolence, the Rev. William King, who founded in 1849 the Buxton Mission and Elgin Settlement, Canada West, takes an eminent position. Were there space I should dwell on the Rev. William Moore, of Ottawa. Mr.

Moore's influence in Ottawa, his manly gentleness, the church he has built, the Ladies' College,—I can only give a dim glimpse of it all and pass away.

If it should be said :—" Yes you have given us the gentle beauty of Harris' piety, you have given us the pioneer zeal of Dr. Boyd ; but the Presbyterian Church has to go out of Ireland for solid attainments and strong embracement of the severe symmetry of the Calvinistic theology." Not at all. The strongest man, the most thoroughly Presbyterian man at the present moment in Canada is an Irishman. " O yes," says some one, " narrow in culture, he without difficulty looks on the frowning lineaments of a dark theology." By no means. He is perhaps the most highly cultivated man in the Canadian Presbyterian Church. And who is the man for whom Canada is thus indebted to Ireland ?

Dr. John Gardner Robb was born in Belfast, on the 27th of June, 1833, and was educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution and at the Queen's College. He graduated in 1854, with honours in English, having during his academical career swept the college of some of its most coveted prizes.

He took the science scholarship of the first year and won a general prize, and in mathematics a class prize. In his second year he also took the science scholarship, the general prize, and in logic the class prize and first place; in his third year the science scholarship, general prize and first place, class prize in metaphysics and first place and a class prize in natural philosophy. At this time Dr. McCosh was Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at the Queen's College, Belfast, and we may feel certain he would be thorough in all his teaching and standards. The following list of honours in the year succeeding that in which he took his degree is therefore of no mere formal significance:—Senior scholarship in metaphysical and economical sciences; class prize and first place in higher logic; class prize and first place in jurisprudence; class prize and first place in common and criminal law; class prize and first place in Constitutional, Colonial and International Law. I venture to say Dr. Robb knows more about the science of law than many a barrister who is making twice his income.

Dr. Robb pursued his theological studies in the General Assem-

bly's College, each year taking the highest prizes open to competition, including that for sacred rhetoric. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Belfast, at its meeting in May, 1857. After considering the invitations of several congregations, he accepted a call to Clogher, County Tyrone, where he was ordained on the 24th June, 1858.

During his ministry at Clogher, Dr. Robb rapidly rose to popularity, not only among the congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, but in the courts of the Church. He was on its most important committees, and more perhaps than any minister of his standing, wielded an influence in the General Assembly. His course in public matters was always characterized by an honest but firm maintenance of what he emphatically calls "Scriptural Christianity." He took a very prominent part in several discussions—notably those on Education, the Irish Church Act, and Instrumental Music in the worship of God. His speeches on all these questions were able, logical, and so far as the policy of the Assembly was concerned—successful. In 1863, he married Martha, third daughter of the Rev. John Hanna, his predecessor in the pastorate of Clogher.

Resisting frequent solicitations to charges in different sections of the Church, Dr. Robb, in 1874, accepted a call from the congregation of Cooke's Church, Toronto, and was installed as minister of that church in the month of May in that year. Since his settlement in Canada, he has become widely known as an able champion of Evangelical Protestantism.

His speeches and addresses from time to time will be familiar to some of our readers. He received his doctor's degree in 1876. It could add nothing to the weight of a man whose career as a pastor and in the pulpit has borne out the promise of the character and industry displayed, and the solid scholarship acquired in his college days.

At the Pan-Presbyterian Synod, the honours of oratory seem to have been borne away by an Irishman and a Switzer. The following remarks are from an English paper:—"It is not the Englishman, Scotchman, nor Irishman who has walked off with the honours of oratory at the great Pan-Presbyterian Council at Edinburgh, but the American and the Frenchman. Out of the

three hundred men who composed that remarkable body, the one who quickest commanded attention is said to be Dr. Stuart Robinson, of Louisville, Kentucky. Whenever he rose to speak, you could hear a pin fall : then presently there was such an ebullition of applause or such a roar of laughter that you could hardly hear what the speaker said. Dr. Hall, Dr. Adams, and Dr. Paxton of New York had their admirers, who pronounced them the most eloquent men living. But the professors and teachers, whether Scotch or American were rather inclined to admire the passionate eloquence of the French, and the finest impression was made by Dr. Godet, of Neuchatel, long known for his commentaries on St. Luke and St. John." Now Dr. Stuart Robinson is not an American, but an Irishman, from Strabane, County Tyrone. He is well known in Toronto, for he was among the refugees in Canada during the American war. He preached at Knox Church, but some of his remarks were interpreted as advocating slavery, and the *Globe* attacked him. For some months he was silent in consequence. Ultimately, a room in the Mechanics' Institute was taken for him, and there he preached until he, at the close of the war, returned to his old charge at Louisville. He held on to his property, and is now a wealthy man, the minister of the largest and most influential church in the South.

We have already seen what Ireland has done in supplying priests to the Catholic Church. In fact, all the energy of that church in Upper Canada is due to Irishmen of a type already given, and many more examples of which might be supplied.

In Ontario the most prominent Roman Catholic Divine is Archbishop Lynch, who was born near Clones, County Monaghan, in the Diocese of Clogher. Having been educated for the Church and ordained, he manifested a predilection for missionary labour, and having worked in Texas among Spaniards, Germans, and Irishmen living in a semi-civilized condition, having visited Paris and Rome on special missions, having, moreover, founded a House of his Order in Niagara, he, in 1859, was appointed Bishop in partibus and coadjutor to Monseigneur de Charbonel, Bishop of Toronto, whom he succeeded in the following year. In 1862 he again visited Rome to be present at the Canonization of the Martyrs. He now became "Prelate Assistant of the Pontifical Throne." He assisted

at the Vatican Council, was appointed one of the Consultors of Foreign Missions, and made a speech in support of Papal Infallibility. In 1870, when the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec was divided, and Toronto erected into the Metropolitan See of Upper Canada, he was made Archbishop, in which capacity he took his seat in the Œcumenical Council. Great progress has been made in churches, schools, and convents under his rule. He pays special attention to the young, and seeks, by pledging them to total abstinence until their majority, to guard them from the warping temptations which assail green humanity.

The Archbishop deserves the greatest credit for his letters, which necessarily appeal to public reason and stimulate reflection. "In politics," he wrote, in June, 1873. "we must read the journals in favour of both parties to judge fairly of the true state of questions. In courts of law the same course is followed; shall not a similar fairness be manifested in religious matters?"

When we think of the Roman Catholic prelates outside of Ontario, the first man whose name rises to the lips is Archbishop Connolly, who placed Fenianism in its true light of sinister folly and mad criminality, and who had no small share in the political work which led to Confederation. He belonged to that great class of prelates who have been not merely churchmen, but also sagacious, far-seeing politicians and large-hearted men, with admiration for all that is good, and a divine superiority to the littleness which thinks everybody else wrong, not reflecting that the best and brightest of us can see only in part, and must, therefore, be imperfect in all we do, and think, and aim at. There have been amongst us other prelates who might claim the precedence which death gives—such as Bishop Hogan, of Kingston, but none so great as Connolly.

Born, in 1814, in that cradle of great men, Cork, he was educated at Rome, where he became a member of the Capuchin Order. Even in his novitiate his powers attracted attention. He was very meditative. In the midst of old olive and laurel trees he used for hours to pace a terrace at Frescati. Frescati is situated on the declivity of a hill about twelve miles from Rome, which, with the looming dome of St. Peter's, is seen below in the far distance in all its magnificence of mystery, and might and mourn-



ing; the Eternal City; the Niobe of Nations; a wilderness of churches, vaults, catacombs; the theatre of the gayest carnival; the grave of so tragic and splendid a past. Can you not imagine how the young novice dreamed and mused as he paced the terrace amid the olive trees, and in the bright morning and deep-glowing evening cast his eye towards the City, over which the breath of time has swept like her own tramontana?

His studies finished, he went to Lyons, where he was ordained priest. His first ministry was in Dublin, where he remained four years. In 1842, he, in the capacity of secretary, accompanied the late Archbishop Walsh, to Halifax. In 1845, he was appointed Administrator of Catholic affairs in Halifax, and Vicar-General of the Diocese. So ably did he acquit himself; with such untiring labours; with so much of spiritual and temporal service to the poor; with so much loving care for immigrants—even when suffering from malignant disease—that in 1852 the Pope constituted him Bishop of St. John, New Brunswick, in succession to Bishop Dollard. When leaving Halifax for New Brunswick, he was presented with a service of plate, and an address in which a well-earned tribute was paid to his fearless zeal. In replying to this address, the young prelate, for he was only thirty-eight, spoke in the true spirit of self-sacrifice: “The right of self-preservation, under such circumstances, was,” he said, “foresworn in the very act of assuming the ministry of that first High Priest who laid down His life for His flock, and who, by example as by word, had proclaimed the universal law that every good shepherd must do the same.”

He spent seven years as Bishop of St. John, where he was universally popular, beloved alike by priest and people. In 1859, on the death of Archbishop Walsh, Connolly was appointed his successor. In Halifax, he rendered service which will never be forgotten. He entered with zeal and energy into every work designed to promote the spiritual or temporal welfare of the people under his care. But such qualities as his excite admiration, and inspire esteem in all breasts. Firmly attached to his faith, he was liberal-minded and tolerant towards those who differed from him. The ill-feeling and bitterness, so often produced by unwise zeal, had no counterpart in Halifax. Protestants as well as Catholics were welcome to his home and hospitality. “His aim,” apparently,

wrote one of the papers\* immediately after his death, "was to promote the most friendly feeling between the Catholics and Protestants of the city, and to his example and efforts, no doubt, is largely due the harmony that exists between the two bodies in Halifax." How true this was, was made more abundantly plain by a letter addressed on July 28th, 1876, to one of the papers, by a Presbyterian minister.†

Among his earliest cares, as Archbishop of Halifax, was the education of his people. Schools, convents and academies rose around. He had the eye of an architect, and the Academy at Mount St. Vincent; the Orphanage, at St. Joseph's, in Nova Scotia; the Cathedral, Academies, and Orphanage, at St. John, are enduring monuments of his energy and aims. But the greatest monument of all is his Cathedral at Halifax, one of the most stupendous works of the present day. The grand front is magnificent beyond description; the amount of money raised, large beyond precedent. Archbishop Connolly worked at this with an energy which filled on-lookers with amazement. If any regrets troubled his last moments, they must have had reference to the fact that he was leaving this structure unfinished.

A born leader of men he did not conceal his predilections, and was the great means of getting the Catholics to work with Dr. Tupper. The champion of Confederation, he wrote and spoke in its favour. What just views he took on Fenianism in its relation to the Catholics of this country is embodied in a letter written to one of the ablest Lieutenant-Governors who have distinguished themselves in British North America. In his friendship for D'Arcy McGee, there was as much of political sympathy as of the kindred impulse of genius. Fond of humour, he was himself humorous, and part of his character was written in his full habit, his florid complexion, his round thoroughly Irish face. He had the ready sympathy which can rise to new exigencies. "I feel," said the most distinguished Presbyterian clergyman in the Lower Provinces, on the morrow of his death, "as if I had not only lost a friend, but, as if Canada had lost a patriot: for in all his big-

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\* *Morning Chronicle*, July 29th, 1876.

† The Rev. Geo. M. Grant, well known in literature as the author of "Ocean to Ocean."

hearted Irish fashion he was ever at heart and in mind and deed a true Canadian."

At the Vatican Council he won a world-wide fame, and put on record his independence of thought, and it may or may not prove his soundness of judgment. He was opposed to the declaration of the Dogma. But after the Council had defined it he accepted it with a logical consistency which was true to his intellect, and a frankness which was in keeping with his geniality.

Intellectually robust, his talents for theology and for public affairs, for the politics of religion and the politics of the world were very great. He had been a wide reader. Literature, Patristic learning, Biblical criticisms, nothing came amiss to him. He was an orator of the most effective of all types, the conversational and familiar, and his homely illustrations went right to men's business and bosoms. Fluent, clear and earnest, sometimes even vehement, he carried with him conviction with the ease and force of stream or wind. He was what is known in the Catholic Church as a "favourite confessor." He was kind to his priests. He was kind to all, though sometimes he lapsed into impulsive severities. A physician, a consoler, an attendant even, to those who were sick and under his charge, it was to him a keen pleasure to delight and surprise an invalid with delicacies, to smooth the pillow of a dying religious, to devote an evening to amusing those whose duties were relieved by few amusements. He died in the midst of his priests and the sisters he had educated, while round the glebe the people gathered in thousands in awful suspense and under the fascination of death for the Celtic imagination. Just as the city clock told the hour of midnight the spirit of the great prelate passed away in that spacious apartment whither he had been removed for air, where for nigh on twenty years his palatial hospitality had been extended to all that was brightest and best in colonial society, where he welcomed the eldest son of his sovereign, where the young members of his congregation were wont to feast in the light of his benevolent smiles, which—now pallid with gloom and overshadowed by death—a scene of prostrate nuns and praying priests—was associated with gladdening wine, the easy, well-bred conversation of the Duke of Newcastle, the stories of Sir John Macdonald, and the wit of McGee.

He had for his health, during the previous winter, visited Bermuda and the West Indies. He returned to Halifax in March. His friends noticed he was not as vigorous as he used to be. On Sunday the 23rd he complained of chills and called in medical aid. On the following Monday he remained in the Glebe House. On Tuesday, believing he was again himself, he drove to his country residence. That night he was restless and had an attack of vomiting. On Wednesday morning, so early as 5 o'clock, he drove to town and again sent for the doctor. By two in the afternoon symptoms of delirium appeared and his case was pronounced to be congestion of the brain. At 4 o'clock he was unconscious and unconscious he remained until death.

The bell of St. Mary's tolled over the midnight city and apprised his weeping people round the Glebe and his friends throughout Halifax, that the end had come. The body having lain in state, suitable obsequies attended his burial on the last day of July, 1876.

Early in the summer of this year his successor was consecrated amid imposing ceremonies. In 1840, when a very young man, Archbishop Hannan arrived in Halifax from Ireland and was appointed teacher in St. Mary's College, recently established by Dean O'Brien. In 1845 he was ordained to the priesthood. For over thirty years his course in the diocese of Halifax has been one of untiring labour. His work was hard and faithful, but not calculated to attract the attention of the outside world. Twenty-three years ago he founded a Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Halifax, and has ever since superintended it with vigilance and judgment. As Vicar-General, he took an active and intelligent interest in the cause of education. Though an advocate of denominational education, he made the most of the general system. As a school commissioner he was universally esteemed. When he retired both Protestants and Catholics united in presenting him with an address expressing their regret at his resignation and gratitude for his invariable kindness and readiness to oblige all, irrespective of religion and nationality. It will be seen he has those qualities which fit him for great place. "Dr. Hannan's mind," says one who can speak authority "is of a different stamp and character from that of his illustrious predecessor—not different in

degree but in mould. Archbishop Connolly was emotional and impetuous, fervid and eloquent to a degree, with clear head and a warm Irish heart, which sometimes carried him away. Dr. Hannan, on the other hand, is calm and equable, with a judgment that is naturally sound and solid, a temper not easily ruffled, and a sagacity but seldom at fault."

All the bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province joined in signing the recommendation to the Pope for his appointment. He is still in the fresh autumn of life.

The Bishop of Sandwich, the Right Reverend John Walsh, D.D., was born in the parish of Mountcoin, Kilkenny, on the 24th May 1830. From his earliest years he felt drawn towards the ministry. After a preliminary course of science and classics he entered St. John's College, Waterford, where he studied philosophy and a portion of his theology with great success. In 1852, carrying out his intention of serving God on a foreign mission, he came to Canada where he entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and here, together with the late Father Synnott, Father Hobin, and several other ecclesiastics of Irish birth, finished his divinity course with great credit. On the 1st of November, 1854, he was ordained priest by Bishop de Charbonnel. Brock was his first mission. In 1857 he was appointed to the pastoral charge of St. Mary's, Toronto. After the consecration of Bishop Lynch, he was appointed Rector of the Cathedral. Bishop Walsh, as pastor of St. Mary's, was greatly esteemed. He has the reputation among the clergy of being a sound and deeply read theologian, well versed in the Scripture and canon law. He is, it is said, an eloquent preacher, and well read in general literature. Amiable, charitable, polished in manners he possesses much force and decision of character. When he became bishop the diocese was encumbered with an enormous debt. Every cent has been paid. Twenty-eight churches and seventeen presbyteries have been built; three convents; an orphanage; an episcopal palace; and no debt incurred. Something less than a year ago he visited Rome. In March he returned and continues his energetic labours amongst a people by whom they are thoroughly appreciated. The Right Reverend prelate resides in London, Canada West.

Bishop Crinnon, of Hamilton, is an able and liberal-minded man.

One of the most remarkable men in the Roman Catholic Church in Canada is the Reverend Father Stafford, of Lindsay, who in the best spot in the country has erected a convent which is a splendid piece of architecture. He was born on the 1st of March, 1832, in Perth. He went to school at Drummond until the age of thirteen; at Perth for the next three years; then to Chambly whence he was removed to Ste. Thérèse College where he spent six years and where he finished his arts course. He afterwards studied theology at Regiopolis for four years under the late Vicar-General McDonell. During these four years he attended the Penitentiary, where his attention was first called to the evils resulting from the use of intoxicants. He was ordained in the summer of 1858, and in the autumn was appointed Director of Regiopolis and Teacher of Logic and Philosophy.

