I.—*The Making of Canada.*

By JOHN READE.

(Read May 21, 1884.)

My purpose in this paper is not so much to speak of what is striking and dramatic in Canadian history, as to indicate some of the stages by which a handful of adventurers (I use the word in its ancient and honourable sense) has become a nation of five millions of people. I wish to draw attention to the influences of climate, occupation, and surroundings by which the settlers were modified, until, in the course of time, they came to form a new ethnic variety. I will then show briefly what characteristics were contributed by the immigration that set in after the Cession and has continued to the present. If I can make it plain that the stocks from which we are derived are the best in Europe, and that the union of the qualities which have made them severally great ought, when efficaciously combined and developed, to make us still greater, I shall look upon my labour as not in vain. But while thus hopefully indicating the sources of our strength, it would be poor patriotism and false delicacy to avoid any reference to equally obvious elements of weakness. These, indeed, make themselves so conspicuous at certain periods in our growth to nationhood that emphasis becomes unnecessary. But in the early years of the colony there is generally so much of the grand and heroic about the leading figures, that it is only by a scrutiny which is out of sympathy with romance, that we discover the drawbacks that retarded its progress. One of them undoubtedly was the lack of a consistently wise colonial policy on the part of the metropolis. Neither to Acadia nor to Canada was it (if we except the new departure of Colbert) either far-seeing as it concerned France or just to the colonists. It may be said, indeed, that the healthy social life and industrial progress of the Canadian people were due, in the main, to qualities which the founders of families brought with them from their homes in Northern France, developed and fructified by the discipline of the climate and the example and ministrations of a devoted clergy. Interesting as it would be to follow step by step the career of Champlain and the colony under him, and to share in the enthusiasm of Chomédy de Maisonneuve and his pious company, as with holy rites they laid the foundations of Ville Marie, I can only cast a momentary glance at the trials and the triumphs of that critical time. Rapid, indeed, under those brave explorers of the 17th century, was the march of conquest. Once the foundations of the colony were fairly laid, they shrank from no difficulty, no hardship, no danger. Missionary zeal, ambition, commercial enterprise, enlightened curiosity and love of adventure, all combined to make their successes rarely paralleled in boldness, range and usefulness.

Founders of Families.

Choosing a point of retrospection after Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal had been duly organized, we may see what had been accomplished in less than a generation from the establishment of the first pioneer (Louis Hébert, 1617). In the year 1645, then, we find, on the authority of M. Sulte (*Histoire des Canadiens-français*, Tome II, p. 147) that the progress of colonization is represented by 122 *habitants* or settlers, all of whom but three are married, while one of the three is a widower. We know their names and places of birth. Thirty-four of them came from Normandy, twenty-seven from Perche, four from Beauce, three from Picardy, five from Paris, three from Maine. Of the whole number eighty were from north of the Loire. As to the wives, it is probable that the eighty north-country men were balanced by eighty north-country women, the families that supplied the former also supplying the latter. Eight years later, that is in 1653, M. Sulte reckons the settled population at 675 souls, of whom 400 were at Quebec, 175 at Three Rivers, and 100 at Montreal. Among the founders of Canadian families may be mentioned Louis Hébert, Guillaume Couillard, Abraham Martin (Mgr. Taché and Dr. Taché are descended from all three of these brave pioneers); Jean Coté; Pierre Paradis; Bertrand Fafard *dit* Laframboise; Christophe Crevier (ancestor of Ludger Duvernay, founder of the *Minerve* and of the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*); Pierre Boucher (ancestor of the de Boucherville family); the three Godefroys; Guillaume Couture (ancestor of Bishops Turgeon and Bourget); Joseph Gravelle; Toussaint Toupin (ancestor of Charles de Langlade); Charles LeMoine (ancestor of the most distinguished families and personages in the colony); Jacques Archambault; Gabriel Duclos de Celles (ancestor of M. A. D. de Celles); Guillaume Pepin *dit* Tranche-Montagne (from whom have descended several men of mark, including Sir Hector and Bishop Langevin). But I must refer the inquirer to M. Sulte. In a note (*Hist. des Can.-français*, Tome I, p. 153) after refuting certain calumnies as to the origin of the French-Canadian people, by a chronological statement showing that Champlain had *table rase* in New France, when he began his colonization, that patriotic writer says: "See the *Dictionnaire Généalogique* of Abbé Tanguay. This compilation of registers of births, marriages and death is unique. In order to show its value, we may say that all the French Canadians spread through North America find there their family tree, accompanied with a thousand details. No other nation possesses such a book. We owe it to the archives of our parishes and seigneuries and to the indefatigable patriot whose name it bears. The stranger, who now and then concerns himself with us, too often neglects to consult our national library. They speak of French Canadians in the United States, in France, in England, according to the information of fancy. When they learn that we are of some importance, the works of Garneau, Ferland, and Tanguay will have an honoured place in the esteem of the learned." There was also a floating population, consisting of fur-traders and speculators, soldiers, military officers and members of the civil service.

