

Records of Our History

# *Colonial Identities*

Canada from 1760 to 1815



*A View on Montmorency River one Mile & half above the Falls*







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Bruce G. Wilson



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of Canada

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du Canada



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## Foreword

*Colonial Identities* is the third volume of a National Archives series entitled *Records of Our History*. The series is based on the premise that Canada's past has a future: that Canadians can come to a better understanding of themselves through an appreciation of their collective memory — their archival heritage. The book can be used by scholars and the general public both as a reference tool and as a general history. It consists of reproductions of 113 archival documents — manuscripts, maps, works of documentary art and rare printed items. Almost all are contemporary to the period. Some have the stature and significance to make them national treasures, while others, once part of everyday life, are now made rare and precious by the fact of their survival. All are drawn from the extensive collections of the National Archives of Canada.

The documents have been arranged by broad theme with a commentary to describe each item, fit it into the theme and explain the significance of such material in understanding our past. The book is designed to allow readers to browse through it or to read it from cover to cover, and refer to the records that illustrate, support and explain the text.

I trust that many people will have the opportunity to read *Colonial Identities*. It is my hope that the wealth of records it contains will make Canadian history more alive and meaningful. This, after all, is the objective of the National Archives of Canada.

Jean-Pierre Wallot  
*National Archivist*



## Introduction and Acknowledgments

Between the years 1760 and 1815, Canada as we know it today did not exist. In the scattered colonies and territories of the half of North America that would one day become the Canadian nation, people went about their daily routines in ways that now seem exotic and quaint. In retrospect, the period was one of limited colonial identities.

No other period in the history of Canada, however, incorporates more events and developments as basic to the understanding of present-day Canada as that between the Conquest and the end of the War of 1812. In that period, a coherent geographical outline of Canada was pieced together for the first time. The previously unexplored parts of the Prairies, the western mountains and the Pacific slope all became known to Europeans. Only the far north remained little known, except to its own inhabitants.

Like our own days, this period was one of wars and uncertainties. Its conflicts shaped modern Canada. The Conquest established a basic reality of Canadian existence: the continuing presence of the French and English cultures within a single political entity. Both language groups then established patterns of confrontation and conciliation within which they still co-exist today. Other ethnic groups at the time adapted to this pattern, some finding advantages in a mixed-culture society, others, like Canada's native peoples, having to struggle to maintain their distinctiveness.

A second conflict, the American Revolution, coming less than twenty years after the Conquest, shattered dreams of a British empire that would encompass most of North America and, almost by default, define Canada's modern boundaries. The Revolution brought to Canada a population, refugees from the old Thirteen Colonies, who would be both attracted and repelled by their former homeland. The War of 1812, thirty years later, gave the British American colonies a sharp awareness of the might of their southern neighbour, but also marked their firm rejection of absorption into the republic. International events, like the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, did much to shape emerging patterns of politics, ideology and economic development.

The period was one of growth and increasing sophistication. In the beginning, the economy was based primarily on furs and fish. Well before 1815, the colonists became successful hewers of wood, processors, manufacturers, grain exporters, ship-builders, entrepreneurs and international traders. The growth of Canadian culture often seemed fragile, but it began to blossom with the publication of British North America's first novel, poetry and plays in both languages, substantial travel and religious writings, and a distinctive style of French Canadian painting. All the existing colonies that would some day make up Canada experienced their regional variations as each looked to solve its distinctive political and social concerns, yet all shared the common experience of contending with the imperial government to establish a space in which to be themselves.

It may be helpful to clarify some geographical areas. "Canada," in the period before 1791, meant the province of Quebec and much of what is now Ontario. "British North America" seems a preferable term to cover the other colonies and regions with which we are concerned, and this term will be used throughout, even though before the American Revolution it could be taken to include what is now the United States of America.

I hope this book will give its readers as much pleasure as its compilation has given me.

Many people have aided in the preparation of this book. For their substantial contributions, I wish especially to thank my colleagues, Jim Burant, Terry Cook, Ed Dahl, Patricia Kennedy, Gilles Langelier, Lise Perron-Croteau and Dawn Monroe. Many thanks to all those in the Historical Resources, Conservation and Public Programs Branches who have contributed to it. Stephen Willis of the Music Division, National Library, was generous with his knowledge of the Ste. Foy volume of religious music (Item 74), while Bernard Pothier of the Canadian War Museum and Richard Wright of the University of New Brunswick shared their knowledge of the Micmac catechism and grammar (Item 90).

The items in this book were displayed in an exhibition at the National Archives of Canada.

Bruce G. Wilson



# *Exploration and Surveying*

The period 1760 to 1815 saw Canada quite literally “put on the map.” Exploration, mapping and charting of the Canadian West and the Pacific Coast by Europeans proceeded at a remarkable rate. Native peoples, who had for generations known their particular territories, provided vital aid and guidance to white explorers. Driven by economic forces as well as imperial rivalries, explorers and traders surveyed the Prairies and penetrated through the mountain barriers to the ocean. Others sailed up the Pacific Coast. Two explorers journeyed northward overland to touch the Arctic coast at two different points. In the East, extensive charting of the Atlantic coastline and more comprehensive land surveys yielded an increasingly detailed and complex picture of the land and its surrounding waters. By 1815, only the western Arctic coastline and islands remained largely unknown territory. The geographical jigsaw puzzle for the half continent that was to become Canada had otherwise been pieced together.

## A Contemporary Account of Little-Known Spanish Voyages Along the Pacific Coast, 1774–1792

It is not well known that the first European explorers of Canada's West Coast were Spanish. Reacting to the beginnings of Russian penetration from the north, the Spanish in 1774 sent Juan José Pérez (circa 1725–1775) from Monterey, California, to explore the unknown coast to the north. Pérez reached as far as the northwest corner of the Queen Charlotte Islands. A second Spanish voyage occurred the following year. Explorations continued at intervals until 1793. The Spanish penetrated up the coast well into Alaska, but withdrew from the Northwest Coast after 1795, and had no further direct influence on its history.

The book illustrated here describes the voyage of the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*, two Spanish schooners that spent the summer of 1792 exploring the Strait of Georgia. The 167-page introduction describes all the Spanish voyages to 1792. The secrecy with which Spanish authorities cloaked the voyages makes this comprehensive review of great significance.



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# RELACION

DEL VIAGE HECHO POR LAS GOLETAS

SUTIL Y MEXICANA

EN EL AÑO DE 1792

PARA RECONOCER EL ESTRECHO DE FUCA;

CON UNA INTRODUCCION

EN QUE SE DA NOTICIA DE LAS EXPEDICIONES EXECUTADAS ANTERIORMENTE POR LOS ESPAÑOLES EN BUSCA DEL PASO DEL NOROESTE DE LA AMÉRICA.



DE ÓRDEN DEL REY.

MADRID EN LA IMPRENTA REAL

AÑO DE 1802.

*Relacion del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana . . . [Jose Espinosa y Tello], ed. Madrid en la Imprenta Real, 1802. Title page.*

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130522).

## A Native of Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island), 1778

The third voyage of the famous explorer and navigator, Captain James Cook (1728–1779), which he commenced in 1776, was intended as an assertion of British claims following reports of the first Spanish expeditions. Previous attempts had been made from the east to find a northern passage by water between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. With his extensive experience in the Pacific, Cook was instructed to try to find a passage from the west.

Cook arrived on the northwest coast in March 1778. His two vessels anchored at Nootka (now Resolution Cove, Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island) for a month to take on wood and water and to undertake repairs. The halt allowed Cook and his officers to make detailed observations of the local people.

This careful sketch of a native is one of twenty-nine extant drawings by John Webber (1751–1793) depicting Nootka Sound. The sketches constitute an important basis of our present understanding of Nootka culture at the time of first contact with Europeans. The man has dressed his hair and body with grease and paint. His face is painted with red ocher — a custom that was common everywhere on the northwest coast — perhaps as a protection against the sun. This man's addition of other paint was for aesthetic reasons. Ear ornaments were common, as were nose-rings cut from pieces of abalone shell or fashioned from copper. The fur-trimmed rain cape of woven cedar hints at the skill in basketry and weaving possessed by the Nootka.

John Webber, a professional portrait and landscape painter, was the official artist on Cook's third voyage. Sixty-one engravings were commissioned from his works to appear in James Cook's and James King's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . .* (3 vols., London, 1784). The National Archives holds six original Webber drawings from the expedition. This particular pastel was not the source of a published engraving and has seldom been seen by the public.





Man of Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island), April 1778. John Webber (1751–1793). Pastel with ink and grey wash, after 1778. 45.6 × 31.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-13415).

## Cook's Men Turn Back from Their Search for a Northwest Passage, 1778

Bad weather forced Cook's vessels out to sea as they left Nootka. They did not sight land again until they had moved beyond the boundaries of present-day Canada and into Alaskan waters. There the grim reality of polar navigation soon emerged as the expedition was driven back by a massive wall of ice blocking its progress eastward.

In this sketch, also by Webber, Cook's ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, can be seen in the background, and behind them the mountains of ice that had blocked their progress. Walrus were not generally eaten, but occasionally those on board Cook's ships welcomed a respite from the ever-present salted meat.

Cook's ships retreated through the Bering Strait to winter in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, where Cook met his death. A second attempt by his crew to find a Northwest Passage was equally unsuccessful. Despite the fact that the expedition had failed in what it considered its primary objective, the real significance of the voyage was that the northwest coast of America was known to Europeans at last. Unlike the Spaniards, Cook and his officers revealed to the world — through narratives, maps and drawings like this one — where they had been and what they had seen.

This is a relatively finished drawing probably done after the voyage as an intermediary step between an on-the-spot-sketch and a finished engraving. The National Archives of Canada holds another version of this sketch of the scene, probably made on the spot.





Cook's Men Shooting Walrus,  
19 August 1778. John Webber (1751–  
1793). Pencil, ink, and grey wash, after  
1778. 16.3 × 30.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-2621).



## The Log of a Spanish Ship that Almost Started a War, 1789

The Spaniard Esteban José Martínez (circa 1742–1798) wrote in the log of his ship *Princesa* a list of all ships that he believed had visited Nootka Sound up to and including his visit in 1789. The list included names of explorers such as the Spaniard Pérez, the Englishman Cook and the Frenchman Lapérouse. The majority of the names, however — Cooper, Colnett, Dickson, Meares and others — were those of English and American merchants trading for highly profitable sea otter skins.

On their way home to England, Captain Cook's crews called at Canton for supplies. There they discovered that furs for which they had bartered trinkets on the northwest coast could be sold at fantastically high prices. Their profits did not go unnoticed, and for a short period sparked a trade in sea otter fur by British and American vessels. These trading expeditions, too, added to the knowledge of the coast and its inhabitants.

Increased commercial activity led the Spanish to send Martínez to Nootka to bolster his nation's claim to sovereignty. Martínez seized a small fort built by the Englishman John Meares and two of Meares's ships, the *Argonaut* and the *Princess Royal*, both of which appear on Martínez's list.

It was a period of international tension, and the incident brought England and Spain to the brink of war. The French Revolution, however, intervened, and the protagonists came together to sign the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790, which stated that the fisheries and navigation of the Pacific Ocean would be open to British subjects except within ten leagues of coasts occupied by Spain.

The log of the *Princesa* is a clerical copy of the original, which was lost shortly thereafter when the ship sank. The last page of this copy contains a certification signed on 6 December 1789 by Martínez, that this is a faithful copy of the original log made at anchor off San Blas, Mexico.

1769

Namen de las Embarcaciones q. han hecho Descubrimiento al N. de la California con asencion de q. las q. han estado en este Puerto de S. Lorenzo de Nuca han conatadas con la Seta. N. Nuca.

Nombre de las Embarcaciones	Sus Capitanes	Años
S. Pedro y S. Pablo	Don José y Chaito	1741.
S. Fragata Santiago	S. Juan Vico	1774.
Esta Fragata y Goleta Sonora	S. Juan de Echea	1775.
S. Resolución y Descubierta	Jacobo Cook	1778.
Princesa y Favorita	S. Ignacio Astorga	1779.
S. Berengantín Vassille	Juan e Nevea	1784.
S. Raguébot Nuca	Pho Capitan	1786.
S. Berengantín Nutua	Capitan Apin Padde	1786.
S. Raguébot Cook	Edzeinch y Logy	1786.
S. Raguébot Experimentado	Capitan Luis	1786.
S. Raguébot	Capitan Pedro Lendite	1786.
Atuelano y la B. Bupula	El Conde de la Prisco	1786.
S.	William Cooper	1786.
S. El Rey George	Capitan Pollio	1786.
S.	Capitan Colnet	1786.
S. Raguébot Nutua	Capitan Nana	1786.
S. Neema Carlota	Capitan Pikoos	1787.
S. Fragata Andek	Capitan Baskley	1787.
S. Fragata Principe Wells	Capitan Colnet	1787.
S. Balandra Princesa Real	Capitan Dunkin	1787.
S.	William Cooper	1787.
S. Goleta Construida en Nuca	Roberto Tander	1788.
S. Raguébot Felis Aventura	Capitan Mondano	1788.
S. Raguébot Efigenia	S. Juan José Nana	1788.

S. Balandra Washington	Roberto Gray	1788.
S. Fragata Columbia	Juan Kendrick	1788.
S. Frag. la Princesa y Raguébot S. Carter	Comand. D. Estevan Vico	1789.
	Mestizo	
S. Balandra Princesa Real	Thomas Hudson	1789.
S. Goleta Construida en Nuca	Roberto Tander	1789.
S. Raguébot Arguinal	Roberto Dufin	1789.
En el Ph. El Gobernador	Agnes Colnet	1789.

Dia 15. Miércoles de Setis de 1789

Los Capitanes y Mucheros siguen labrando y cortando maderas para la fabrica de la Casa en que hemos de pasar la Invernada.

A las 10. de la mañana se hizo a la Vela desde este Puerto la Fragata Columbia y Balandra Washington para seguir en derrota de descubrimiento a los que sale a dejar hasta fueras de distancia de 5 a 6 millas con un cancha, acompañada de los R.R. P.P. Misioneros Representantes a mi bordo al medio día.

El Pilot de esta Fragata P. José Ingraham me havia pasado anteriormente de su oficina un Informe en Lengua Inglesa de las costumbres de los Indios de Nuca, de las producciones de Hierbas y Plantas de la tierra, de los animales, de los peces, del mar, y sus calidades, noticia del flujo y Reflujo del mar en este Puerto, y un pequeño Vocabulario.

Log of the *Princesa* [clerical copy].  
 Esteban José Martínez Fernandez y  
 Martínez de la Sierra (circa 1742–1798).  
 Manuscript log, 1789.

National Archives of Canada:  
 Manuscript Division, MG 23, J 12,  
 pp. 176–177.

## Vancouver Traces the Coastline of Modern British Columbia and Alaska, 1792–1794

The Spanish concessions encouraged the British to undertake an extensive hydrographic survey of the north Pacific in 1792, both to encourage trade and to consolidate their own claims. The skills and thorough work of Captain George Vancouver (1757–1798) made him an obvious choice for the expedition. He had spent more than half his life at sea and had been trained in surveying and navigation by Cook and William Wales, a noted astronomer. In addition to the hydrographic survey, Vancouver was to search again for a water network leading to a Northwest Passage.

The chart shown here was compiled from the data collected on Vancouver's 1792–1794 expedition. The track of his ships can be traced on the map. Many place names he assigned are still in use, a tribute to the wide currency of his charts. As the chart notes, Vancouver relied on Spanish accounts for areas he did not visit; indeed he assigned Spanish names to places visited by Spanish navigators, notably on this chart between the Queen Charlotte Islands and the mainland (Hecate Strait), and north of the same islands (Dixon Entrance).

With Vancouver's meticulous surveys, a whole new region emerged to be placed on European maps. Vancouver's careful work shattered the last hopes of finding a transcontinental waterway. He provided the definitive eighteenth-century survey of the western coastline of Canada, and his charts were copied and recopied. As yet, little was known of what lay behind the coastal headlands, but earlier maps would now have to be redrawn to replace the great "Sea of the West" with a new unbroken coastline.

This chart is the sixth in an untitled atlas accompanying Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* . . . (3 vols., London, 1798). The atlas was quickly followed by other editions in other languages. The Archives holds the 1798 English edition and the 1799 French edition.





*A Chart shewing part of the Coast of N.W. America . . .* [Insert of Port Stewart], George Vancouver (1757–1798) and Joseph Baker. Etching by Warner. Map: engraved, 74.2 × 60.0 cm.

*In Atlas to accompany George Vancouver. Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World.* 3 vols., London: J. Edwards and G. Robinson, 1798.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 18923).

## The Western Interior Begins to Emerge: Arrowsmith's Map of 1795

At the beginning of the British regime, the far western interior of the continent was almost as unknown to whites as the Pacific Coast until the impetus for exploration was provided by the fur trade. That trade was locked in a great commercial struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company (operating through the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay) and the Montreal fur companies (dominated eventually by the North West Company, which entered the West via the Great Lakes). Their race for dominance of new fur supply grounds pushed the companies westward into the Athabasca Country, across the Rockies, and finally to the Pacific.

Searching for a western passage to the markets of the Orient, Samuel Hearne, a Hudson's Bay Company servant, journeyed down the Coppermine River with a Chipewyan Indian band to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, becoming on 17 July 1771 the first European to sight the continent's northern coastline.

The most extensive explorations were carried out by the North West Company. In 1778, one of its partners, Peter Pond, pushed decisively westward. Crossing the western end of Lake Superior, Pond tracked northwest across the height of land at Methye Portage and into the fur-rich Athabasca region. He had crossed the watershed dividing the Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean drainage basins, taking Europeans a large step closer to the mountains and the Pacific. Pond's associate, Alexander Mackenzie, set out in 1789 from Lake Athabasca to follow a river (the Mackenzie River) that he thought would lead to the Pacific, only to discover it led to the Arctic. Undaunted, Mackenzie tried again in 1793, following the Peace River from Lake Athabasca into the Rockies, and the Fraser and Bella Coola Rivers to the coast. Mackenzie had become the first white man to cross the Canadian Rockies.

This map by Aaron Arrowsmith (1750–1833) depicts Hearne's and Mackenzie's journeys to the Arctic Sea — although information on Hearne's journey of 1771 was apparently unavailable to Arrowsmith at the time of publication and was added on a small slip pasted in sometime after the sheet had been printed. The Athabasca country explored by Pond is shown, as are the lower reaches of the Peace River out of Lake Athabasca, but there is no hint of Mackenzie's great journey by that river in 1793 on his way to the Pacific.

Vital as these explorations were, they traced only narrow trails through the wilderness; the lands between remained unknown. If the men of the North West Company made the more spectacular discoveries, it was the Hudson's Bay Company that trained surveyors of considerable skill — men such as Philip Turnor, Peter Fidler and David Thompson — who, aided by Indian guides, mapped the waterways of the fur country. The surveys of Philip Turnor from York Factory to Lake Athabasca in 1791 are faithfully recorded on the map, as is the latest information on the Saskatchewan River system, based principally on Peter Fidler's travels.

The maps of the Arrowsmith firm are among the most important sources of information on western exploration. This map, of which only the centre sheet of three is reproduced, is Arrowsmith's first American compilation. Before Arrowsmith's map was published, little was known about western Canada. Previous maps were generalized and frequently inaccurate.





*A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America . . . A. Arrowsmith (1750–1833). London: A. Arrowsmith, 1795. Map: hand-coloured, engraved, 88.4 × 57.5 cm. Middle sheet of three only.*

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 97818).



## The Interior Emerges: Arrowsmith's Map of North America, 1814

A comparison of the 1795 and 1814 versions of Arrowsmith's map graphically demonstrates the rapidly developing knowledge of the Canadian interior.

Much of Arrowsmith's information on the Canadian interior came from his firm's position as unofficial map-maker to the Hudson's Bay Company, which gave him access to information and manuscript maps sent to London by servants of the Company. Arrowsmith had little access to information on North West Company discoveries and surveys. He could use published accounts for Mackenzie's route to the Pacific. There is nothing on Arrowsmith's 1814 map, however, of Simon Fraser's journey in 1808 to the Pacific down the river that was to bear his name. The portrayal of the Columbia River drainage is based on information from the American Lewis and Clarke Expedition rather than on the work of David Thompson. It is also unlikely that Arrowsmith had access to Thompson's extensive surveys of areas east of the Rockies.

Still, the numerous editions of Arrowsmith's map of North America are the best documents for the study of the evolving cartographic knowledge of the Canadian West and North from 1795 to 1850. The map went through more than twenty revisions. The Archives holds six versions, dated 1795 (centre sheet of three only), 1796, 1802, 1814, 1821 and 1833 (with manuscript additions to 1838).



*A Map Exhibiting all the New Discoveries  
in the Interior Parts of North  
America . . . Additions to June 1814*  
A. Arrowsmith (1750–1833). Engraved  
by Puke. London: Arrowsmith, 1795.  
Map: hand-coloured, engraved,  
124.0 × 145.0 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 48909).

## A Landmark of Eighteenth-Century Surveying: *The Atlantic Neptune*, 1775–1781

Surveying in Western Canada and on the Pacific coast was matched by work on the Atlantic coast. With her victory over France in 1763, Britain found herself in possession of a vast new American empire, the eastern coasts of which were only sketchily charted. To prepare for increased settlement and trade, better surveys were urgently required. The need was filled beginning in 1763–1764 by three junior officers who had served in previous military campaigns.