His health failing he was sent to Cuba, but finding Cuba too hot, he spent the winter in South Carolina where he was arrested for speaking against the indecencies practised at an auction of slaves. He was, however,—*Civis Romanus sum*—immediately released, on telling the authorities he was a British subject. He visited Ireland in 1859. The relations between the different classes in Ireland he found it hard to understand. The airs of the “squireens” he could not easily tolerate. Two men assured him that they thought he was a gentleman when they saw him speaking, with his hat on, to Mr. Derby. He came back to this country well pleased with its social condition. “The equality,” he says, “in this country is better than the quality in Ireland. We are more as God made us.” But the Irish squire would think the equality in this country the very child of hell. Such is the power of education. The English squire’s airs would be equally offensive to a man accustomed to our free and easy manners. There may be a little more imperiousness in the Irish gentleman’s manner, arising from the fact that there is not a family of Irish gentry one or more of whose members have not done something great. At their doors there are numerous sins. But they have not been drones. They have not been careful of their lives. The most dreadful oppressions of the Irish tenant have not come from them. Even some of their worst faults, as for instance, their love of duelling, were virtues run to seed.

From Ireland Mr. Stafford went to England, and thence to France. On his return to Canada he resumed his position in Regiopolis College. He afterwards spent seven years on Wolf Island where he succeeded Father Foley who had established a Total Abstinence Society there. In May, 1868, he went to Lindsay. Amongst the people of Victoria he has done a great work as a temperance or rather teetotal propagandist, and as a social force is probably without an equal on this continent.

There are at least six or seven hundred clergymen of all denominations who are entitled by their talent and devotion to a place here. But happily they belong to a class who look for appreciation and reward not to the types of time or the perishable trumpet of fame, but

“To where beyond these voices there is peace.”

How much the late Thomas J. Robertson, M.A., T.C.D., did for the Model and Normal Schools and education generally, should not soon be forgotten. Dr. Hodgins has been pronounced by a competent authority the most “thoroughly trained man in all Canada for the Education Department,” and his energetic action his publications for schools, his reports, show that he has been one of the greatest educational forces in the country.

It would be invidious to select any of the teachers, as we could not mention all who might claim to be mentioned. But Mr. John A. MacCabe, who in Nova Scotia and elsewhere had already given satisfaction, has a right to a niche here as an able educator.

No work commends itself so much to the heart and the head alike, as that which seeks to mitigate affliction in any form. The instruction of the deaf and dumb has now happily been brought to the highest perfection, and armies of teachers are employed to supply the defects with which, owing, no doubt, to vice and ignorance, so many are born. Among these Professor McGann stands pre-eminent. He is connected with the Ontario Institute.

If I could have found space for elaborate, full inquiry into the labours of Irish educators it would be seen how much Canada owes to them and their brethren, the English and Scotch. The Scotch show a strong predilection for the work of education—a pregnant hint for those who think mainly of making money, for

it explains Scotch success. The Scotchman, more than any man in modern times, has mastered the truth that knowledge is power. More than our indebtedness to the schoolmaster would have been shown, had the cramping exigencies of one volume not barred my way. It would have been seen then that old world ingratitude to the men who stand at the fountain head of the mighty stream we others

“lightly skim,  
And gently sip the dimply river’s brim,”

exists here. Burke said he would have the mitred front of the Church raise itself in the Parliament of the Empire. I would have the pillars of our educational system to illustrate and enlighten our Senate. We do not realize how trying is their work, how much they sacrifice. “A great school,” says Dr. Arnold “is very trying; it never can present images of rest and peace; and when the spring and activity of youth are altogether unsanctified by anything pure and elevated in its desires, it becomes a spectacle that is dizzying and almost more morally distressing, than the shouts and gambols of a set of lunatics.” Everything should be done to encourage the best men, therefore, not only to enter, but to remain in this field where the future nation is moulded. “There is,” says Fuller, “scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary.” He might have made the proposition unqualified. When the schoolmaster knows his work and does his duty, there is, as Guizot eloquently insists, no more glorious figure in a free community; and when we remember that neither fortune nor fame waits on his laborious toil; toil not only laborious but monotonous; often requited by ingratitude; nearly always badly paid; the unnumbered sacrifices the poor pedagogue makes for those who profit by him; his patience; it will perhaps be forced on the dullest mind that the world which neglects so many of its benefactors has no where, than here, displayed thanklessness more dire.



## CHAPTER XVI.

FROM the departure of Mr. Hincks, until the present time, is contemporary history. In 1856, the Premiership of Sir Allan MacNab gave place to that of M. Taché, who was ostensibly first in an Administration of which Mr. John A. Macdonald was the real head. Mr. Macdonald rehabilitated the shattered popularity of the Government, and in the face of Mr. George Brown's vigorous opposition, carried it safely through a stormy session. Towards the close of the ensuing year, Mr. Macdonald became titular Premier, and his virtual power was stamped with the seal of official recognition, a wholesome change, since tyranny and corruption are naturally incident to *rois fainéants* and secret powers. The existing Parliament had been chosen under the auspices of Mr. Hincks, and it might well have been thought by the new Premier and his friends that their position and prospects would be improved by a general election. Parliament was accordingly dissolved, and in a general election, fought with more than common energy and bitterness, the Reformers, from whose ranks the Hincksites disappeared, won a majority in Upper Canada, while the Conservatives were equally fortunate in Lower Canada—a state of things which, leading to the abandonment of the double majority, raised an embarrassing agitation for representation by population, produced a dead-lock, and thus precipitated the natural and national event of Confederation.

A large number of new members were chosen. Among them were two Irishmen of genius, John Sheridan Hogan, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

John Sheridan Hogan was born in Ireland, in 1815, of a good but impoverished family. He emigrated to Canada when he was

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[AUTHORITIES:—MacMullen's "History;" Hogan's "Essay on Canada;" "Poems of T. D. McGee, with Copious Notes, also an Introduction and Biographical Sketch," by Mrs. J. Sadlier; "Thomas D'Arcy McGee: Sketch of his Life and Death," by Fennings Taylor; "Speeches and Addresses on British American Union," by T. D. McGee.

only eleven years of age, and was received into the house of his uncle, who resided in Toronto. The poor boy did not find this home congenial to him, and one morning he left the house with a little bundle of clothes, all his worldly goods, to carve out for himself his own independence. The young adventurer soon obtained employment in the office of a newspaper at Hamilton. He afterwards became foreman, and ultimately gained a place on the editorial staff. He then entered the office of Sir Allan MacNab to study law, for which, however, he never seems to have had any strong taste. He had a fine literary faculty, and a paper he contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine*, on the political affairs of Canada, at once established his reputation. His name was even more prominently brought before the public, by his arrest in the United States for being concerned in the burning of the "Caroline," while his Essay on Canada, which was awarded by the Paris Exhibition Committee the first prize, gave consistency to his public character, and bound him more closely to the hearts of the generous Canadian people who, feeling that he appreciated the country and its inhabitants, readily acknowledged the claims of his brilliant talents. He became the editor in chief of the *Colonist*. Now, when we introduce him to the reader, he has just been elected for the County of Grey—a county into which he went without money or friends. His parliamentary career was cut short in December, 1859. His real murderers remained undiscovered until 1861. The accused, however, were successful in proving an *alibi*.

On the Don Bridge there was a gang, called the Brook's Bush Gang, and Hogan, who was in the habit of visiting some old friends on the Kingston Road, was also accustomed, as he passed this bridge, to give the gang something for whiskey. On this fatal night he had about him the unusual sum of £80. He put his hand into his pocket and drew out the roll of notes. This sealed his doom. One of the gang put a stone in a handkerchief and brained him. Having taken the roll of notes, they thrust him through a hole in the bridge.

But the most remarkable man introduced into Parliament at this period was one whose death was to be as tragic as that of Hogan, though the murderous motive equally ignoble subjectively,

was of a character to draw over the event an Imperial light, and mingle with his precious gore the tears of nations ; to give him in addition to his many claims on universal interest—enthusiast, poet, orator, littérateur, journalist, historian, wit—that which in the case of eminent persons seems to appeal more powerfully than all others to the human heart—the charm of a fatal doom in an unselfish generous cause ; to give him moreover, in the eye and heart of all Canada, the character of a proto-martyr for her national life.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee was born at Carlingford, County Louth, on the 13th of April, 1825. His father, Mr. James McGee, was in the Coast Guard service. His mother, Dorcas Catherine, who was the daughter of Mr. Morgan, a Dublin bookseller, was an educated woman. His father excepted, all the men of his family on both sides had belonged to the United Irishmen, and McGee in his childhood not only drank in poetry from the grand and lovely scenery of the Rosstrevor coast, but imbibed national aspirations which, at that time, were only too natural for those of his class and creed. When he was eight years old the family removed to Wexford, where the elder McGee had received a more lucrative appointment from that Government, his son was to seek to overturn. His mother, a good musician and singer, loved the sweet old Gaelic melodies which, in the writings of Moore and Burns, have added so much imperishable wealth to English literature ; she was also of a devout spirit ; and her love for Gaelic song, her enthusiasm for Ireland, her religious sentiment, she transmitted to her favourite child ; even as Lord Lytton's mother gave her son his passion for literature ; Moore's mother, her diminutive prodigy, his social grace and wit ; John Ramsay's mother, her fearless Scotch lad, his racy character and pregnant tongue ; Napoleon's mother—the old lioness—her little Buonaparte, his restless nature and Imperial will ; Macaulay's mother, her at first unwilling scholar, his all but unrivalled yearning towards books ; Goethe's mother, her mighty boy, his free nature and lyric heart. The mother makes us most. She holds all the planet in her palm. Her shaping love, her tireless cares are ever around her offspring. The father engaged in business or study is comparatively seldom seen, but the mother is ever and “all there.” The circle of her influence is around her

children, an abiding protection, a ceaseless spell. She either dresses or superintends their dressing. It is with her they take their earliest walk. It is her voice soothes them in pain, her lips which kiss their ready tears away. She teaches them their manners, their lessons, their prayers. She tucks them in their little cot and sings them to sleep; she is their guide, their refuge, their play-fellow

“Low bended to their tiny level,”

and as their minds expand, she becomes their ideal of whatever is tender, and beautiful, and good. Thackeray may well say there is no woman like a mother. Her love is not earth-born; its noon is calm as heaven, and warm and bright, but with no sultry splendour; its impulses are no winged wavelets of fleeting seas; its flowers are not heart-stricken in their bloom; and when life's red leaves are blown in later Autumn's blast, they shed abroad on the else wholly wintry scene, unfading beauty and immortal fragrance. To McGee, though he lost his mother early, her memory was throughout a chequered life, a star of guidance and inspiration.

When only seventeen, he determined to emigrate to America, and made his way to his aunt in Providence, R. I., whence he went to Boston, just at the time the “Repeal Movement” was at its height amongst the Irish population of that city. He arrived in the Athens of America in June, 1842. When the 4th of July came round, his imagination was fired by the general jubilation, and he addressed the people, enchaining their attention and stirring their hearts with the skill of a born orator. A day or two afterward, the young exile was offered a situation on the *Boston Pilot*, of which, some two years later, he became editor. His speeches, his lectures, his writing, attracted the attention of O'Connell, and he was invited to take a leading position on the editorial staff of the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*. Three years after he had left his home, an unknown adventurous boy, he returned, having won reputation and fame, to be a colleague of O'Connell. He was acting as Parliamentary correspondent—an office in which so many statesmen have learned their craft—when the split occurred in the Repeal party, and he cancelled his engagement, and hurried over

to Dublin to assist Charles Gavan Duffy in editing the *Nation*. The "rising" in Ireland having signally failed, McGee crossed over to Derry from Scotland, where he had been enlisting active sympathy for the "cause." At Derry he found his young wife—"my Molly," as he used in after years to call her—and after an affecting parting, disguised as a priest, he sailed for the United States. He immediately started the *New York Nation*, a journal which was a great success, until he attacked the Irish Roman Catholic clergy for the part they had played in the '48 business. This led to a controversy with Bishop Hughes, from which the *Nation* never recovered, and McGee, therefore, determined to stop the paper, and removed to Boston where he commenced the publication of the *American Celt*, which, during the first two years, breathed "revolutionary ardour." But about the year 1852, a revolution took place in the mind of the editor, and in that year he addressed a letter to a friend—Thomas Francis Meagher—in which he denounced "the recent conspiracy against the peace and existence of Christendom." Rarely has such a summersault been made. He declared that he had discovered his ignorance; that in Ireland they had not studied principles; that he had found out his superficiality; that he could really do no more than string sentences together; that he had to look to it—he had a soul! The production is a most singular one, in which in transcendental language, he registers the fact that he had cast the slough of rebellion; that he had passed from a Republican to a Monarchist, from an ardent Liberal to a quietist Conservative, from holding that politics are independent of the Church, to subjecting to it the whole conduct of life, public and private. Such a wholesale and almost instantaneous revolution was as open to cynical comment as the conduct of a mourning bride, who suddenly throws off her crape and looks of woe, to become the gayest of young widows; and his old friends of revolutionary days assailed him with traditional vehemence and congenial bitterness. This ultimately led to his gladly accepting an invitation from leading Roman Catholic Irishmen to come to Canada.

A man of extraordinary versatility and great power of fitful, hardly of sustained labour—the one gift which is indispensable to a man determined not to be the tool of others—he found time

while editing the *Celt* to lecture and compose poems. All his life he was writing poetry. He was a pleasing, but not a great poet; he had mastered the accomplishment of verse; the energy and faculty divine was not around him like storm, was not in his heart like fire; and his song is interesting mainly because in other spheres he proved himself a great man. They display an intense love of country, and occasionally great felicity, as when he says:

“ All Europe shakes from shore to shore ;  
The Jews bid for her crowns ;  
*Democracy with sullen roar,*  
*Affrights her feudal towns.*”

Mr. Disraeli had probably read McGee's poems before he described Ireland as surrounded by a melancholy ocean. In the first of the “Three sonnets of St. Patrick's Day,” Ireland, before the introduction of Christianity, is beautifully described as

“ Like Sinful Eve  
Hidden amid the thickest Eden grove,  
Our island-mother knew not of her hope!  
*Enfolded by the melancholy main,*  
A sea of foliage fill'd the eagle's eye—  
A sea within a sea—one wave-wash'd wood,  
Save when some breezy mountain, bare and brown,  
Rose 'mid the verdant desert to the skies !”

The following verse in “The Heart's Resting Place” is not unworthy of Tennyson, while it shows his love of country:—

“ Where'er I turn'd, some emblem still  
Roused consciousness upon my track ;  
Some hill was like an Irish hill,  
Some wild bird's whistle call'd me back ;  
A sea-bound ship bore off my peace  
Between its white, cold wings of woe ;  
Oh ! if I had but wings like these,  
Where my peace went I too would go.”

He had great plans and great ideas. He contemplated an epic, to be styled “The Emigrants.” But people who have to earn their bread from day to day cannot write epics, and in one poem he seems to express disappointment at the reception he met with in the United States.

In Montreal he started the *New Era*, and ranging himself in opposition, he was returned, as we have seen, to Parliament for

one of the Divisions of Montreal at the General Election in 1858. He was, from the moment he entered the House, stamped as the ablest speaker in it, though he did not at first catch its ear, and he brought to discussion a wit of rare readiness and brilliancy, and language rich with the flavour of wide reading and literary feeling.

Foley opposed the Government with an invective which was described by favourable critics as withering. Hogan, who had devoted his great literary talents to placing Mr. John A. Macdonald, when he was a young politician, above the other Conservative leaders, a position to which his talents entitled him, also swelled the volume of attack; but undoubtedly the sharpest and most imperial wit now confronting Ministers was D'Arcy McGee's. In those days, if we may believe Mr. Taylor—writing, however, as it seems to me, not from a purely literary standpoint, but from one adopted as much with an eye to passing party considerations as to that of abiding historical truth—D'Arcy McGee at first gave the impression that he would sacrifice everything to a laugh, and that he could speak but not reason. In his first speech his witty points were calculated to do as much harm to his adversaries as the sterner artillery of reason. One of his darts has been attributed to Hogan. Mr. Cayley, the Inspector-General, had been defeated in the Counties of Huron and Bruce. One of the electioneering cards he had played was of doubtful taste. He presented to several Orange Lodges beautifully bound copies of the Sacred Scriptures. McGee, alluding to this, said he perceived with that degree of gratification a mere worldling might be expected to feel in such subjects, that the Inspector-General had presented to several associations in the Counties of Huron and Bruce copies of the Sacred Scriptures. The electors appeared to have learned thence the lesson of retributive justice, for although they accepted the Gospel they rejected the missionary.

Though the Opposition was so strong in Upper Canada, Ministers held their seats. The question of representation by population, without regard to the dividing line between Upper and Lower Canada, was argued, but only to be negatived.

Parliament had voted \$900,000 for the erection of public buildings at such place as Her Majesty might select for the capital. She

had fixed on Ottawa, where there was, owing to the prudence of Colonel By, a bold headland reserved by the Crown, which offered an advantageous site. On the 28th July, a motion regretting that Ottawa had been selected as the capital, was carried by fourteen. This was a catch vote; Conservatives from Upper and Lower Canada voted for it; but it gave no ground for hoping for a majority, as the moment an alternative to Ottawa was proposed, it would alienate either Upper or Lower Canada. Besides, the defeated Ministers were strengthened by the subtle forces of chivalrous sympathy, loyalty, and the undoubted wisdom of the advice on which a young Queen had acted.

Mr. Brown was written to by the Governor, asking him to form a new Administration. Mr. Brown seems to have required a pledge respecting the dissolution of Parliament. This the Governor refused. He would, however, consent to a prorogation, provided a few bills of importance were passed and supplies voted. Mr. Brown accepted these conditions. His Cabinet contained within it three Irishmen.\* A vote of want of confidence was passed by both houses. Mr. Brown demanded a dissolution. This demand was refused by Sir Edmund Head. Mr. Brown resigned. The Cartier-Macdonald Ministry was formed, in which Mr. John Ross, President of the Council, represented the Irish element. It was on this occasion the famous "double shuffle" took place, of which the Governor and the country afterwards heard so much.