After 1653 the provinces south of the Loire began to contribute a considerable proportion to the population, while the immigration from Perche and Normandy declined. But, as M. Sulte points out, the first arrivals exercised a deep and lasting influence on the character and usages of the people.[1] A patriotic sentiment had gradually taken root, as

[1] In his *Histoire de la Littérature canadienne*, M. Laroau lays stress upon the fact that the traditions, songs, tales, proverbs and superstitions of the French Canadians are all Norman or Breton.

a new generation grew up. The born Canadians looked upon Canada with the same affection that their fathers had felt for France. Some old usages[1] were preserved, but they, as well as the songs that were brought from across the Atlantic and even the spoken tongue were somewhat modified in the course of years. The French Canadian was being developed.

Local Differentiation.

The great distance of the little fortified settlements of this province from each other and the still greater distance between Quebec and Acadia, also tended to create local peculiarities of character, manner and language. But there was less perceptible difference between any one French Canadian and another, however far apart may have been their places of birth or however diverse their surroundings, than there was between the French-speaking native of Canada and the native of France.

The Acadians.

The frequent interruptions and constant alarms experienced in Acadia from English rivalry, especially during the continuance of European wars, made society there less settled than in the more western colonies. The civil organization was less complete. Such feuds as that between Latour and d'Aulnay de Charnisay were unknown at Quebec or Montreal. Their isolation and the neglect of the mother-country were sorely against the Acadians, and yet, though a prey to frequent raids, to cruel abandonment and to internal disorder, there were intervals of steady progress as well as inspirations of enterprise, which tended to develop the resources of the country and which show what might have been effected had France only appreciated her duty. In 1671 the population was 440, which in 1679 had grown to 515, and in 1686 to 900 or 920 souls. The population of the four seigneuries and the scattered settlements in 1707 was 1,838—965 men and 873 women. An impulse to immigration had set in after 1701, some 400 persons arriving at Port Royal between that year and 1707, but the day was now at hand when "this colonial flower should be ravished from the crown of France." It was too late. When the cession to England took place in 1713, the population was 2,100. Shortly before the sentence of banishment was pronounced in 1755 there were between 8,000 and 9,000. Many of these had taken refuge

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[1] Some old beliefs that once existed among the *habitants* are, M. LeMay, the translator of *Evangeline*, tells us, fast dying away. One of them was that of the temporary resurrection, at Christmas-tide, of the last *curé* of the parish; who, with his dead flock around him, recited the office for the day, his ghostly audience repeating the responses. Another tradition is that on Christmas night the light of the stars penetrates the opened recesses of the earth, sometimes revealing hidden treasures. The supposed genuflexions of the oxen at that sacred season are common to most Christian communities. With Christmas among the French Canadians, as among other peoples, are connected many curious rhymes which have been handed down from generation to generation. The strangest of these is what is known as *La Guignolée*, of which there are several versions. It is more immediately associated with New Year's Day than with Christmas, but formerly the two holidays were closely related. The Christmas season may, indeed, be said to terminate only with Epiphany, which by many is still called Old Christmas Day. The origin of *La Guignolée* is unknown. The explanation *au gui, l'an neuf*! (the one generally given) would carry the custom back to the Druids and the gathering of the sacred mistletoe (*gui, viscum*) to which Pliny makes reference (Nat. Hist. xvi., 249). The custom is still kept up, M. Sulte says, in some parishes of the Province of

at Chipody, Louisburg and elsewhere, and it is computed that the number affected by the edict of expulsion amounted to about 6,000. Of these a good many ultimately returned. There must certainly have been a pretty fair nucleus of families to yield 108,605, the French (generally Acadian) population of the maritime provinces according to the last census. It has been noted that the names of many French-speaking families living there to-day are those of the Acadians of the 17th century. There were some intermarriages with Scotch and Irish, and also with Indians. St. Castin married the daughter of an Abenakis chief; d'Entremont married one of St. Castin's half-breed daughters; the mother of Latour's daughter Jeanne was a woman of the Amalekite tribe; and several other such marriages or unions are on record. (Rameau: *Une Colonie féodale*, p. 195.)

Acadian Characteristics.

La Mothe-Cadillac, writing in 1690 of the resources of Acadia, describes the cattle and horses as modified by the influence of climate, fodder and treatment. The third generation of colonists was then mature, and it is natural to suppose that their differentiation had also begun. M. Rameau, who quotes Lamothe, says:—"The men also had experienced like modification. The children of the French emigrants had become, in fact, Acadians, and now formed a small distinct community with new customs of their own, and united by the traditions and usages that the force of circumstances had imposed on them. They were marked by profound attachment to their religious faith, which, being intimately associated with all the habits of their lives, fostered a spirit of unity and harmony which enabled them to live in peace so long without police courts and almost without laws." He adds, however, that the disposition of a people who had little chance of cultivation was not always tractable, the difficulties of their mode of life tending to embitter minds already prone to the defects of the French character. He mentions among their faults levity, improvidence, vanity—sometimes leading to good actions, but commonly intolerable to others; lack of subordination, unless when imposed by force, love of gossip and criticism, with that jealousy which often accompanies excessive fondness for company. Thence arose