Before his Pacific voyages, James Cook (1728–1779) surveyed the deeply indented coast of Newfoundland with such accuracy that he still earned the admiration of surveyors a century later. His charts were published privately in London. Samuel Holland (1728–1801), named Surveyor General of the Northern District of America, commenced a decade of surveys of Prince Edward Island, the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cape Breton and the Atlantic coastal lands from the Saint John River to New York City. Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres (1722–1824) undertook the more laborious surveys around Nova Scotia.

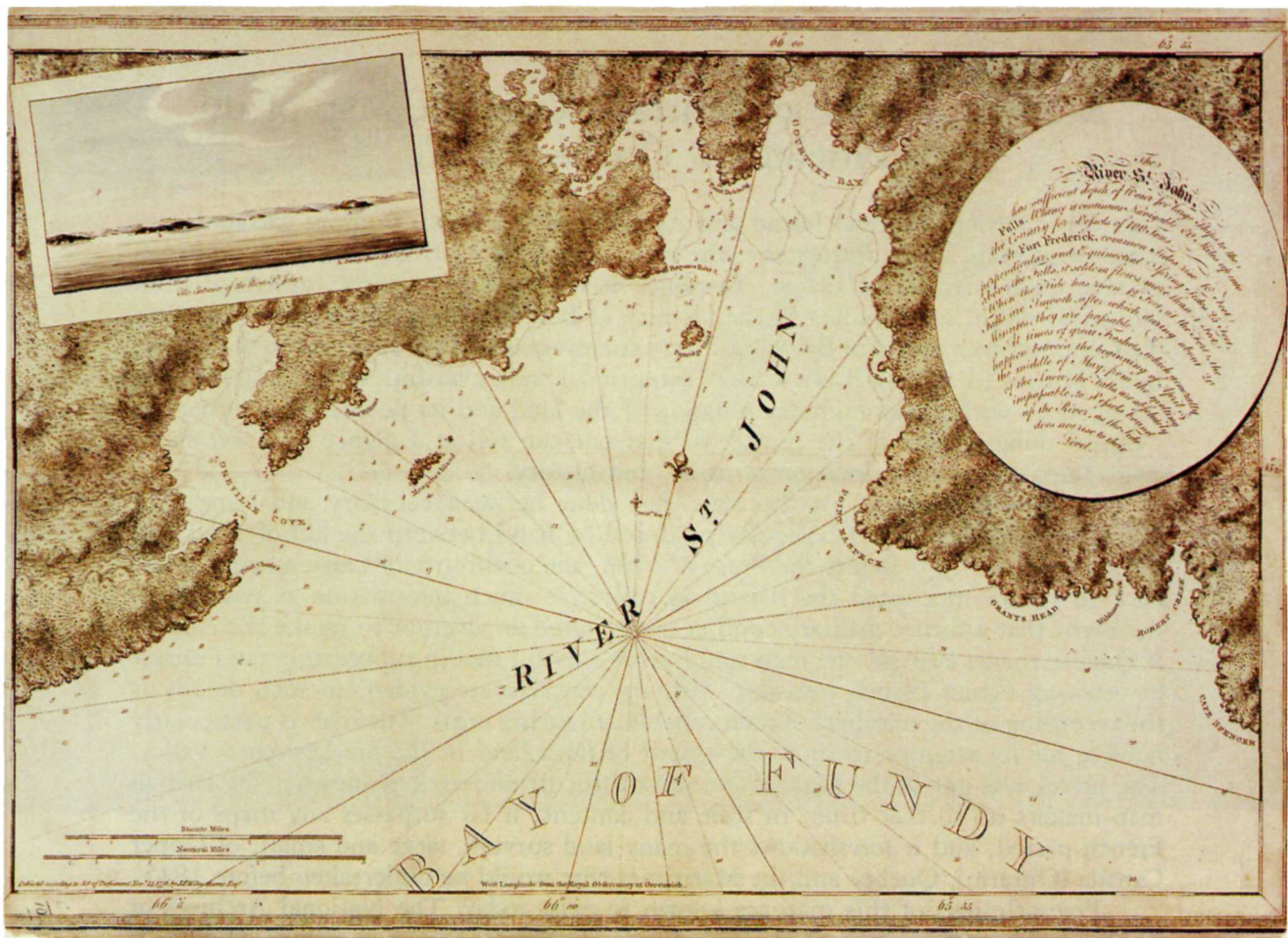
The need for improved charts for the impending American war led the British Admiralty to commission DesBarres in 1774 to undertake the publication of his survey and those of other officers working on the Atlantic coast. The project took ten years, and at its height DesBarres employed twenty engravers, printers and colourists.

The map of Saint John Harbour illustrates the excellence of the surveyors' and the cartographers' work. The harbour has ample soundings; the coastline is depicted in great detail. Various degrees of shading and ink-cover assist perspective and the perception of distance. So skilled is the work that it conveys the impression of an aerial photograph.

The high quality of DesBarres's charts meant a high sale price, and they were never widely used for commercial shipping, although they were extensively copied by other early chart-makers. However, there were doubts about many of the soundings, which were confirmed by the re-survey work of the following century. In spite of its flaws, *The Atlantic Neptune* remains a monument to the energy and ambition of its creator.

The National Archives holds more than seven hundred sheets from the various revisions of *The Atlantic Neptune*, as well as thirty of the sixty-four surviving copperplates used to produce the charts. The personal copy belonging to Jeffrey, Lord Amherst, military Commander-in-Chief in North America, was presented to the Archives by his descendants. The National Archives holds original DesBarres papers as well as transcripts, photocopies and microfilm copies.





A Chart of the Mouth and Harbour of the Saint John River. J.F.W. DesBarres (1722–1824). London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1776. Map: hand-coloured, engraved, 49.8 × 74.2 cm.

In J.F.W. DesBarres. *Surveys of North America Entitled The Atlantic Neptune* . . . London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1775–1781.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 27969).

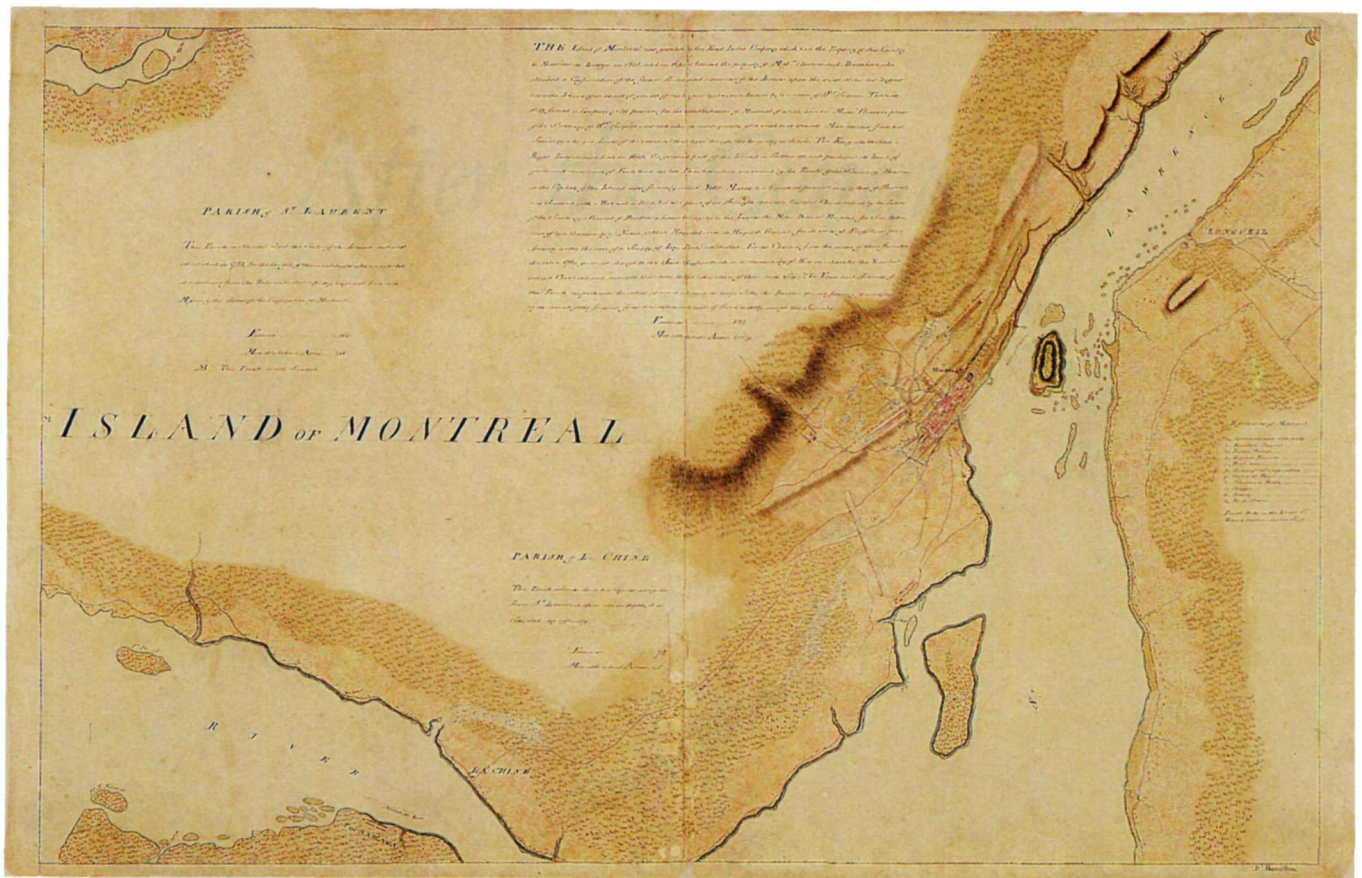
## A Small Portion of Murray's Gigantic Map of the Province of Quebec, 1761

This depiction of Montreal Island and its environs is a detail from an extraordinary manuscript map. In its full extent, the map is 13.5 by 10.8 metres. It encompasses an area on both sides of the St. Lawrence River from Les Cèdres, upstream from Montreal, to Île aux Coudres in the vicinity of Baie St. Paul. Undertaken just after the Conquest by a group of British military surveyors under the supervision of General James Murray (d. 1794), it is a work of exceptional craftsmanship, combining superior cartography with a thorough examination of the land and its people. It incorporates a census done as part of the project so that one can tell at a glance such details as ownership, population, location of mills, and history.

Most of the surveys for the map were done between February and November 1761. Seven copies were laboriously produced by hand between the fall of 1761 and the summer of 1763. Before the Peace of 1763, the possibility of Canada being ceded back to France motivated the British to collect as much information as possible in the event that a future military conflict necessitated an attempt to retake the colony. If Quebec stayed British, the map could prove a useful tool in suppressing civil unrest or resisting future French invasion. Military concerns are evident in such details as the recording of the numbers of men capable of bearing arms. The map is particularly notable for its attempt to show the extent of farm land in the St. Lawrence Valley. The survey was one of the biggest and most difficult undertaken anywhere by British map-makers up to that time. In scale and content, it far surpasses any maps of the French period, and it foreshadows the many land surveys, large and small, of Upper Canada (Ontario), Quebec and the Maritimes that would be undertaken before 1815.

Five originals of this map are known to exist today. The National Archives of Canada holds two of them. The sheet illustrated here is from the original, which is believed to have been made for General Murray himself. It was drawn on smaller sheets of paper than the others, and with a key sheet to make it both portable and an easy reference tool. This map has a greater amount of detail than any of the others, including the depiction of individual buildings in the major towns.





Portion of Montreal Island and  
Environs. Map: hand-coloured,  
manuscript, 62.2 x 95.5 cm. Sheet  
Mc(8).

Detail of "Plan of Canada or the Province of Quebec from the uppermost Settlements to the Island of Coudre as survey'd by order of His Excellency Governor Murray in the year 1760. 61 & 62 . . . ."

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 10842).

## *After the Conquest*

Louisbourg, the French guardian of the St. Lawrence, fell in 1758. Québec City capitulated to the British in 1759. Montreal remained French until 1760. The Peace of Paris of 1763 confirmed the victories of British arms.

These were the bare facts of the Conquest, but behind them were many questions and uncertainties. The inhabitants of the colony of New France did not know what to expect. Would they remain French? That hope lingered until 1763. Would they be allowed to keep their property? Their language? Their religion? Would they be deported? Would they be allowed to leave the country? Should they return to France?

The British victors, for their part, faced for the first time the necessity of governing a European-settled colony different in civilization and culture from their own. They would need to provide answers to the hard questions the Canadians were asking.

In the Maritimes their new and underpopulated possessions also posed problems for the British. Newfoundland remained as it had long been, a major fisheries centre, with no official recognition given to its needs as a permanent colony.



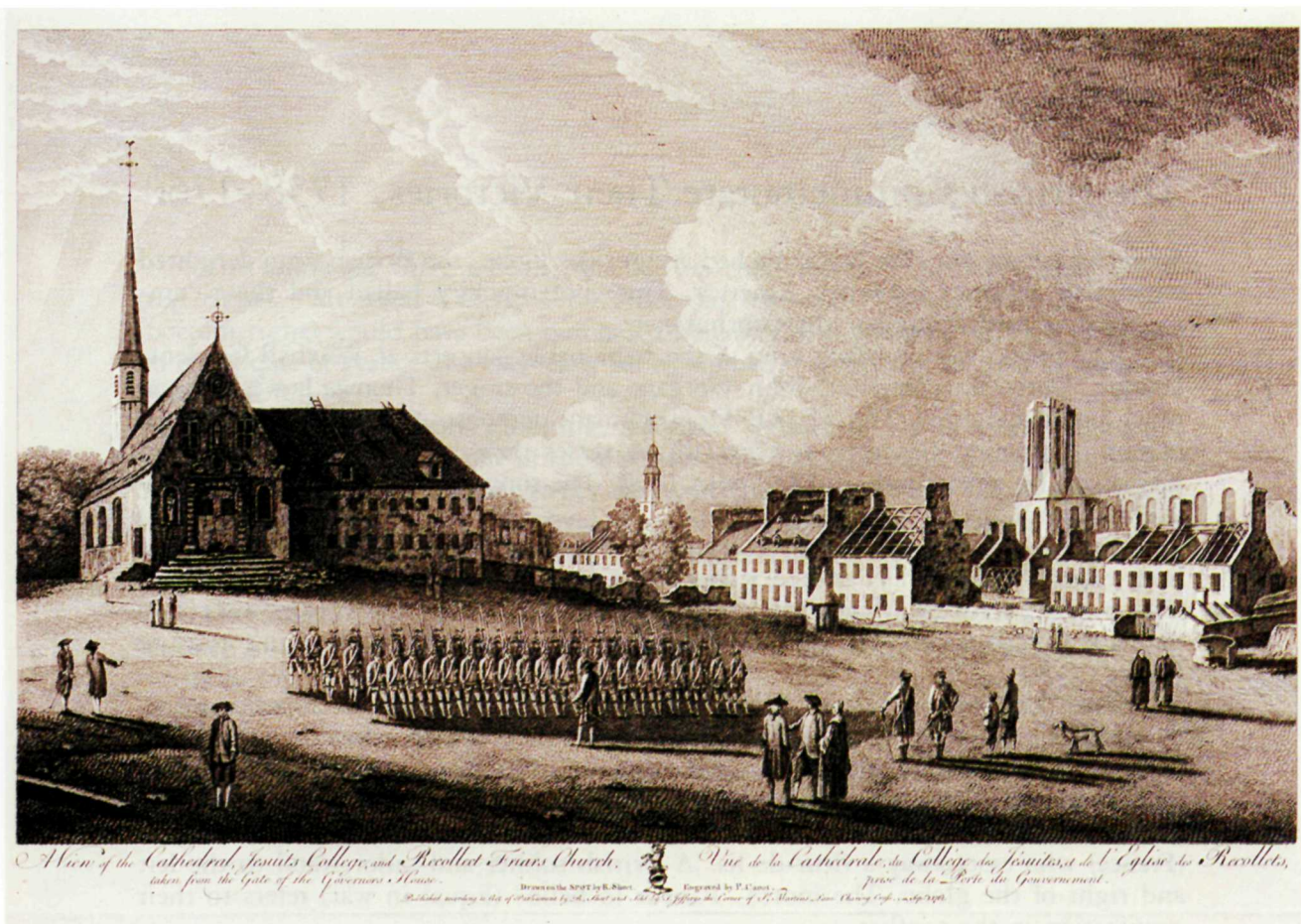
## A New Dawn? The British Army Occupies Québec City, 1759

British soldiers drilling before the gates of Fort Saint-Louis (the former residence of the French governor) must have been a poignant sight for French Canadians. Behind the soldiers, other reminders of the French influence — the Recollet Church and Convent and, to the right, the Roman Catholic Cathedral — lie damaged. In front of the cathedral are the shattered houses along rue Sainte-Anne, the most important of which were restored and still stand today. Fort Saint-Louis and the Recollet Church and Convent have long since disappeared.

One third of the houses in Québec City were destroyed by British bombardment, and many more were so shattered that they had to be pulled down. Winter was coming, and many people had been impoverished by the long conflict. There were fears of plundering by the army. Most Canadians would have scoffed at the notion of a “new dawn” implied by the artist of this view in the sun rising behind the church.

The engraving is one of a set of twelve views of Québec City based on the on-the-spot drawings of Richard Short (fl. 1754–1766), a naval officer who had come with the British fleet in 1759. Short is near the beginning of the long tradition of British military topographers in Canada whose works are well represented in the collections of the National Archives of Canada.

The print reproduced here is remarkable for its condition and looks as fresh as if it had been pulled off the press yesterday. It is from the Coverdale (Manoir Riche-lieu) Collection, one of the most important collections of Canadian documentary art, the majority of which was acquired by the National Archives of Canada in 1970.



*A View of the Cathedral, Jesuits College, and Recollect Friars Church, taken from the Gate of the Governors House.* Richard Short (fl. 1754–1766). Etching by P. Canot. London: Thomas Jefferys, 1761. Engraving. 32.4 × 50.8 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-361).

## The British Commemorate Their Victories, 1758–1760

Weary of a long war that had stretched around the globe, the British were delighted with their victories in North America. This contemporary ballad and these commemorative medals suggest their enthusiasm.

The ballad was probably sung at the fashionable concerts at Vauxhall Gardens, London, where the composer, John Worgan, and the singer, Thomas Lowe, enjoyed much popular success. The lyricist, Mr. Lockman, demonstrates a sharp sense of the economic benefits of victory — especially in verses three and four. This song sheet was issued for general sale in London in 1760. The song also appeared in the *London Magazine* in 1760.

British victories in Canada occasioned a large number of medals, which ranged from expensive and finely crafted works of art for the rich and influential to cheap, mass-produced tokens. The medals depicted not only heroes and places associated with the Conquest, but also striking allegorical images contrasting Britain's glory to France's defeat.

The “Louisbourg Taken, 1758” medal (top) is an example of superior workmanship. Unlike most of the other medals shown here, which, after the convention of the time, were commemorative, it was a distinguished service medal to be conferred on selected recipients who took part in the capture. The obverse (front) is a large globe with a map of eastern North America. The globe is crushing a female figure (France) who casts away a fleur-de-lis. A British soldier and sailor stand to the left and right of the globe. The motto “Paritur in bello” (Equal in war) refers to their cooperation in the conflict.

Very different in quality and intended market is the Admiral Boscawen medal (top left). It was issued by Christopher Pinchbeck, a London clockmaker who had for some time worked in “pinchbeck” metal, a cheap alloy of copper and zinc that looked like gold but tarnished rapidly. “Pinchbeck” became slang for anything inferior. The design, which is crude, represents Admiral Edward Boscawen, naval commander at Louisburg, on the obverse. Medals like this were intended for sale to the London crowd as mementos of great events.

Also the work of Pinchbeck, the medal labelled on the reverse “I Surrender Prisoner, 1758” (centre) and struck in bronze, shows the French commander Drucour surrendering to Boscawen.



The following three medals, labelled on their reverse “Québec Taken, 1759” (top right), “Montreal Taken, 1760” (bottom left) and “Canada Subdued, 1760” (bottom right) would have been purchased by an affluent clientele. All are variations on the theme of France as a classically robed woman, captured or mourning, subdued by British might.

The last medal in this grouping, inscribed “Montreal” on its obverse (bottom), is the rarest, and the only one of those shown here that was made in North America. Struck in pewter, it is one of twenty-three medals distributed to Indian chiefs who had aided in the taking of Montreal. One of only seven now known to exist, it is inscribed “Tankalkel/MOHIGRANS” on the reverse. The medal was executed by Daniel Christian Fueter in New York City.

The Medal Collection of the National Archives contains 12,000 medals, decorations, tokens and medallic items relating to a wide range of organizations and events in Canadian history.

**A SONG** On the taking of MONT-REAL by General Amherst.  
Sung by M<sup>r</sup> Lowe. Set by M<sup>r</sup> Worgan. The Words by M<sup>r</sup> Lockman.  
Presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

*Moderato*

I fill not the

Glass, to some fa-vourite Lafs, A Hero engrofses my Lays; Thy

Trumpet, O Fame! His Deeds shall proclaim, And spread round the Globe Amherst's Praise. And

spread round the Globe Amherst's Praise.