On the 9th, Mr. Baldwin died. It would be hard to justify the constituency that rejected him, and still harder to excuse the resistance to his re-entrance into public life. Mr. John A. Macdonald and John Sandfield Macdonald and their friends met, with all of worth and learning in the Province, at Osgoode Hall, to do honour to his remains. In him the words of the great Hebrew bard and prophet are exemplified: "The memory of the just is blessed."

In the Governor's speech, opening the Session of 1859, it was stated that the union of all British North America had formed a

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\* The Irish have an asterisk. Upper Canada:—Georgé Brown; James Morris; \*M. H. Foley, (Postmaster-General); J. Sandfield Macdonald; Oliver Mowat; \*Dr. Connor, Lower Canada:—\*L. T. Drummond; A. A. Dorion; M. Thibodeau; M. Lemieux; L. H. Holton; M. Laberge.



subject of correspondence with the Home Government, and that it was necessary to carry out the Statute and the Queen's decision in respect of a permanent seat of Government. The question of Confederation had already enlisted Mr. McGee's enthusiastic advocacy.

Early in the Session of 1860, Foley moved a direct vote of want of confidence in Ministers. McGee bitterly assailed them on the ground that they had trifled with the Separate School question in regard to which a vote of want of confidence was moved. Mr. Brown moved on the 8th of May, resolutions affirming the failure of the Union. These resolutions were voted down, but the question was not set at rest, and his "joint authority" scheme was ultimately vindicated. Parliament was soon prorogued, to assemble again to greet the Prince of Wales. The Session of 1861 passed without anything calling for comment here, and in the autumn Sir Edmund Head was succeeded by Lord Monck.

The man who had now been appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Canada, and Governor-General of British America, was born at Templemore, Tipperary, in 1810, being a son of the third Viscount, by the youngest daughter of the late John Wellington, Esq., of Killooskehan, in the same county. Educated at Trinity College, he was called to the Irish Bar in 1841. He was chosen one of the members for Portsmouth, in the Liberal interest, in 1852, and re-elected in 1855, but was defeated in 1857. In the spring of 1861, he unsuccessfully contested Dudley. He was, however, bound to get an appointment, as he had been a lord of the Treasury from 1855 till 1858. In 1866, he was made a peer of the United Kingdom.

He was, like other Irish governors, singularly successful in winning golden opinions. His rule extended over the critical period of the American Civil War. The Government having been defeated on the Militia Bill, resigned, and John Sandfield Macdonald was entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. In his Cabinet were Mr. Foley from Upper and Mr. McGee from Lower Canada. The new Ministry announced the restoration of the double majority in all matters locally affecting either sections of the Province as part of their programme. As the Upper Canada section of the Cabinet, John Sandfield Macdonald, Adam Wilson, James

Morris, W. P. Howland, William McDougall, and Foley had not insisted on representation by population being made a Government question, they were attacked in the columns of the leading Reform organ, the *Globe*.

Lord Palmerston had commented adversely on the defeat of the Militia Bill of the Macdonald-Cartier Government. England had done as much to defend the Canadians as it intended to do. Lord Monck echoed the warning. These warnings stimulated that military enthusiasm, in the direction of which Irishmen played an important part.

In the autumn, a visit of the Governor to Upper Canada to open the Provincial Exhibition at Toronto added to his growing popularity.

In 1863 the Ministry were defeated on a vote of want of confidence, proposed by Mr. John A. Macdonald. The Prime Minister determined to appeal to the country, and preparatory to doing so reconstructed his Cabinet. From the new Cabinet, McGee, Sicotte, and Foley were excluded. These voted and acted with the Opposition, and the onslaught on Ministers for the changes in the Cabinet and for abandoning the double majority, was rendered more formidable by Foley's invective and McGee's various artillery.

The Government lived through the session of 1863 only to be forced to resign early in the following year, when Sir E. P. Tache formed a Government which included McGee and Foley. A leading feature in the policy of the new Government was to place the Militia on a sound footing. Foley, on going back to his constituency was rejected, and the Cabinet, weakened by the defection of two of its members, was beaten on an important division. There was a dead lock; the wisdom of Mr. Brown's policy was acknowledged; communications were opened with that gentleman, the result being the formation of a Government in which Mr. Brown was to have three seats placed at his disposal, in a Coalition Government, pledged to carry Confederation.

Mr. McGee had already in and out of the house advocated Confederation, and to him is due the chief credit of having all over British North America, in the Maritime Provinces as well as in Ontario, popularized the idea. Among those Irishmen, who, with

McGee, pleaded in Parliament, for that for which every eminent politician, with one exception, pleaded, were the Hon. J. C. Aikens, the Hon Wm. McMaster, the Hon. John Ross, in the Upper House, and in the Lower House, Mr. James O'Halloran and many others. Col. McGivern, well-known as a successful merchant, as a railway man, as a military man, also swelled the volume of eloquence advocating Confederation.

While some Irishmen were playing useful, and others useful and distinguished parts in the foundation of the Dominion, misguided men of the same nationality, acting on motives it is impossible to understand, adopting a course which no wrongs in Ireland could justify, aimed what was meant as a deadly blow at a young and unoffending nation.

The miserable attempt of Fenians to disturb this country led McGee, as it led Archbishop Connolly, to write and speak eloquently in the praise of our free institutions and in denunciation of a conspiracy, which, by no single feature of sanity or generosity could appeal either to the judgment or the heart.

On the 8th of June, the very day the Hochelaga Volunteers were repelling one of the last waves of a rowdy invasion on the eastern frontier, the new parliament buildings at Ottawa were opened to receive the Legislature of the country. These buildings have not been incorrectly described as the finest buildings of the kind on this continent, and a correct taste would prefer them to the parliament buildings, which rise amid the smoke of London by the darkened Thames. This imposing structure was built by an Irishman, the Hon. Thomas McGreevy, M.P. for Quebec West, who is connected with several great enterprises. He was for several years a member of the City Council, Quebec, and sat for Stadacona in the Legislative Council, Quebec, from November, 1867, until January, 1874. He describes himself as a Conservative, but perfectly independent of any Government, his policy being what it has ever been, to do what he believes is most for the good of the Dominion.

During the course of the Session, the resolutions necessary to the Scheme of Confederation were passed, and in August, the last parliament of United Canada rose, the Ministry having lost during the year, Mr. Brown in January, and Mr. Galt early in August.

The jealousy of the Americans at seeing a strong and united nation established on their frontier need not be dwelt on. Nor need we speak of the Fenian trials at Toronto, further than to say that the law was fearlessly and justly administered, and that justice was tempered with clemency.

Early in 1867, the British North America Act passed the Imperial Parliament, while McGee was busy as one of the Canadian Commissioners to the Paris Exhibition. From Paris he addressed a remarkable letter to his constituents, and through them to the whole Dominion, counselling all how a place might be won in the family of States, which few European nations had attained.

The arrangements for the New Dominion did not include a portfolio for D'Arcy McGee, who waived his claim in order to make room for another Catholic Irishman, whose entrance into the Cabinet would be welcome to Nova Scotia—the Hon. Mr. Kenny. Mr. Kenny was the only Irishman in the Cabinet. It is a noteworthy fact that the first Cabinet of the New Dominion did not contain a single man from Ontario or Quebec, of the blood of Baldwin.

The election of 1867 took place during the summer, immediately after the Privy Councillors were sworn in. McGee's seat was fiercely contested. He represented a part of Montreal which was the seat of the "local head centre" of Fenianism. Another Irish Catholic, Mr. Devlin, contested the seat, and every vile epithet calculated to rouse ignorant Irish Catholics was hurled at McGee. He had, as his manner was, gone right round from denying the existence of Fenianism in Montreal, to exaggerating the extent of it, and denouncing it not in undeserved terms, but in terms which seemed violent from a man of his past history. He won his election, but by a majority which convinced him his power had greatly waned. He had, however, the consolation that if he had lost popularity, he had lost it sincerely active in enlightening his countrymen. There is reason to believe he had prior to the election been aware of how much influence he had sacrificed to right and truth, for he had determined to take an office of some value at Ottawa, to retire from politics, and in the Capital of the Dominion where his voice had been so often heard, near and in the magnificent Library of Parliament Buildings, to do good literary

work, and take an additional bond of fame. Some years before he had written:—

I dreamed a dream when the woods were green,  
 And my April heart made an April scene,  
 In the far, far distant land;  
 That even I might something do  
 That should keep my memory for the true,  
 And my name from the spoiler's hand.

His mind too, always religious as that of a man of poetic turn cannot fail to prove, though in the darkness of unbelief and the fury and storm of passion, he be unable to see the mountains which climb to heaven, and the orphaned heart dares not assert its Divine filiation. McGee had, of late too, become decidedly "serious"; the shadow of impending doom was on him; and the future from which his heart took a steady glow was bounded by no earthly horizon. Politics and public life, he now said had not been his choice. He drifted into those troubled waters by force of circumstances. He longed for the calm pursuits of literature. Perhaps, sometimes he longed for quieter halls than even those in which in silence unbroken by the vulgar voice of man, we commune with the mighty dead. There was a day when he yearned for the long sleep and the unenvied home, when he found no sympathy in the States, and the iron went into his soul. The import of the little poem, "Ad Misericordiam" is unmistakable.\*

He had conquered a habit which was for a long time a spot on the bright sun of his genius and character, and completely ignored "the sweet poison of misused wine;" a thing very hard to do,—almost heroic for a man who possesses great social gifts. Perhaps he felt that wedded in youth to the chaste beauty of literature, he had squandered hours due to her on less serene attractions. His health was not what it was in those days of youth, when men can outwatch the stars and shake themselves free from all associations, like the sun breaking from the withholding arms of night—those wasted irrevocable hours in which men draw on the future, and project into life, even before its evening, the long persistent shadows of remorse. If the object of his retiring from politics was to give

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\* See "Poems" p. 505.

more scope to religious feeling, who shall use the word "premature" in regard to the tragic close at hand? But if it was that he might return with an atoning love to the bosom of literature, if that with passionate repentant devotion he might, undistracted by all cares, heap costlier offerings on her shrine, then his resolve, like most human resolves, came "too late." Yet if he could have chosen a fate which would be most in accordance with his dearest aspirations it was that which befell him. The base flash of the assassin's fire did as much for his fame as the blaze of his glorious wit.

On the St. Patrick's Day of 1868, he was entertained at a banquet in Ottawa city, and in his speech, he dwelt on the necessity of satisfying the just demands of the Irish people. That speech was copied and commented on throughout the empire. He remarked in the course of it that even a "silent" Irishman might do something to serve his country. On the very night of his murder he had on a question of tampering with the Union between Nova Scotia and Canada, eulogised Confederation, speaking, as he said, not as a representative of any race, in any Province, but as emphatically a Canadian. Before these words had ceased to echo along the corridors of the Parliament buildings, while smoking a cigar and enjoying the moonlight, just as he had reached the door of his temporary home he fell dead, shot by a fellow-countryman from behind. We Irish are a chivalrous people—by what fatality is it that we have occasionally produced such dastards? D'Arcy McGee fell a martyr to the interests of Canada, and the magnificent pomp of his funeral expressed the sorrow and admiration of the country, a sorrow and admiration which was felt by Scotchmen and Englishmen, by Frenchmen and Germans—deeply felt by those of all races born on our soil. The morning which rose on the murderous act was one of those in our history in which the country has appeared at its best. The press groaned with sorrow. From all sides came testimonies to the merits of the dead. In the House of Commons there was a full attendance of members, and the galleries were crowded. When the Speaker had taken the chair, Sir John A. Macdonald rose amid breathless silence, and, manifesting an emotion which stopped his utterance for some time, proceeded to pay

his tribute to McGee, preparatory to moving the adjournment of the House. "He who last night, nay this morning, was with us, whose voice is still ringing in our ears, who charmed us with his marvellous eloquence, elevated us by his large statesmanship and instructed us by his wisdom, his patriotism, is no more—is foully murdered. If ever a soldier who fell on the field of battle deserved well of his country, Thomas D'Arcy McGee deserved well of Canada and its people." Sir John A. Macdonald proceeded to delineate the beautiful character of "our departed friend," a man of the kindest and most generous impulse, who "might have lived a long and respected life had he chosen the easy path of popularity rather than the stern one of duty." Mr. Mackenzie, in seconding the motion dwelt on Mr. McGee's generous disposition, "characteristic of the man and his country," nor could there in his opinion be a doubt that he had fallen a victim to the noble and patriotic course he had pursued. Mr. Cartier, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Anglin, Mr. Chauveau, Mr. E. M. Macdonald, Mr. Stuart Campbell, each laid his garland on the corpse of the murdered statesman.

The history of Canada since 1867 belongs to contemporary politics.

In 1869, Irish Catholics, under the impression that they were not fairly dealt with in regard to political position and patronage, formed what is known as the "Catholic League," with Mr. John O'Donohoe as president. Of this League Mr. John McKeown, now of St. Catharines, Captain Larkin, of St. Catharines, Mr. Jeremiah Merrick, of Toronto, Mr. O'Hanly, of Ottawa, the Hon. Mr. Fraser, were leading spirits. Mr. O'Donohoe who sat for some time for East Toronto, is a barrister, whose career shows energy and ambition. Mr. McCrosson was also a member of the League, and he has of late started a paper which is ably written and ably edited—I allude to the *Tribune* of Toronto—a Catholic journal *pur sang*. Mr. McCrosson comes from Strabane, County Tyrone, and is one of those men whose business avocations cannot dull their love of reading and political speculation. In the summer of 1869, Sir. Francis Hincks returned to Canada and was soon after offered by Sir. John Macdonald his old office of Finance Minister which he accepted on the 9th Oct. and which he resigned on the 22nd Feb. 1873, eight months before the Cabinet resigned.

Having joined the Government he engaged both in departmental and political work during the ensuing three years. "But," says the writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* "when the Parliament was about to expire in 1872, he intimated to the leader of the Government his fixed determination to retire from public life. He was induced so far to modify this determination as to postpone its execution until after the election, and it was not until Feb. 7th, 1873, that he carried it into effect. Having been elected without his knowledge for Vancouver in British Columbia, he retained his seat during the ensuing session, giving an independent support to his old colleagues and explaining that his retirement from the Government was not caused by any difference on public questions. A change of Government having taken place some months later in the autumn of 1873, Sir Francis Hincks did not seek re-election and has now entirely withdrawn from public life." On leaving the Government he accepted the office of President of the Montreal City Bank, which, having been since amalgamated with the Royal Canadian, is now the Consolidated Bank of Canada.

How the Reform party was reinforced in 1867, by the Hon. Edward Blake's entrance into public life; the fall of the Sandfield Macdonald Ministry; the formation of an Ontario Government, with Mr. Blake at its head; how Mr. Blake was elected to the House of Commons for West Durham in 1867, the same year he was elected to the Local House for South Bruce; how in 1872, he was elected to the Commons both for West Durham and South Bruce, and decided to sit for South Bruce; how he was sworn a member of the Privy Council in November, 1873; how he resigned in February, 1874; how he was meanwhile returned for South Bruce; how he was re-elected by acclamation on his acceptance of the portfolio of Minister of Justice in the summer of 1875; his exchange of this laborious office for that of President of the Council, for reasons that every respectable man of every party heard with sympathy and regret—all this is familiar. Not less familiar are the leading events in his more private life; his birth in the Township of Adelaide in 1833; how he was educated at Upper Canada College, and at the University, where he was silver medallist in classics, and took the degree of M.A., in 1858;



his almost unparalleled success at the bar ; how he refused the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court, having previously declined a position on the Ontario Bench. His great ability as a lawyer and orator, it is unnecessary to dwell on for it is universally acknowledged. His career and character would furnish an interesting theme for disquisition, were this a suitable place for such comment, for the position his countrymen gave him, on his entrance into public life, is without an analogue in history. All that was young and generous in the country went out to him with feelings of admiration, and pride, and confidence, and hope.

A large number of Irishmen and men of Irish descent, entered public life during the period with which we are now concerned ; Mr. Cyril Archibald, M.P., for Stormont ; the Hon. Arthur Bunster, M.P., for Vancouver, who was born in Queen's County in 1833 ; George Elliot Casey, B.A., M.P., for West Elgin, a son of the late Mr. William Casey, who, with his wife settled in the Talbot Settlement in 1817 ; Mr. James Cunningham, J. P., M. P., for Westminster, born at Anyevny, County Monaghan ; Mr. William Donahue, M.P., for Missisquoi ; Mr. William Kerr, M.A., M.P., for West Northumberland ; Mr. Andrew Monteith, M. P., for North Perth, born in the North of Ireland ; Mr. William Murray, M.P., for North Renfrew ; Mr. Samuel Platt, M.P., for East Toronto, born in Armagh, in 1812 ; Mr. Joseph Ryan, M.P., for Marquette ; Mr. John White, M.P., for East Hastings, born in the Town of Donegal, he is Grand Master of the Orange Assembly of Ontario East, and Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Black Chapter of Orangemen in the Dominion ; Mr. Robert Wilkes, late M.P., for Centre Toronto, wholesale merchant of great energy, who from the position of a clerk has raised himself to wealth ; Mr. Andrew Trew Wood, M.P., for Hamilton ; Mr. James Marshall Ferris, J.P., M.P.P., for East Northumberland ; the Hon. Christopher Finlay Fraser, M.P.P., for South Grenville, one of whose parents is Irish. He was one of the originators of the Catholic League. He entered the Local House in 1867, and in 1873, became Provincial Secretary and Registrar, an office he held until 1874, when he was appointed Commissioner of Public Works. He is an able man, and no doubt owes some of his ability to each of his parents. There still remain to be mentioned. Mr. William Hargraft, J.P., M.P.P., for West North-

umberland; Mr. William Harkin, M.D.C.M., M.P.P., for Prescott; Mr. John Kean, J.P., M.P.P., for East Simcoe; Mr. John Lane, J.P., M.P.P., for East York, born in Tipperary, in 1818; Mr. Thomas Long, M.P.P., for North Simcoe; Mr. William Rolph Meredith, L.L.B., M.P.P., for London, who has already been mentioned; Mr. William Mostyn, M.D., M.P.P., for North Lanark; Mr. John O'Sullivan, M.D., M.P.P., for East Peterborough; Mr. John, Colebrooke Patterson, M.P.P., North Essex; Mr. Peter Patterson, M.P.P., for West York; Mr. William Robinson, M.P.P., for Kingston; Mr. James Cowan, M.D., M.P.P., for High Bluff, Manitoba. Among the men called to the Senate in this period, was a man, who is the foremost cattle importer and breeder in the Province of Quebec—the Hon. Mathew Henry Cochrane, whose family came here from the North of Ireland. While I write, a large number of the shorthorns of this gentleman have realized an immense sum in England, the average being higher than was ever realized anywhere excepting Australia. Two heifers between them, fetched eight thousand four hundred guineas. The sale it is hoped will direct attention to Canada's capabilities, not only to supply butchers meat, but for raising shorthorns. It also proves that Canadian breeders can rely on a market in England. In 1876 Mr. Dalton McCarthy was elected for Cardwell. Mr. McCarthy was born in Dublin, where he received part of his early education. He is a Bencher of the Law Society, a successful lawyer, and gives the greatest promise as a politician. His first speech in parliament marked him as a man for whom all things may be hoped. He is a strong supporter of Sir John A. Macdonald.