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Quebec, of singing the *Guignolée* on the evening of St. Sylvester's day, that is New Year's eve. As the words of this ancient invocation may be new to some, I append one of the versions contained in the *Chansons populaires du Canada* of M. Ernest Gagnon:

"Bonjour le maître et la maîtresse
Et tout le monde de la maison.
Pour le dernier jour de l'année
La Ignolé vous nous devez.
Si vous voulez rien nous donner
Dites-nous-le,
On emmènera seulement
La fille ainée.
On lui fera faire bonne chère,
On lui fera chauffer les pieds.
On vous demande seulement
Une chignée,
De vingt à trente pieds de long
Si vous voulez-e.

La Ignolée, la Ignoloche,
Mettez du lard dedans ma poche!
Quand nous fum's au milieu du bois,
Nous fum's à l'ombre;
J'entendais chanter le coucou
Et la coulombe.
Rossignolet du vert bocage
Rossignolet du bois joli,
Eh! va-t-en dire à ma maîtresse
Que je meurs pour ses beaux yeux.
Tout' fille qui n'a pas d'amant,
Comment vit-elle?
Elle vit toujours en soupirant
Et toujours veille."

frequent divisions, coteries and disputes. One governor, Menneval, said his existence among them was an *enfer;* another thought he used language almost as bad when he called them half-republicans. The English rulers, after the conquest, regarded them as ungovernable. Religion, says M. Rameau, alone can make such a people manageable, and yet even the priests themselves, who had spiritual charge over them, more than once complained of a character so hard to deal with. Laurent Molin, a cordelier, who served the Acadians in 1670 and carried out for M. de Grandfontaine the census of that year, a mild and patient man, speaks, simply as a matter of fact, of the manner in which he was received while discharging his duty, of the anger and suspicion with which his requests for information were resented as an intrusion. This objection to census-takers is not confined to the Acadians. M. Molin said that, when under the influence of their better feelings, the Acadians were kind and obliging and full of sorrow for whatever faults they might have committed. M. Rameau adds that their faults, which were French faults, were such as needed peculiarly the services of the priests, whose mission, he thinks, is nowhere more useful than when they are engaged in counselling and advising the French people.

We may now take leave of the Acadians, whom it is necessary to study carefully in making any analysis of the constituents of our Dominion population. As the French Canadians were the original settlers of Quebec and of Ontario in part, so were the Acadians of the maritime provinces. Acadia and Canada together formed *la Nouvelle France.*

The Canadian Colonies.

Let us now return for a little to the consideration of the colonies of Champlain and Villeneuve. It is usual for historians to busy themselves with great events only, the sayings and doings of kings and rulers and ministers of state. Such personages have, undoubtedly, much influence in guiding the destinies of a nation, but it is the character and conduct of the people themselves, after all, that build it up or pull it down.

Whether by a policy of timely conciliation Champlain might have avoided all the devastations and bloodshed and other evil consequences of long-continued Indian wars, it boots not to inquire. He probably knew his own business as well as most of those who have undertaken, after the event, to advise him. If he made the Iroquois inveterately hostile by joining the Hurons in attacking them so soon after his organization of the colony, he certainly produced so wholesome a terror in their minds as made his peaceful explorations possible and protected the colony, in its very infancy, from total destruction. The rivalry for a while between the Dutch, and during the whole of the old *régime*, between the English and the French colonists, necessarily implied on both sides the use of Indian allies. That not merely somebody, but almost everybody, blundered in the matter of Indian policy at the outset of colonization on this continent is only too true and much to be deplored. Successes of the Jesuit and other missions prove that some of the native tribes were not unsusceptible of being won over by kindly treatment. Justice, gentleness and firmness, with a constant effort to allay their inter-tribal ferocity, might have been as fruitful of good as the opposite course was of evil. And yet, but for the hostility of the Indians to civilization, Christianity and each other, Canada would be deprived of some of the most glorious instances of heroic courage and heroic meekness which the annals of war and martyrdom can furnish. A people that could produce such characters as those of Brebœuf and Lalle-

mant, of Dollard des Ormeaux and of Madeleine de Verchères, cannot be without qualities which command veneration and lead to greatness. In daring and useful enterprise, Canada has an honour-roll not less conspicuous. Champlain himself did not shrink, notwithstanding the many calls on his time, from setting the example. Following in his track, the Jesuits established the wilderness missions in what is now the garden of Ontario. One after another undertook long and perilous quests. To-day, with our network of railways giving speedy communication in all directions, we cannot realize the difficulties and dangers which those brave men faced. Long before an intercolonial railway or even an intercolonial road had been dreamed of, three Recollet Brothers had walked every foot of the distance (excepting the water to be crossed) between the St. John River and Quebec. From Champlain's visit to the great lakes till the Verendrye brothers reached the Rocky Mountains, the work of exploration went on, northward to Hudson's Bay, southward to the Gulf of Mexico,—while in all directions over the intervening areas were set up mission stations and trading posts, the relics of some of which remain to this day. Marquette and Hennepin, La Salle and Le Moyne d'Iberville, and scores of lesser names, illustrate the story of North American discovery.