Thro' Woods, and o'er Lakes,  
His progress he takes,  
With Mont-real full in his Eye.  
The French wou'd, in vain,  
Or Indians, restrain  
His Troops who to Victory fly.

Cape Breton our own,  
Gallia's Fishery's o'erthrown,  
Chief Nursery of her Marine.  
Invasion, that Joke,  
Will thence end in Smoke,  
And Britain still reign Ocean's Queen.

The Indians, and We,  
Shall hence forth agree,  
Thus our Manufactures advance.  
Our Foes, to their cost,  
See Their rich Fur-Trade lost,  
Great Blow to the Commerce of France.

Triumphant, with Pride,  
O'er Ocean we ride;  
Not a single Attempt now miscarries.  
To our ravish'd Eyes,  
Cressy, Agincourt rise,  
And the Days of our Edwards & Harrys.

Just George! O for Thee  
The Fates did decree,  
A Reign will eternally shine.  
The fam'd Conquests told,  
In our Annals of old,  
Are already equal'd in Thine.

O'erwhelm'd with sad Fears,  
See Gallia, in Tears,  
The Loss of Mont-real bemoan.  
The French are undone;  
And now Canada's won,  
Britannia shall there fix Her Throne.

But hark! Heav'n-born Peace,  
Bids War's Horrors cease;  
And lo! where the Goddess descends.  
Her Charms all adore;  
Human Blood streams no more:  
And Foes, long contending, are Friends.

*A Song. On the taking of Mont-Real by General Amherst. Composed by Worgan. Lyrics by Lockman. London, 1760. Broadside.*

National Archives of Canada:  
Manuscript Division, MG 18, 05.





*Top:* Obverse of "Louisbourg Taken, 1758" medal. Struck in bronze, 1758. Diameter 44 mm.

*Top left:* Obverse of Boscawen medal. Struck in pinchbeck metal, 1758. Diameter 37 mm.

*Bottom left:* Reverse of "Montreal Taken, 1760" medal. Struck in bronze, 1760. Diameter 41 mm.

*Centre:* Reverse of Boscawen medal, inscribed "I Surrender Prisoner, 1758." Struck in bronze. Diameter 26 mm.

*Top right:* Reverse of "Quebec Taken, 1759" medal. Struck in bronze, 1759. Diameter 40 mm.

*Bottom right:* Reverse of "Canada Subdued, 1760" medal. Struck in bronze, 1760. Diameter 26 mm.

*Bottom:* Obverse of Montreal medal. Struck in pewter, 1760. Diameter 45 mm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division.



## Some French and French-Canadians Leave

After the fall of New France, the British did not expel any former French subjects, but allowed those who wished to depart to do so. About four to five thousand (six to seven percent of the population) left, not enough to substantially alter the composition of French-Canadian society.

This French poster of 1791 enumerates the seigneurs, the civil and military officials, and their families — refugees and casualties of the Conquest — as well as Acadians expelled earlier from the Maritimes, who were then living in France and were eligible for French pensions.

*Relative aux secours accordés aux Officiers, tant civils que militaires, Acadiens & Canadiens, & à leurs familles.*

**L**OUIS, par la grâce de Dieu; & par la Loi constitutionnelle de l'Etat, ROI DES FRANÇOIS: A nous peñons & à venir;  
SALUT. L'Assemblée Nationale a décrété, & Nous voulons & ordonnons ce qui suit.

*DÉCRET DE L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, du 21 janvier 1792.*  
L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, après avoir égard au respect de Camille  
des pensions sur l'état où se trouvent les habitans de l'Académie de la Comode,  
pallia en France lors de la trébuch de ces pays aux Anglois ; détermine ce qui lui

Les freres accordés aux Officiers, tant civils que militaires, Académies de  
Canada, & à leurs familles, dont l'un d'eux a été nommé au grade  
D'écrit, ainsi que d'être payés comme par le passé par le Trésor public  
l'effet de quoi les fonds de ce mille livres furent précédemment au dépen-  
sement de la Marine pour cet objet, conformément à la loi faite à compter de  
septembre dernier 1791.

[illegible]

Chacun des secours accordés par les deux précédents articles, sera versé à  
mort de ceux qui les auront obtenus, sans qu'ils puissent être versés en partie  
en augmentation en faveur de qui que ce soit.

1 V.

Les personnes qui prétendent avoir droit aux secours mentionnés dans l'arti-

*Suit l'état annoncé dans l'article premier de nos Dernières Nouvelles.*

SUBSISTANCE des Habitans de l'Amérique Septentrionale.  
MATRICULE.

NOMS ET SURNOMS.	JOUR de la RÉGENCE.	ANNÉE.
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[illegible][illegible]

MANDONDI, & ordonnans à tous les Tribunaux, Corps Administratifs & Municipaux, que ces Préfets les fassent transcrire sur leurs registres, les a, publiés & afficher dans leurs efforts & départements respectifs, & exécuter comme loi du Royaume. En fait de quoi Nous avons signé & fait contresigner cesdites préférences, auxquelles Nous avons fait apposer le Sceau du Ténér. A Paris, le vingt-cinquième jour du mois de Février, l'an de grâce mil sept cent quatre-vingt-neuf, & de notre règne le dix-huitième. Signé, LOUIS & plus bas, M. L. F. DE PONT. En Scellum du Sceau du Ténér.

**A. 46 EN.** Que la Veste Noire & Du noir - le premier de Diogenes & l'autre de Seneca

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative no. C-121417).

## A Few British Come

At the Conquest and in the years thereafter, only a handful of British subjects, including American colonials, were drawn to Quebec, mainly by the prospects of trade.

Alexander Henry the Elder (1739–1824), a native of New Jersey, was one of the first to arrive: he accompanied the British army to Canada as a supplier. Taking advantage of the newly established British control, he almost immediately launched himself into the western fur trade. Having travelled and traded as far west as the Saskatchewan River, he retired in 1776 and spent the rest of his long life in Montreal as a merchant and Customs officer. A man of limited formal education, he had a vigorous intellect. His vivid memoir, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories* (1809), is a classic of Canadian travel literature. The Archives holds an original of the first edition. He was a cartographer as well; the map shown in the portrait was presented by Henry to Sir Guy Carleton (later Lord Dorchester) in 1776 and is now in the Library of Congress. Considerable artistic liberties have been taken in the depiction of the map.

Henry and the other merchants like him were ambitious, aggressive men. Although a tiny minority in the colony, they agitated powerfully for English commercial law, for trial by jury and especially for a parliamentary system.

This early nineteenth-century portrait of Henry by an anonymous artist, although heavily inpainted at a later date, remains a powerful representation of a talented man and his class.





Portrait of Alexander Henry (1739–1824). Artist unknown. Oil on canvas, late eighteenth century. 73.8 × 61.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-103612).

## The Proclamation of 1763: The British Set Out How They Will Govern Quebec

This proclamation of the British government declared:

- the Province of Quebec was to be reduced to a narrow parallelogram comprising only the settled areas along the St. Lawrence River;
- New France's rich fur trade hinterland in the West was to become an Indian preserve;
- British institutions were to be introduced, including representative government and British patterns of law and land ownership; and
- Roman Catholics were confirmed in their right to worship, but denied all political offices.

The proclamation was based on the false hope of a heavy influx of British immigrants into Quebec. Its provisions were never fully implemented. Governors stalled on the introduction of British institutions. Roman Catholics did hold office. Quebec's ties with the western fur trade remained strong.

The book illustrated here is a collection of capitulations and treaties, 1759–1783. Printed in Québec City in 1800, it is one of 50,000 rare books, broadsides and pamphlets held by the National Archives of Canada.

[ 26 ]

Moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the Island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King and the Crown of France have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great-Britain in the possessions above-mentioned.

His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will consequently give the most efficacious orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit.

His Britannic Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others, who had been the subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration, shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

### By the King.

#### A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

**W**HEREAS We have taken into Our Royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America, secured to Our Crown by the late definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris, the tenth day of February last; and being desirous that all our loving subjects, as well of our Kingdoms as of our Colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures and navigation; We have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects, that We have, with the advice of our said Privy Council, granted our Letters Patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the Countries and Islands, ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, four distinct and separate Governments, styled and called by the names of *QUEBEC*, *EAST FLORIDA*, *WEST FLORIDA* and *GRENADA*, and limited and bounded as follows, viz:

Firstly,—The Government of *Quebec*, bounded on the *Labrador* Coast by the River

[ 27 ]

De plus, sa Majesté très Chrétienne cède et garantit à sa dite Majesté Britannique, en plein droit, le *Canada*, avec toutes ses dépendances, ainsi que l'Isle de Cap Breton, et toutes les autres îles et côtes dans le Golfe et le fleuve St. Laurent, et en général tout ce qui dépend des dits pays, terres, îles et côtes, avec la souveraineté, propriété, possession, et tous droits acquis par traité ou autrement, que le Roi très Chrétien et la couronne de France ont eu jusqu'à présent sur les dits pays, îles, terres, places, côtes, et leurs habitants, de sorte que le Roi très Chrétien cède et transporte le tout aux dits Roi et couronne de la Grande Bretagne, et cela de la manière et forme les plus amples, sans restriction, et sans pouvoir s'écarter de la dite garantie, sous aucun prétexte, ou de pouvoir troubler la Grande Bretagne dans les possessions sus mentionnées.

Sa Majesté Britannique, de son côté, consent d'accorder la liberté de la religion catholique aux habitants du Canada. Elle donnera en conséquence les ordres les plus efficaces, que ses nouveaux sujets Catholiques Romains puissent professer le culte de leur religion selon les rites de l'Eglise de Rome, autant que les lois d'Angleterre le permettent.

Sa Majesté Britannique consent de plus, que les habitants Français ou autres, qui avoient été sujets du Roi très Chrétien en Canada, puissent se retirer en toute sûreté et liberté, où ils jugeront à propos; qu'ils vendent leurs biens, pourvu que ce soit à des sujets de sa Majesté Britannique; et qu'ils emportent leurs effets avec eux, sans être retraits dans leur émigration, sous aucun prétexte quelconque, à l'exception de celui des dettes ou de poursuites criminelles; le terme limité pour cette émigration sera fixé à l'espace de dix-huit mois, à compter du jour de l'échange de la ratification du présent traité.

### Par le Roi,

#### PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

**A**TTENDU que nous avons pris en notre considération Royale les acquisitions étendues et importantes assurées à notre Couronne, dans l'Amérique, par le Traité définitif de Paix, conclu à Paris le dixième jour de Février dernier; et désirant que tous nos aimés sujets, tant de nos Royaumes que de nos Colonies en Amérique, puissent profiter, aussitôt que possible, des grands avantages qui doivent en résulter pour leur commerce, leurs manufactures et la navigation, nous avons jugé à propos, de l'avis de notre Conseil privé, d'émaner notre présente Proclamation Royale, par laquelle nous publions et déclarons à tous nos aimés sujets, que, de l'avis de notre dit Conseil Privé, nous avons accordé nos Lettres Patentes, sous notre grand Sceau de la Grande Bretagne, pour ériger dans les pays et îles à nous cédés et confirmés par le dit Traité, quatre Gouvernements distincts et séparés, connus et appelés par les noms de *QUEBEC*, *FLORIDE-ORIENTALE*, *FLORIDE-SEPTENTRIONALE* et la *GRENADA*, et limités et bornés comme suit, savoir:

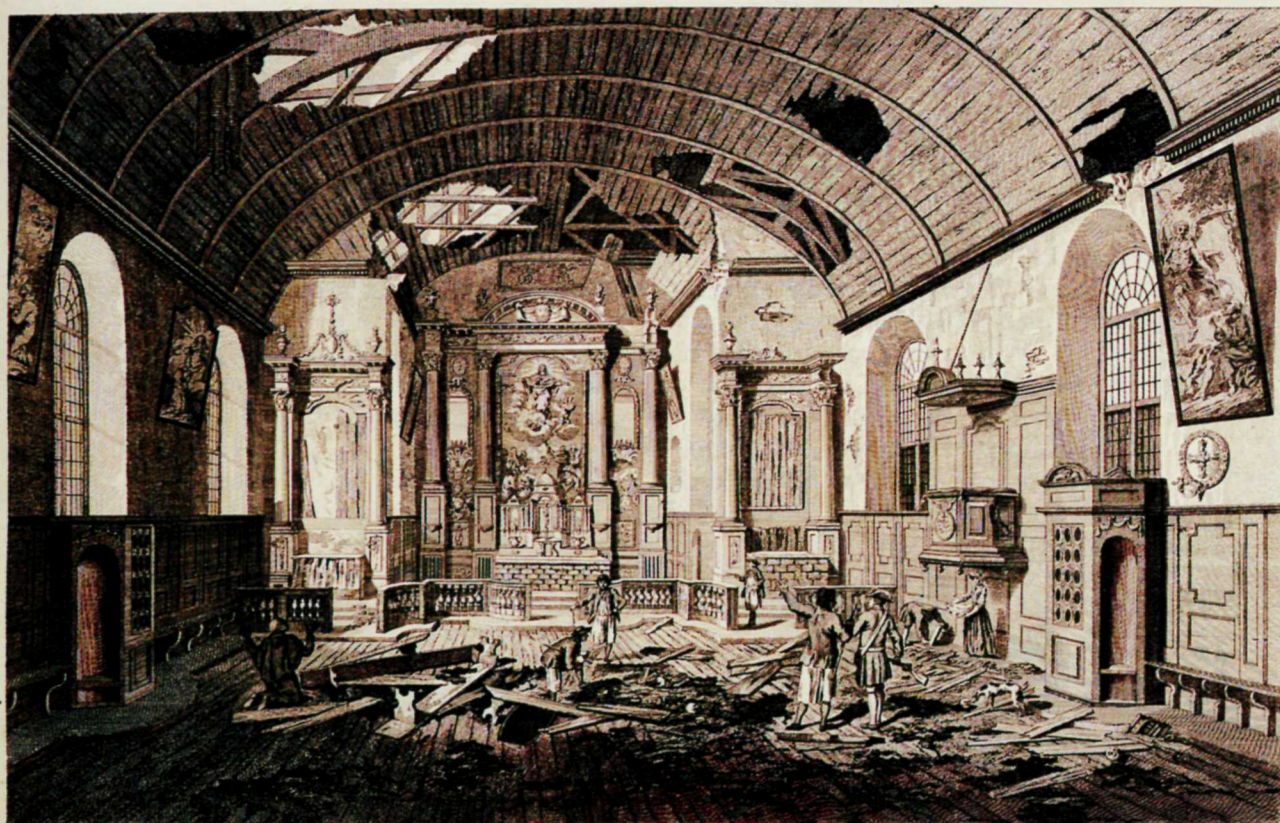
Premièrement, le Gouvernement de *Quebec*, borné sur la côte de *Labrador* par la rivière



## The Church Faces a Crisis

Damage to its buildings was only one of the many problems facing the Roman Catholic Church after the Conquest. Under the colony's new Protestant rulers, the Church did not exist legally. The effects were evident everywhere: foreign recruitment of priests was virtually cut off, leaving the number in Quebec woefully inadequate; Church-controlled education lost its state support; it was even in question whether the appointment of a new Bishop of Quebec would be allowed. An attitude of conciliation on both sides allowed for resolution of most controversies, and although it remained weak and short of priests well into the nineteenth century, the Church survived.

The view, again by Richard Short, shows the interior of the Recollet Church seen in Item 10. It is the only visual record of the interior of that church and gives a valuable impression of the general decor of parish churches in Quebec under the French Regime.



*A View of the Inside of the Recollect Friars Church.*

Drawn on the Spot by Rich<sup>d</sup> Short.



*Vue de l'Intérieur de l'Eglise des Recollets.*

Engraved by C. Crignion.

London: Published according to the Order of Parliament, by a Copy for Rich<sup>d</sup> Short & sold by the Office of St. Martin Lane, Printing Office.

*A View of the Inside of the Recollect Friars Church.* Richard Short (fl. 1754–1766).  
Etching by C. Crignion. London:  
Thomas Jefferys, 1761. Engraving.  
62.8 × 44.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-353).

## Life Goes On

In some ways what was most remarkable about the Conquest was how little immediate effect it had on most inhabitants of Quebec. Most Canadians stayed. Few British came. Many French institutions and customs continued, while the economy produced the same products in the same manner.

This idyllic view representing the Seigneurie of Berthier approximately twenty years after the Conquest suggests the continuity of traditional Canadian society — except that the bridge in the background was constructed by the British army for defensive supply. Things were the same — but different.

The artist of this view, James Peachey (fl. 1773–1797), was, like Richard Short, associated with the military. A draughtsman, surveyor and army officer, he was one of the most prolific and significant artists of the period. The National Archives of Canada holds the largest extant group of his works: forty-two watercolours, etchings and aquatints.





A View of the Bridge Built Over the Berthier River in 1781. James Peachey (fl. 1773–1797). Watercolour, 1785. 32.1 × 48.9 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-45559).

## The British Revise the Rules: The Quebec Act of 1774

The Quebec Act was an attempt to provide Quebec with a government suited to its needs. One of its major provisions was a continuation of freedom of worship for Roman Catholics. Their payment of tithes to their church was made enforceable by law. The Act also restored the core of the old French western fur empire to Quebec.

This cartoon is a satirical comment on the religious implications of the Act. Four Anglican bishops directed by British political figures dance around the bill. A devil flies above, implying the source of inspiration for the bill. The cartoon, which appeared in the *London Magazine* of July 1774, is by an unidentified artist and is an early example from the Archives' collection of more than 10,000 satirical drawings and cartoons from the early eighteenth century to the present.

The increasingly rebellious colonies to the south were distressed that the Act cut off their access to the inland west and saw in it proof that the British were planning to force Quebec's mode of government and established Church on all Americans. The Quebec Act thus became one of the causes of the coming American Revolution.

According to other clauses of the Act:

- English criminal law was formally established, but the "Laws and Customs of Canada" were retained in civil law;
- the seigneurial system of land tenure was permitted to continue; and
- the colony was to be administered by a governor and appointed council rather than by an elected assembly.



*The Mitred Minuet.* Artist unknown.  
Hand-coloured engraving.  
10.7 × 17.2 cm.  
In *London Magazine*, July 1774.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-38989).



## Newfoundland: Britain's Greatest Ship, circa 1800

Newfoundland was viewed by the British government as a "great English ship Moored near the Banks" for the purpose of carrying on the fisheries. Permanent settlement was officially forbidden. The thinking was that Newfoundland should be a "nursery" for seamen who could be readily pressed into the navy if need be in time of war. In fact, the island had about 15,000 permanent residents in the 1770s, seven-eighths of whom lived along the coast of the peninsula between Trinity and Placentia Bays on the eastern tip of the island. Tensions between fact and official policy led to conflict.

In this anonymous watercolour, men can be seen emptying a net into a dory. On a fishing stage with a schooner anchored by it, cod are being set out. The two large containers on the stage, called "moutons," were used to press excess oil and salt out of the fish before it was dried in the sun.

Perhaps the most important feature of this view is the town itself, seen in the background. St. John's has always been the most important centre in Newfoundland because of its proximity to the fishing grounds. Like many others in the Archives' collection, this scene can be used to identify buildings and their exact construction, streetscapes, and many other details not available from any other documentary source.



A View of the Upper End of the  
Harbour, St. John's, Newfoundland.  
Artist unknown. Watercolour, late  
eighteenth century. 33.6 × 52.1 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-3372).

## Peopling the Maritimes: A Census of 1775

After the Conquest, the British authorities hoped to attract a substantial English-speaking population to Nova Scotia (which then included New Brunswick). This list of families in the province reveals their failure.

Halifax was the capital and major centre. Germans had been previously settled at Lunenburg. The end of French control brought an influx of 7,000 New England farmers and fishermen who, as the list notes, settled primarily along the coasts of the southern half of the peninsula and in the Annapolis Valley. More than 1,000 Yorkshiremen and many families from the north of Ireland settled on the Chignecto Isthmus. A few Scots, the beginning of a later influx, came to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. (They are not included in this list.) Very limited settlements up the Saint John River Valley and on Passamaquoddy Bay in present-day New Brunswick are listed. Some of the French Acadians, who had been expelled by the British in 1755, returned, and pockets of them appear on the list. There was a total population of 17,000 to 20,000 in the colony, half of which was from New England. On the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island) there was a population of only 1,300, largely immigrant Scots.

In the next decade, refugees fleeing the American Revolution would almost triple the existing population of the Maritimes.

William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth (1731–1801), was the recipient of this census. As President of the Board of Trade (1765–1766) and Secretary of State for the American Department (1772–1775), he was heavily involved in North American affairs. Virtually all his papers relating to Canada were presented by his British descendants to the National Archives in 1926.



349 1166

*Abstract of the Number of Families settled in  
Nova Scotia, from a State of that Province taken  
in August 1775.*

Halifax contains 400 Houses, has 200 Militia  
and about 1800 Inhabitants.

Cape Sable contains 30 Families, mostly Fishermen.