In November, 1868, Lord Monck, having presided over the early days of our life as a Dominion, was succeeded by Sir John Young (Lord Lisgar) who was in 1872, succeeded by the Earl of Dufferin, the greatest Governor we have had since Carleton.

Lord Dufferin was born in 1826. In 1591, John Blackwood was born in Scotland. He early settled in County Down. His son and grandson bore the same name as the original settler. The third John Blackwood's son, Sir Robert Blackwood, married the only daughter of Isaac Macartney. Their son, Sir John Blackwood had several children. The second son, James, inherited in 1808, the peerage, which had meanwhile come into the family,

and was succeeded by his brother Hans, who married Mehetabel-Hester, second daughter of Robert Temple. Hans was succeeded by Price, who had been a Captain in the Royal Navy. He married on the 4th of July, 1825, Helen Selina, daughter of the late Thomas Sheridan Esq., son of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

A foolish question as to Lord Dufferin's nationality was raised some time ago, and therefore the general question of nationality may be dealt with here. A man belongs to that country in which he was born. His connexion with it, is of course, strong in proportion to the length of time his family has been there. But if any other test of nationality be adopted, all kinds of confusion are introduced into the discussion. There was a time when the forefather of the Irish Celt was not Irish, because his people had never been so far westward. The two most powerful influences in determining character, are climate and association, which last might be called moral climate.\* Race, of course, counts for something. But most of the typical Irish gentlemen of the last century had but little Celtic blood in their veins. Yet their vivacity, fun, frolic, and wit, have passed into a proverb. The mercurial character of the Irishman must be accounted for in great part by atmospheric conditions. The moral conditions must also be allowed due weight. When the Englishman or the Dane settled among the lively Celts, his children growing up among Celtic friends, allies, servants, became in manner as Celtic as their associates, though there would remain certain elements of heart and mind tracable to the German or Scandinavian tribe whence they drew their blood. The physical atmosphere however, as Monsieur Davy shows, is a powerful shaper of our characters and destinies; it is one of those circumstances which decide beforehand our place in the intellectual, moral, and spiritual scale; which class us before we are in the cradle, which before we have learned to lisp, draw the draft of the epitaph which if truth prevailed should be placed upon our tomb.

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\* "Atmospheric conditions work on the individual, and powerfully on the offspring, affecting the character, mental and moral; deciding the physical temperament;" see "Les mouvements de l'Atmosphère et des Mers, considérés au Point de Vue de la Prévission du Temps" par H. Marie Davy. Paris, Victor Masson et Fils, Place de l'Ecole-de-Medicine, 1866.

It makes a great difference whether that atmosphere has or has not been breathed by our forefathers for many generations, and whether or not it has been associated with a moral atmosphere belonging to an established national type. I have treated Robert Baldwin as an Irishman, because both his parents were Irish, because his associations throughout life from boyhood up were Irish, because his own children to-day are in type Irish gentlemen of a not remote period, because, moreover, when he was growing up, no Canadian type had developed, as indeed no distinctive type has yet developed. Yet of course, there is a true sense in which Robert Baldwin was more a Canadian than an Irishman, and he was always proud to dwell on his claim to, so to speak, a two-fold nationality. In Lord Dufferin's case, we have his ancestors for six generations, and for over two hundred years in Ireland. Of fourteen factors of his life within that period, twelve are Irish, one English, one Scotch. We need not be surprised that if we were to look the world over for a typical Irishman, we could not find a more characteristic specimen than the man who with so much judgment, so much ease, so much statesmanlike capacity, so much good humour, so much wit, with such marvellous power of expression, and such unequalled social grace, has ruled this country for five years. So great is the effect of moral and physical surroundings, that an Irishman, an Englishman, a Scotchman, or a German of a high type of intellect, of sympathetic character and vivid imagination, will, after living six years in Canada, be more a Canadian than anything else. We sometimes meet people from all countries who after having lived here twice or three times that period are still what they were when they came here; they have contracted no love for the country, their sympathies have put forth no new roots, and borne no fresh and various fruit. But what sort of people are these? Miserable egotists who have found a subtle mendacious self-gratulation in constant reference to a figment of better things across the Atlantic. I once met a man at the house of a gentleman who was then, and is now a Minister of the Crown, and he said: "This sort of thing is poor enough. Nothing like the society we have in the old country." I was tempted to turn round on him and say: "Sir, in the old country, you could never have moved, and hardly dared to hope to move

in the society I see you moving in here." A great deal of the impertinent reference to the superiority of things in the old country, is meant not to do honour to the old country, but to the speaker. "I was born in Castle Bunkum," says a lady as she uses her fan and expands with vanity at the thought of a fictitious aristocratic ancestry. What would her hearers think if told that Castle Bunkum is a paltry village?

Lord Dufferin was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He succeeded to his father's title in 1841, when he was only fifteen years of age. It was, from more than one point of view, unfortunate for Lord Dufferin that he succeeded so early to a peerage. He was thus deprived of an opportunity of entering the House of Commons, where alone a great parliamentary reputation can be made in England. What an extinguisher the House of Lords is may be gathered from the fact that until Lord Dufferin came to Canada, scarcely anybody in the British Isles gave him credit for the great capacity he is now universally acknowledged to possess—people had scarcely a hint of his extraordinary and various powers. They were known to his intimates, and the public were sometimes puzzled to know why it was that, in authoritative quarters, he was rated so high. The speech which Lord Dufferin made at the Toronto Club in 1874 set some of the English journalists almost wild. In an article in the *London Spectator*—one of the ablest papers in the world, which is edited by an Englishman—a writer—evidently the editor—grew dithyrambic over the speech and the orator, and, with that curious ignorance of this country which so often startles us in English publicists, it was asked why Mr. Gladstone had not sent Lord Dufferin to Ireland instead of Canada? Lord Dufferin, it was said, while still at home, breathed forth no such notes of triumphant confidence in the future of the Empire as characterised this famous speech, which was like a breath from the mountains on the fevered brow of the editor in the close office near Waterloo Bridge, under the refreshing influence of which he seems to break away from the dungeon of dulled ambition, contracted hopes and ignoble fears, from the suffocating atmosphere which in recent years, and up to a very late period, a mean statesmanship cast over the country of Raleigh, and he gasps out to inhale great

draughts of Lord Dufferin's stimulating thought, like Marie Stuart, in Schiller's play, when she is allowed to ramble from her confinement into the grounds surrounding her castellated prison. Lord Dufferin had for two years lived among us, had made himself master of every notable feature of Canada, social, political and physieal; had spoken at banquets; had replied to deputations; had given useful lectures in a pleasing way to ladies' schools, and, when he spoke at the dinner of the Toronto Club, he had just returned from the North-West. He had seen the vigorous settler, with axe in hand, hope in his heart and a happy brood around him; proud cities rising as if by magic; he had stood on the margins of lakes glimmering amid the primeval forest, and saw the vision of the future. Everywhere he found Canada like a youth that means to be of note at work betimes, and the Sheridan blood would have strangely degenerated if his imagination had not taken fire. The same writer wrote in an equally enthusiastic strain of Lord Dufferin's speeches in the early part of the present year. When at such a distance Lord Dufferin can, when he has an opportunity make his popular genius felt, what might he not have done had he had an opportunity of bringing his large and various talents to bear on the real source of power in England.

Lord Dufferin was for many years a Lord in waiting to the Queen. He is a successful author. He published an account of the famine of 1846-7. Having in 1859 made a yacht-voyage to Iceland, he published in 1860 a narrative of the voyage under the title "Letters from High Latitudes," which are brimful of humour. He was in the same year sent as a British Commissioner to Syria to inquire into the massacre of the Christians there. He acted with great capacity and firmness and on his return to England was made a K.C.B. From 1864 to 1866 he was Under Secretary of State for India, and for War from 1866 to the following year. He was from 1868 until he was appointed Governor-General of Canada, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Paymaster-General. Lord Dufferin contributed much both by voice and pen to the discussion of the Irish land question and Irish questions generally, and helped materially to precipitate Mr. Gladstone's reforms.

How he has discharged the duties of his great office in Canada

does not need to be told here to-day. His conduct during the excitement of 1873 was characterized by firmness, by grasp of constitutional principles, and by consummate tact, and when he leaves our shores, he will take with him the respect and admiration—nay, almost the affection of every man and woman in Canada, for his noble bearing and sympathetic genius have given him a warm place in the hearts of thousands who never saw him.

I now conclude. The history of the Irishman in Canada closes as it opened with the name of an Irish Governor-General on my pen. I have shown what part the Irishman has played in clearing the forest, in building up the structure of our civic life, in defending the country, in battling for our liberties, in developing our resources, in spreading enlightenment, in the culture of literature and art, in tending the sacred fires of religion, in sweetening the cares of life, and I trust I have done this without giving offence in any quarter, or forgetting for a single instant that my paramount duty, as the paramount duty of us all, belongs to Canada.

FINIS.





# INDEX.

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- ABERDEEN, Earl of, 476  
Abraham, his faith, 1  
Acadian. His poetical account, 206,  
208, 222  
his contempt for General Smyth,  
211  
on Winder and Chandler, 214  
on Newark avenged, 233  
his sketch of American manners  
fifty years ago, 235  
Adamson, Dr., 433  
Adelaide, Irish settlers in, 303  
Typhus fever breaks out in, 304  
Age and piety, 179  
Agitation, 509  
Ague and fever, 358-9, 375  
Alfred the Great, 394  
Alison, William Henry, 157  
Allan, Hon. William, 400  
Allen, Arnold, with 300 men crosses  
Lake Champlain, 75  
Allen, Colonel, sent by Montgomery  
to surprise Montreal, 78  
Aikens, Hon. James, birth and political  
career, 275.  
Airey, Mr. Julius, 124  
Colonel, *ib.*  
America, Discovery of, by Saynt  
Brandon, 51  
Irishmen met there on all sides, in  
the eighteenth century, 52  
civil war of, part played in by Irish-  
men, 65, 66  
Americans retreat from before Que-  
bec, 86  
cruelty of, 89  
plan the conquest of Canada, 207  
Anderson, William, 95  
Anglicanism, Father of, in Canada,  
99  
Anglin, T. W. 164  
Annexation and Independence, 252,  
567  
Archibalds, the, 153  
Archibald, Donald, 158  
Mr. Cyril, M.P., 661  
Ard Righ, the, 17  
Art in Canada, 611  
father of, born, *ib.*  
progress of, 612  
not encouraged, 613  
glory and beauty of Canadian land-  
scape not yet appreciated, 617  
Artists, Canadian, 617  
Artistic Genius of Irishmen, 35  
Ardagh, Rev. Samuel B., 594, 628  
Arcadia, dreamed of by Talbot and  
Lord Dacre, 108  
Armed revolution condemned by Col.  
James E. McGee, 44  
Arnold's march from Boston to Que-  
bec, 81-83  
Arthur, Sir George, succeeds Sir F.  
Head, 406  
requested to summon the Legisla-  
ture, 413  
Assembly, promised to Quebec, 71  
delay in granting, a cause of dissatis-  
faction, 72  
of Upper Canada meets, quarrel  
between, and Metcalfe, 493  
Aylwyn, 489  
Attachments, romantic, 393  
Australia, the Irishman in, 66  
BAGOT, Sir Charles, sent out as Gov-  
ernor of Canada, 476  
character of, 477  
Hincks induced to join his Govern-  
ment, *ib.*  
vilely assailed, 485  
death of, 483  
Bailey, John, 353  
Bailey, F. G., 604  
Baldwin, Admiral, 173, 400  
Baldwin, Rev. A. H., 629  
Baldwin, Capt. Henry, 173  
Baldwin, Robert, the Emigrant, 172

Baldwin, Robert—*continued.*

Robert, Hon., 173, 431  
 the author of Confederation, 387  
 birth of, 394  
 imbibed his principles from his father, 389  
 character, 391  
 oratory—private life—love for his wife and children, 393  
 completeness of his character, 394  
 called to the bar, 395  
 contests York and returned, *ib.*  
 remains out of Parliament, *ib.*  
 key to his political character, 396  
 visits England in 1835, *ib.*  
 correspondence with Lord Glenelg, *ib.*  
 returns to Canada, *ib.*  
 his resignation, 443, 446  
 explains resignation, Col. Prince's impertinence regarding, attacked by Day, 453  
 defended by Durand, 454  
 further explains resignation, 455, 459  
 how he was called to Executive Council by Lord Sydenham, 455  
 motives for joining Executive, 456  
 no confidence in colleagues, 457  
 accused of caballing, 458  
 informs the Governor that union has been effected between the Reformers of Lower and Upper Canada, 459  
 tells him that the Administration had not the confidence of the people, 459  
 supported by the Assembly and the country, 460  
 his power in the country seen, 465  
 coalesces with MacNab and other Tories to defeat Municipal Bill, 466  
 on Hincks' support of Municipal Bill, 470  
 moves resolutions affirming principles of responsible government, 471  
 his hour of triumph, 480  
 and Lafontaine enter the Government, 482  
 liberal ministry under Lord Metcalfe, singularly capable, 487, 489  
 and colleagues, resignation, 495  
 attack on Government, 501

Baldwin, Robert—*continued.*

his friends issue an address to the people, 509  
 makes a tour through the Lower Province, 510  
 reviews Stanley's speech, 511  
 attacks the Ministry, his speech described, *Globe*, 515  
 entertained in West Halton, 534  
 in power, 542, 543  
 deals with treason with a firm hand, 564  
 distressed by Lord John Russell's views, 567, 568  
 his scrupulousness, 573  
 true to the principle of double majority, 575  
 with his retirement the Irish period begins to decline, 576  
 too conservative for his party, *ib.*  
 defeated in North York by Hartman, 576, 577  
 death of, 652  
 Baldwin, Dr. William Warren settles in Toronto, 172  
 practises law, 173  
 marries; his five sons, *ib.*  
 moots constitutional questions, 389  
 last appearance of, in public, *ib.*  
 loses his way, ambitious of founding a family, 390  
 gazetted to the Legislative Council, 493  
 Bards, Irish, 10  
 Barré, Colonel, 73  
 Barry and the naval wars, 58  
 meets Washington, father of American Navy, 58  
 Barry, Sir Redmond, 66  
 Bangs, Dr., 98  
 Bangs, Nathan, 178, 181  
 Banking, early, 278  
 Baerstler entrapped, 215, 216  
 Bastonnais, the, 81-85  
 Beaconsfield, Lord, had probably read McGee's poetry, 650  
 Beaty, James, 278, 279  
 Beatty's settlements, 276  
 Bears, stories of, 355, 377  
 Bedford, Quebec, Irish settlers in, 593  
 Belford Bros., Publishers, 279  
 Belford, Charles, *ib.*  
 Bell, William, 89, 347  
 Bell, first, in a church in Canada, 100  
 Bell, family, the, 353