And what of the mass of the people? We are at no loss for information regarding them. From Louis Hébert, our pioneer *habitant*, to the volunteer who fought with Montcalm, weighed down by multiplied disadvantages, for the independence of a land which a degenerate court affected to despise, we have many and many a glimpse of them—at their pleasures, at their work, keeping the Indian foe at bay or returning thanks for security vouchsafed. In the main, they were industrious, orderly, sociable, courageous, moral and devout.

State of Education.

That they were not quite without opportunities for the development of their intelligence is evident from the attention which the royal government gave to public instruction. (Chauveau: *Instruction Publique en Canada*, p. 48.) The religious orders had also undertaken the work of education among the people of the colony as well as among the Indians. (*Ib.*, p. 52.) In 1663 the Grand Seminary was founded by Bishop Laval, but as early as 1637, five years before the foundation of Montreal, Father Rohault, son of the Marquis de Gamache, who had given a large sum of money for the purpose, had begun the construction of a college in the city of Quebec. (*Ib.*, pp. 52, 53.) The Seminary of St. Sulpice dates from 1647, when Montreal was only five years old. The Institut des Frères Charron was in operation, with various success, from 1688 to 1747. (*Ib.*, pp. 53, 54.) These institutions could not have existed in a country where education was wholly neglected. That the daughters of the *habitants* were taught by the ladies of the Ursuline Convent we know from a letter of Madame Marie de l'Incarnation, which M. Sulte has in part reproduced with pertinent comments. He reminds his readers of the danger of mental degeneracy and coarseness of manners resulting from the constant occupation of the men in pursuits which, if necessary, were not elevating, and indicates the providential character of the inspiration that would compensate for the forced neglect by cultivating the gifts and graces of the female sex. He gladly emphasizes the benefit which it has conferred on French Canadian society and on the French language, mentioning as one of its probable

fruits the admired transformation of the songs of France into pure and delicate *mélopées.* (Sulte: *Histoire des Canadiens-français*, Tome II, p. 68.) It is, however, matter of regret to find that the provisions for education do not seem to have improved during the following three-quarters of a century. In a *mémoire* of M. Hocquart, dated 1736, to which I will presently refer in more detail, complaint is made of the slender character of the education which even gentlemen's children receive. They hardly, he says, know how to read and write, and are unacquainted with the first elements of geography and history. At Quebec the chief teacher is also hydrographer and missionary, and has little time for his pupils. At Montreal, matters are little better. He recommends the appointment of a good master for each place. Later on matters seem to improve. In 1757, Madame Bourgainville wrote thus:—"The simple *habitants* of Canada would be scandalized at the name of peasants. In fact, they are of better stuff, are more intellectual and better educated than those of France."

Government.

The notions of mankind have changed very much as to the question of the people's share in administration since the middle of the 17th century. Popular government in our sense, or even in the medieval sense, did not exist in Canada at that time. Frontenac tried to make a change, but the result was one of Colbert's gentle but unmistakeable rebukes. "His municipal government, and his meeting of citizens were, like his three estates, abolished by a word from the court which, bold and obstinate as he was, he dared not disobey. Had they been allowed to subsist, there can be little doubt that great good would have resulted to Canada." (Parkman's *Frontenac*, p. 21). M. Rameau, though he lays stress on the advantages which the Canadians derived from their excellent parochial system, working in harmony with the organization of the *seigneurie*, acknowledges that the absence of municipal institutions was a serious drawback. (*Une Colonie féodale*, pp. 290, 291). The grant of such a boon would, he thinks, have doubled their energy and their power for good.

Champlain's rule, as the commissioner of the Companies, lasted from 1608 till 1635, with an interruption of three years, during which Quebec was occupied by Louis Kirkt. He was succeeded by Governors de Montmagny, d'Ailleboust, de Lauson, and d'Avaugour. In 1663, M. de Mesy, on the recommendation of Mgr. de Laval, was sent out to inaugurate the system of royal government,—the Company of the Hundred Associates having been dissolved. A sovereign council was formed, modelled on the Parliament of Paris, composed of the governor, the bishop, five (afterwards seven) councillors, named by them conjointly, an attorney-general, and, on his arrival in Canada, the intendant, who represented the minister. To this body the entire administration of the colony was entrusted. In 1664, the Coutume de Paris was made the law of the land. The country was divided for administrative purposes into three governments, those of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, the two latter having their own magistrates, and courts of justice. Later on (in 1717) an admiralty court was established at Quebec.

Of the system of administration just sketched, M. Garneau says that—"it was the worst of all systems of government, being the delegation of absolute power, to be exercised a thousand leagues from the delegating authority and in a state of society essentially dif-

ferent from that of the mother country. But Louis XIV, the most despotic of all French kings, could not have been expected to grant institutions bearing the smallest germ of liberty." (*Histoire du Canada*, Tome I, p. 184). Of the judicial system the same writer says: "Justice was generally administered in a manner impartial and enlightened, and it was obtained at small cost. Jurisprudence, based on the solid foundation of the ordinance of 1667, was free from those variations and contradictions which, at a later period, brought uncertainty and suspicion on the administration of justice." (*Ib.* p. 184.)