Chesler contains 40 Families

Lunenburg contains 300 Families and about  
1200 Inhabitants

Liverpool contains 120 Families  
from this town are settled about 30 Fishermen Families  
in Banington and 10 Farmers Families.

Banington contains 70 Families.

Argyle contains 10 New England Families, and  
10 Acadian Families.

Yarmouth contains 60 Families

Clare contains 50 Acadian Families.

from thence to  
Annapolis } are about 10 Fishermen Families

On Annapolis  
River the Families  
of Annapolis } contains upwards of 250 Families

Granville Wilmet

Horton contains about 120 Families

Cornwallis contains 120 Families

Salmoncuch contains 35 Families

Windsor contains about 20 Families

Newport contains about 70 Families  
from thence to } There are 4 or 7 Families settled.

Truro consists of 50 Families

Onslow

350

Onslow contains once 50 Families, which  
are now reduced to 30.

Londonerry contains 100 North of Ireland Families  
in the North of there are about 20 Settlements to the  
Colquial Basin } Amount of about 20 Families

County of } contains 220 Families from the  
Cumberland } New England Governments principally  
Rhodes Island, and the North of England,  
and also 50 Acadian Families.

Note, this County includes the Townships  
of Cumberland, Amherst, Sackville,  
and several separate Grants.

Bay Verte There are settled 10 Families of Fishermen.

A. Monamook contains 50 Acadian Families.

Stapewell } In these Townships are about 20 Families  
Stithborough } two thirds of which are Acadians  
Monckton }

Maugerville contains 80 Families

Sagamagouche contains about 30 Fishing Families.

Antamagouche there are a few settlers placed there  
by Mr. Desbarres.

Pictou contains 10 Families

Lawrence Town there reside about 6 Families.

351

*Note - By this Estimate, there are Specified 2,488 Families  
in this Province, allowing six to each Family, as  
is the case in Lunenburg, the number of  
Inhabitants is 14,928.*

*By a Return from the Secretary's Office in the year  
1775. I find them amounting to 17,752. —*

"Abstract of the Number of Families  
settled in Nova Scotia . . . August  
1775."

National Archives of Canada:  
Manuscript Division, Dartmouth papers,  
MG 23, A 1, vol. 1, pp. 349-351.

# *The American Revolution, 1775–1783*

The American Revolution was often not so much a revolt against a distant king as a brutal civil war between those who supported the Crown and those who did not. Many had no strong reason to support the Revolution. Others, both in the Thirteen Colonies and in the colonies to the north, either rejected revolution or saw it as too radical a solution to existing problems.

Quebec suffered direct invasion by the rebels in 1775. The Maritimes provided an important British base for operations against the colonies in revolt. The most significant result of the Revolution for the northern colonies was the influx of Loyalist refugees — continuing supporters of the Crown — who provided the core of their non-French-speaking population.

## The Rebel Appeal to French Canada, 1776

Signed by John Hancock as the President of the Second Continental Congress, this broadside announces the rebel march against Montreal and Québec in 1775–1776 and urges the Canadians to form a provincial congress to support the Revolution.

Those in Quebec to whom the American revolutionary ideals might have appealed, however, lacked leadership. The seigneurs and the Church supported the Crown. Many others, seeing no reason to involve themselves in the quarrel, maintained a pragmatic neutrality.

One of the printers of the broadside (a single sheet, printed on one side only), the Frenchman Fleury Mesplet (1734–1794), followed the American forces to Montreal. Ironically, he stayed on after their retreat to become the first printer west of Québec City. He produced eighty titles, including two periodicals, and printed in four languages: English, French, Latin and Mohawk. He published the first entirely French newspaper in Quebec and inaugurated the *Montreal Gazette*/*La Gazette de Montréal* (which still exists today as the *Gazette*).



A U X  
H A B I T A N T S  
D E L A P R O V I N C E D U C A N A D A .

AMIS ET COMPATRIOTES;

N O T R E Précédente Adressé vous a démontré nos Droits , nos Grièfs & les Moyens que nous avons en notre pouvoir , & dont nous sommes autorisés par les C O N S T I T U T I O N S B R I T A N N I Q U E S , à faire usage pour maintenir les uns , & obtenir justice des autres.

Nous vous avons aussi expliqué , que votre Liberté , votre Honneur & votre Bonheur , sont essentiellement & nécessairement liés à l'Affaire malheureuse que nous avons été forcé d'entreprendre , pour le soutien de nos Privilèges.

Nous voyons avec joie , combien vous avez été touché , par les remontrances justes & équitables de vos Amis & Compatriotes , qui n'ont d'autres vûes que celles de fortifier & d'établir la cause de la Liberté : les services que vous avez déjà rendus à cette cause commune , méritent notre reconnaissance ; & nous sentons l'obligation où nous sommes , de vous rendre le reciproque.

LES meilleures causes sont sujettes aux événements , les contre-temps sont inévitables , tel est le sort de l'humanité ; mais les ames généreuses , qui sont éclairées & échauffées par le feu sacré de la Liberté , ne seront pas découragées par de tels échecs , & surmonteront tous les obstacles qui pourront se trouver entr'eux & l'objet précieux de leurs vœux.

Nous ne vous laisserons pas exposé à la fureur de vos ennemis & des nôtres ; deux Bataillons ont reçu ordre de marcher au Canada , dont une partie est déjà en route ; on leve six autres Bataillons dans les Colonies unies pour le même service , qui partiront pour votre Province aussi-tôt qu'il sera possible ; & probablement ils arriveront en Canada , avant que les Troupes du Ministère , sous le Général Carleton , puissent recevoir des secours : en outre , nous avons fait expédier les ordres nécessaires pour faire lever deux Bataillons chez vous. Votre assistance pour le soutien & la conservation de la Liberté Américaine , nous causera la plus grande satisfaction ; & nous nous flattons que vous ferez avec zèle & empressement l'instant favorable de co-opérer au succès d'une entreprise aussi glorieuse. Si des forces plus considérables sont requises , elles vous seront envoyées.

Aprésent , vous devez être convaincus , que rien n'est plus propre à assurer nos intérêts & nos libertés , que de prendre des mesures efficaces , pour combiner nos forces mutuelles , afin que par cette réunion de secours & de conseils , nous puissions éviter les efforts & l'artifice d'un ennemi qui cherche à nous affaiblir en nous divisant ; pour cet effet , nous vous conseillons & vous exhortons , d'établir chez vous des Associations en vos différentes Paroisses , de la même nature que celles qui ont été si salutaires aux Colonies unies ; d'élire des Députés pour former une Assemblée Provinciale chez vous , & que cette Assemblée nomme des Délégués , pour vous représenter en ce Congrès.

Nous nous flattons de toucher à l'heureux moment , de voir disparaître de dessus cette terre , l'Etendard de la Tyrannie , & nous espérons qu'il ne trouvera aucune place en l'Amérique Septentrionale.

Signé au Nom & par l'Ordre du Congrès : JOHN HANCOCK , Président.

A Philadelphie , le 24 Janvier 1776.

Aux Habitants de la Province du Canada.  
John Hancock. Philadelphia: Fleury  
Mesplet and Charles Berger, 1776.  
Broadside.

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative no. C-111468).

## A Loyalist Speaks His Mind, 1775

Many in the Thirteen Colonies were perplexed by the coming of the American Revolution. There is a sense of sincere dismay in this letter by Jonathan Sewell, Attorney-General of Massachusetts. Sewell wrote from Boston, the very centre of the Revolutionary movement.

Sewell was astonished that citizens who lived in one of the most fertile and expansive lands on earth — who enjoyed “the highest portion of civil and religious liberty that the nature of human society admits” and who were protected “by the only Power on Earth capable of affording that protection” — should “rush to arms with the ferocity of savages and with the fiery Zeal of Crusaders!” He believed that the Revolution was a scheme of ambitious and designing men working their wiles on a credulous population. His contention that armed rebellion was an over-reaction to the situation was shared by many. Some fled to Canada during or after the Revolution.

Jonathan Sewell, Sr., first fled to England in 1775, and then in 1778 settled at Halifax where he became Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. His correspondent, Major-General Frederick Haldimand, became Governor of Quebec in 1777.

This letter is a draft retained in the Sewell papers. The National Archives of Canada holds extensive Sewell family papers, as well as hand transcripts and microfilm copies of the Haldimand papers, a basic source for the study of the American Revolutionary period in Quebec and what would later become Ontario.

Boston 30<sup>th</sup> May. 1775. 262

Sir

In Compliance with your Request, I now sit down, to reduce to Writing, the Substance of those loose Hints which I have taken the Liberty to throw out in several Conversations with you, respecting the present very alarming State of our public Affairs, the Causes of our State-Disorders, & the Remedies which, alone, seem to promise a radical Cure.

It is now become too plain to be any longer doubted, that a Union is formed by a great Majority, almost throughout this whole Continent, for opposing the Supremacy, & even the lowest Degree of legislative Jurisdiction, of the British Parliament, over the British Colonies—that an absolute unlimited Independance, is the Object in View—that, to obtain this End, Preparations for War are made, & making, with a Vigor, which the most imminent Danger from a foreign Enemy could never inspire. It should seem astonishing, that a Country of Husbandmen, possessed every one, almost, of a sufficient Share of landed Property, in one of the finest Climates in the World; living under the mildest Government; enjoying the highest Portion of civil & religious Liberty—that the Nature of human Society admits, & protects in the enjoyment of these & every other desirable Possession in Life, upon the easiest Terms, by the only Power on Earth capable of affording that Protection—that a People so situated for Happiness, should throw off their moral Obligations, quit the peaceful Swills & Labours of Husbandry, bid open defiance to the gentle Intreaties & the angry Threats of that powerful parent-State which nursed their tender years, & rush to Arms with the Ferocity of Savages, & with the fury Zeal of Crusaders!—I all this for the redress of chimerical Grievances.—to oppose a claim of Parliament, made expli-

Major Genl Haldimand

citedly

Letter, Jonathan Sewell to Major-General Frederick Haldimand, Boston, 30 May 1775.

National Archives of Canada:  
Manuscript Division, Sewell papers,  
MG 23, G II 10, vol. 2, p. 262.



## The Americans Attack: Montgomery's Campaign to Montreal, 1775

This view of the British Fort St. Jean on the Richelieu River, painted in 1779, shows the fort very much as it was when the American General Richard Montgomery (1736–1775) laid siege to it in September 1775. The positions of his artillery are ingeniously marked with bird symbols. A small map in the lower left corner explains the alphabetic notations.

Montgomery led the American forces northward down the Lake Champlain–Richelieu River route towards Montreal to capture Canada for the Revolutionary cause, seizing Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Fort Chambly as he advanced. When Fort St. Jean capitulated in early November, the British abandoned Montreal to Montgomery and retreated to Québec City. It seemed that the rebels were on the verge of success.

The two warships (also marked by birds), the *Royal George* and the *Inflexible*, were prominent against the American fleet in the Battle of Valcour Island (Lake Champlain) in 1777.

Fort St. Jean was again in British hands by 1776, and throughout much of the war it was a base for Loyalists, who used it for recruiting, surveillance, and rescue missions south into the rebel colonies. Loyalist units, notably the King's Royal Regiment of New York, also conducted continuing military operations from the fort.

The artist of this view, James Hunter (fl. 1776–1792), was a British military engineer and artillery officer. Army records indicate he was probably involved in construction at St. Jean in 1779 and knew the fort intimately. Military artists often copied each other's views. The Archives also holds a version of this view by James Peachey.



A South-West View of Fort St. Jean,  
Quebec, with Plan. James Hunter  
(fl. 1776–1792). Watercolour, 1779.  
41.9 × 60.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-1507).

## Benedict Arnold Shells Québec City, 1775–1776

Jefferys' map shows the American artillery positions, indicating the number of guns and the deployment of General Benedict Arnold's troops on the Plains of Abraham. The fortifications of the city are delineated and the places where Arnold and Montgomery began their attack are marked.

While Montgomery advanced towards Montreal, Arnold (1742–1801) managed, despite hardships, to bring seven hundred men via the Kennebec and Chaudière Rivers to Québec City. Montgomery joined him with another three hundred men in early December 1775, and during a snowstorm on New Year's Eve they launched a desperate attack against the city. Arnold was driven back, while Montgomery and his leading officers were killed. The remaining besiegers were routed when the spring thaw allowed British reinforcements up the St. Lawrence. The rebels abandoned Montreal on 9 May. Quebec had repulsed the rebel onslaught.

Like the Arrowsmith firm, that of Thomas Jefferys (circa 1710–1771) was a pioneer in British map publishing concerning North America. Great Britain in this period did not have an official map or chart publishing office, and it was in the government's interest to support cartographic publishing firms of demonstrated competence such as that of Jefferys. Jefferys from 1761 had been "Geographer to the King," and his firm was thus in a favoured position to benefit from official information such as that being collected in North America by military engineers. William Faden (1750–1836), Jefferys' junior partner, succeeded to control of the firm on Jefferys' death in 1771, and became an even more influential cartographer than his master.





*Plan of the City and Environs of Quebec with its seige and blockade by the Americans from the 8th of December 1775 to the 13th of May 1776. Engraved by William Faden (1750–1836). London: William Faden, 1776. Plan: hand-coloured, engraved, 44.1 × 61.4 cm.*

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 55019).

## Halifax: Guardian of the North, 1781

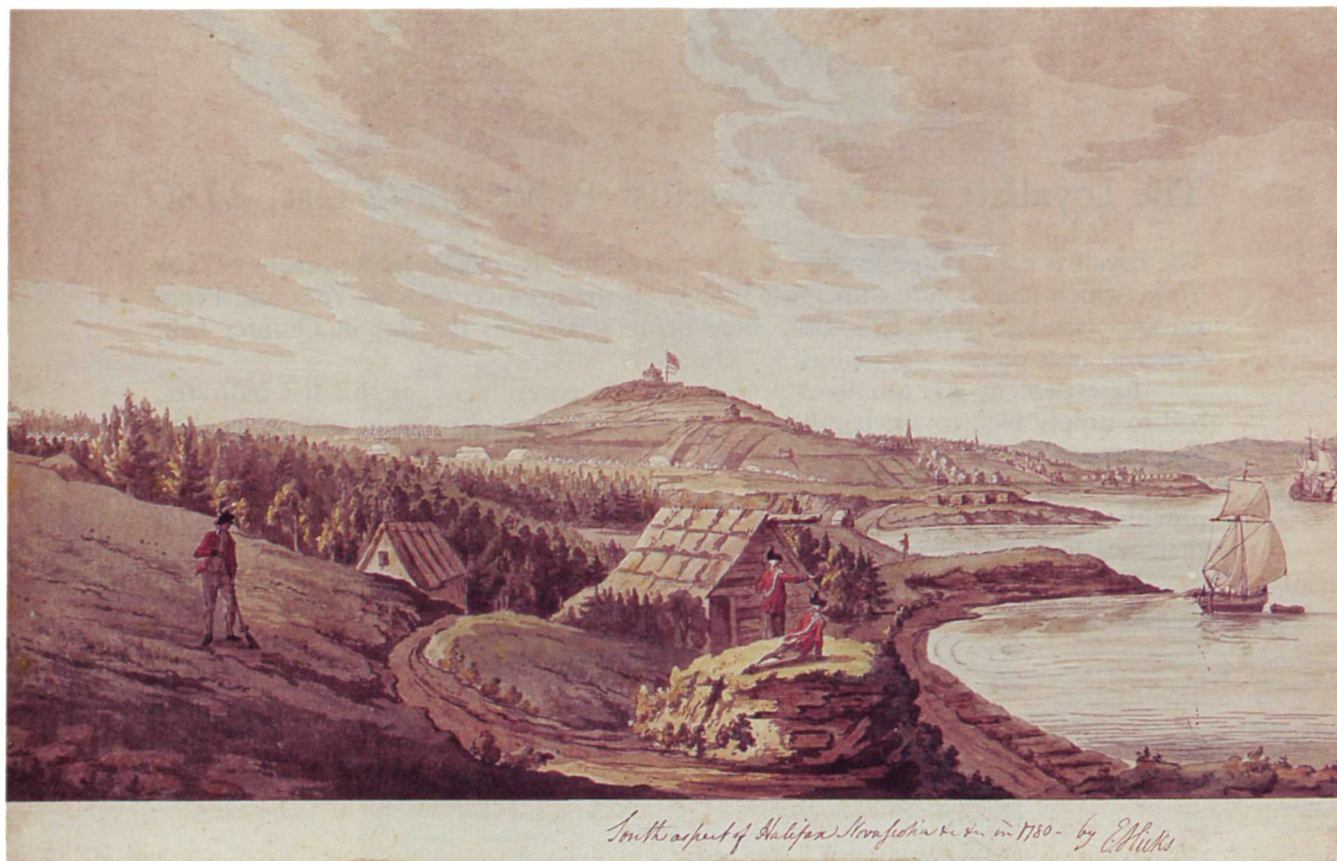
Throughout the Revolutionary War, Halifax was a major harbour, supply centre and base for forces loyal to the King. As befitted a major base, it bristled with fortifications. By the war's end, the city had fourteen forts, barracks and blockhouses in and about the town proper, accommodating 2,800 troops.

This view was taken from one of the numerous small posts on Point Pleasant. Citadel Hill can be seen in the distance, crowned with a large octagonal blockhouse constructed at the beginning of the war, and a maze of trenches and earthworks. Below them is Fort Massey with its blockhouse, erected between 1776 and 1778.

A stream of military transports crossing the Atlantic touched at Halifax for orders and supplies before turning south. The British fleet came in at intervals. The little town was bursting at the seams. As the print shows, a tent city covered the slopes of Citadel Hill and spread out beyond.

A strong military presence and the activity of the British fleet helped discourage colonists in Nova Scotia who might have considered supporting the Revolution. From 1776, when British troops and Loyalists from Boston were evacuated to Halifax, the city attracted a growing refugee community. As the war wound down, this stream of refugees into Nova Scotia became a torrent.

The artist, Edward Hicks (fl. 1778–1782), was an officer of the 70th Regiment, stationed in Halifax in 1778. He executed sketches on which a series of four prints of Halifax were based. The prints are now extremely rare. The National Archives holds all four prints and a watercolour by Hicks.



"South aspect of Halifax Nova Scotia... in 1780...." Edward Hicks (fl. 1778–1782). London, 1781. Hand-coloured aquatint. 53.4 × 31.2 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-11214).



## The Loyalists Come: A Loyalist Provisioning List, 1786

The Loyalists enumerated in this list were part of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, which had fought with great success on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania (see also Item 22). They were being settled on the Bay of Quinte, Lake Ontario, near present-day Kingston, Ontario.

Resettlement was a tedious process and the government, as this list indicates, had to supply food to the Loyalists for some time before they could survive on their own crops.

The British government treated the Loyalists who came north extremely well, providing them with food, clothing, tools, seed, shelter, land and recompense for their war losses. It ultimately spent more than £30 million on the Loyalists.

The National Archives holds more than twenty original Loyalist provisioning lists for Upper Canada and several more for the Maritimes.

*List of Loyalists of Nassau to the late 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York victualled at the 3<sup>d</sup> Township above Cataraqui between 1<sup>st</sup> July & 31<sup>st</sup> August 1786 Inclusive*

Number	Names	Men	Children				Total	Ration (per day)
			Under 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 25		
1	William Rogers	1	1	2			4	4
2	James Bell	1					1	1
3	John Bell	1					3	3
4	William Brown	1	1	2	1		5	5
5	Adam Brown	1	1	2	1		5	5
6	John Brown	1			1		2	2
7	James Brown	1					1	1
8	Thomas Bell	1	1	2	1		5	5
9	James Bell	1	1	2	1	2	10	10
10	Michael Baskley	1					1	1
11	John Baskley	1	1	2			4	4
12	James Baskley	1					1	1
13	John Baskley	1					1	1
14	Charles Baskley	1					1	1
15	James Baskley	1					1	1
16	Lieutenant Christ	1	1	2	1		5	5
17	Oliver Christ	1					1	1
18	Jonathan Christ	1					1	1
19	Edward Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
20	George Concallen	1					1	1
1	James Concallen	1					1	1
2	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
3	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
4	Sergeant Concallen	1					1	1
5	John Concallen	1					1	1
6	John Concallen	1					1	1
7	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
8	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
9	Simon Concallen	1					1	1
10	Abigail Concallen	1					1	1
1	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
2	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
3	Christian Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
4	Simon Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
5	William Concallen	1					1	1
6	Lieutenant Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
7	James Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
8	Matthew Concallen	1					1	1
9	Thomas Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
10	George Concallen	1					1	1
1	John Concallen	1					1	1
2	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
3	Valentine Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
4	John Concallen	1	1	2	1		5	5
5	Sergeant Concallen	1					1	1
6	William Concallen	1					1	1

List of Loyalists of and attached to the Second Battalion of the Kings Royal Regiment of New York Victualled at the third township above Cataraqui between 1 July and 31 August 1786 (detail). George Singleton.

National Archives of Canada:  
Government Archives Division, Records of the Department of Finance, RG 19, E 4, vol. 4447, file 1, part 1, parcel 1, #4.