- Belleville, builders of, 379  
 Bellingham, Sidney Robert, 331  
 Bengough, (*Grip*) 613  
 Bennet, Rev. James, D.D., 165  
 Berkeley, conceives the idea of found-  
 ing college in Summer Islands, 55  
 arrives at Newport, *ib.*  
 writes his Minute Philosopher, *ib.*  
 " " famous verse, " West-  
 ward the Star of Empire," *ib.*  
 Berlin Decree and the United States,  
 196  
 Bexley, Township of, 353  
 Bidwell, 397, 402  
 Bigotry, the loss it entails on the  
 bigot, 27  
 Bisshopp, Colonel, descent on Black  
 Rock, 223  
 Blake, the family of, 302—306  
 Chancellor, 476  
 Hon. Edward, 660, 661  
 Vice-Chancellor, 608  
 Blenheim, 69  
 Bliss, Hon. Daniel, 160  
 Board of Works, management of, in  
 Metcalfe's time, 520  
 Bonfield, James, M. P.P., 592  
 Boomer, Dean, 629  
 Bonnycastle, Sir Richard, on the Irish  
 emigrants, 401  
 on the Irish in Newfoundland, 143  
 Boulton, Hon. Henry John, censured  
 by the House, 389  
 Bowes, John George, 283  
 elected mayor, 575  
 Boyle, Patrick, editor *Irish Canadian*,  
 604  
 Boys of Canada in early days, 612  
 Boyne, Battle of, 27  
 Boyd, General, 229  
 John, 162  
 Rev. Dr. 632  
 Mossom, 353  
 Brant, Captain, 100  
 Brantford, City of, 379, 593  
 sensible address of Irish inhabitants  
 to Metcalfe, 492  
 Breach of Promise, good story of, and  
 O'Reilly, 371  
 Bredin, Rev. John, 629  
 Breeders of cattle, 336  
 Brehon Laws, 10, 15  
 Brennan, Daniel, 170  
 Brewer, a pioneer, 315  
 Briggs, Rev. William, 629  
 Brisay, Rev. Theophilus des, 169  
 British connexion, value of, 419  
 British North America, unsatisfactory  
 condition of, 406  
 British evacuate Boston, 87  
 repulsed at Charleston, *ib.*  
 victorious at Long Island, *ib.*  
 take possession of New York, *ib.*  
 beaten at Trenton, *ib.*  
 Brown Hon. George, 384  
 his first speech, 502  
 replies for press, 511  
 quizzes ex-ministers, 542  
 character, 582  
 as leader of party, 583  
 hostility to Hinck's Government,  
*ib.*  
 controversy with Mr. Christie and  
 the Hon. Wm. McDougall, 583  
 joins the Conservatives in Opposi-  
 tion, 585  
 leader of Opposition, 588  
 called on to form a Government, 652  
 leaves the Ministry, 655  
 Brock, General, 201-207  
 hands tied by Prevost, 207  
 death and resting place, 208  
 Bryson, Alexander, 349  
 Buchanan, Isaac, 446  
 Builders, Irish, in Toronto, 274  
 Bunker Hill, 78  
 Bunster, Hon. Arthur, M. P. 661  
 Bunting, Christopher, 597  
 Burchell, Benjamin, 353  
 Burgoyne, General, supersedes Carle-  
 ton, 87  
 Burke, Edmund, 34, 73  
 his humour, 73  
 denounces Quebec Act, *ib.*  
 Dr. Edmund, a great missionary  
 and statesman, 148, 149  
 Father, 34  
 Burk, John, settled in Clarke, 171  
 Busate, 614  
 Butler, Lieut.-Colonel, 207  
 Lieutenant Thomas, 208  
 CABIN HUNTING, 378  
 Cabot, 167  
 California, a fourth of the farms in,  
 in the hands of Irishmen, 64  
 Cameron, J. Hillyard, 534  
 Sherwood's, jealousy of, 537  
 Malcolm, 445  
 Camp Meeting first, 180, 181

- Campaign, results of, in favour of the revolted Colonists, 87
- Canada's future, faith in, 1
- Canada, our duty to, 2
- future historian of, should have to his hand all the facts relating to its settlement, 3
- free from the grounds of Old Country factions, 4
- her resources, 5
- Irishmen in, should rise to a high level, 6
- invaded, 75
- gateways of, in the hands of the enemy, 75
- invaded by Montreal by a force under Schuyler, 78
- the saviour of, 126
- patriotism to, must be paramount, 129, 667
- Lower, Irish settlements in, 170
- her true laureate, 187
- projected conquest of, 199
- conquering no easy task, 200
- fifty years ago, 246
- women of fifty years ago, 247
- what she has done for settlers, 309
- parties in, before Lord Sydenham's time, 321
- Lower, rebellion in, 403
- important part played by a humble Irishman, *ib.*
- Lower, slow to grasp constitutional principles, 406
- Lower, and Union, 417
- value of, to Great Britain and Ireland, 419
- Lower, using the weapons of Hampden to support the principles of Richelieu, 422
- duty in, of all nationalities, 438
- state of, as described by *Montreal Times*, 440
- developing resources of, 444, 564, 577, 579
- education in, up to and after 1816, 473
- progress of, from 1816, 473-476
- united first parliament of, ends well, 473
- and trade with United States, 549
- credit of, raised by Hincks, 565
- constitution of, superior to that of the United States, 569, 570
- English ignorance of its importance, 665
- landscape of, glory of, 617
- life and manners in, *ib.*
- Canning disavows Erskine's conduct, 198
- Canniff, Dr., 91-93
- Canniffs, the, 91-93
- Capitulation, articles of, signed, 69
- Carden, township of, 354
- Carscallian, Luke, son of, 89
- Carson, 34
- Carleton (*see* Dorchester), and the taking of Quebec, birth of, enters guards, aide-de-camp to Cumberland, serves in America, wounded, 69
- became Lieutenant-Governor, his humanity, his sagacity, his policy, 71, 73.
- determines to recover the lost forts, 75
- seeks to raise a militia, *ib.*
- his power of attraction, 76
- determines to enrol militia, 77
- seeks to raise volunteers, 78
- appeals to Indians, *ib.*
- not surprised, 79
- disguised, steals on to Quebec, 81
- arrives at Quebec, 84
- kindness of, 86
- superseded by Burgoyne, 87
- master of Lake Champlain, *ib.*
- becomes Lord Dorchester and Governor-General, and Commander-in-Chief, 101
- Colonel Thomas, Governor of New Brunswick, 158
- county of, 310
- Carolina, South, Irish settlers in, 53
- North, Irish settlers in, *ib.*
- Carroll, Dennis, 96
- Dr. John, 96, 629
- Cartier, Jacques, 68
- George E., Ministerial candidate for Speakership, 586, 659
- Cartwright, Judge, 95
- Mr., his conditions regarding union, 414
- Cattle breeding, 353, 662
- Cathcart, Lord, administrator, 532
- Cathedral, English, in Quebec, 101
- Case, William, 178-180
- Catholic Emancipation, its effect on the progress of the world, 28

- Catholic—*continued.*  
 Catholic Irishmen on the Continent, 29  
 Catholic and Protestant, 254  
   Irish, loyalty of, 401  
   Roman, Church, 635-643  
   League, 659  
 Casey, Willet, 89  
   George Elliot, M.P., 661  
 Cayley, Wm., becomes Inspector-General, 526  
   storm raised thereby among governmental "sore heads," *ib.*  
 Coughlan, Lawrence, 183  
 Cauchon, Joseph, 540  
   moves an amendment to address, 585  
 Celt, the, has played a great part in the history of the world, 8, 9  
   blood of, mixed with Danish, Norman and Saxon, 18  
 Centennarian, a, 95  
 Chambly given up to Montgomery, 79  
 Champlain founds French Colony, 68  
 Chancery Bill, Blake's, 576  
 Character, Irish, 38  
 Charles I., result of espousing his cause, 24  
 Chesapeake brought to, by the Leopard, 197  
 Christendom, Pagan English Conquest of Britain divides into two unequal parts, 13  
 Chrysler's Farm, 229  
 Cholera in 1832, at Peterborough, 363  
 Church, the, 299  
 Church of England Clergymen, Irish, 622-629  
 Circuit, travelling on, in early days, 390  
 Clark, Col., descent on Black Rock, 223  
 Clarke, an Irish settler, 354  
   General Alured, arrives in Lower Canada, 104  
 Clark, Township of, 170  
 Claudius describes the defeat of the Picts and Scots, 12  
 Clontarf, Battle of, 16  
   dissensions after, 17  
 Clear Grits, seek to divide Reform Party, 565  
   hold a meeting at Markham, *ib.*  
   their platform, *ib.*  
 Clinton, Charles, 53  
 Close, P. G., Mr., 322, 597  
 Clergy Reserves, 104, 532, 573, 578, 579, 585  
   and Baldwin, 391-2  
   question settled, 588  
 Cochran, late Hon. James, 156  
 Cochrane, Sir Thomas, 145  
   Hon. Matthew, great cattle breeder, 662  
 Colborne, Sir John, on reunion of provinces, 412  
 Commercial crisis, 1836, 401  
   involves an extra session of Legislature, *ib.*  
 Commerce, a mistake to suppose Irishmen not successful in, 64  
 Commercial depression in 1848, 551  
 Conclusion, 667  
 Confederation, league to bring about, 575  
   mentioned in speech from Throne, 1859, 652  
 Confiscation, from which Normans suffered as much as Celts, 23  
 Connolly, Archbishop, 636-640  
   John, 348  
   Owen, 170  
 Connor, Dr., 95  
 Conservative, meaning of the word, 321  
   party disorganized, 521, *note*  
 Conservatism, true, an exposition of, 535  
 Conspiracy of soldiers, 204  
 Conspirators, Irish, on this continent, 543  
 Constitutional Act of 1791, 103  
 Constitution of divided provinces, *ib.*  
   present, due to Irishmen, 128  
 Constitutional questions mooted in 1825, 389  
   principles slowly grasped by Lower Canada, 406  
   principles advocated by Ogle R. Gowan, 411  
   and the press, 412  
   government, progress of, 517  
 Constitution, the British, 571  
 Continent, Irishmen on, 30, 31  
 Contractors, sinister and oppressive policy of, 520  
 Cooke, Dr., of Belfast, 34  
 Cork, City of, 297  
   harbour, 355-6  
 Costigan, Judge, 163

- Cottinghams, the, 350-1  
 Cotton manufacture in New Brunswick, 161  
 Country, denying one's, 64  
   passion for developing the, 577  
   its resources developed by the Ministry, 564  
 Cowan, James, M.P.P., 662  
 Cramahé, 83  
 Crawfords, the, 276, 277, 352  
 Creelmans, the, 153  
 Crinnon, Bishop, 641  
 Cromwell's sword, 24  
 Crown lands, 104  
   point surrendered, 75  
 Cunningham, James, M.P., 661  
 Cuvillier, Austin, 441
- DACRE, LORD, and Talbot, 108  
 Dalhousie, Lord, 386  
 Daly, Captain Peter, 90  
   Captain, spirited advance of, 230  
   Dominick, 431, 489, 540  
   Governor of Prince Edward Island, 168.  
   christened "the Lily of the Valley," 393  
 Danes, towns founded by, 17  
 Daniel, John, 353  
 Daniels, Judge, 380  
 Day, Solicitor-General, speech of, attacking Baldwin, 453  
 Davidsons, the, 353  
 Deacon, Col., 346  
 Dearborn, 207, 225  
 Debate, exciting, 480-2  
 Debtor, fasting on, in Hindostan and in Ulster, 10  
 Declaration of Independence written out by Charles Thomson from Jefferson's draft, 59  
 Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies, 78  
 Delegates, public meetings of, prohibited, 387  
 Democrats, Irish, 60  
 Derby, Lord, 476  
 Derry Siege of, one of the most glorious things in the history of the world, 27  
 De Salaberry, Colonel 230  
 Detlor, old Mrs. 180  
 Devine, Mr. Thomas, 597  
 Dewart, Rev. E. H. 629  
 Dickie, J. B. 158
- Disraeli, his remarks on the condition of Ireland in 1843, 45  
   read McGee's poetry, 650  
 Dobson, John, 346  
 Doherty, Mr. Justice 611  
 Donahue, William, M.P., 661  
 Dorchester (see Carleton) leaves for England, 104  
   leaves Canada, 126  
   his death, 126  
   his policy, 102  
 Double Shuffle, The, 652  
 Downers, The, 353  
 Donnell, Cavanagh, treachery of, 20  
 Draper, William, 411, 459, 532, 534  
   sketch of, 463  
   joins Sir F. Head's council, 400  
   nicknamed "sweet William," 431  
   on Responsible Government, 449-452  
   explains conduct of his ministry, 479  
   resigns, 482  
   urges on Metcalfe the evils of the situation, 505  
   defends Metcalfe, 515  
   on Constitutional Government, his special pleading, 516  
   distinguishes between the position of a King and Governor-General, 517  
   gap left in Assembly by his removal to Legislative Council, 518  
   his University bill, 523  
   sick of public life, 534  
   his farewell, a satire on Metcalfe. and a eulogy on Baldwin, 539-540  
   speaks and votes though he has accepted a judgeship, 540  
 Drummond, Mr. (Judge,) 521, 611.  
   General, 238-239  
 Dublin, 17  
   siege of—Irish army around, surprised, 20  
 Dufferin, Lord  
   becomes Governor-General of Canada, 662  
   his family, *ib.*  
   his nationality, 663-4  
   his great talents not appreciated in England, 665  
   his career, 666  
 Duffy, Sir C. G. (note) 30-31  
 Duggan, George, 432  
 Dunbar, George, 611

- Dundas, 379  
 Stephen, 353  
 Joseph, R., 347  
 Dunlop, Dr., 520  
 Dunn, Mr., sworn an executive councillor, 397  
 Dunscombe, J. W., 431  
 Durham meeting, The, 389  
 Earl of, his mission, 406
- EARLY SETTLERS, difficulties of, 307, 373, 374  
 hardships of, 338, 339  
 Eccles, Captain, 460-462  
 Education, Secular, 103  
 a class distinction, 121  
 in Canada up to 1816, 473  
 progress of from 1816, &c., 473-476  
 importance of, 623, 643  
 Educator, the position to which he is entitled, 644
- Egan, John, 311  
 1812, war of, character of struggle, 193, 194  
 1841, session of, memorable, 465  
 1848, commercial depression in, 551
- Election, violent, 175  
 general, 1825, 387  
 exciting general, under Sir F. Head, 1867, 401  
 general, of 1841, 431, 437  
 of 1867, 656  
 exciting general, under Lord Metcalfe, 513
- Electioneering tactics, 512
- Elective principle and Legislative Council, 417
- Eliot, James, 353
- Elgin, Lord, arrives in Canada, 535, 536  
 birth, education, character, 535  
 Governor of Jamaica, *ib.*  
 marries, 536  
 parties in Canada at time of his arrival, *ib.*  
 Ministry, re-constituted under, 537  
 his policy, 538  
 opens parliament, *ib.*  
 his opinions on Irish immigration, 541  
 resignation of his Ministry, 542  
 glad that Baldwin came into power, 543
- Elgin, Lord—*continued.*  
 presses the hardships of Canada on Colonial Office, 547, 548.  
 opens Parliament, 552  
 graceful act of, *ib.*  
 firmness of, 555  
 refuses to dissolve Parliament or reserve Rebellion Losses Bill, 555  
 assaulted by mob, 557  
 his carriage smashed, 560  
 keeps within bounds of his country seat, *ib.*  
 Assembly vote him a condolatory address, *ib.*  
 burned in effigy, 561  
 makes a tour through Upper Canada, 563  
 received with enthusiasm, 564  
 on the colonial existence, annexation and independence, 567—569  
 on responsible government, 572  
 his social parties, 573  
 congratulates Parliament on Legislative progress, 577  
 sends for Hincks, *ib.*  
 goes to England, respecting Reciprocity Treaty, 584  
 returns to Canada, *ib.*  
 departure of, 589
- Elliott, Rev. James, D. D., 629
- Ellis, John V., 165
- Elmsley, John, 400
- Eloquence, palm of 635
- Evans, Rev. David, 632
- Emancipation, Catholic, in Nova Scotia, 149
- Embury, 97
- Emigrants, class of sent from Ireland, 62  
 diary of one, 256-261  
 of Robinson defended by Fitzgibbon, 360.  
 industry of, 359  
 assailed by Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, 360  
 visited by Governor-general Sir P. Maitland, 362  
 ship from Cork, 255  
 sums transmitted by, 65
- Emigration, (see *Immigration*.) 540  
 heart-rending partings, 356  
 farewell of an emigrant, 357  
 Irish, after the Rebellion, 590-608  
 Singular episode in, 288
- Emily, Township of, 350

- England, Church of, 624-629  
   jealousy, of Irish Manufactures, 27  
 English in Ontario, preface, iii  
   Pagan, Conquest of Britain by,  
   thrust a wedge of heathendom  
   into the heart of Christendom, 13  
   patriotism, 45  
   people not responsible for the wrong  
   done by their rulers in the past,  
   130  
 Envy, 123  
 Evans, Sir De Lacy, 33  
 Eric of Auxerre on Ireland, as the  
   school of Europe, 14  
 Erskine, Mr., his unsuccessful mis-  
   sion, 198  
*Examiner, The*, 407  
 Executive Council, weakness of Met-  
   calfe's, 519  
 Executive, Irresponsible, 173  
  
 FACTIONS, Irish, exist in Canada but  
   in shadow, 4  
 Fair, Irish, 595  
 Family Compact rise of, 174  
   startled by Gourlay, 387  
   decline of, 439, 546, 564  
 Famine, Irish, people starving and  
   plenty of food in the country, 46  
   chief duty of troops in assize towns  
   to guard the flour in its transit  
   from the mills to the port, *ib.*  
   against this monstrous state of  
   things the men of '48 protested, 54  
   meetings in Canada to relieve, 541,  
   542  
 Farmers, fifty years ago, 251  
 Farrell, E., M.D., 158  
 Farrer, Mr. Edward, 603  
 Fathers, natural to wish to know who  
   and what they were, 2  
 Faust, translation from, 595  
 Fecundity, Irish, 314  
 Female purity, Irish, 65  
 Fenian Invasion, 655  
   Connolly on, *ib.*  
   McGee on, *ib.*  
   Trials, 656  
 Ferris, James Marshall, M.P.P., 661  
 Feudal tenure, 103  
 Fever and Ague, 358, 359, 375  
   typhus breaks out among settlers  
   in Adelaide, 304  
 Financial genius, 409  
 Fitzgerald, James, 354  
 Fitzgerald—*continued.*  
   John, 95  
   Field Marshal, *note* 127  
 Fitzgibbon, Colonel, 194  
   Brock's right hand, 205  
   brilliant feat of, 216  
   made captain, 217  
   effect on him of a lark's song, 219  
   and Mrs. Jameson, 220  
   taken prisoner, 221  
   his views on pillage, *ib.*  
   filial piety of, 222  
   gallantry of, at Black Rock, 223  
   defends Peter Robinson's Irish Emi-  
   grants, 360-361  
   his conduct during rebellion of 1837,  
   402  
 Flood and Grattan, under their spell  
   the modern nation of Ireland was  
   born, 27  
 Flood, Rev. Wm. 306  
 Foley, Michael Hamilton, 586, 651,  
   653  
   Mrs. 354  
   '48, two of the leaders of, have been  
   servants of the Crown, 44  
   had an influence in precipitating the  
   legislation of 1868 and 1869—it  
   inspired the muse of Davis, and  
   the life of McGee, *ib.*  
   events of, judged by the actors, *ib.*  
   Scoto Presbyterian, on, 45  
 Fort Erie, fall of, leads to a gallant  
   struggle, 237  
 Forensic talent, Irish, 609-611  
 Foster, Captain, 86  
   William, 353  
   W. A., his testimony to McGee's  
   influence in teaching Canadians  
   self-respect, 4  
 Fox, Charles James, opposed to the  
   Act of 1791, 104  
   his genius, 386  
 France relied on in time of James II.,  
   24  
   peace with, 239  
 Franklin and the Stamp Act, 56  
   and Charles Thompson, *ib.*  
   visits Dublin, 59  
 Fraser, Brigadier, 86  
 Fraser, Hon. Christopher, 68, 659  
*Fraser's Magazine* on the Ulster men's  
   success in the States, 54 *note*  
 Free and common socage, 103  
 Free trade, effect of, 547