Colbert's twenty years of office were the most progressive years in the history of Canada under the old *régime*. His efforts to promote settlement, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and general and industrial education had, for the time and in the circumstances, a remarkable success. Iron-works, tanneries, ship-building and other industries were started and a considerable trade grew up with the mother country and the West-Indies. In 1676, the population was 9,719 souls, having nearly trebled since 1665. In 1706, it had increased to 17,400,—the whole population of New France, including Acadia, being then about 19,000. This was a mere handful compared with the inhabitants of the British colonies, which then numbered some 260,000. But though few, their sway was far-reaching. "Detroit was occupied by the French," says Parkman, describing the state of Canada, after Frontenac's death; "the passes of the west were guarded by forts, another New France grew up at the mouth of the Mississippi, lines of military communication joined the Gulf of Mexico with the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while the colonies of England lay passive between the Alleghanies and the sea, till roused by the trumpet that sounded with wavering notes on many a bloody field, to peal at last in triumph from the Heights of Abraham."

Noblesse.

Though Frontenac was not permitted to make the three estates an engine of polity, they were in full force under the social system of the old *régime*. In a *mémoire*, presented by M. Talon, intendant, to the minister Colbert, in 1667, on the state of Canada, the author says that there are only four ancient nobles and four other heads of families whom the king had honoured by his letters during the previous year. He thinks there may possibly be some other noblemen among the officers of the army, but he looks upon an estate so numerically weak as insufficient for the maintainance of the king's authority, and advises the the addition of eight more to the number, the space for the names being left blank to be filled up in Canada, according to usage. Another *mémoire* composed long after (attributed to M. Hocquart, intendant in 1736), enumerates fourteen noble families, which it may not be without interest to mention, as some of them are still represented in Canada. They are the Gardeur (with four branches, Repentigny, Courcelle, Tilly de Beauvais, St. Pierre); Denys, (with three branches, Denys de la Ronde, de St. Simon, Bonaventure); Daillebout (with four branches, Perigny, Manthet, Dargenteuil, Des Mousseaux); Boucher (established at Boucherville and the head of which, ninety years old, had more than 190 children, grand-children, brothers, nephews and grand-nephews); Contrecœur, La Valterie, St. Ours, Meloises, Tarrieu de la Pérade (all of whom came to Canada with the de Carignan Regiment in 1669); Le Moyne (the family of the de Longueuils); Aubert; Hertel and Godefroy (both very numerous), and Damours. There were, besides these, the noblemen connected with the troops. Afterwards the writer mentions incidentally, in referring to the eagerness of

scions of noble families to enter the king's service that they are mostly poor and would gladly increase their resources. As for the condition of the rest of the people in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the former of the *mémoires* from which I have been quoting says that there were some well off, some indigent, and some between both extremes.

Canada and the Canadians in 1736.

In 1736 (according to Mr. Hocquart) the population of the colony was about 40,000, of whom 10,000 are returned as fit to bear arms. The Canadians, he says, are tall, well made, and of a vigorous constitution. The artisans are industrious and the *habitants* skilful with the axe. They make the most of their own tools and implements of husbandry; build their own houses and barns, and several of them can weave, making great webs of stuff that they call drugget, which they use for clothing themselves and their families. So much for their good qualities. But they are also, according to M. Hocquart, vain,[1] fond of being noticed and sensitive to rebuke. Strange to say, it is the country people whom he thus characterizes. The townspeople are less faulty. They are attached to their religion and there are few incorrigibles; but they think too much of themselves, and this failing prevents them from succeeding, as they might do, in the arts, agriculture and commerce. The long winter, with little occupation, also tends to make the men lazy. But they are addicted to the chase, to navigation, to voyages, and have not the coarse and rustic air of the French peasant. Though naturally hard to manage, they become more tractable when their honour is appealed to, but the spirit of subordination is sadly lacking, the fault, in part, of deficient firmness on the part of former governments. This is said, it seems, with reference to the militia, whose moral and physical qualities and training were to be severely tested sooner than M. Hocquart imagined. The intendant then gives an account of the products, commerce and industries of the country. Wheat is the chief crop. The country furnishes more than what meets the needs of the inhabitants, and the surplus is exported. In good years, 80,000 bushels in flour and biscuits are sent out of the country, but 1737 was a bad year. The lands of Quebec are not all equally good, some of them being hilly, but those of Montreal are level. The experiment of fall wheat had been made, but was considered risky on account of frosts. Oats, pease, barley and rye, as well as flax, hemp and tobacco were all grown to some extent. There were as yet few orchards. More attention to the culture of tobacco is recommended. The beaver