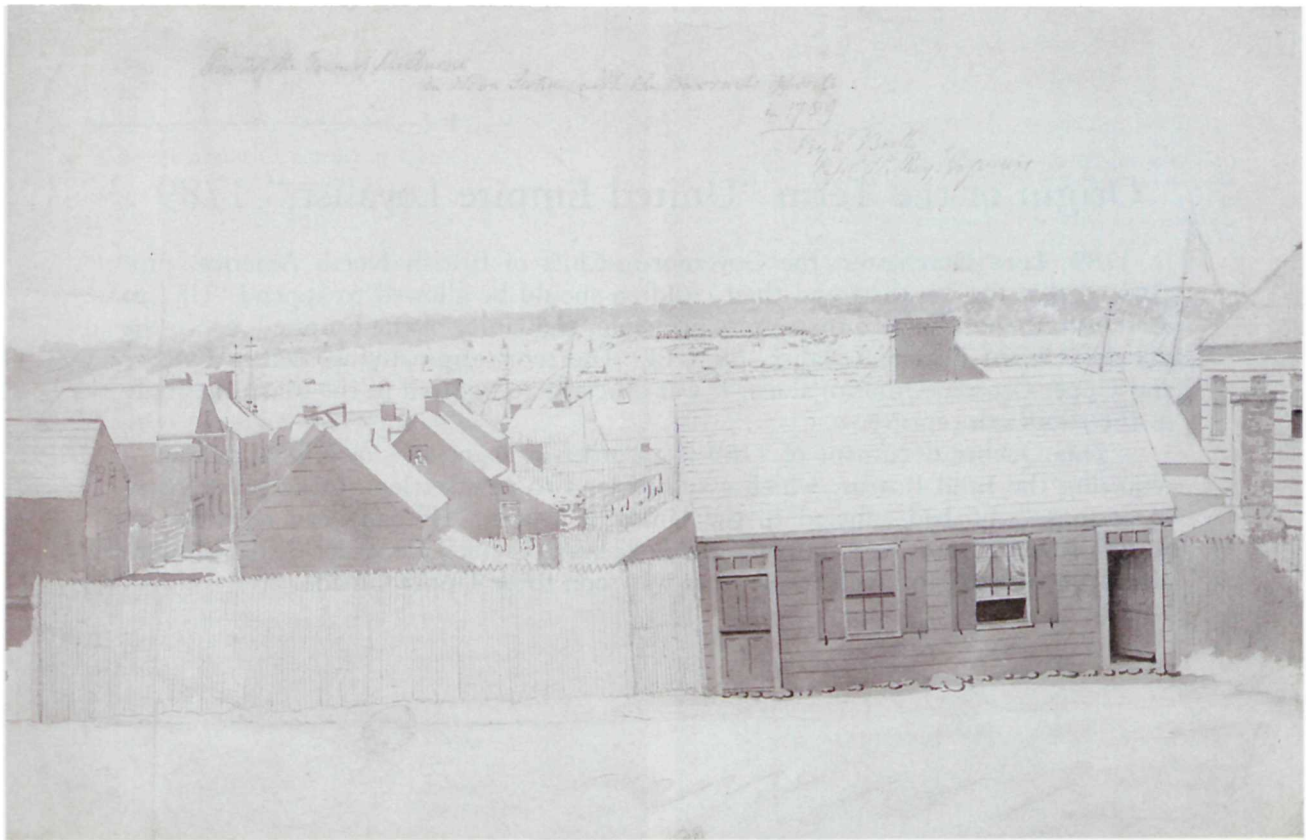
## The Loyalist Boom Town of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, 1789

The framed houses and the masts of ships in Booth's 1789 sketch suggest the early prosperity of Shelburne. Indeed, with the Saint John River Valley, New Brunswick, it was the major area for first Loyalist settlement in the Maritimes. In only three years, it grew from nothing to a town of eight thousand inhabitants, complete with the amenities one would have expected of a major settlement: fine houses, taverns, a jeweller, a dancing instructor, a hairdresser, churches, schools, three newspapers, sawmills and shipyards. It threatened to rival Halifax.

The town's growth was short-lived, however; by the late 1780s, it had entered a sharp decline, and by 1815 the population was a mere six hundred. Its soil and timber were poor, inland communications primitive, whaling and fisheries disappointing. Although the town disappeared, most of its inhabitants settled elsewhere in the Maritimes.

William Booth, the artist (fl. 1785–1788), was a captain in the Royal Engineers. While stationed in Halifax, he travelled extensively in Nova Scotia, executing watercolour sketches. The National Archives also holds a watercolour sketch by Booth of a black Loyalist cutting wood at Shelburne.





Part of the Town of Shelburne, Nova  
Scotia, with the Barracks Opposite.  
William Booth (fl. 1785–1788). Pencil  
with wash, 1789. 29.2 × 54.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-10548).

## Origin of the Term “United Empire Loyalist,” 1789

In 1789, Lord Dorchester, the Governor-in-Chief of British North America, proclaimed that the Loyalists and their children should be allowed to append “UE” to their names, “alluding to their great principle, the Unity of the Empire,” hence the phrase “United Empire Loyalist,” or UEL. The term originally applied to Quebec and Upper Canada (Ontario) alone; it was officially recognized in the Maritimes only in the twentieth century.

This Quebec document of 1789 is an order-in-council — or official decree — requiring the Land Boards, which assigned land to new settlers, to keep a registry of persons “who had adhered to the Unity of Empire.” It had been reprinted in pamphlet form from the minutes of the Legislative Council for wider distribution to officials concerned in Quebec and what was soon to be Upper Canada.

At the Council Chamber at Quebec,

Monday 9<sup>th</sup> November 1789.

PRESENT,

His Excellency the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> LORD DORCHESTER.

The Hon <sup>ble</sup> WILLIAM SMITH, Esquire, Chief Justice.		
HUGH FINLAY,	GEORGE POWNALL,	} Esquires.
THOS. DUNN,	HENRY CALDWELL,	
EDWD. HARRISON,	WILLIAM GRANT,	
JOHN COLLINS,	FRANÇOIS BABY,	
ADAM MAEANE,	CHARLES DE LANAUDIERE,	
J. G. C. DELERY,	LE CTE. DUPRE,	

HIS Lordship intimated to the Council, that it remained a Question, upon the late Regulation for the Disposition of the Waste Lands of the Crown, whether the Boards, constituted for that Purpose, were authorized to make Locations to the Sons of Loyalists, on their coming to full Age and that it was his Wish to put a Mark of Honor upon the Families who had adhered to the Unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783.

The Council concurring with HIS Lordship, it is accordingly ORDERED,

That the several Land Boards take Course for preserving a Registry of  
the

[ 2 ]

the Names of all Persons, falling under the Description aforementioned, to the End that their Posterity may be discriminated, from future Settlers, in the Parish Registers and Rolls of the Militia, of their respective Districts, and other Public Remembrancers of the Province, as proper Objects, by their persevering in the Fidelity and Conduct, so honorable to their Ancestors, for distinguished Benefits and Privileges.

And it is also Ordered, that the said Land Boards may, in every such Case, provide not only for the Sons of those Loyalists, as they arrive to full Age, but for their Daughters also, of that Age, or on their Marriage, assigning to each a Lot of Two Hundred Acres, more or less, provided nevertheless that they respectively comply with the general Regulations, and that it shall satisfactorily appear, that there has been no Default in the due Cultivation and Improvement of the Lands already assigned to the Head of the Family, of which they are Members.

*William C. F.*



Quebec. Order-in-Council for Land Boards to preserve registry of persons "who had adhered to the Unity of Empire." Broadside, 1789.

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative nos. C-130528 and C-130529).

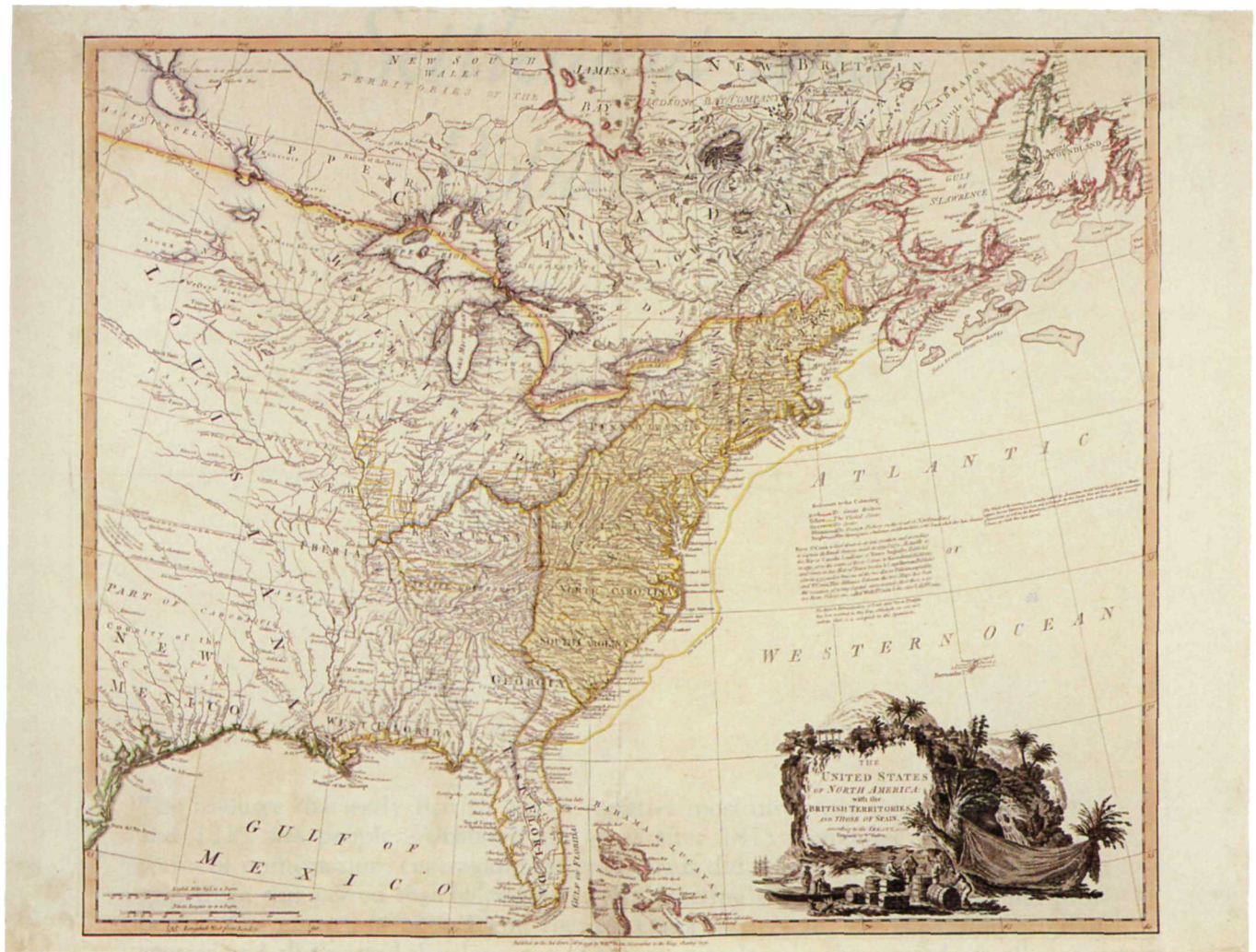


## The Embryo of Modern Canada, 1784

The political map of North America looked very different at the end of the American Revolution than at its beginning. With its conclusion, Britain lost most of her possessions in North America. By the Peace of Paris of 1783, she acknowledged American independence and recognized a boundary — marked in red on this map — running through the centre of the four northerly Great Lakes and from Lake of the Woods “due west” to the imagined location of the Mississippi’s headwaters, then south along the Mississippi. For the moment, the fate of the far west remained undecided, but eventually the Americans would claim all the territory from the line passing above the Mississippi’s headwaters west to the Pacific and south to Mexico. The French, allies of the new American nation, obtained fishing rights off Newfoundland, marked on the map in blue.

What was left of British North America consisted of Newfoundland and its fisheries, the small struggling settlements of the Maritimes, French Quebec — which Britain had even been somewhat reluctant to keep just twenty years before — and the wilderness of the “upper country” beyond Quebec. Few observers at the time would have held out much hope of major development on this seemingly unpromising base.

This map, published by William Faden in 1796, is a later version of a map first published in 1777. The depiction of British North America is based heavily on French cartography prior to the Conquest of 1760. For example, two of the islands appearing in Lake Superior on this map, Philipeaux and Pontchartrain, are fictitious. The mistake was based on a French misinterpretation of a native account that had first been incorporated into a French map of the 1730s. General maps of British North America (as opposed to more detailed ones of settled areas) would continue for some time to rely upon the cartography of the French Regime.



*The United States of North America with the British Territories and those of Spain according to the Treaty of 1784. Engraved by William Faden (1750–1836). London: William Faden, 1796. Map: hand-coloured, engraved. 52.5 × 63.5 cm.*

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division. (NMC 24667).

# *Settlement and Population*

The resource that early British North America most obviously lacked between 1760 and 1815 was people. Although the years after 1815 would see more spectacular waves of immigration, central and eastern Canada did achieve a respectable population growth in this period that helped greatly in assuring the colonies' survival and prosperity. The growth of population, the process of settlement, the expansion of urban centres and the related development of communications in this period are all stories that most Canadians know little about; yet they can be told from the documents of the period.



## A Record Birth Rate

By far the largest concentration of population was in Quebec. The population of that colony in 1765 was 70,000; in 1790, 161,000 and in 1814, 300,000 or about sixty per cent of the total population of British North America. Remarkably, most of Quebec's population growth came not through immigration but through natural increase. Quebec at this period had the highest birth rate ever recorded for any people of European origin — its population was doubling every twenty-five to twenty-seven years!

This 1765 census of the seigneurie of Bécancour is typical of many similar documents in the National Archives. When used in conjunction with other censuses, it is extremely valuable not only for calculating population, but for tracing family history, as well as for studying occupation, family size and structure, religious composition of the population and agricultural production.

[illegible]

Census of Bécancour, 1765.

1773-1797), Watcolour, pen and ink, after 1784, 16.6 x 16.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Manuscript Division, Quebec and Lower  
Canada: "S" Series, Provincial and Civil  
Secretaries' Offices, RG 4, A 1, vol. 11,  
p. 4499.

## The Loyalists Transform the Face of English-Speaking British North America, 1783–1784

Although there was an existing population of 20,000 in the Maritimes and 8,000 permanent settlers in Newfoundland in 1783, the wave of Loyalist migration beginning in that year provided the British North American colonies with their first substantial English-speaking population. A total of 40,000 to 50,000 Loyalists came to British North America, approximately 35,000 to the Canadian Maritimes, 2,000 to Quebec and 7,500 to Ontario. To deal with the influx, the new provinces of New Brunswick and Cape Breton were created in 1784, and Upper Canada (Ontario) in 1791.

This view is the only surviving one by an eye-witness of the beginnings of Loyalist settlement. James Peachey was working as a surveyor in the future Upper Canada, laying out lots for the new settlers, when the Loyalists arrived. The little tent city, depicted only a few days after its establishment, was at Cornwall and was one of three base camps established for the St. Lawrence River and Bay of Quinte Loyalists. The large tent with several smaller tents beside it on the far side of the cove is probably the headquarters of the surveyors.

This watercolour is one of a series of seventeen scenes by James Peachey alphabetically keyed and depicting Quebec and the future Upper Canada in 1784 and earlier. All are now held by the National Archives. They are thought to originally have been insets on a large-scale map of the St. Lawrence River region.





Encampment of the Loyalists at  
Cornwall, 1784. James Peachey  
(fl. 1773–1797). Watercolour, pen and  
ink, after 1784. 16.6 × 36.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-2001).

## Some Americans Petition for Land, 1792

Many Americans were attracted to the British colonies after the Loyalist immigrations of the early 1780s. Upper Canada was the greatest beneficiary of this interest: it grew from a population of 7,500 in 1784 to 71,000 in 1814, largely on the basis of American emigration. The Maritimes and Quebec also received substantial numbers.

Some Americans came as "late Loyalists," drawn by their continuing allegiance to the Crown. Many more were attracted by economic considerations such as free and plentiful land in Upper Canada. Minority religious and ethnic groups such as the Quakers, Tunkers and Moravians established settlements to escape the intolerance that was frequently evident in the new republic to the south. Heavy American settlement created increasing concerns as the possibility of another war with the United States loomed large.

This petition of 1792 is from Stephen Aldrich, William Lawing and their associates in the State of Vermont, a group of Germans seeking a township on the shores of Lake Memphramagog, Quebec, in which to settle. Since no accurate statistics on American immigration into British North America exist for this period, such documents as this one are very helpful for studying the movement.

The petition comes from a series of land petitions and related documents such as reports of surveys and copies of official decisions submitted to the Land Committee of the Executive Council in Quebec, 1764–1841. The series consists of 210 volumes or 21 metres of material.

The petition of the Subjibed Inhabitants of the United States of America humbly sheweth that your Excellencies petitioners being desirous of becoming inhabitants of said province are induced by the terms and incouragements expressed and contained in your Excellencies proclamation of the 7<sup>th</sup> of February A 1792 to prefer this our petition praying that your Excellencies will be pleased to grant to your petitioners a tract or townships of land lying on the west bank of Lake mempha magago, to wit beginning at the fortieth degree of north latitude thence north on the bank of said lake ten miles thence west ten miles thence south ten miles to the line of latitude fortysix thence east on said line to the first mentioned bound which if not all ready prayed for would best suit your petitioners but should it be all ready granted we wish to be accommodated with the most vacant lands on or about said lake where I shall best suit our agent or agents whom we shall appoint to prefer this petition to his Excellency which being submitted we in duty bound shall ever pray  
Paulus May the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1792

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 100th John Thomas

National Archives of Canada:  
Manuscript Division, Executive Council:  
Lower Canada. Land Petitions, RG 1,  
L 3 L, vol. 126, p. 62252.



## The Skirl of Bagpipes: A List of Scottish Immigrants to Canada, 1802

One notable group of immigrants were Scots Highlanders, of whom 15,000 came to British North America between 1770 and 1815.

The page shown is a portion of a list of immigrants and their families, a group of nearly five hundred settlers from Lochaber, Inverness-shire, Scotland, whose voyage to Canada in 1802 was led by Archibald McMillan (circa 1761–1832), a merchant. Originally arriving in Montreal, most of the group gravitated to the already established Highland settlement in Glengarry County, Upper Canada.

The clansmen emigrated voluntarily in the face of “improved” Scottish agriculture that took away their farms and offered them only small crofts to live on. Before 1815 and unassisted by the British government, the Scots had successfully established Prince Edward Island, the Pictou region of Nova Scotia, Glengarry County in Upper Canada, and to a lesser extent, Red River in what is now Manitoba as Highland districts, preserving their language and traditions.

The Archibald McMillan papers in the National Archives contain unusually extensive accounts, correspondence, petitions, agreements and nominal lists relating to this early immigration.

6

National Archives of Canada:  
Manuscript Division, Archibald  
McMillan and Family papers, MG 24,  
I 183, p. 6.

## The Theory: A Model Township, 1790

Rapid expansion of population caused government officials to give increasing thought to the proper organization of settlements. Although French Canadians would continue to use the seigneurie as the unit of settlement, the township was the unit used by English-speaking Canadians.