- French Canadians tempted by the Americans to disloyalty, 75  
 apathy of, 76  
 the habit of abusing, to be discontinued, 562
- French colony founded by Champlain, 68  
 interference in Ireland, early commenced, 22  
 language, policy of abolishing in public proceedings, 417  
 population, attitude of, 550  
 régime characterised by distinguished men, 68  
 falls with Montcalm, *ib.*
- Frenchmen, their capacity for self-government, 386
- Froude's testimony to the Irish, 40
- Fuller, Bishop, 624-5
- GALT, Mr. (Sir Alexander) leaves ministry, 655
- Gamble, Dr. John, 95
- Gaudet, M., 441
- Gavazzi, Father, 579  
 riots, 579, 580
- General election, 1841, 431
- Genius, artistic, of Irishmen, 35
- Gentlemen settlers, 121
- George IV., death of, 395
- Ghent, conference at, 240
- Gillmor, Col., 622, 623
- Ginty, John, 284, 294
- Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E., Irish Land Bill of, will lead to a like measure in England, 28  
 in favour of Union Bill, 430  
 on Rebellion Losses Bill, 554  
 a schoolfellow of Lord Elgin, 536
- Glenelg, Lord, despatch of, 448, 449, 450
- Glengarries, Highland, 211
- Glenny, John, 353
- Globe*, on parties in 1850, 574  
 defection of, from the Reform Party, 576
- Goodwin, Colonel Henry, 620-622
- Gore Councillors, address of, 498
- Gormflaith, King Brian's wife, 16
- Gough, Viscount, 33
- Goulborn, William, 429
- Gourlay, 386, 387
- Governor-General, distinction between his position and that of king, 517
- Governor, high-handed conduct of, in Upper Canada, 386
- Government, defeat of, 532
- Government of Upper Canada  
 arbitrary character of, in 1862, 388  
 of Lord Metcalfe sustained, 515  
 responsible, (*see* responsible government.)  
 attacked by Mr. Crofton, 527  
 Tory assailed by Tories, 533  
 seat of, question, 414
- Gowan, Judge, 607
- Ogle R., 514, 534  
 birth of, 411  
 leading member of Orange institution, *ib.*  
 emigrates in 1829, *ib.*  
 remarkable pamphlet of, *ib.*  
 advocates constitutional principles, *ib.*  
 objects to union save on certain conditions, 415  
 is consulted by Sir Charles Metcalfe, 492  
 letter to his partner, 492, *note.*  
 moves for a long adjournment, 519  
 for inquiry into management of Board of Works, 520
- Grace, William, 346
- Graham, Sir James, 476
- Grattan, great triumph short lived, 27
- Greeks and Irishmen, 39
- Greatness, secret of, 183
- Grey, Lord, on Imperial policy, 547  
 on Republics, 570
- Griffin, M. J., 603
- Grits, Clear make themselves felt, 577, 588
- Guelph, fifty years ago, 246  
 town of, 381, 383
- Gwynne, Mr. Justice, preface vi., p. 604, 605  
 railway schemes of, 577, 578  
 Doctor, 476
- HABEAS CORPUS, 101
- Habitans, apathy of, 77
- Hagarty, Chief Justice, 605  
 a poet, 606
- Haldimand, Major-General, bad character of, 88  
 recalled, 101
- Halifax, 146

- Hamilton, Henry, Governor, 101  
 Bishop of, 621  
 City of, 379  
 outrage, 389  
 Col. G. 405, 406
- Hampton, 228, 230
- Hannan, Archbishop, 640, 641
- Hargraft, William, M. P. P., 661
- Harkin, William, M. P. P., 662
- Harker, Rev. E. B., 629
- Harrison, with his Kentucky Forest-rangers, 209  
 Chief Justice, his family, 285, 287  
 his career, 609, 611
- Harris, Rev. J., 632
- Hatton, Joseph, misapprehension regarding Canada—Preface, iii
- Havelock, 97
- Hawkins, J. J., 593
- Haydens, the, 288-294
- Head, Sir Francis, Governor-General, 396  
 makes overtures to Baldwin, *ib.*  
 dissents from Baldwin's views, *ib.*  
 induces Baldwin to accept a seat in his Council, 397  
 makes appointments on his own responsibility, *ib.*  
 Council remonstrates with, *ib.*  
 Council resign, *ib.*  
 breach between, and the House of Assembly, *ib.*  
 seeks the assistance of Robert B. Sullivan, 399  
 shuns identifying himself with the old official party, *ib.*  
 quarrel with Assembly, 400  
 his demagogic talents, *ib.*  
 dissolves the House, 401  
 the issue he put before the country, *ib.*  
 exciting general election, *ib.*  
 alarm of, at the rebellion, 402  
 succeeded by Sir George Arthur, 406
- Heck, Barbara, 97
- Henry the Second, Irish nobles and kings submit to him, 21
- Herbert, Sidney, 476
- Heroine, a, 354
- Heroism, Irish, 89
- Herrick, Dr., 598, 599
- Higgins's, The, 55
- Higgins, W. H., Editor of the *Whitby Chronicle*, 597
- Hill, P. C., 158
- Hills, the, of Cork, *ib.*
- Hincks, Sir Francis, Preface vi  
 cashier in a bank, 278  
 the debentures scandal, 282  
 the Montague of finance, 407  
 starts the *Examiner*, *ib.*  
 birth and career, 408, 409  
 financial questions, 452  
 sketch of, 464  
 sits on extreme left, *ib.*  
 supports inquiry into riots at the elections in the Lower Province, 465  
 supports Ministry, 466  
 explains his support of Municipal Bill, 467, 468  
 attacked by Prince, 469  
 enlightens House on Imperial Loan, 471  
 attacks Government, 442  
 joins Sir Charles Bagot's Government as Inspector-General, 477  
 amusing correspondence relative to the appointment of, between the Governor and Mr. Cartwright, 478  
 his admitted ability, 489  
 starts *Pilot*, 508  
 violently attacked, *ib.*  
 defeated in Oxford, 514  
 refuses to stand, *ib.*  
 house threatened by mob, 559  
 raises Canadian credit, 565  
 holds successful meetings in Oxford, *ib.*  
 introduces resolutions respecting clergy reserves, 578  
 legislative energy of his government, 579  
 his government loses popularity, 580, 581  
 goes to England, 584  
 lukewarm respecting clergy reserves question, 585  
 appeals to the country, 586  
 resigns, 587  
 becomes a Colonial Governor, 589  
 departure of, 645  
 returns to Canada, 659  
 becomes Finance Minister, *ib.*  
 retires from public life, 660
- History, Irish, divided into periods  
 7
- Historian, future, of Canada, should

Historian—*continued.*

- have to his hand all the facts relating to its settlement, 3  
ignorant and uncritical, the victim of idle legend, 2
- Hodgins, Dr. J. G., 643
- Hogan, John Sheridan, his career, 645, 646  
attacks Government, 651
- Holmes, Benjamin, returned for Montreal, 437  
his views on nationality in Canada, 437, 438  
financial questions, 452  
meanly oppressed by Government, 527  
Callaghan, 288 290
- Honour, Irish, 274
- Hospital, Marine, at St. Catharine's, 602
- Hotels fifty years ago, 252, 253
- House of Assembly, 1825, Reports of, dispute regarding, 387
- Howard, Allan McLean, Preface, vi.  
James Scott, 267
- Huguenot Irish emigrants, *ib.*
- Hull, General, 205, 206
- Hume, Mr., dissatisfied with the Union Bill, 426-428
- Hunter, Rev. S. J., 629  
Rev. W. J., *ib.*
- Huskisson, Mr., 421
- IMMIGRATION, American, Preface, v.  
Irish, after '98, 172  
after 1815, 245  
after Rebellion, 384  
immense, 40-542
- Imperial Parliament discusses Union Bill, 421
- Incumbered Estates Act, valuable propositions affirmed by, 28
- Independence, declaration of, 87  
and annexation, 567
- Indians appealed to by Carleton, 78  
effect of association with, 616
- Indian frontier war, story of Irish heroism in, 56
- India, Irishmen in, 33
- Ingratitude, 123
- Intellect, character of Irish, 38
- Invective, political, 513
- Ireland, the land, cause of quarrel in, from age to age, 4  
early inhabitants, Celts, 8

Ireland—*continued.*

- civilization in, 9
- Christianity introduced, 13
- the Pharos of Europe, *ib.*
- conquest of, 19
- conquest of, explained, 20
- arrival of Henry II. in, *ib.*
- administered as a Norman province, 21
- under Henry VIII., 22
- number of great men produced by, 28
- the great liberalizing force of the empire, *ib.*
- in the eighteenth century, 47
- a land of limitless pasture, *ib.*
- Protestant energy in, lulled into lethargy by disqualification of Catholics, 47, 48
- had not food enough for population, 48
- pastures broken up, *ib.*
- acreage of, under wheat in 1847 and 1875, 48, 49
- effect on, of absentees, 49
- contrast between, and Canada, 50
- cattle and sheep, 49
- distress in, 540-542
- meetings in Canada to relieve distress in, 542
- Irish agitation in Montreal, 543, 544
- attempt to exclude them, by the colony of Massachusetts Bay, 53
- attraction, Froude, 41
- and Scotch, mixture of, 309
- blood the main tide in the United States, 62
- Canadian*, moderate articles in, on the men of action, 41, 604
- character, kindness of, 65
- church, fall of, heralds the doom of the English Church, 28
- disunion compared with Grecian, 17
- intellect, character of, 38
- character, *ib.*
- emigrant, character of, 401
- farmers, 245
- conduct of, in the rebellion of 1837, 401
- emigration prior to rebellion of 1837, 383
- in Ontario, pref. iii.
- goodness of heart, 39, 41
- invasion of south-west Britain, 12
- learning and hospitality of the, 14

Irish—*continued.*

- occupation of South Wales and Cornwall and tales of King Arthur, 13
- oppression of, compared with Norman oppression of the English, 21-22
- oppression, Lord Burleigh's opinion of, 44
- Disraeli's opinion of, 45
- papers, moderation of some, 44
- period in Canada passing away, 582
- priest followed his people into the wilderness, 101
- settlers in Newfoundland, 143
- settlers, qualities of, 131, 133, 134
- struggle for free trade, and for emancipation from English dictation, 27
- gave the world a period of great eloquence, *ib.*
- success, 245
- the, in the rebellion of 1837, 403
- valour at Limerick, at the Boyne, on the Continent, 27
- want of loyalty to each other among, 17
- "Irishman in Canada," character of the work, 385, 684, need of, preface iii.
- Irishmen, artistic genius of, 35
- as journalists, 37
- as lawyers, 35
- as preachers, 34
- as statesmen and orators, *ib.*
- and repeal in Metcalfe's time, 491
- danger of riot, Metcalfe's conduct respecting, *ib.*
- and Greeks compared, 39.
- and the New Dominion Cabinet, 656
- and Scotchmen, kiuship of, 10, 11
- bill to put down, 520
- have had too much of the inspiration of hatred, 129
- in humble life, important part in Lower Canadian rebellion, 403
- in Canada should rise to a high level, 6
- in Canada, number of, 135-143
- in literature, 36
- and the war of 1812, 61
- loyalty of, in Canada, Preface iv
- their dislike of each other explained, *ib.*
- duty of, iv, v.

Irishmen—*continued.*

- of Brantford, The sensible address, to Metcalfe, 492
- met everywhere in America in the 18th century, 52
- modern, not a Celt, 8
- "smart," opinion of, in the United States, 63
- number of, in Dominion, preface, iii., 136-143
- their achievements in the world, 127
- what they have done as pioneers and citizens in Canada, 4
- JACKSON, the victor of New Orleans, the son of poor Irish emigrants, 61
- James II., 24, 29
- a coward, 27
- Jameson, Mrs., 626
- Jeffers, D. D., Rev. Wellington, 629
- Jefferson, President, 196, 197
- Johnson, James, 91
- Johnston, J., 603
- Jordan Family, the, 353
- Journalists, Irish, 603
- Irishmen as, 37, 329, 331
- Judicial talent, Irish, 604-611
- Junkin Family, the, 353
- Justice, corruption of, 88
- love of, 95
- administration of, 102
- KANE, PAUL, birth of, 611
- education, *ib.*
- compared with Krieghoff, 612-13
- leaves Toronto, 613
- difficulties, *ib.*
- visits Italy, 614
- results of visit, 614, 615
- determines to paint Indian subjects, 615
- marries, 616
- his art not wholly inspired by nature, *ib.*
- death, *ib.*
- Kaye, John William, biographer of Lord Metcalfe, 489
- Kean, John, M.P.P., 662
- Keeler, 181
- Keenan, Thomas, 346
- Kelly, Doctor, 593
- Edward, 354
- Kennedy, John, 347
- Warring, 597

- Kerr, William, M.P., 661  
 Kilkenny, Statute of, 22  
 Killaly, H. H., 433, 436, 489.  
 King Arthur, Tales of, and the Irish  
 occupation of South Britain, 13.  
 King Brian's wife, the Irish Helen,  
 16  
 Kingsmill, Colonel, 622  
 Kindness and politeness of Irish, 39  
 of Irish character, 65  
 King, Dr., 476  
 Rev. William, 632  
 Kingston, a force of 2,000 thrown  
 into, 228  
 in early days, 365  
 worthies of, 366-372  
 Lord Sydenham's (Thompson's) en-  
 trance into in 1841, 439  
 settlers in, 593  
 Kirkpatrick, George A., M.P., *ib.*
- LACOLLE MILLS, Wilkinson fails to  
 take, 236  
 Lafontaine, 480, 489  
 his house attacked, 562  
 those inside fire, *ib.*  
 Lake Ontario, command of, passes  
 out of British hands, 75  
 Land property is like no other pro-  
 perty, 46  
 Language, uniformity of, in parla-  
 ment and public documents, 414,  
 417  
 Landscape, Canadian, glory of, 617  
 Lane, John, M.P.P., 662  
 Lawrence, John, 97  
 Lauder, Venerable John Strutt, 627  
 Lawyers, Irishmen as, 35  
 Law, Courts of, established, 71  
*Leader*, 278  
 Legends, Irish historians have delight-  
 ed too much in them, 51  
 Legislative Council, First, 88  
 and the elective principle, 417  
 Legislation, fruitful, 575  
 Lemoine, J. M., his opinion of the  
 conduct of Carleton, 87  
 Leonardo da Vinci, 614  
 Leopard, the, brings Chesapeake to,  
 197  
 Lexington, battle of, 75  
 Lewis, Bishop, 625-6  
 Lewiston fired, 233  
 Liberty, early struggle for, 407  
 Library at Ottawa, 656  
 Limerick founded on this continent,  
 55  
 Limerick founded by the Danes, 17  
 siege of, one of the most glorious  
 things in the history of the world,  
 27  
 fruits of the siege denied the be-  
 sieged, *ib.*  
 Lindsay, 246  
 leading men of, 346, 347  
 Lindsey, Mr. Charles, preface vi., 68,  
 387  
 Lisgar, Lord, 662.  
*Literary Garland*, 593  
 Literature, Irishmen and, Mr. Wil-  
 liam McDonnell's works, 346  
 Irishmen in, 36  
 Livingston, John, 165  
 Local self-government, importance of,  
 444, 445  
 Logging Bees, 134, 348  
 London (Ontario) early Irish settlers  
 in, 380, 381  
 Londonderry, settlement of, 54  
 Long, Thomas, M.P.P., 662  
 Lovekin, Richard, settles in Clarke,  
 170  
 Love in the wilderness, 362  
 Love of country, a virtue in Ireland  
 as elsewhere, 45  
 noble in the Irishman, 63  
 Lower Canada divided into counties,  
 cities, and boroughs, 105  
 discontent in, 386  
 Loyalty in Lord Elgin's time, 550  
 Lynch, Archbishop, 635  
 Lumberers, 311, 353  
 Lundy's Lane, 238  
 Lyndhurst, Lord, 476
- MACDONALD, RT. HON. SIR JOHN A.,  
 384  
 part of pageant welcoming Lord  
 Sydenham in 1841, 439  
 precocious statesmanship of, 534  
 quizzed by George Brown, 542  
 joins Brown in opposition to Hincks,  
 585  
 Premier, 645  
 at Baldwin's funeral, 652  
 on D'Arcy McGee's death, 658  
 Sandfield, government beaten, on  
 a vote of want of confidence pro-  
 posed by Mr. J. A. Macdonald,  
 653-654