[1] It is singular that Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, on his visit to Quebec in 1749, made just the same reflection, not on the *habitants*, but on the ladies of Quebec. The same distinguished tourist, who brought the observant eye of science to bear upon more than herbs and minerals, speaking generally, says that the women of Canada are handsome, virtuous and well-bred, with an *abandon* that is charming in its innocence. As housewives he found them superior to those of the English colonies. More than once he contrasts the refinement of the Canadians with the brusqueness of the Dutch and English. But he thinks the Canadian ladies give too much time to their toilet. He makes a difference between the ladies of Quebec and those of Montreal. The former is a veritable Frenchwoman by education and manners—the consequence of association with the *noblesse* that came every year in the king's ships, while hosts so distinguished rarely got so far inland as Montreal. He says the French attribute to the ladies of the latter city a large share of Indian pride with Indian lack of culture. But they as well as the fair Quebecquoises err through fondness for dress.—(*Voyage de Kalm en Amérique, analysé et traduit par W. Marchand.*)

was retreating northward but still plentiful at the Company's posts, Tadousac, Temiscaming, etc. The English were charged with enticing the Indians with brandy, but it was also acknowleged that they gave a better price for the skins. The Three Rivers iron mines are mentioned, as are also the copper mines of Lake Superior. The ship-building industry at Quebec was growing in favour. Thirty nations of Indians were described as occupying the continent of Canada.

The last days of the old Régime.

Another *mémoire*, dated twelve years later (1758) and attributed to M. Querdisien Trémais, is written with spirit and force but is not cheerful reading, as it gives a most gloomy picture of the state of the country and brings scathing charges of malfeasance and dishonesty against the public functionaries of the time. The population is set down at 80,000, of whom 15,000 were able to bear arms. The state of misery to which the country is represented as having been brought mainly by corrupt administration is so intolerable, that if the document had been prepared expressly to show that the time had come when Canada must shake off the paralysing grasp of Louis XV and his agents, it could not have been more pertinent or more vigorously worded. Canada had to pass through some severe trials under the new *régime*, but none of them can be compared with the cureless wretchedness set forth with unconscious pathos in this prosaic state-paper. Well might the elder Papineau contrast the freedom of British institutions, even such as they were before the expiry of the 18th century, with the tyranny and rapacity of such men as Intendant Bigot. (The *Mémoires* quoted from are those included in the *Collection de Mémoires et de Relations sur l'histoire ancienne du Canada*, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1840).

The recital of M. Trémais may well lead us to believe, with Abbé Ferland and M. LeMoine, that there was more than indifference in the manner in which Canada was allowed to pass from the hands of France. It was the interest of the infamous Bigot coterie to conceal their own malfeasance under the common ruin, just as the scoundrel will burn the house whose inmates he has murdered, in order to hide the traces of his crime. (*Album du Touriste*, pp. 59 and 97).

When M. Trémais' *mémoire* was penned, there was no obvious reason to fear that the system of rule which it so damagingly accused was near its termination. Montcalm had won a victory over one of the finest British forces that ever offered battle to foe on this continent. Wolfe was engaged in a work of retaliation unworthy of his genius and character. But in the book of fate the knell had sounded, and the brave and chivalrous Montcalm was soon to lie dying and helpless, leaving to the care of de Ramezay the honour of France, the safety of the army and the defence of Canada.

The Remnant and the New-comers.

As at the capture of Quebec by Kirkt in 1629, so at the conquest of 1760, only a comparatively small number of the people abandoned their country. The words of M. Sulte, relating to both occasions, are applicable in this place: "Those who remained in the

country constituted just the stable portion of the population, that is, the *habitants*. It is false to say that Canada was at that time (1629) abandoned. That primary germ of Canadian families deserves neither the indifference nor the oblivion of historians. For it was they who refused to despair of their adopted country, and their development was proof against every attempt to arrest it. A hundred and fifty years later the Canadians were in the same situation, and then too they had the courage to remain Canadians. Such is our history. We have become anchored in the soil in spite of the ebb and flow of European influences. In 1629, of less than a hundred persons then in the colony, more than a third was composed of *habitants*, and they remained faithful to their post, undeterred by ill fortune."

But after the Cession, an immigration from Great Britain at once set in. In five years a newspaper (the *Quebec Gazette*) had been established at Quebec, the first number of which contained the advertisements of English merchants. In twenty-five years there was a considerable British population, and, in the following year, the sentiment of loyalty had become strong enough among the whole population to present a united front against the wiles and encroachments of the American Congress. In the defence of Quebec against Richard Montgomery in December, 1775, the French and British were as one man.

In 1763, when Canada was formally ceded to England, the rule of martial law, inaugurated in 1759, was changed for a modified military government, with the promise of popular representation, as soon as circumstances would permit. In 1774 was passed the Quebec Act, which greatly enlarged the limits of the province, assured religious liberty, with the privileges indicated in the terms of capitulation, recognized the ancient French civil law, but insisted on the adoption of the criminal law of Great Britain. In 1784, the province of New Brunswick was created and the town of St. John settled with U. E. Loyalists. In 1791, the province of Quebec was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, with British law in its entirety for the former. It signified the inauguration of constitutional, but without responsible, government, a boon which was not enjoyed, till, after the rising of 1837, the severed provinces were again united under a common government. The next political change was the most important of all, being that which was effected by the British North America Act, constituting the Dominion of Canada. By successive annexations, in accordance with its provisions, the whole region from the Atlantic to the Pacific has been made one federal power, under a single central authority.