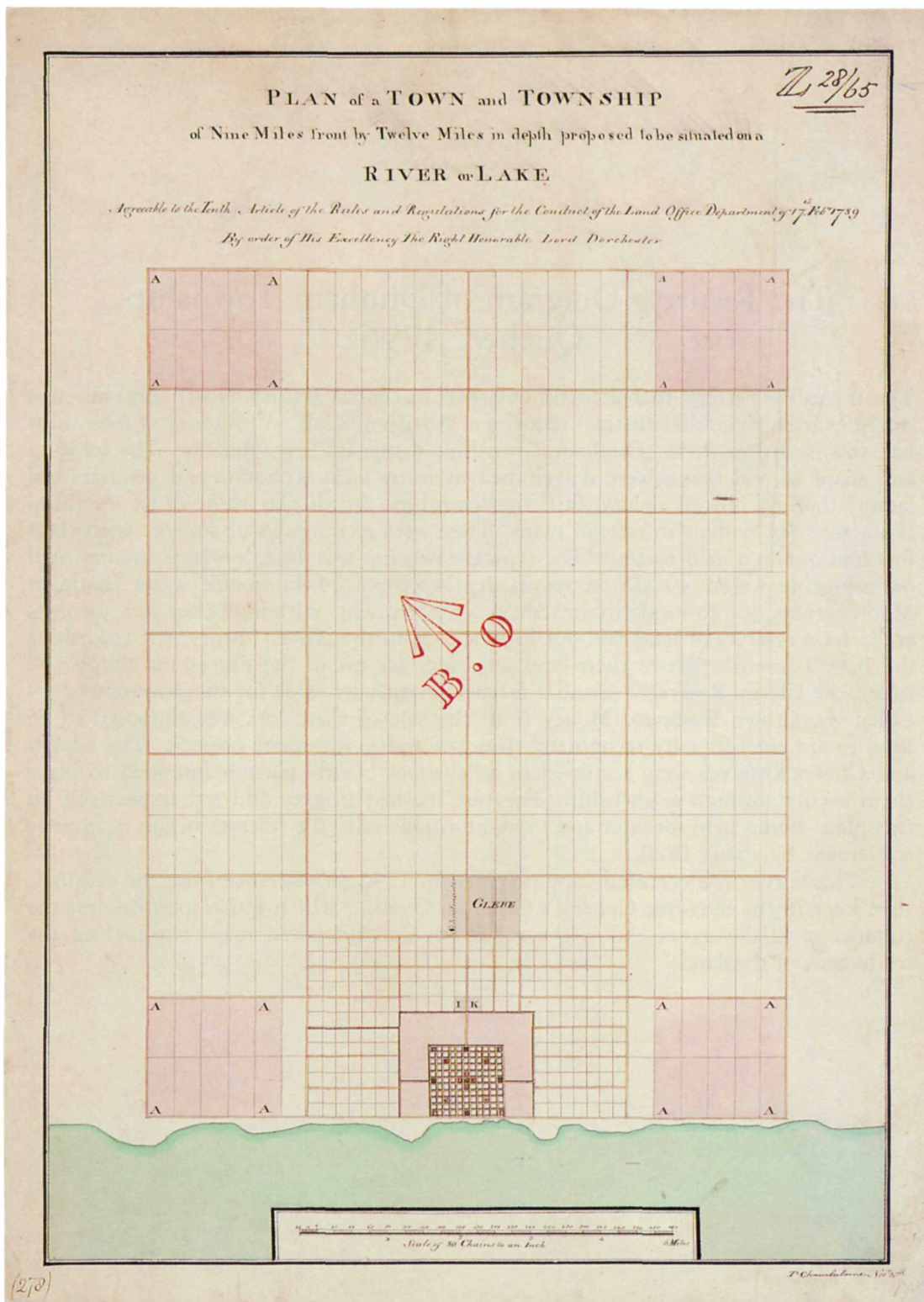
Government officials, concerned about American and lower class immigrants, wished to attract and strengthen the growth of a "strong and loyal Aristocracy." This plan, proposed by Lord Dorchester (1724–1808), the Governor in Chief of Quebec, was designed to encourage the formation of local elites. His proposed township plan was to include a town one mile square, with one-acre lots that would appeal to prosperous residents. The town was to have a buffer of a half-mile around it, followed by park lots of twenty-four acres reserved for the most prominent residents. Ample provision was made for schools, churches, courts and jails to develop proper attitudes and to punish wrong ones.

Other features are explained by an alphabetic code:

- A – Reserves to the Crown
- B and C – Church, parsonage and schoolhouse
- D – Gaol and courthouse
- E – Workhouse
- F – Church yards, hospitals, etc.
- G – Public squares
- H – Market-places
- I – Town park for the schoolmaster
- K – Town park for a minister

The plan bears the initials and arrowhead stamp of the Board of Ordnance, which was responsible for the supply of maps as well as other equipment to the British military forces.





"Plan of a Town and Township of Nine Miles front by Twelve Miles in depth proposed to be situated on a River or Lake." Ts. Chamberlaine. Plan: manuscript, hand-coloured, 1789, 43.0 × 29.7 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 273).

## The Reality: Diagram of Dunham Township, Quebec, 1796

The township pattern that actually emerged in central British North America was different from the rather abstract theories of British officials. A minority of townships had towns within them. Dunham Township, displayed here, did not. The location and shape of real towns were determined more by local economic and geographical factors than by official theory. Still the townships did display some of the essential characteristics evident in official plans. They were rectangular or square, with their lots laid out in a grid pattern. The typical township was 16 kilometers square, or if on navigable water, 19 kilometres in depth with a 14-kilometre water frontage. Modifications due to local circumstances were frequent. Although they did not generally have reserves of land laid out in blocks as in the official theory, the townships did have a seventh part of their land set aside “for use of the Protestant clergy” — called the Clergy Reserves — and a further seventh set aside for the government — called the Crown Reserves. Money from the sale of these lots was supposed to be used to aid the officially recognized churches and government projects. The Clergy and Crown Reserves were scattered in a “chequer board” pattern intended to place them evenly through a township. They are marked in grey and red respectively in this plan. Being held for later and more profitable sale, the reserves began to impede settlement by about 1820.

This survey is a certified copy prepared in 1796 for reference from the original, then kept in the Surveyor General’s Office in Québec, which was responsible for the conduct of land surveys and is the major source of detailed maps chronicling the settlement of the land.



Diagram of the Township

*DUNHAM.*

STANDBRIDGE.

*Senth Concession.*

Ninth Concession.

*Eighth Concession.*

Seventh Concession.

Sixth Concession.

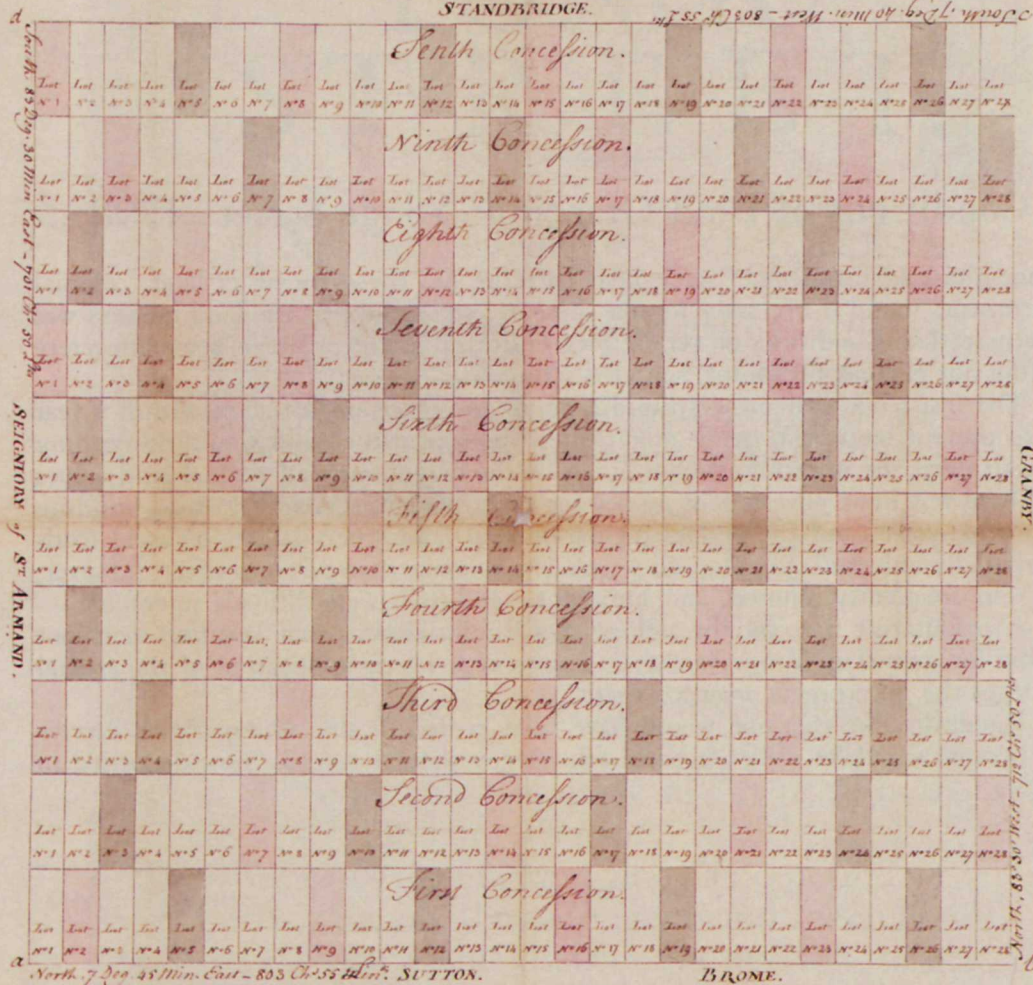
Fifth Confession.

Fourth Concession.

Third Concession.

Second Concession.

First Concession.



### REFERENCES.

- a A post marked 'The Honorable Thomas Dunn, Esq'  
b A post marked 'Dunham 1794.'  
c A post marked 'Dunham and Sandbridge.'  
d A post marked 'Dunham and Sandbridge.'

I hereby Certify that the above is a true Copy from the Original Diagram—  
Surveyor General's Office, Quebec, 1<sup>st</sup> March  
1796— Samuel Holland

"Diagram of the Township of Dunham."  
Certified by Samuel Holland (1728–  
1801). Plan: manuscript, hand-coloured,  
1796, 39.3 × 33.8 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 1330).



## Conditions of Land Granting: Yonge Street, 1798

Beyond the establishment of settlement patterns and the granting of land, colonial governments found it necessary to take measures to ensure that the land granted was actually settled. Conditions on very attractive sites, like Yonge Street, the main artery running out of York (Toronto), sounded stringent.

The insistence that owners build a house and fence in five acres within a year was to prevent land from being monopolized by speculators who would do nothing but wait until the improvements of others in the neighbourhood pushed land values up. There was little government money for expensive projects such as road-building and maintenance, and the official regulation that landowners labour on local roads was virtually universal. Regulations were easier to make than put into effect, however; they were frequently ignored, and summonses and fines were difficult to enforce.

A manuscript note on the side of this handbill states that Loyalists were not eligible for grants on Yonge Street — a somewhat ironic application of the special privileges the government awarded them.

Handbills like this one would have been posted locally. Often copies survive only because examples were placed in official government records, now deposited in archives.

Council-Office, Dec. 29, 1798.

# YONGE-STREET.

**N**OTICE is hereby given to all persons settled, or about to settle on *YONGE-STREET*, and whose *locations* have not yet been confirmed by order of the *PRESIDENT* in council, that before such locations can be confirmed it will be expected that the following **CONDITIONS** be complied with :

*First.* That within *twelve months* from the time they are permitted to occupy their respective lots, they do cause to be erected thereon a good and sufficient dwelling house, of at least 16 feet by 20 in the clear, and do occupy the same in *Person*, or by a substantial *Tenant*.

*Second,* THAT within the same period of time, they do clear and fence *five* acres, of their respective lots, in a substantial manner.

*Third,* THAT within the same period of time, they do open as much of the Yonge-Street road as lies between the front of their lots and the middle of said road, amounting to one acre or thereabouts.

JOHN SMALL, C. E. C.

*We do not intend to build  
a house on any of the  
lots until we have the  
order of the President  
of the Council to build one  
on the lot which we  
have been granted.*

## A Royal Town: Halifax, 1800

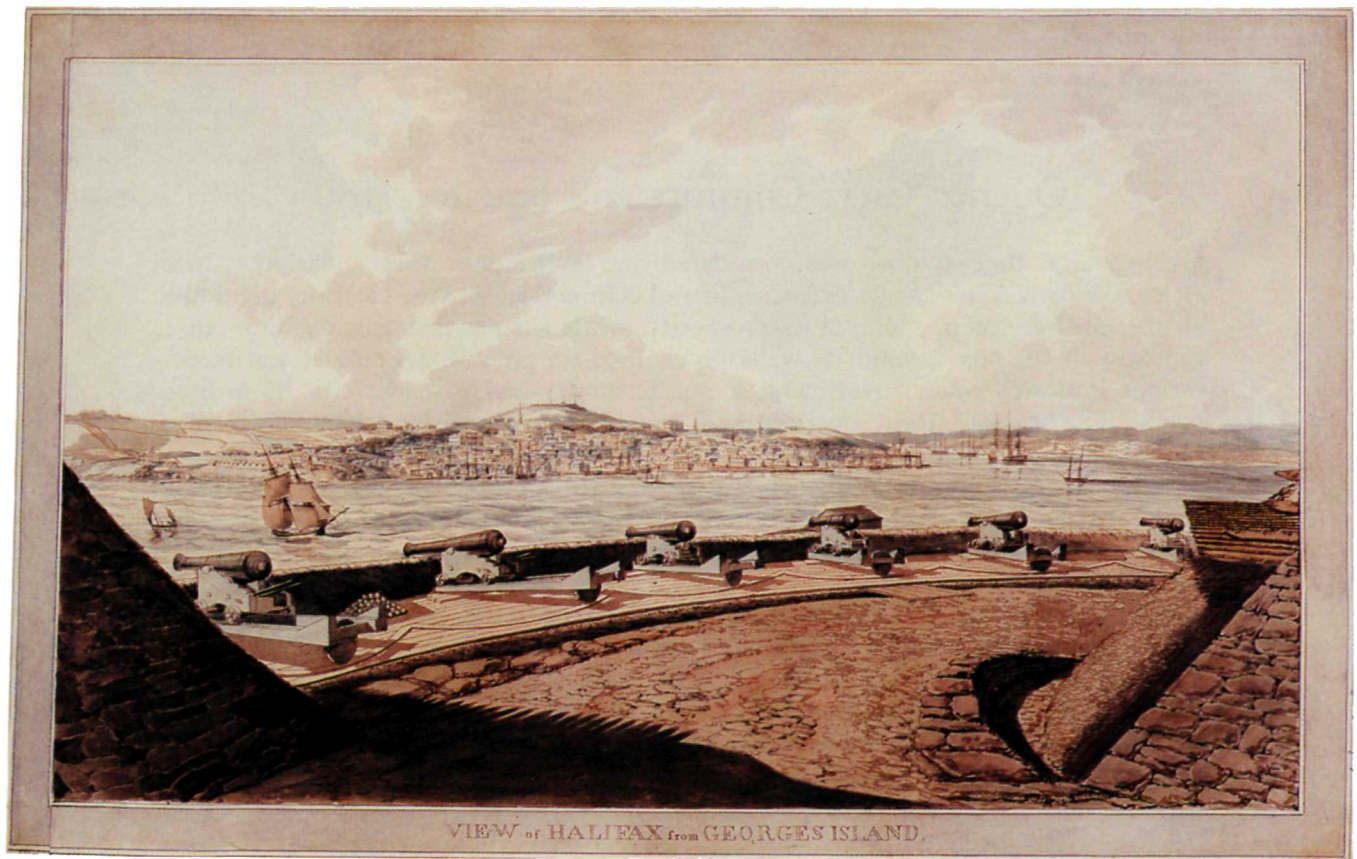
While settlement grew in the rural areas of British North America, its cities were also developing. Founded in 1749, Halifax by 1790 was still a struggling town of shabby wooden structures, defended by the tumble-down remains of forts dating from the American Revolution. Its exports were small and its mercantile activity risky.

The Napoleonic Wars were buoying up the city's economy by the time Edward, Duke of Kent, son of King George III, arrived in Halifax in 1794 to be military Commander-in-Chief of Nova Scotia. When he left in 1800, Halifax was studded with excellent public and military buildings, and surrounded by powerful batteries that made it the strongest fortress in the world outside Europe.

The fort on George's Island, from which this view was taken, was a symbol of Halifax's military importance. It was entirely rebuilt and modernized by Edward, as was the Citadel, seen atop the hill in the centre of the view. On the left slope of Citadel Hill, the large mansion on the horizon is Belle Vue, Edward's handsome wooden residence, with its wide Corinthian portico. Government House, whose corner stone was laid the year this view was sketched by George Parkyns, is to the left, nearer to the Citadel and below it. In 1800 the Duke also laid the corner stone of St. George's Church, the round building to the right of the town. Merchants were growing wealthy and, influenced by the Duke's example, were also building finer homes and bigger stores. Even the common folk were improving their tenements. Edward left a town with a new and lofty tone and a vigorous outlook on the world.

George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820) was an English watercolourist and engraver. He lived in Brooklyn in the United States from 1793, publishing a series of aquatint engravings of American cities. He visited Halifax in 1800 before returning to England where he published a series of four aquatints of Halifax. The National Archives holds all four aquatints as well as a view of Halifax by Parkyns published in the *Colonial Journal*, Vol. 6 (London, 1817).





*View of Halifax from Georges Island.*  
 George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820).  
 Etching and aquatint in brown ink with  
 watercolour, circa 1801.  
 33.0 × 54.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
 Documentary Art and Photography  
 Division (Negative no. C-40306).

## Québec City: Comfort and Squalor, 1804

Québec City, then as now, was considered one of the most spectacularly beautiful cities of North America. Its extensive line of commercial wharfs, carefully delineated on this military map, spoke of its prosperity, while the new suburbs pushing out to the west of the city beyond its walls proclaimed its growth. Its citadel and fortifications indicated heavy investment of public money and gave the city its military colour. Québec was lively, bustling and, by colonial standards, urbane and sophisticated.

Québec City, however, also exhibited the filth, poverty and danger common to cities of the period. A prominent citizen, William Smith, spoke of approaching the city by avenues full of “noxious vapours” and “encumbered by heaps of old shoes, cast mocassins . . . bones, dead cats and dogs . . . the emptying of slaughterhouses and cleaning of stables.” Poverty was in clear evidence. Every day in winter crowds of beggars walked the streets with large bags to gather food from passers-by.

Fire was an ever-present danger, and protection against it consisted of ordinances such as one that required all carters in the city to report to the scene of a fire with a horse, cart, and cask, if they had one, to cart water and remove goods. There were two major fires between 1790 and 1815, each of which left many families homeless. Thus citizens of Québec lived surrounded by beauty and comfort, but also by appalling squalor and the risk of disaster.

This plan accompanied a report on Quebec’s fortifications by Gother Mann, Major General Commanding, Royal Engineers. It was prepared in the Engineers’ Drawing Room, Québec City. The military’s concern with the city as a prime fortification meant that plans of it were frequently prepared.



Plan of the City and Fortifications of  
 Québec City, 1 August 1804.  
 Gother Mann (1747–1830), Major  
 General Commanding, Royal Engineers.  
 Map: manuscript, hand-coloured.  
 142.5 × 167.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
 Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
 Division (NMC 95875).



## A Capital Among the Tree Stumps: York (Toronto), circa 1803

Unlike Québec City and Halifax, which had developed strategic and economic functions, York, Upper Canada, was a hothouse community forced ahead of its natural growth by its social position as capital. Many towns and villages in British North America still sat, like York, amidst stumps, with the forest looming behind them. Few, however, would have had such elaborate shops and houses.

The east end of the town along Front Street is seen in this painting, stretching from Cooper's Tavern on King Street around to the town blockhouse, a place for citizens to take shelter in case of attack. The town was only ten blocks long in total.

Cooper's Tavern, to the left of this view, was advertised in 1801 as being "as nearly on the footing of an English Inn as local circumstances will permit. . . ." Its owner, William Cooper, was an example of the flexibility necessary for success in a pioneer town: he was at various times, and often concurrently, a tavern keeper, school teacher, preacher, butcher, wharfinger, miller and auctioneer. The house behind the tavern belonged to Duncan Cameron, a Scots merchant, involved for a few years in a local trade in furs, while the next was that of William Warren Baldwin, an Irishman who, although a qualified doctor, maintained a comfortable and distinguished law practice. Baldwin was destined to become a major figure in reform politics. His neighbour to the right, William Allan, was a merchant and, like most of the major merchants of Upper Canada, a Scot. The last home belonged to Peter Russell, a government official who had been administrator of the province. Russell maintained the hundred acre lot he had been granted as a moderately successful farm and attempted, with difficulty, to live the leisurely life of a British gentleman. The two red brick single-storey structures beside the blockhouse were designed as the wings of a lieutenant-governor's residence that was never built. They served for meetings of the legislature, sessions of the courts, and church services and stood at the foot of what is now Parliament Street.

Three variant versions of this watercolour are known. Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826) is likely to have copied this version from ones done in the autumn of 1803 by Edward Walsh.



York, Upper Canada. Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826). Watercolour, pen and ink over pencil, 1804.  
28.3 × 44.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-40137).

## The Mail Gets Through – Maybe, 1811–1812

The provision of adequate transportation and communications was a very major undertaking in early British North America. The remarks on this way-bill, carried by couriers attempting to get the mail from Halifax to Québec City in the dead of winter, dramatize the problems. Indeed, it is not even clear that the mail, after more than a month, actually did get through. The last notations are at Madawaska, still almost two hundred miles from Québec City.

A way-bill is a list of goods on conveyance. In this particular case, couriers were under instructions to have the postmasters at various points along their route note the day and time of the arrival and departure of the mail. Any delays were to be noted and certified by a responsible person. “In this,” the instructions sternly warned, “you [the courier] are not to fail.”



N<sup>o</sup>

## WAY BILL FROM HALIFAX TO QUEBEC.

Haste, Haste, Post ! Haste.

To the Several COURIERS on the Route.

YOU ARE HEREBY Ordered to Use the Utmost diligence in your Respective Stages to Convey in Safety and with the greatest possible Speed, the MAIL herewith delivered to you.—You are to shew this Way-Bill to the Post Masters on your Route—who are required to Note the Day of the Month and the exact Time of the Day of your Arrival at their Offices respectively, together with the Time when the Mail is again by them set in Motion, with the Name of the Courier into whose Charge it is given ;—And the Courier will himself set down the Time of his Arrival at and Departure from any of the Places Named in this Bill, at which there is no Post-Master.—And where ever any unavoidable detention may have happened it must be Noted in the proper Column and Certified by the next Post-Master, or by a Magistrate, or by some Credible Person residing where the delay happened. And hereof you are not to fail.

By Order of the Deputy Post-Master-General.

John Howe. P.M.