- Macdonald, Sandfield—*continued*.  
 appeals to country, *ib*.  
 omits McGee and Foley from the  
 Cabinet, 654
- Macdonell, Rev. D. J., on nationality,  
 129, and *not*
- Mack, Rev. Mr., 475
- Mack, Dr. Theophilus, 475, 599-603
- Mackinaw, taken and retaken, 205
- Machar, Miss, her opinion of Fitzgib-  
 bon's feat, 216
- Mackenzie, William Lyon, his life,  
 387  
 working with Baldwin, 389  
 first Mayor of Toronto, 399  
 rebellious plans deranged, 402  
 returned for Haldimand, 575  
 defeats George Brown, 577  
 Hon. Alex. on McGee's death,  
 659
- Mackintosh, C. H. 604
- MacMullen, the historian, 402
- MacNab, Sir Allen, 442, 511  
 coalesces with the opposition against  
 Municipal Bill, 466  
 Government candidate for Speaker,  
 514  
 joins Brown in opposition to  
 Hincks, 585  
 forms Government, 587  
 as Premier, 645
- Madden, 181
- Madison, President 96-97
- Maelmurra, King of Leinster, vassal  
 of the Danes, 16  
 taunted by his sister, Brian's wife,  
*ib*.  
 result of his anger, *ib*.  
 general strife and destruction, *ib*.
- Magee, Dr., 34
- Magrath, Major, and his dragoons,  
 438
- Maguire, Judge, 611  
 Larry, 347
- Maitland, Sir P., high-handed con-  
 duct of, 388
- Manchester fired, 233
- Mandat imperatif, injurious to the  
 country, 392
- Maine, Irish settlement in, 55
- Manning, Alexander, 281, 283
- Mariposa, 353
- Marlborough, 69, 394
- Marriage in 1823, 249
- Martin, Mr., 617
- Matchett, Thomas, 347
- McBeth, George, 124
- McCarthy, Dalton, 662
- M'Carthy, James, persecuted, tragic  
 death, 98
- McConkey, the family of, 300
- McCaul, Dr., preface vi. ; 475, 476,  
 606
- McCord, A. T., 269  
 Judge, 611
- McClure, Genl., 230, 231
- McDonald, Colonel, 208
- McDonell, Bishop, 181, 182  
 William, 346
- McGees, the, 353
- McGee, D'Arcy, 645-646  
 his birth, 647  
 his mother, *ib*.  
 emigrates to America, 648  
 returns to Ireland, *ib*.  
 joins Gavan Duffy on *Nation*, 649  
 escapes to America, *ib*.  
 controversy with Archbishop  
 Hughes, *ib*.  
 revolution in his views, *ib*.  
 a poet, 650  
 comes to Canada, *ib*.  
*New Era*, *ib*.  
 power as a speaker, 651  
 wit of, *ib*.  
 influence in creating a national  
 spirit, 4  
 taunted in the Canadian Parlia-  
 ment with having been a rebel -  
 his reply, 45  
 popularizes confederation, 653, 654  
 assails Government, 653  
 on Fenianism, 655  
 not included in Dominion Govern-  
 ment, 656  
 elected after a great struggle, *ib*.  
 his power gone, *ib*.  
 his longing for fame, 657  
 becomes religious, *ib*.  
 determines to retire from politics,  
*ib*.  
 patriotism to Canada, 658  
 assassinated, *ib*.  
 sorrow for, 659
- McGivern, Col., 655
- McGreevy, Hon. T., M.P., builds  
 Parliament buildings, *ib*.
- McGrady, Major Hugh, valour of, 53
- McHughs, the, 349
- McLean, Col., 79, 83

- McLean, Chief Justice, pupil of Dr. Baldwin, 389
- McLeod case, the, 443
- McMaster, Hon. William, 270-272, 655
- McMurray, Rev. William, 626, 627
- McMurrrough, Dermot, 18
- McPherson, Rev. Thomas, 632
- McQuade, Arthur, M. P., 350
- Meadowvale, early settlers in, 275
- Medicine unlicensed, practice of, 102
- Meeting of Lord Metcalfe's Council, affecting, 529
- Membership of the Assembly, qualification for, 414
- Merchants, successful Irish, 64, 271
- Meredith, W. R., M. P. P., 380, 662
- Merritt, W. H., on the resignation of Baldwin, 454
- Metcalfe, Sir Charles ; *see* Lord Metcalfe, Lord, 396
- his arbitrary and autocratic temper, 340
- his incapacity to carry out responsible government, *ib.*
- appointed Governor-General of Canada, 483
- unfitted for the position by his past experience, *ib.*
- arrives at Kingston, 484
- impossible to defend save at the expense of his intelligence, 486
- his despatches, 487
- on his ministry, *ib.*
- his scorn of responsible government, 487, 488, 489
- his council, 489
- his capacity in certain conjunctions, 491
- consults Ogle R. Gowan, 492
- opens parliament, 493
- reply to address, *ib.*
- quarrels with his ministry, 495
- on his trial in consequence of the resignation of his ministry, 496
- seeks in vain to form a ministry, *ib.*
- self-exaltation, 497
- false view of his duties, *ib.*
- governs without a ministry, 503-507
- sends for Dr. Ryerson, 504
- conduct brought before Imperial Parliament, 507
- forms a ministry, 510, 511
- Metcalfe, Lord—*continued.*
- the Conservatives go to the country on the governor's ticket, 513
- weakness of his executive council, 519
- his malady becomes worse, 521-525
- raised to the Peerage, 522
- congratulatory address, *ib.*
- his inner tragedy, 525
- end of his Government and life at hand, 527
- his character, 528
- affecting meeting of his council, 529
- arrives in England, *ib.*
- generosity—stubbornness, 530
- death of, 531, 532
- Methodism, early, 97
- prospects of, *ib.*
- its achievements, 178, 179
- in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, 182, 183
- in York, early, 274
- Methodist Church, 629-632
- Mexico, Irishmen in, 62
- Millars, the, 152
- Miles de Cogan, 20
- Military spirit, 331
- Military affairs, Irishmen and, 620-623
- Military enthusiasm, 654
- Militia Act passed, 88
- Milton, 394
- Ministerial explanation, 479
- Ministry, resignation of, 495
- new, 543
- Misgovernment, inquiry into, 101
- Missionaries, early, 376
- Missionary, a true, 99
- life, 624-626
- Mitchel, John—his diary, 44
- his manner of viewing the '48 fiasco, *ib.*
- elected because of the Irish love of country, 45
- Moffat, James, 353
- Molloy, John, 403-405
- Monahan, A., 433.
- Monck, Lord, 653, 654
- departure of, 662
- Monk, Barbara, 94
- Monkland, G. H., 397
- Montealm, fall of, 68
- Monteith, Andrew, M. P., 661

- Montgomery, General, 57  
 succeeds Schuyler in command of  
 the American invaders, 78  
 at Pointe-Aux-Trembles, 84  
 fall of, 85
- Montreal, impossible to defend, 79  
 first impression of, 260, 261  
 Irishmen in, 328  
 riots in, 557-560  
 post rebellion settlement in, 592
- Moodie, Mrs., 593  
 and the Irish settler, 135
- Moore, 37  
 the true laureate of Canada, 187  
 his boat song, 188  
 his letter to Lady Charlotte Raw-  
 don, *ib.*  
 his night picture of the St. Law-  
 rence, 189  
 James, 353  
 John, 433  
 Rev. William, 632
- Morin, M., 441
- Morning in the old country, 218
- Morphy family, the, 284
- Morrison, Colonel, 229
- Moss, Mr. Justice, 608  
 his career, 609
- Mostyn, William, M. P. P., 662
- Mothers, influence of, on their off-  
 spring, 647, 648
- Municipal system, foundation of, laid,  
 465  
 bill resisted by extreme Tories and  
 Reformers, 466
- Murillo, 614
- Murray, General, 231  
 appointed Governor of Quebec, 71  
 Colonel John, 159  
 William, M. P., 661
- NAMES, Celtic given Saxon form, 286
- Napoleon and Count O'Reilly, 31  
 and the Berlin decree, 195
- Nationality, what, 663,
- National fancy, deposit of, easily mis-  
 taken for the gold of truth, 7  
 spirit inspired by McGee, 4
- Naval capture by an American vessel  
 made by Irishmen, 52
- Navy, American, part played by Irish-  
 men in, 58
- Neal, George, soldier and preacher,  
 Nelson, 394
- Newspapers, early, 261, 262  
 of 1841, 430
- Newark, *see Niagara*, first parliament  
 opened at, 104  
 old capital of Upper Canada, 172
- New Brunswick, set apart, 158  
 Irish in, *ib.*  
 first Governor, Colonel Thomas  
 Carleton, *ib.*  
 exiled loyalists in, 159  
 dead-lock in, 176  
 the first cotton mill in, founded by  
 an Irishman, 161  
 press in, 164  
 leading clergymen in, 165, 167
- Newfoundland, Irish settlements in,  
 142-145  
 Transatlantic Ireland, 143  
 politics in, 144  
 governors of, 145  
 Irish newspapers in, *ib.*  
 oldest benevolent society in, Irish,  
*ib.*
- Niagara, Bishop of, 624-625  
 fort taken, 232  
 officers playing cards at the time, *ib.*
- Niblock, Thavers, 346
- Nor'-west, the dream-land of boys in  
 the early days, 612
- Normanby, Marquis of, his despatch  
 to Sir John Colborne relative to  
 reunion of Provinces, 412
- Normans, deeds of, attributed to Eng-  
 lishmen, 21
- Nova Scotia, Baron de Lery lands on  
 Sable Island in 1578, 51  
 settlement of, 145  
 its capital, 146  
 largely settled by Irishmen, *ib.*  
 St. Patrick's day in, 147  
 Catholic Emancipation, question of  
 in, 149  
 Irish Presbyterian colony in, 150  
 Colonization of, 150, 151  
 Millars of, 152  
 Creelmans of, 153  
 Archibalds of, *ib.*  
 settlers in, 149-156  
 Bishop of (*see Newark*), 625
- O'BRIEN, COL. 294-299  
 Henry, 296  
 Lucius, the first of Canadian artists,  
 617



- O'Connor, Hon. John, 338  
 O'Connell, 34  
 O'Donnell, Baldearg, sells himself and his clan for a pension of £500, 17  
   conspiracy against, 23  
   Father, 143  
 Officials, 325, 326, 337  
 Ogden, Mr., 459  
 O'Grady, Father, 278  
 O'Halloran, Mr. James, M.P., 655  
 O'Hara, Edward, returned for Gaspé, 105  
   "Jimmy," 205  
   heroism of, 212  
 Olaf, the son of Sitric, taken prisoner by O'Regan, ransom of, 17  
 O'Neill revolts, and invites the Spaniards to Ireland, 23  
   conspiracy against, *ib.*  
 Ontario ; see Upper Canada  
   population of, preface iii, 135-142  
   a wilderness in 1763, 70  
   Lake, Wordsworth's description of, 212, (*note*).  
   Bishop of, 625, 626  
 Opposition in Lord Elgin's time, 546  
 Oppression, loss to oppressor, 27, 174  
 Order in Council, 197  
 Orangeism, founder of, in Canada, 323, 324  
*Orange Sentinel*, 604  
 Orator, greatest gift of the, 393  
 O'Reilly, Peter, 366  
   Judge, 379  
   James, Q.C., 367  
   his forensic skill, 368  
   prosecutes McGee's murderer, 369  
   in the Kingston Town Council, *ib.*  
   M.P. for South Renfrew, 370  
   an admirer of Sir John A. Macdonald, *ib.*  
   ambition for the bench, *ib.*  
   liberality of mind, *ib.*  
   his wit, 370, 371  
 O'Sullivan, John, M.P.P., 662  
 Ottawa, owner of its most popular and wealthy portion, 323  
   post rebellion settlement in, 591  
   Archdeacon of, 627
- PARINGTON, Sir J., and the Union Bill, 430  
 Palatines, Irish, 97
- Palmerston, Lord, 31  
   remarks on defeat of Militia Bill, 654  
 Paper Manufacturers, leading in Ontario, 341-344  
 Papineau, 403  
   his opinion of British rule, 70  
 Park, Toronto, 392  
 Parks, William, founder of the New Brunswick Cotton Manufacture, 161  
 Parliament, need of talent to elevate, 329  
   of 1841 meets, 438, 441  
   first of united, ended well, 473  
   of 1842 meets, 478  
   opening of, 493  
   new, meets at Montreal, 514  
   members of, *note*, 514  
   gap left in assembly by the removal of Draper to Legislative Council, 518  
   meets, 542  
   new, 645  
   Buildings burned, 558  
   arrest of the incendiaries, 562  
   Buildings built by Hon. T. McGreevy, 655  
   opened, *ib.*  
 Parties in Canada before Lord Sydenham's time, 321  
   disorganisation of, 410  
   state of, in 1850, 514  
 Party feeling, violence of, 504  
   Mr. Justice, 605  
 Patriotism, 193  
   Irish, as worthy of homage as other patriotism, 45  
   should co-exist with sweet human charities for other people, 128  
*Patriot*, the, 279  
 Patterson, John Colbrooke, M.P.P., 662  
 Patterson, Captain Walter, one of the first Governors of Prince Edward Island, 167  
   Peter, M.P.P., 662  
 Peace, 241  
 Peasant oppressed, French Canadian, becomes a free British citizen, 70  
 Peel, Sir R., on Union Bill, 429  
   defends Sir Charles Metcalfe, 508  
   County of, Irishmen in, 301.  
 Pembroke, founder of, 313  
 Pennsylvania, Irish settlement in, 50

- liberality of the government of ;  
   James Logan of Lurgan, 52-59  
 Penal laws, effect of, to swell the  
   French armies with Irish valour  
   27  
 Perdue, Henry, 353  
 Peterborough, 246  
   sixty years ago, 355  
   town of, begins to rise, 361  
   Prince of Wales visits, 364  
 Photography introduced by an Irish-  
   man into Upper Canada, 617  
 Pickering, Township of, 597  
 Piety and age, 179  
 Pike, General, death of, 212  
 Pitt, 394  
   and the Constitutional Act, 104  
 Plantation, Ulster, character of, 23,  
   24  
 Platt, Saml., M.P., 661  
 Playfair, William, 353  
 Poetry and Irish genius, 618, 619  
 Poet, an Ottawa, 327  
 Political invective, 513  
 Poole, Thomas W., 347  
   Revd. W. H., 629  
 Poor the, unsatisfactory condition of,  
   242  
 Popular government, qualified by per-  
   sonal, leads to difficulties, 385  
 Population of Canada in 1763, 70  
   at present, analysis of, 135-143  
 Postage, improvement in, 443  
 Potato, failure of the, 46  
 Poverty and artistic genius, 613  
 Power, Patrick, M.P., 158  
   Mr. Richard, 594  
   behind the throne, danger of, 645  
 Potts, Rev. John, 630-2  
 Preachers, Irishmen as, 34  
 Press, conducted by Irishmen, 412,  
   603, 604  
   liberty of, 174, 175  
   in Upper Canada, 176  
 Presbyterian emigration, 54  
   Church, 632-5  
 Presbyterianism, influence on charac-  
   ter, 24  
 Preston, 79  
 Prevost, Sir George, 225  
   ties Brock's hands, 207  
   gives orders to abandon Upper  
   Province, 227  
 Priesthood of Lower Canada secured  
   their tithes and dues, 69  
 Prince Edward Island, 406  
   receives an Assembly in 1772, 72  
   first Governor of, 167  
   discovery of, *ib.*  
   New Ireland, 168  
   Des Brisay, 169  
   Hon. Edw. Whelan, *ib.*  
   Danl. Brennan, 170  
   Connolly Owen, *ib.*  
 Prince, Colonel, 453  
 Prince of Wales' visit to Canada,  
   364  
 Private Life, sacredness of, 392, 393  
 Proctor, 211  
   retreats, 226  
 Profanity in 1823, 250  
 Progress, all, slow, 46  
 Protestantism, defects of the efforts  
   made to introduce it into Ireland,  
   23  
 Protestant and Catholic, 254  
   effect of intercommunication of,  
   563  
 Provinces of Canada divided, 103  
 Public men, private life of, should be  
   sacred, 392, 393  
   meetings of delegates, prohibited in  
   Upper Canada, 387  
 Purse, struggle for control of, in  
   Lower Canada, 386  
 Works, 444  
   Imperial assistance for, *ib.*  
 Publishing business, Irishmen and,  
   330  
 Puritans, persecution of, 332  
   settlers from among, in Ireland,  
   333  
 QUALIFICATION of members, 415  
 Quebec, rock of, consecrated by three  
   deaths, 57  
   taken by Wolfe, 68  
   boundaries of, 69  
   erected into a government, 70  
   promised an assembly, *ib.*  
   Act, the, 73  
   denounced by Burke, Fox, and  
   Chatham, 74  
   Bishop of, his charge no effect on  
   habitans, 77  
   determination to defend to the last,  
   83  
   siege of, 84  
   first impression of, 259  
 Queeston, 202