United Empire Loyalists.

The American revolution having been successful, most of those who had sided with the mother-land in the quarrel were expatriated and had their property confiscated. An appeal having been consequently made to Great Britain, an act was (in 1783) passed in their favour, and the following March fixed as the ultimate date on which claims for redress should be received. The number of those dispossessed on account of their unbroken allegiance was from 25,000 to 30,000, the great majority of whom took up their abodes in the Canadas, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. We have ample means of judging of the character of this addition to our population. The loyalists were moral, intelligent and enterprising, and formed a timely and valuable accession to the young communities of Upper Canada and the maritime provinces, where many of them rose rapidly to distinction,

and their descendants are among the foremost in politics, business, the church, and the professions at the present day.

The Rise of Cities.

Under their influence some of the old French settlements or posts were made the centres of town and cities. Annapolis (1713) and Halifax (1749) had, as British foundations, preceded the conquest. Truro was founded three years after the taking of Quebec, and some others grew up on the old sites without formal differentiation. (See ex-Governor Archibald's most interesting address on the occasion of "the 121st anniversary of Truro's natal day"). Niagara was for a time the rival of York, as Toronto was called. "The cities of the old world," says Dr. Wilson, "have their mythic founders and quaint legends still commemorated in heraldic blazonry. But there is no mystery about the beginnings of Toronto. Upper Canada was erected into a distinct province in 1791, only eight years after France finally renounced all claim on the province of Quebec; and a few months afterwards General Simcoe, the first governor of the new province, arrived at the old French fort, at the mouth of Niagara river, and in May, 1793, selected the Bay of Toronto as the site of the future capital. The chosen spot presented a dreary aspect of swam and uncleared pine forest, but amid these his sagacious eye saw in anticipation the city rise which already numbers upwards of 60,000 [by the last census 86,215] inhabitants, and, rejecting the old Indian name since restored, he gave to his embryo capital that of York." (*Prehistoric Man*, Vol. I, p. 18). Dr. Scadding has written the history of the city whose birth is thus concisely described, and he, with the assistance of Mr. Dent, the able author of "The Last Forty Years," is bringing out a jubilee volume on the same subject, *à propos* of its fiftieth anniversary as a corporate city. Kingston, or Fort Cataraqui, is another of these cuckoo foundations, and several of the smaller towns have been built on or near the sites of old forts or missions in the Ontario peninsula, and Acadian settlements along the Bay of Fundy, just as more lately Winnipeg rose suddenly to size and celebrity in the vicinity of Fort Garry. The day may come when Fort Prince of Wales, on Hudson's Bay, may win new renown by giving an air of antiquity to a Canadian Archangel.

The motives, circumstances and *personnel*, associated with the establishment of the British Canadian cities that have no adventitious antiquity of the kind in question, are not quite unknowable. Some of them have been gathered by painstaking investigators, such as Mr. Burrows, who has written the interesting "Annals of the Town of Guelph." Local history of this kind has no small value in enabling one to judge of the elements that go to the making of a nation, but they lack the interest that pertains to the foundation of Quebec or Montreal or Port Royal.

Increase of Population.

Let us now see what has been the growth of our population under the new *régime*. In 1800, it was estimated at 240,000, less than than that of New Brunswick alone to-day. In the next twenty-four years it more than doubled. In 1851, it had trebled the figures of a quarter century before, and twenty years later it had risen to 3,657,887. The population

of the Dominion by the last census was 4,324,840 (occupying an area of 3,470,392 square miles). The 70,000 or 80,000 French Canadians of 1760 have grown into a community of 1,298,929. This growth in a century and a quarter, with hardly any aid from immigration and a good deal of loss from emigration, is certainly remarkable. The Irish element, 957,403 souls, comes next, the English and Welsh, with a population of 891,248, being third, the Scotch, 699,883, next, while the German, chiefly in Ontario and New Brunswick, is set down at 254,319. The remainder is made up of Dutch, Scandinavians and other European nationalities, with 108,547 Indians, 21,394 Africans and 4,383 Chinese. The floating Chinese population has greatly increased during the last three years.

A good Stock.

The population of the Dominion, made up of the best blood of Western and Central Europe, the pick of the Latin, Teutonic and Celtic races, has every element necessary to form a great nation. In physique and intellectual powers the average Canadian is certainly the equal of the average Frenchman, Briton or German. At present, the national elements composing the whole are distinct, and attention to the question of origins at this transition stage in our history will be of advantage for the determination of certain problems hereafter. But there must come a time when a Canadian will be simply a Canadian, as an Englishman is an Englishman, whether of Celtic, Saxon, or Norman descent. Already there are Canadian characteristics in which natives of all origins share. Every year that tendency will become more marked, and with it the growth of a national spirit. Great as has been our progress as allied national communities, it will be much greater when we are all really one. Unity is, indeed, our great desideratum, and it should be the aim of every patriotic and public-spirited man to use his influence for its attainment.