Departure and Arrivals.			Distance in Miles.	Post-Masters and Couriers Names.	Remarks and Occurrences.
Date.	Hour.	Stages.			
23 <sup>rd</sup> Dec.	5 P.M.	Dispatched from the Post Office at HALIFAX.		John Howe Post-Master.	
		At Cranbo Hill, -	31 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	D. Hamilton Courier.	
24 <sup>th</sup>	5 P.M.	Received at WINDSOR, -	14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	J. D. Hamilton Post-Master.	The weather being very thick
		Left WINDSOR, -		Courier.	heavy storm & rain the Courier
	6 P.M.	Received at HORTON, -	17	W. Hamilton Post-Master.	does not think he will be able
		Left HORTON, -		Courier.	to go this night.
		At Pys Plain Aylesford, -	28		The River being almost impassable
		Smithfield—Wilmot, -	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		and very heavy rain yesterday has
27 <sup>th</sup>	7 P.M.	Received at ANNAPOLIS, -	33	Alex. Buntat P.M.	in the morning the
		Left ANNAPOLIS, -		Courier.	post having been delayed for this
28 <sup>th</sup>	5 P.M.	Received at DIOBY, -	20	James Duxbury P.M.	time — J. D. Hamilton
		Left DIOBY, -		Courier.	
12 <sup>th</sup> 12	5 P.M.	Received at St. JOHN, -	36	John Duxbury P.M.	
12 <sup>th</sup> 12	6 P.M.	Left St. JOHN, -		Courier.	
		At Long Reach, -	29		
		Grimeres Island, -	23		
7 <sup>th</sup> 12	8 P.M.	Received at FREDERICTON, -	30	A. Duxbury P.M.	
		Left FREDERICTON, -		Courier.	
		At Nikiwiki River, -	24		
		Maduxnick, -	26		
		Prequille, -	24		
		The Rock Tobique, -	24		
		The Great Falls, -	28		
		The Grand River, -	15		
		Indian Village at the mouth of Madawaska River, -	30		
		White Birch River, -	24		
		Paradis's Mountains, -	28 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		
		River des Caps, -	29 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		
		River Ouelle, -	25 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		
		St. Jean, -	24		
		At Berthier, -	32 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		
		Received at QUEBEC, -	25 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Post Master	
			632		

Way Bill from Halifax to Quebec. Printed notice with manuscript additions, 1811–1812.

National Archives of Canada:  
Manuscript Division, Miscellaneous  
Documents, MG 55/24, no. 59.

# *Political and General Social Development, 1784–1812*

The political and social development of the British North American colonies was diversified, with no colony repeating the pattern of another. Politics in Quebec, for example, were fairly complex and gave rise to established party groupings and sophisticated political theory, while in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, they focused on single issues. Each colony faced its own particular problems; regional diversity is not a new phenomenon. Yet politics of the colonies did follow a basic pattern of contention between local residents and imperial authorities as many colonists struggled to gain the powers and alterations necessary to work out their own solutions to their own problems. In general, it was a period of political frustration when many more problems were articulated than solutions found. Political agitations often tended to end in quiescence rather than resolution. Still, shared experiences would be carried forward into later periods to produce more viable solutions.

## Upper Canada

Following an initial influx of population into what had been the upper reaches of Quebec, the Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the old Province of Quebec to create the new colony of Upper Canada (Ontario). Its first Lieutenant-Governor, John Graves Simcoe (1752–1806), a veteran of the Revolutionary War, attempted to make the new colony a bastion of British influence in the heart of the continent. Simcoe advocated the encouragement of a local aristocracy, and the foundation of churches, schools and universities based on British models. He encouraged rapid settlement — and thus the rapid surveying of townships, as the map shows — the firm establishment of new towns such as York (Toronto) and London, and the quick development of a road network, as exemplified here by Dundas and Yonge Streets. Simcoe was only partially successful in his aims. His successors lacked his vision and energy, and Upper Canada remained very North American in its outlook.

David William Smith (1764–1837) was the first Surveyor General of Upper Canada, a position that gave him an excellent opportunity to prepare this, the first accurate, detailed map of what is now southern Ontario. A careful examination of it yields information on the location and early names of towns, road networks, the position of former settlements of the French period, Indians settled after the American Revolution, and even the settlement of French aristocrats fleeing the French Revolution. Other editions of the map followed in 1813, 1818 and 1838, all of which are held by the National Archives.





*A Map of the Province of Upper Canada describing All the New Settlements, Townships, &c. . . . David William Smith (1764-1837). London: William Faden, 1800. Map: hand-coloured, engraved. 55.0×83.6 cm.*

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 98186).

## Quebec

Quebec was the largest, most densely populated and most developed of the British North American colonies. Settlement, as this map indicates, continued to be focused along the St. Lawrence River, which facilitated communication and trade. The upper reaches of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes were cut off from the colony when the "Pays d'En Haut" was separated off by the Constitutional Act of 1791 to form Upper Canada. The coming of the Loyalists had increased the non-French-speaking population from 4 to 9 per cent, while further American immigration increased it to 12.5 per cent by 1791. Their increasing numbers in turn raised the expectations of the English group that the colony would become more fully Anglo-Saxon in its culture and institutions. Quebec, however, remained the only major region in North America where the majority spoke French. French and English often lived side by side, but did not integrate. Tensions became increasingly frequent.

A new economy was emerging in Quebec between 1790 and 1815, which encouraged the growth of new classes of businessmen and professionals. Their clashes with each other and with British officials, sharpened by ethnic tensions, led to more complex political development here than anywhere else in British North America.

This map, on the large scale of eight miles to the inch, is laid out into districts and townships. Only a portion of it is shown here. At its full extent, it embraces the country on both sides of the St. Lawrence from the Island of Anticosti to the boundary of Upper Canada. There are several descriptive notes on the map. Churches, windmills and watermills as well as county lines, roads, settlements and "old French grants" are shown by means of symbols and lines according to the "references" engraved in the bottom left of the map.

The map was accompanied by a pamphlet by William Vondenvelden and Louis Charland entitled *Extraits des titres des anciennes concessions de terre en fief et seigneurie . . .* (Quebec, 1803) which gives a description of the location of the seigneuries as well as the date when they were granted. The National Archives holds a copy.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 98187).



## A Massive Counter-Petition Attempts to Avoid Reform in Quebec, 1784

Authoritarian and often arbitrary military government during the American Revolution led certain elements in Quebec society to press for representative government in the form of an assembly. Leaders in the movement were French- and English-Canadian merchants, French-Canadian professionals, Loyalists, and an elite of French-Canadian tradesmen and farmers. In 1784, they gathered 2,300 signatures in a petition for representative government. Opposition to this reform movement was led by French-Canadian seigneurs who felt their interests were well served by present conditions and feared the results of popular government. The sought-after reform was granted in the Constitutional Act of 1791, which created an assembly. The winning of an assembly would not have been possible without the participation of an important segment of French-Canadian society in the reform movement. French Canada was rapidly acquiring skill in using British parliamentary institutions and practices to express its needs and desires.

The counter-petition organized by seigneurs to oppose reform is illustrated here. Although it has 2,400 signatures, only a small number of which appear in the illustration, many names are inscribed in only a few hands. Most of the names, in fact, were recorded en masse at general meetings of habitants by seigneurs who more assumed than solicited support.



## Posters from the First Quebec Election, 1792

The first elections for an assembly in Quebec were held in 1792. It sat in 1793. Because the property qualifications used to establish the right to vote were based on British models, they gave the franchise to virtually every male head of a household in land-rich British North America, and politics from the beginning had a strong democratic tinge.

Before 1791, English and French elites had cooperated temporarily on political reform. From the first sitting of the Assembly, conflicts between the two groups rapidly emerged. Printed in both French and English, this campaign poster from Quebec's first election is meant to argue the harmony of interests between English merchants and French Canadians. It also lays out, however, the elements of constitutional, social, ethnic and economic conflict that would continue to be battlegrounds between these two groups to 1815 and well beyond.

This campaign literature was printed by Samuel Neilson (1771–1793) of Québec City. His order books in the Neilson papers at the National Archives indicate that seven hundred copies were initially printed. Only four, including the two illustrated, now survive.



## To the Electors of Lower Canada, And those of the County and Towns of Quebec in particular.

**S**INCE the cautionary address which we made you in the Gazette of the 17th instant there have been distributed among the people a variety of Hand-bills, some recommendatory of Candidates and some justificatory of themselves, and among the number is one *defamatory*; all of them are innocent and decent except the last mentioned, which abounds with illiberality and falsehood; we shall therefore direct it and endeavour to confute the arguments and destroy the insinuations contained in it.

The author of the "AVIS AUX CANADIENS" states, 1<sup>st</sup>. That it appears to be agreed upon between the British Merchants that they ought to be the only Representatives in the House of Assembly.

2<sup>d</sup>. That by their canvassing jointly—they have concerted a Coalition, which discovers their great illiberality (which he ironically calls *liberality*) for the Canadians.

3<sup>d</sup>. That if the English Merchants are elected, the fundamental Laws of the Canadians will derive no advantage or be perhaps altered and injured.

4<sup>th</sup>. That he himself "Reverfe" may take them out of the Province, and therefore they ought to have no pretensions to concern themselves about it.

5<sup>th</sup>. That there should be such a union of interests between the Electors and Representatives, that whatever Laws may be made by the Legislature shall equally affect all the members of the House of Assembly as well as the body of the people, by which he would insinuate that there is no connexion or communication of interests between the British Merchants and the Body of the people.

The first and second assertions are proved to be palpable falsehoods, by the division that every man fees exists in the Lower Town; where the English Interest is divided by four or five Candidates standing on their own strength unconnected with each other and supported by different friends. It is likewise too notorious that the Merchants never affected to think that they had an exclusive right to be returned Representatives; they possess too much good sense and equity to look for a monopoly, it is their common conversation that the Election should be free and open to every man, that the people should choose without bias such characters (whether Merchants or Seigneurs or No-Seigneurs) as they think will make the best Laws for the Agriculture, as well as for the Commerce of the Country. And, it is we believe the first time that the Mercantile body have ever been suspected of want of *Liberality* towards the Canadians, either in the line of trade or in personal respects.

They have been exceedingly liberal in their dealings with the Canadians, and instead of treating them with hauteur, scorn, and insult, they have considered them as men, friends, neighbours and fellow citizens, equal in the Eye of the Law with themselves.

In answer to the third insinuation, we do insist no proof appears that the British Merchants have ever attempted to get the fundamental Laws of the Country altered. They wished for good and salutary Laws for all ranks of people, that every man might be secure in the free Enjoyment of his Liberty and property; and where they felt a grievance, they complained and applied for Redress; when they asked for laws to secure circulating commercial property, they did at the same time in a very pointed manner recommend that the rights and interests of the Seigneur, the Miller, the Curé, and the Habitants should be secured.

The Author of "AVIS AUX CANADIENS" by the fourth insinuation betrays either great Disloyalty or gross ignorance; for if by the word "Reverfe" he means the *change of sovereignty*, he may be pronounced a Traitor to the King and People of Great Britain from whom he enjoys a very honorable and lucrative place, and we are bold to say that he is the only Traitor in the Country; if by "Reverfe" he means only the vicissitudes of fortune among individual Merchants, and that if they do not succeed in their commerce, they must return from whence they came, we may laugh at his stupidity, and while we deplore the impotence of his malice, we will inform him that, under the British Government, the generation of Merchants is like the generation of men; and that if by any wife Refutation of the Author of the handbill and his Coadjutors all the British Merchants were expelled the Country, double the number would resort to the Province from Great Britain: so truly may the ancient Proverb "Non deficit alter" be applied upon this subject. We see (almost daily) that "Reverfe" in the course of Nature take away the Merchants as they do *Seigneurs*, and yet we find no vacuum in the Mercantile system; others rise and spring up to fill the place of those that death has called away; and though the *sytle* of time now *shows* down without distinction (Merchants Seigneurs and others,) it destroys not Commerce, for that will live as long as time itself; nothing can destroy Commerce but oppressive and arbitrary principles, such as the author of the handbill possesses, and it is to be hoped that among the few *seigneurs* of the earth where it may find refuge it may be counteracted in Canada hereafter.

The British Merchants have a million and a half of money circulating in the two provinces of Canada; There are some hundreds of thousands of Bushels of wheat annually exported from Lower Canada by the British Merchants, besides many other exports to a great amount; surely these are great and important enterprises and risks; they have caused the value of lands and Houses from one end of the province to the other to be doubled at least, and under our present Government there is every reason to expect they will still increase. The British Merchant may be considered the best friend to the Farmer and to the Cultivator of the land, whose industry he rewards, and towards whom he always carries himself with respect and civility. It may therefore be presumed that he has a very strong title and great pretension to concern himself in the welfare and Legislation of the Country.

Ce que nous avons dit dans l'article quatrième peut être appliqué et considéré comme une réponse complète à la cinquième insinuation, "qu'il n'y a aucune communion ni lien d'intérêt réciproque entre le peuple du Canada et les Marchands Britanniques." Rien ne peut prouver plus clairement un intérêt et une union commune que le grand avancement que le commerce a procuré dans les propriétés agricoles et foncières, sous la direction des Marchands Britanniques; l'un et l'autre s'avancent réciproquement. Rien ne peut manifester plus invinciblement une sympathie pour les Canadiens comme hommes et Citoyens, que le respect amical et la civilité sociale que les Marchands Britanniques leur témoignent à tous. Enfin il ne peut y avoir dans la nature un lien d'union entre de bons hommes de rangs différents plus intime que celui provenant de ce que le Marchand fait et prévoit qu'il ne peut donner la sanction à aucune loi qui dans un tems ou dans l'autre ne l'affecte lui-même ainsi que ses amis, ses parents et ses descendants, aussi amplement et aussi effectivement qu'aucun cultivateur. On peut dire avec confiance que peu de seigneurs ont de pareils sentimens et font de pareilles réflexions, parcequ'ils espèrent que leurs descendants, quelques indigènes qu'ils en soient, continueront d'être seigneurs jusqu'aux siècles les plus reculés. Nous concluons de là qu'il y a une plus grande union d'intérêt, plus de sentimens de sympathie et une opération des lois plus égale entre la masse du peuple et le Marchand qu'entre le peuple et les seigneurs. Conséquemment les Marchands ont le droit incontestable de s'offrir avec les autres Citoyens comme Candidats pour représenter le peuple, qui les trouvera dignes de sa confiance.

Les Négocians renoncent à toutes distinctions Nationales; ils ne regardent tout le peuple de la province que comme Citoyens Canadiens également attachés au Roi et au peuple de la Grande Bretagne. Les Négocians continueront de former une grande et respectable partie de la Société, quand le nom de Seigneur ne leur trouvera plus que dans l'histoire. Afin de manifester l'ignorance de l'Auteur de l'*Avis aux Canadiens*, nous lui ferons quelques questions qui s'appliquent avec beaucoup d'aptitude à la présente occasion.

Qui est-ce qui donne du pain à l'ouvrier? Le Marchand. Qui est-ce qui donne de l'emploi aux nombreux Mécaniques, Artisans et Navigateurs, dont la ville de Québec abonde? Le Marchand. Qui est-ce qui fait circuler les propriétés et répand les richesses dans tout le pays, qui donne la vie et la vigueur à l'agriculture? Le Marchand.

Qui est-ce qui a contribué à augmenter les revenus des Seigneurs, ainsi que la valeur des produits des terres pour les cultivateurs? Le Marchand.

Citoyens Canadiens, vous savez que tout cela est vrai. Peut-on vous faire croire que vous ne devez pas donner vos voix aux Marchands, dont les intérêts sont les mêmes que les vôtres? D'autres professions peuvent s'élever sur votre ruine; celle des Marchands ne peut fleurir qu'autant que vous prospérez; si vous êtes ruinés, le Marchand l'est aussi, son intérêt et le vôtre sont inséparables. Les Seigneurs ont tenu à votre égard une conduite despotique; ils se font efforcés de la continuer; les Marchands au contraire ont uni leurs efforts aux vôtres pour vous procurer un gouvernement libre et des lois équitables, qui vous assurent le libre exercice de votre Religion.

Pour vous convaincre combien nous avons vos intérêts à cœur, pour vous montrer notre zèle honnête pour le bien-être et la prospérité des citoyens Canadiens, au lieu d'imiter l'indigne exemple de l'auteur en question, nous nous proposons de vous indiquer la nature et les conséquences d'une élection, et quelles sont les qualifications que doivent avoir les représentans que vous élirez, soit Marchands, ou Seigneurs.

QUEBEC, 12 Mai, 1792.

Probus.

Aux Electeurs du Bas Canada, et à ceux du  
Comté et des Villes de Québec en particulier /  
To the Electors of Lower Canada and those  
of the County and Towns of Quebec in  
particular. Probus [John Young?].  
Québec City: Samuel Neilson, 1792.  
Pamphlet.

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative nos. C-54628 and C-54631).

## A French-English Clash in the Quebec Assembly, 1805

From the very first meeting of the Legislative Assembly, its members quickly divided themselves into two parties. The British party consisted of British officials and merchants who were interested in the commercial and demographic development of the English part of the population. They wished to control the Assembly in order to vote laws in their interest. They wished ultimately to see Quebec an English colony and French-Canadians assimilated. The British party generally received strong support from the Governor and his officials.

The French-Canadians grouped together in the *Parti canadien* comprised notaries, lawyers, doctors, surveyors, some artisans and shop-keepers, and well-to-do farmers. They extolled the British constitution and wished to use their rights under it to protect and promote the *nation canadienne*.

The struggle between the two parties very often revolved around control of finances. The British party exploded into bitter denunciations of the *Parti canadien*, for instance, in 1805 when the French Canadian majority in the Assembly passed a bill allowing taxes on commerce — not land, as the merchants had requested — for the building of new jails in Québec and Montreal. The proposed taxes are outlined in the resolutions reproduced here from the *Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada*.

A vote in the Lower Canadian (Quebec) House of Assembly in April 1794, a few months after its first session opened, authorized the printing of its proceedings in both French and English. The publication of its *Journal* was awarded to John Neilson, Samuel's successor. His firm continued to print the *Journals* until the Rebellion of 1837. The National Archives has a complete original set of these publications.



of the Receiver General of this Province, or which may be hereafter in his hands, as the same may be wanted, and that shall have arisen from duties imposed by authority of the Legislature of this Province.

RESOLVED, That a New Gaol is indispensably necessary at *Quebec*.

RESOLVED, That the said Gaol should be built at the expense of the Province.

RESOLVED, That a sum not exceeding nine thousand pounds will be necessary to pay for building the said Gaol.

RESOLVED, That the said sum of nine thousand pounds shall be taken from any of the unappropriated monies now in the hands of the Receiver General, or which may be hereafter in his hands, as the same may be wanted, and that shall have arisen from duties imposed by the authority of the Legislature of this Province.

RESOLVED, That a duty of two pounds ten shillings on every hundred pounds be raised and levied on all goods, wares, merchandise and effects whatsoever which at any time hereafter shall be sold at Public Vendue, Auction or Outcry, by any Auctioneer or Vendue Master, or any Public Notary, or any other person whatsoever, except on the goods, effects and merchandise of deceased persons and insolvent debtors, and except on lands, houses and other immovables whatsoever, and ships, vessels and effects and merchandise wrecked or damaged at sea or in the river *Saint Lawrence*, and sold for the benefit of owners or under writers: And excepting also all manner of property moveable and immovable appertaining to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and except also the moveable and immovable effects which shall be sold by execution.

RESOLVED,

pris actuellement entre les mains du Receveur Général de cette Province, ou qui pourront être ci-après entre ses mains, à mesure qu'elle sera requise, et qui proviendront des Droits imposés par l'autorité de la Législature de cette Province.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'une nouvelle prison est indispensablement nécessaire à *Quebec*.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que la dite Prison devrait être bâtie aux frais de la Province.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'une somme n'exédant point neuf mille livres, sera nécessaire pour payer la bâtisse de la dite Prison.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que la dite somme de neuf mille livres sera prise sur quelques uns des argens non appropriés actuellement entre les mains du Receveur Général de cette Province, ou qui pourront être ci-après entre ses mains, à mesure qu'elle sera requise, et qui proviendront des Droits imposés par l'autorité de la Législature de cette Province.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'un Droit de deux livres dix chellins par chaque cent livres, soit prélevé sur toutes les marchandises et effets quelconques, qui à l'avenir seront vendus par vente public, à l'encan ou enchère, par un Encanteur, ou Notaire public, ou toute autre personne quelconque, à l'exception des effets et marchandises appartenant à des personnes décedées, ou à des débiteurs insolubles; et excepté les terres, maisons et immeubles quelconques; de même que les navires, vaisseaux, effets et marchandises naufragés ou endommagés sur mer ou dans le fleuve *St. Laurent*, et qui seront vendus pour le bénéfice des propriétaires ou assureurs; et excepté aussi les meubles et immeubles de quelque nature qu'ils soient, qui appartiendront à sa Majesté, ses héritiers et successeurs; et excepté aussi les biens meubles et immeubles qui seront vendus par exécution.

RESOLU,

RESOLVED, That the following duties be imposed and levied on all teas that shall be imported into this Province by land or water.

On Bohea Tea, the pound weight, two pence.

On Souchong or other Black Teas, the pound weight, four pence.

On Hyson Tea, the pound weight, six pence.

On all other Green Teas, the pound weight, four pence.