- Quinté, Bay of, methodist circuit, 180
- RACES, mixture of, commenced early, 22
- Rafaele, 614
- Railway mania, 577
- Rainsford, Mr., 629
- Raizins, The, 352
- Ramilies, 69
- Reade, John, poet, 603
- Rebellion of 1798 more national than all the rebellions which preceded it, 27  
ushered in by and followed by horrors, *ib.*  
American, 56  
part played by Irishmen in, 56, 59  
antidote to, 416  
of 1837, 278  
but an incident in the struggle for responsible government, 385  
and Irishmen, 331
- Rebels meet at Montgomery's tavern, 402
- Fitzgibbon warns the government of danger, *ib.*
- Mackenzie's plans deranged by Rolph, *ib.*
- alarm of Sir Francis Head, *ib.*  
Baldwin sent with flag of truce, *ib.*  
Rolph's treason, *ib.*  
flight of the insurgents, *ib.*  
losses bill, 552, 553  
*Times* on, 553  
Gladstone on, 554  
in the Imperial Parliament, 561  
Gladstone on, *ib.*  
in the House of Lords, 562  
the old commissioners appointed, *ib.*  
riots respecting a man killed, *ib.*
- Reed, W. B. 354
- Reform demonstration, 389
- Reformers unwise in the manner they assailed Metcalfe, 499, 500  
secure a majority in Upper Canada, 440  
meeting of, 460  
great meetings of, 501, 509  
discontent among, 581
- Religion greatest factor in civilization, 96  
of Ireland, 10  
early settlers without teachers of, 363
- Religion—*continued.*  
and early settlers, 375  
importance of, 623  
differences of, 624
- Rembrandt, 614
- Repeal, 543, 544, 549  
contributions for, raised in the United States, 61
- Report of proceedings House of Assembly, 1825, difficulties regarding, 387  
1826, committee to inquire into encouragement of, 388
- Representatives, difficulty in finding, 420
- Representation by Population, 653, 664
- Responsible Government  
the struggle for, an eventful period, 384  
those who struggled for, *ib.*  
struggle for, the rebellion of 1837, but an incident of, 385  
collisions between government and assemblies in British North American Provinces, 406  
early struggles for liberty, 407  
and Mr. Draper, 447, 450  
what, 449, 450  
Lord John Russell distinguishes between Imperial and Colonial cabinets, 451, 452  
promises of Government regarding, doubted, 465  
principles of, emphatically affirmed by Baldwin, 471  
and the Gore Councillors, 498  
foolish Tories consider a curse, 526  
real power of Governor under, 572
- Revolution in Paris, 543
- Reynolds, Mr., 596
- Richey, Rev. Mathew, 629.
- Robb, Dr. John Gardner, 633, 634
- Robinson, Dr. Stuart, 635  
Peter, his emigration, 355, 361  
Mr., dignified conduct of, 523  
William, M. P. P., 662
- Robertson, Thomas J., 643
- Roderic portions out Meath between O'Rourke and himself, 18
- King of Ireland, *ib.*  
founds lectorships at Armagh, *ib.*  
summonses a hosting of the men of Ireland, *ib.*
- Roebuck and Metcalfe, 507

- Rolph, John, Dr., 388-397  
 treason of, 402
- Roman Catholic Religion, free exercise of, in French Canada guaranteed, 69  
 Church in Upper Canada, 181  
 Catholics can be loyal to a Protestant Government, 254
- Ross, Honourable John, 395, 655  
 establishes a paper, 545  
 becomes Solicitor-General, 546  
 Grand Trunk Railway, 546
- Russell, Hon. Peter, 173  
 Lord John, 413  
 gratified at the news from Canada, 420, 421.  
 on the Union Bill, 421-428  
 he points out the difference between Imperial and Colonial cabinets, 451  
 defends Metcalfe, 507  
 on the Colonies and the Independence of Canada, 566  
 distresses Baldwin, 567  
 William L., 347
- Ryan, Henry, 178, 180  
 Joseph, M.P., 661
- Ryall, Colonel, 237, 238
- Ryerson, Dr., 510  
 sent for by Metcalfe, 504
- SACKETT'S HARBOUR, descent on, 225
- St. Gall, his work in Switzerland, 14
- Saint Jean Falls, 75
- Sandwich, Bishop of, 641
- St. Lawrence, night picture of, 189
- St. Patrick a statesman, as well as a Christian missionary, 15
- St. Patrick's Day in Nova Scotia in 1796 and in 1811, 147  
 1868, 658
- Salmon Fishing in Canada, 433, 436
- Sarsfield, death of, 29
- Scarfe, W. J., Mr., 593
- Scene, discreditable, 524
- Schools, free, 103
- Schuyler, General, a considerable force under, ordered to invade Canada; takes ill, 78
- School opened by Rev. John Stuart in 1788, 100
- Science and Irishmen, 328
- Scotch in Ontario, preface iii
- Scotch-Irish, 64
- Scotchmen and Irishmen, kinship of, 10, 11
- Scullys, the, 352
- Seat of Government, 414  
 removed from Montreal, 563  
 question, 651, 652
- Secord, Mary, 194
- Seigneurs, alarm of, at the prospect of abolition of feudal tenure, 103
- Sectionalism, the people should rise above, 392
- Seigniorial Tenure, 585
- Service, honourable in all kinds, 133
- Settlement, a remarkable, 317
- Settlers, perform a noble work in subduing the wilderness, 63  
 early, some bad habits of, 378  
 early, the true fathers of a country, 131  
 Irish, kindness of, 134  
 Irish, some vices of, 378
- Shanlys, the, 590
- Sheaffe, general, 207, 209
- Sheepbreeding, 321
- Sherwood, Henry, 534  
 shameless conduct of, 523  
 incompetence of, 518  
 indecency of, 519, 520  
 becomes Solicitor-General, 513  
 Solicitor-General, 532
- Ship starved, 155
- Sicotte, 585  
 proposed as speaker, 586
- Simcoe, J. G., Lieutenant-Governor, opens the first Parliament of Upper Canada, 104  
 County of, 294-300
- Simpson, John, 353
- Stanley, Lord, and Metcalfe, 507
- Skillens, the, their public spirit, 160
- Slavery in Upper Canada, 173
- Slander, 564  
 public, 485
- Small, James E., 395
- Smart, Rev. William, 632
- Smith, Attorney-General, incompetence of, 518  
 indecent conduct of, 519, 520  
 Hon. Frank, 283  
 Goldwin, his testimony to Irish learning and character, 15, 41, 583
- Smyth, Senator of Nova Scotia, 157  
 Brigadier-General, succeeds Van Ransallaer in command, 209  
 his proclamation, 210

- Society, disorganized state of, in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, 16-18  
 in 1823, 247-9  
 Canadian, 617
- Soldiers, Scotch, Irish, English, German, intermarriage of, with French Canadians, 70  
 untrained, cannot meet trained hosts, 27  
 and preachers, 97
- Somerville, Township of, 353
- South America, Irishman in, 67
- South-west Britain invaded by Irishmen, 12
- Spaniards invited to Ireland, 23
- Speaker, election of, 441
- Special Council of Lower Canada consents to union, 410
- Spencer's grandson, though a Protestant, and pleading his father's name, ordered to transplant, 24
- Spence, Hon. Robert, 586
- Springs, Saline, at St. Catharines, 600, 601
- Stanley, Lord, (Derby), 476-485  
 thinks Metcalfe's Government important for Canada 526
- Stark, General, his courage, 56  
 wins on the Indians, *ib.*  
 becomes their young chief, *ib.*
- Stafford, Rev. Father, 642, 643
- Staples, the, 353
- Stewart, Guy & Co., 162
- Stephenson, Thos., 352
- Stephens, W. A., a poet, 618
- Stock raisers, 319, 337
- Strathroy, 304
- Strongbow, arrival of, 19  
 abandoned by the Irish following of Dermot MacMurrough, 20  
 besieged in Dublin, *ib.*
- Stuart, Rev. John opens an academy, 100
- Sir James, 403
- Success, Irish, 365
- Sullivan, General, 86  
 Daniel and his wife come to Canada with a large family, including Robert Baldwin Sullivan, 173  
 Hon. Robert Baldwin, 395, 431, 459, 464  
 comes to Canada, 173  
 his character, 398  
 native of Bandon, *ib.*
- Sullivan—*continued.*  
 determines to follow law, *ib.*  
 opposes Mackenzie and Hume, 399  
 elected mayor, *ib.*  
 applied to by Sir Francis Head for assistance, *ib.*  
 enters Sir F. Head's Council, 400  
 Legislative Councillor and Commissioner of Crown Lands, 401  
 Lord Sydenham's most trusted Councillor, 410  
 the influence of Lord Sydenham over, 412  
 speech of, on union, 415-420  
 masterly speech of, 465  
 explains position of ministers, 479, 480  
 goes on the bench, 544  
 death of, 545  
 his character, *ib.*  
 his wives, *ib.*
- Superior, Lake scenery of, 618
- "Supporting supporters," policy of, 524
- "Surprise," Frigate, arrival of, 85
- Sydenham, Lord (see Thompson), 410  
 object of his mission, *ib.*  
 union of Canada, *ib.*  
 finds parties disorganized, *ib.*  
 firmness of, *ib.*  
 Sullivan his most trusted Councillor, *ib.*  
 Draper one of his Councillors, 411  
 his ascendancy over the mind of Sullivan, 412  
 his Parliamentary experience, *ib.*  
 trusted by the Home Government, *ib.*  
 a guiding mind, *ib.*  
 consulted everbody, *ib.*  
 sends a remarkable despatch to Lord John Russell, 413  
 resolves to call Legislature of Upper Canada to decide on Union, *ib.*  
 his message to Parliament of Upper Canada relative to union 413, 414  
 despatch to Colonial office, relative to the consent of Legislative Council, *ib.*  
 Assembly agrees to, *ib.*  
 in favour of immediate union, 420  
 attacks on, 431  
 entrance into Kingston, 438

- difference of opinion regarding, 441  
 speech from the throne in 1841, 443  
 keeps his own counsel, 462  
 accused of corruption, 465  
 death of, 471, 472  
 Synod, Church of England, founded by an Irishman, 625
- TALBOT, COLONEL**, his birth, 105  
 his family, *ib.*  
 his education, *ib.*  
 Aide-de-Camp to Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, *ib.*  
 at Apsley House, 106  
 influence on his mind of Charlevoix's History, *ib.*  
 Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, *ib.*  
 Simcoe's opinion of, 107  
 his eagerness, 108  
 and Lord Dacre, *ib.*  
 a benefactor and patriarch, 110  
 his mode of transferring land, *ib.*  
 his character, 111  
 becomes straitened in means, 112  
 his power, *ib.*  
 his anniversary, 113  
 his residence, *ib.*  
 Mrs. Jameson's description of, 114-121  
 and a snob, 115  
 and heraldry, *ib.*  
 and Charlevoix, 116  
 dislike of female society, 117, 118  
 indifference to all the events of thirty years, 120, 121  
 gratitude towards him, 122  
 his anniversary, 122, 123  
 his habits, 124  
 death of, 125  
 Edward Allen, his book on Canada in 1823, 247  
 Port, a charming place, 109  
 settlement, hardships in, 110  
 extent of, 111  
 Tecumseh, death of, 227  
 Temperance, 152, 300, 630  
 Theodosius defeats Saxon, Pict, and Scot, with a large number of Scots from Ireland, account of, 12  
 Thompson, Mr. Poulett, assumes government in 1839 (*see* Sydenham), 410
- Thorpe, Judge, 177  
 Thurston, Jabez, 353  
 Ticonderoga, capture of, 75  
*Times* of Montreal, on Lord Sydenham and his colleagues, 440  
 Montreal, 465  
 London, on Rebellion Losses Bill, 553  
 Tipperary become a model county of peace and quietness, 45  
 Todd, Isaac, 209, 210, 214, 234, 236, 240, 241  
 Thornton, 597  
 Tories, the, and the Union Bill, 418  
 in England, come into power with a strong Government, 476  
 folly of their press, 526  
 A marked change in the newspapers of Canadian, 562  
 Toronto (*see* York), capital of Upper Canada, 172  
 fifty years ago, 246  
 Town Council of, 264-266  
 credit of the city of, 268  
 Park of, 322  
 Trade, Canadian, advanced by an Imperial Act passed in 1849, 564  
 Treaty of Paris, 69  
 cedes Canada to England, *ib.*  
 Troops, arrival of, from England, 86  
 Trotter, Thomas, 355  
 Tucker, Colonel, 238  
 Tully, Kivas, 595  
 Twelfth Night in 1850, 573  
 Tyrconnel, Irish fall a victim to his schemes, 24  
 Earl of (O'Donnell), conspiracy against, 23  
 flies to Continent, *ib.*  
 Tyrone, Earl of (O'Neill) conspiracy against, 23  
 flies to the continent, *ib.*
- U. E. LOYALISTS, 88, 89.  
 Ulster, plantation of, 23  
 Ulstermen, success of, in United States, 54  
 Union Bill alarms Lower Canadians, 386  
 of Canadas, measures to bring about, 410, 430  
 and Lower Canada, 417  
 and Legislative Council, *ib.*  
 Bill described by Lord John Russell, 421

- Union—*continued*.  
   in Imperial Parliament, *ib*.  
   and Lord John Russell, 421, 428  
   and Sir Robert Peel, 429  
   receives Royal Assent, 430  
   and Mr. Gladstone, *ib*.  
   petitions against, *ib*.  
 United States, fall of Montcalm made  
   the, possible, 51  
   Irishmen in, after the war, 60  
   contributions raised in, for repeal  
     and Irish famine, 61  
   Irish blood, main tide in, 62  
   “smart” Irishman in, 63  
   independence of, acknowledged, 88  
   and the Berlin decree, 197  
   and England, rejoicings over causes  
     of quarrels between, being re-  
     moved, 198  
   determines to conquer Canada, 199  
   trade with, 549  
 University first mooted, 102  
   The Toronto, 473, 476  
   Bill, 523  
 Upper Canada, (*see* Ontario,) called  
   into being, 103  
   divided, 105  
   very thinly populated, *ib*.  
   settlers in, 170  
   discontent in, 386  
   Lord Elgin makes a tour through,  
     563  
   *Gazette*, 176  
   College, 474  
  
 VAN RENSSELAER at Niagara River,  
   207  
   resigns, 209  
 Vaudreuil, 69  
 Veitch, Edward, 347  
 Verner, Mr., the painter, 617  
 Verulam, Township of, 353  
 Veterans of 1812, 191  
   sum voted to, by Parliament, *ib*.  
   glad to be recognised, 192  
 Vicars, Hedley, 97, 185  
   his father, 185  
 Victoria, county of, 344  
   capital of, 345  
   leading men of, 345, 353  
 Vincent, defends Fort George, 213  
   retreats in good order, *ib*.  
   at Beaver Dam, *ib*.  
   raises blockade of Fort George, 227  
 Volunteering, father of, 620  
  
 WAGES fifty years ago, 251  
 Walker, John and family, 348, 349  
 Walsh, Bishop, 641  
   Major, 623  
 War, great European, 105  
 War of 1812, 191-241  
   curtain rises on, 205  
   two prominent heroes, 200  
   Brock, Fitzgibbon, 201  
   Mackinaw taken and retaken, 205  
   General Hull crosses the Detroit  
     river, his proclamation, *ib*.  
   Hull's retreat, 206  
   Acadian's account of war, *ib*.  
   Sir George Prevost ties Brock's  
     hands, 207  
   American plan, *ib*.  
   Battle of Queenston Heights, *ib*.  
   Brock falls, *ib*.  
   Brock's monument, 208  
   death of Colonel Macdonald, *ib*.  
   armistice, 209  
   Sheaffe's generalship, *ib*.  
   winter quarters, *ib*.  
   opening hostilities spring of 1813, *ib*  
   feeling in Lower Canada, *ib*.  
   Smyth's proclamation, 210  
   army goes into winter quarters,  
     211  
   Canada's spirit up, *ib*,  
   recruiting responded to, *ib*.  
   assault on York, 212  
   Jimmy O'Hara refuses to surren-  
     der, *ib*.  
   York abandoned, 213  
   Sheaffe retreats to Kingston, *ib*.  
   York evacuated by Americans, *ib*.  
   Niagara frontier, *ib*.  
   preparations for invading, *ib*.  
   Fort St. George falls after a gallant  
     struggle, 213  
   Vincent entrenches himself at  
     Stony Creek, 214  
   critical condition of the country, *ib*.  
   Vincent's brilliant victory, *ib*.  
   Vincent takes the offensive, May  
     2nd, 215  
   Fitzgibbon's brilliant feat, 216  
   romantic love, 217  
   character, *ib*.  
   successful attack on Black Rock, 223  
   the “green 'uns,” 224  
   descent on Sackett's Harbour, 225  
   Proctor's retreat, 227  
   Tecumseth's death, *ib*.

- War—*continued*.  
 Vincent raises blockade of Fort George, *ib*.  
 Chrysler's Farm, 229  
 fight of Americans, 230  
 Hampton repulsed, *ib*.  
 failure of the invasion, *ib*.  
 McClure sets fire to Newark, 231  
 Fort Niagara taken, 232  
 Newark avenged, 233  
 Black Rock taken, *ib*.  
 triumphant feeling of the colony, 236  
 fall of Fort Erie, *ib*.  
 Ryall's gallant attack, 237-8  
 Lundy's Lane, 238  
 enemy retreats to Chippawa, 239  
 Drummond determines to take Fort Erie by storm, *ib*.  
 Peace with France, 240  
 the British fleet blockades American ports, *ib*.  
 effects of, 241  
 the great effect of, in Ireland, 241-243, 244  
 prices, 243  
 Ward George, 109  
 Warden, how to be appointed, 466  
 Warrens, the, 290  
 Washington, his favourite aide-de-camp, 59  
 Waterford, 17  
 Waterloo, Irishmen at, 33  
 Watters, Hon. Charles, 163  
 Watson, Samuel James, a true poet, 618, 619  
 Wellington, Duke of, 106, 476  
 Wells, Joseph, 397  
 Wesley, John, 180, 183, 184  
 Wexford, 17  
 Whelan, Hon. Edward, 169  
 Whitby, the first settlers in, 289  
 White, Tom, 328-330  
 Wilcox, Joseph, 177  
 Wilderness, weariness of life in, 289  
 subduing the, a noble work, 63  
 Wilkinson, 228  
 Wilkes, Robert, 661  
 Willcocks, William, 173  
 brings emigrants to Canada, 394  
 imprisoned because he makes use of strong language regarding a brother member of parliament, 178  
 Wilson, Dr. Daniel, on Moore's boat song, 187  
 on Paul Kane, 615  
 Wit, an Irish—Maurice Scollard, 273  
 Wolfe, 394  
 and the taking of Quebec, 68  
 Wolves, 171, 376  
 Women, Canadian, fifty years ago, unprepossessing, 247  
 Irish, 285  
 purity of, 65  
 noble, 118-120  
 haters, 118  
 Wood, Andrew Trew, M.P., 661  
 Woods, Mr. John, 594  
 Workman family, the, 331-336  
 Yachting, 296  
 Yeo, Sir James Lucas, 225  
 York (*see* Toronto) becomes capital of Upper Canada; 172  
 taken; and the fort blown up, 212, 213  
 first impression of, 261  
 township of, early settlers in, 277



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