Sectionalism.

In the past the lack of it has been the great drawback to progress and prosperity. No one can read our history without perceiving that, from first to last, some form of sectionalism has been a drag upon all efforts for the general good. It arose, in part, no doubt, from the circumstances of existence until a comparatively recent period. Distances between cities, the centres of opinion, were very great, and the modes of communication slow and inconvenient. The most chivalrous hospitality may prevail between such communities, but, at the same time, a spirit of clique will be produced. Certain ways of looking at things will become stereotyped and virtually unchangeable. As, with the increase and improvement of means of communication, intercourse becomes more frequent, men's minds become more receptive and interchange of ideas takes place, but with the majority local prejudices survive long after their usefulness has disappeared. In Canada, peculiar circumstances have besides created conventions unknown elsewhere, or, at least, to the same extent. I mean that which arranges for the representation of "interests" altogether apart from merit, or what would result naturally from knowledge of men as men, and from perfectly free choice. I need scarcely say that this parochial distribution of public functions is wholly anomalous and antagonistic to the very idea of nationality. Let churches

elect their churchwardens and deacons, and let national societies elect their officers; but the nation knows no such distinctions, and, though it may take some time to substitute for such a convention a more rational usage, it must surely go eventually, and the sooner the better.

The Provinces.

There is another point which may be slightly touched on, as it suggests a serious danger to the nation—the question of provincial rights. Dr. Draper maintains, in his History of the Civil War, that the antagonism between North and South was an innate antagonism of race and class, aggravated by differences of climate and the institution of slavery, and must have ended as it did. Slavery suited the southerner better than the northerner, but the northerners have had slaves too. At any rate, whatever drove them to war, there is no slavery in Canada, and we are all north. Our sectional divisions, if they come, will be those of longitude. That provincial rights should be maintained, is altogether necessary and just, and no one who wishes well to his country would encourage the federal authorities in violating the law of the land. But such a thing is impossible, as full provision has been made to prevent it. If the law is at fault, that is another question. There is, however, much more need of a league for a defence of the nation's rights against the abuses of sectionalism, than there is of a league for the defence of provincial rights. Ever so many influences conspire against the national interest. Localism and sectionalism are in the ascendant. What we want most is a strong, unbiased national spirit.

Progress.

In extent, Canada is the fourth of the great powers of the world. In population, Canada is in advance of about a dozen independent kingdoms and republics. In public works, shipping, commerce, manufactures, industries, Canada is great, and growing daily greater. It ought to be a pride to take part in any way in the making of such a nation, in the development of its resources, in fostering its literature, science and art. We have great scientific names. We have an academy which has done some creditable work, and whoever consults Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, Lareau's *Littérature Canadienne*, the chapter entitled *Mouvement intellectuel et littéraire* in Chauveau's *Instruction Publique en Canada*, and Bourinot's *Intellectual Development of the Canadian People*, will see that we have taken, at least, the first steps towards the production of a national literature. What we need is a national sentiment. We have, unhappily, no metropolis—no centre of taste and judgment. Such a metropolis or its equivalent, will, no doubt, be recognized in time But the national feeling must precede it. That, indeed, as throughout this paper I have tried to make clear, is our chief desideratum.

Conclusion.

In the rise of the little colonies of the beginning of the 17th century to the status of

what is virtually a nation,[1] with all the heroism of saint and martyr and patriot, with all the enterprise of the great explorers, with all the virtues that distinguished the private life of the people, one evil quality ever exerted an injurious influence on the community and retarded its progress. A critic whom I greatly respect[2] has found fault with Parkman for pointing out, in one of his works, the jealousies of a past age. But I think that any attentive reader of our history must be sadly convinced that, amid so much that compels our admiration, amid displays of energy and courage, zeal and heroism, such as would adorn the annals of any people, the spirit of clique has made itself banefully felt, bringing the weakness of the divided house which, the Scripture says, cannot stand. We see it making mischief between creed and creed, between Church and State, between clergy and laity, between order and order, between city and city, between native-born and foreign-born, between mother-country and colony. That spirit is not dead yet. It shows its activity in many ways—more ways than I need mention. It is emphatically a bad spirit, and one which it is a patriotic duty to oppose by all honest means. For that spirit we should substitute the spirit of unity, of helpfulness, of co-operation and goodwill; the spirit that does away with prejudice and fruitless rivalry and detraction and division in politics, in science, in art, in literature, and to cherish and encourage that spirit, by example as well as by precept, should be the constant aim of the Royal Society of Canada.

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[1] In using the terms "nation" and "national" with regard to Canada, it will be understood that I have recourse to the only mode of expression applicable to a community of such dimensions and prospects as ours. The bond that unites us to the mother-country is not forgotten.

[2] The author of *Colbert et le Canada.*