RESOLVED, That on all Spirits and Strong Liquors that shall be imported into this Province, by land or water, an additional duty of three pence the gallon be imposed, levied and raised.

RESOLVED, That on all Wines that shall be imported into this Province, an additional duty of three pence per gallon, be imposed and levied over and above all other duties hitherto imposed.

RESOLVED, That on all Mellasses and Syrups that shall be imported into this Province by land or water, an additional duty of two pence the gallon be imposed, raised and levied.

On motion of Mr. De Salaberry, seconded by Mr. Grant,

ORDERED, That the question of concurrence be now severally put on the resolutions of the Committee.

And the first resolution of the Committee was again read, and, upon the question, agreed unto by the House.

The

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que les Droits suivants soient imposés et prélevés sur tous les Thés qui seront importés dans cette Province, par terre ou par eau, Savoir:

Sur le Thé boue, par livre pesant (3d.) deux deniers.

Sur le Souchong et autres Thés noirs, la livre pesant (4d.) quatre deniers.

Sur le Thé Hyson: la livre pesant (6d.) ou six deniers.

Sur les autres Thés verts, la livre pesant (4d.) quatre deniers.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, qu'il soit imposé et levé un Droit additionnel de trois deniers par gallon sur tous Esprits et Liqueurs fortes qui seront importés dans cette Province, par terre ou par eau.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que sur tous les Vins qui seront importés dans cette Province, un Droit additionnel de trois deniers par gallon soit imposé et levé, en sus de tous autres Droits jusqu'à présent imposés.

RESOLU, que c'est l'opinion de ce Comité, que sur la Mellaïe et les Sirops qui seront importés dans cette Province, par terre ou par eau, un Droit additionnel de deux deniers par gallon soit imposé et levé.

Sur motion de Mr. De Salaberry, secondé par Mr. Grant,

ORDONNE, que la question de concurrence soit maintenant séparément mise sur les résolutions du Comité.

La première résolution du Comité a été lue de nouveau, et sur la question mise, a été accordée par la Chambre.

La

## Governor Craig and the Suppression of the *Parti canadien*, 1810

As the *Parti canadien* continued to vigorously push its programs, an atmosphere of crisis developed. A stern pro-British Governor, Sir James Craig (1748–1812) — pictured here — dissolved the legislature twice, in 1809 and 1810. Finally, in the middle of the 1810 electoral campaign, the Governor took advantage of some daring articles that had appeared in the French Canadian party's paper, *Le Canadien*, to seize its press and imprison its editors and some of its distributors — more than twenty persons in all. With its chief members in jail, the *Parti canadien* experienced a leadership crisis that it did not resolve until the late 1820s. The *Parti* was relatively quiescent, and for a period Quebec politics exhibited at least a surface calm.





*His Excellency Sir James Henry  
Craig . . . .* Anonymous. Hand-coloured  
mezzotint. 32.7 × 25.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-24888).

## Nova Scotia

The Loyalists and disbanded soldiers who came to Nova Scotia during and after the American Revolution created a tremendous surge in its population — they increased it by two-thirds — and their coming can be said to mark the effective beginning of British Nova Scotia. One result was the separation of New Brunswick and Cape Breton from Nova Scotia as separate colonies. Cape Breton was reattached in 1820. The Loyalist John Wentworth (1737–1820) used his long term as Governor of Nova Scotia (1792–1808) to establish Loyalist control of the higher levels of government. As a result, Loyalists did not find it necessary to push their claims vigorously, and distinct Loyalist influence disappeared rapidly.

Wentworth clashed constantly with a “country party” led by William Cottnam Tonge (1764–circa 1825). Despite Wentworth’s efforts, the Assembly gained control over the disposition of road moneys, the chief source of local patronage. Since the military governors who followed did not challenge this arrangement, relative political calm marked Nova Scotian politics until well into the 1830s.

This map is an inset taken from Purdy’s *Map of Cabotia*, which covers large portions of Canada east of Lake Superior. The *Cabotia* map is unique in that it is the only large-scale map of British North America of the time that has such a broad scope of area coverage and information. The Nova Scotia section gives detailed information on settlements and especially on roads. A note explains why St. John’s Island was renamed Prince Edward Island.



*The Province of Nova Scotia with Part of New Brunswick & c. . . .* John Purdy.  
Map: hand-coloured, engraved,  
35.5 × 105.0 cm.  
Inset in *A Map of Cabotia Comprehending the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New-Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with Breton Island, Newfoundland & c. . . .*  
Engraved by Thompson and Hall.  
London: Whittle and Laurie, 1814.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 98208).



## New Brunswick

New Brunswick was pre-eminently “the Loyalist province.” Its population, less than 4,000 before 1784 (including Acadians who had returned after the expulsion), was suddenly augmented by approximately 14,000 Loyalist refugees who came to the north shore of the Bay of Fundy as well as the St. Croix River Valley and established their major settlements along the Saint John River Valley.

The “Negro settlement” mentioned on this map of settlement along the Saint John River is a reminder that 3,000 of the Loyalists coming to the Maritimes were blacks. The map shows fairly compact settlement along the river between Saint John, the commercial centre at the mouth, and Fredericton, the government capital. Virgin, almost impenetrable forest that covered most of the province encouraged this settlement pattern. Roads, as can be seen, were extremely limited. The mills dotted along the river were a witness to an early optimism concerning agriculture and lumbering, but the quality of the land was poor and settlers could not compete effectively with cheaper American timber production. Settlers began to leave and the economy became depressed. Economic difficulties led to intense controversies over regional, social and religious issues in politics, with a very vocal opposition led by the brilliant and erratic Scot, James Glenie (1750–1817).

As lumbering became more prosperous in the early nineteenth century, however, tensions subsided. Those years saw Scottish and Irish immigration into the colony that would eventually submerge the Loyalist element. Encouraged by lumbering, population began to spread out from the shore and the river valleys in a much less compact fashion.



A Map of the Great River St. John & Waters . . . Robert Campbell.  
Engraved by S.I. Neele. London: Robert Campbell, 1788. Map: engraved,  
59.9 x 40.2 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 254).

## Prince Edward Island Through Rose-Coloured Glasses, 1779

The Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island after 1799) experienced major problems that induced some of its large landowners to advertise for settlers.

In 1767, sixty-seven townships of 20,000 acres each had been granted by lottery to military officers and others to whom the British government owed favours. The proprietors were required to settle their lands to fulfil the terms of their grants, but few made an effort to do so. The island had vast areas of undeveloped land, yet those who wished to settle had to pay steep rents or purchase fees. As a result, PEI was largely neglected. The population of Newfoundland, in fact, increased more quickly.

In this example of slick salesmanship, one of the proprietors, Robert Clark, attempts to attract "Industrious Farmers and Tradesmen with some Property" who in PEI "may live in a comfortable manner, unknown to people of their station in this country [England]." Clark, perhaps not surprisingly, ignores the problems of the Island and promotes its natural advantages. He describes it, on the page shown here, as being like England only much better — a veritable Garden of Eden.



A

SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ISLAND of ST. JOHN,

In the GULPH of St. LAWRENCE,

N O R T H - A M E R I C A.

THE ISLAND of St. JOHN is situate in the Gulph of the River St. Lawrence, between 46 and 47 degrees North latitude, and about 62 degrees West longitude from London; its extent about 140 miles in length, and 30 miles in breadth; is contiguous to Nova-Scotia, Cape-Breton, Newfoundland, the Bay of Chaleurs, and Canada; is governed by a Governor, appointed by the Crown, a Council and an Assembly, chosen from the most respectable Proprietors and other Inhabitants on the Island, empowered to make laws for the safety of the subject, and consonant to those of Great-Britain. Several Towns and Settlements are already formed, and Fortifications are erected and garriſoned.

The Climate is healthy and temperate, not subject to Fogs (so frequent in Newfoundland) nor to the sudden changes of Weather we experience in England. The Winter, which sets in about December, continues till April, during this period it is colder than in England, but not so severe as to injure the Cattle that are kept out and foddered, nor any ways to prevent the exertions of the Inhabitants in their various employments; the Sun appears with great brightness, producing serene Weather and a clear Sky. In April, the Spring opens, the Trees blossom, and Vegetation is in great forwardness; the Husbandman now prepares the Ground for Seed. In May, the face of the whole Country wears a delightful aspect, the uncommon Verdure, and natural Beauties of the place at this season, are not to be excelled. The Farmer now begins to sow and plant, which is generally accomplished by the middle of June; when done, they betake themselves to Fishing; the Husbandry requiring but little attention for the present. Vegetation is so exceeding quick, that in July, Pease, &c. are gathered, which were sown the preceding Month. The season of Harvest now approaches, and is uncommonly fine, attended with soft refreshing showers; indeed the whole Autumn is more serene and regular than in England.

In

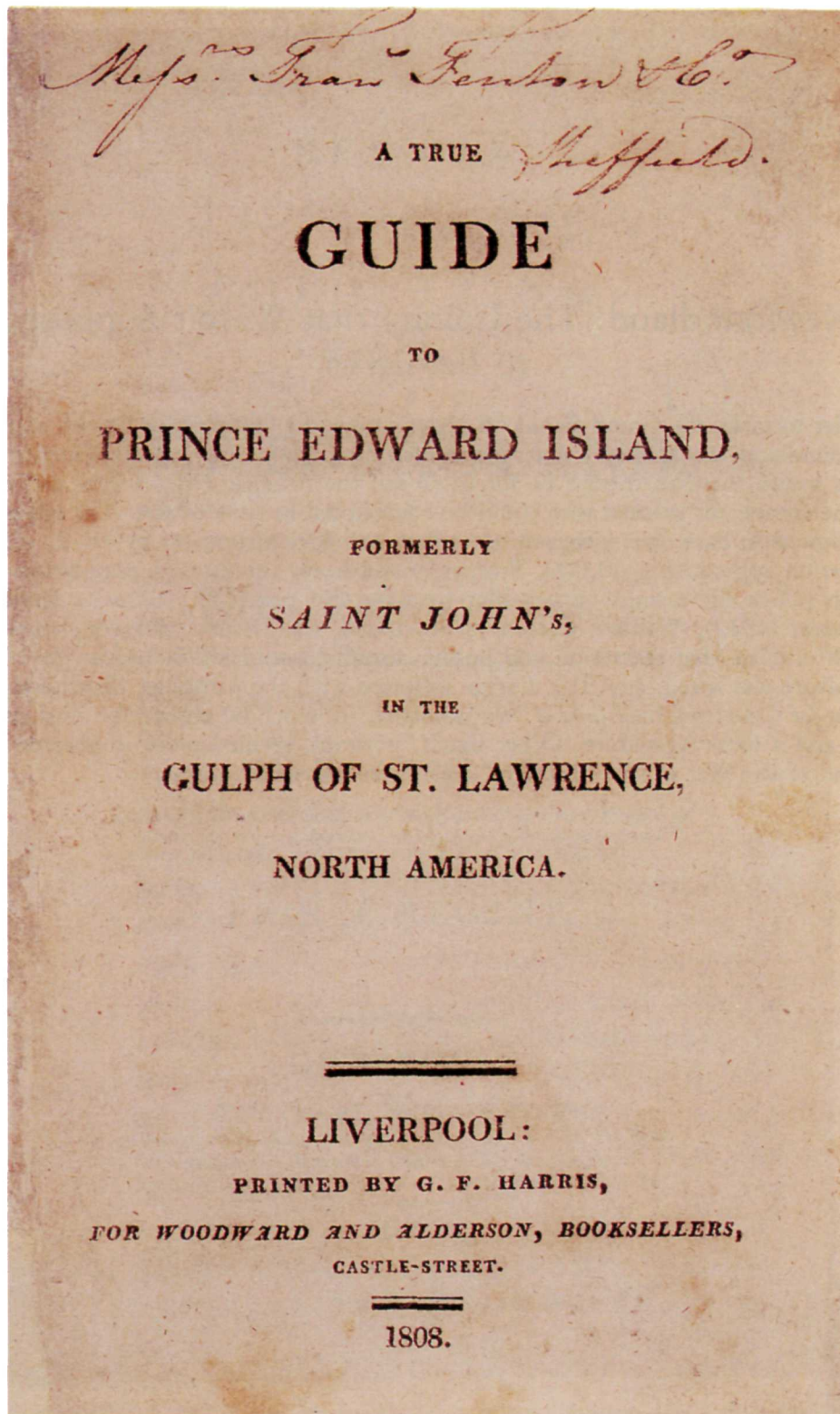
*A Short Description of the Island of St. John, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, North America.* Robert Clark. [London?], 1779, p. 1.

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative no. C-130540).

## A Prince Edward Island Exposé, 1808

In this pamphlet, an anonymous resident of Prince Edward Island sets out with humour and determination to right the false impression given by the last item and other similar productions. He has lived, the author says, for twenty years on the Island and has seen “establishments landed for the most improved and refined agriculture, when there was not a good farmer on the Island; splendid curricles and wheeled carriages, when there was but one road, and that a short one, sufficient for a small cart; illumination lamps, when there was scarcely a window sufficiently large to hold a dozen; and opera hats, when the hall doors would hardly admit them on the wearer’s head. Poor people have been told of spontaneous crops in the wilderness; and cleared lands in places where they hardly find their way twenty yards straight forward.”

The land question dominated politics on the Island from 1763 until it entered Confederation in 1873.



*A True Guide to Prince Edward Island, formerly Saint John's, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, North America.* Anonymous. Liverpool: G.F. Harris for Woodward and Alderson, 1808. Pamphlet. Title page.

National Archives of Canada: Library (Negative no. C-130530).



## Newfoundland: The Colony that Wasn't Supposed to Be, 1813

In order to make the Grand Banks off Newfoundland a “nursery for British seamen,” Newfoundland was officially not supposed to have any permanent settlement. Fishermen would then, in theory, be forced to sail the Atlantic twice a year and would become competent seamen who could be conscripted in time of war. The island was not allowed to have civil government or even any agriculture; yet by 1812, it had a population approaching 40,000. Prosperity and heavy increases in population made British policy increasingly untenable. In a forceful pamphlet, *Letter to Members of Parliament* (1812), William Carson (1770–1843), the District Surgeon, convinced British officials that starvation and public disorder would follow unless the ban on agriculture was lifted. In 1813, Carson followed with the pamphlet illustrated here, *Reasons for Colonizing the Island of Newfoundland*, in which he argued for civil government and a local legislature. Other issues, however, seemed more important when the end of the War of 1812 brought depression and social unrest.

REASONS  
FOR  
COLONIZING  
THE ISLAND OF  
NEWFOUNDLAND,

IN A LETTER ADDRESSED TO  
*THE INHABITANTS.*

BY  
WILLIAM CARSON, M. D.

*Author of a letter to the Members of Parliament of the United Kingdom of  
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, on the address of the Merchants and  
Inhabitants of SAINT JOHN'S, in the Island of  
NEWFOUNDLAND, to the*

PRINCE REGENT.

GREENOCK:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM SCOTT,  
AND SOLD BY SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS, LONDON; ALSO BY THE BOOK-  
SELLERS OF GREENOCK, GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH.

1813.

*Reasons for Colonizing the Island of  
Newfoundland, in a Letter Addressed to the  
Inhabitants.* William Carson, M.D.  
(1770–1843). Greenock, Scotland:  
W. Scott, 1813. Title page.

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative no. C-130544).

# *Economy*

If the future Canada consisted of a series of fragmented and isolated communities in the years after 1760, its economy provided an important if tenuous source of unity. Shared occupations in the fur trade, lumbering and the fisheries gave individuals a common bond. The harvesting and shipping of fur, wood and fish linked areas of British North America to each other and to the outside world.

The single most important export of Canada in 1760 was fur. Obtained from the native peoples in the northern and western interior by two major transportation routes, one operating from Montreal via the Great Lakes and the other through Hudson and James Bays into the interior, fur linked Quebec to a vast transcontinental hinterland. Fur, however, rapidly declined in importance after 1800 as supplies were depleted, fashions changed and the Napoleonic Wars disrupted its markets.

Fortunately, the Napoleonic Wars created a market in Britain for lumber from all of central and eastern British North America — especially for masts for naval vessels. Lumber thus rapidly replaced fur as Canada's chief export. Expanded lumber exports in turn sparked more local production of ships to carry it.

Their fisheries linked the Maritimes and Newfoundland to Europe, and they prospered in the later phases of the Napoleonic Wars, because of links to the West Indies.



## Tables Reveal the Extent and Value of the Montreal Fur Trade, 1767

These informative tables prepared in 1767 by the Commissary of Indian Affairs at Fort Michillimackinac on upper Lake Michigan tell much about the fur traders who operated from Montreal, their sponsors, cargoes, destinations and the value of their furs.

The Montreal fur traders travelled via the Great Lakes and westwards to the Prairies. By the late 1760s they had reached to the Saskatchewan River. A number of traders, as the tables show, operated down the Mississippi deep into what is now the United States.

The many names listed emphasize that the Montreal trade was composed in this period of a number of small, independent firms. The French dominated, but the number of English names underlines the growing Anglo-Saxon influence.

Furs were very important to the economy of Quebec. At this date, they were almost eighty per cent of its exports.

This document, like the 1775 census of Nova Scotia (see Item 19), came to the second Earl of Dartmouth for his information in his capacity as a British official concerned with the colonies. Both documents demonstrate the breadth and detail of matters in the colonies with which imperial officials were expected to concern themselves.

An Account of the Number of Canoes				An Account of the Number of Canoes			
Canoe	Owner	Number of Canoes	Value	Canoe	Owner	Number of Canoes	Value
1	Benjamin	2	500	1	Benjamin	2	500
2	Benjamin	2	500	2	Benjamin	2	500
3	Benjamin	2	500	3	Benjamin	2	500
4	Benjamin	2	500	4	Benjamin	2	500
5	Benjamin	2	500	5	Benjamin	2	500
6	Benjamin	2	500	6	Benjamin	2	500
7	Benjamin	2	500	7	Benjamin	2	500
8	Benjamin	2	500	8	Benjamin	2	500
9	Benjamin	2	500	9	Benjamin	2	500
10	Benjamin	2	500	10	Benjamin	2	500
11	Benjamin	2	500	11	Benjamin	2	500
12	Benjamin	2	500	12	Benjamin	2	500
13	Benjamin	2	500	13	Benjamin	2	500
14	Benjamin	2	500	14	Benjamin	2	500
15	Benjamin	2	500	15	Benjamin	2	500
16	Benjamin	2	500	16	Benjamin	2	500
17	Benjamin	2	500	17	Benjamin	2	500
18	Benjamin	2	500	18	Benjamin	2	500
19	Benjamin	2	500	19	Benjamin	2	500
20	Benjamin	2	500	20	Benjamin	2	500
21	Benjamin	2	500	21	Benjamin	2	500
22	Benjamin	2	500	22	Benjamin	2	500
23	Benjamin	2	500	23	Benjamin	2	500
24	Benjamin	2	500	24	Benjamin	2	500
25	Benjamin	2	500	25	Benjamin	2	500
26	Benjamin	2	500	26	Benjamin	2	500
27	Benjamin	2	500	27	Benjamin	2	500
28	Benjamin	2	500	28	Benjamin	2	500
29	Benjamin	2	500	29	Benjamin	2	500
30	Benjamin	2	500	30	Benjamin	2	500
31	Benjamin	2	500	31	Benjamin	2	500
32	Benjamin	2	500	32	Benjamin	2	500
33	Benjamin	2	500	33	Benjamin	2	500
34	Benjamin	2	500	34	Benjamin	2	500
35	Benjamin	2	500	35	Benjamin	2	500
36	Benjamin	2	500	36	Benjamin	2	500
37	Benjamin	2	500	37	Benjamin	2	500
38	Benjamin	2	500	38	Benjamin	2	500
39	Benjamin	2	500	39	Benjamin	2	500
40	Benjamin	2	500	40	Benjamin	2	500
41	Benjamin	2	500	41	Benjamin	2	500
42	Benjamin	2	500	42	Benjamin	2	500
43	Benjamin	2	500	43	Benjamin	2	500
44	Benjamin	2	500	44	Benjamin	2	500
45	Benjamin	2	500	45	Benjamin	2	500
46	Benjamin	2	500	46	Benjamin	2	500
47	Benjamin	2	500	47	Benjamin	2	500
48	Benjamin	2	500	48	Benjamin	2	500
49	Benjamin	2	500	49	Benjamin	2	500
50	Benjamin	2	500	50	Benjamin	2	500
51	Benjamin	2	500	51	Benjamin	2	500
52	Benjamin	2	500	52	Benjamin	2	500
53	Benjamin	2	500	53	Benjamin	2	500
54	Benjamin	2	500	54	Benjamin	2	500
55	Benjamin	2	500	55	Benjamin	2	500
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57	Benjamin	2	500	57	Benjamin	2	500
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62	Benjamin	2	500	62	Benjamin	2	500
63	Benjamin	2	500	63	Benjamin	2	500
64	Benjamin	2	500	64	Benjamin	2	500
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73	Benjamin	2	500	73	Benjamin	2	500
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87	Benjamin	2	500	87	Benjamin	2	500
88	Benjamin	2	500	88	Benjamin	2	500
89	Benjamin	2	500	89	Benjamin	2	500
90	Benjamin	2	500	90	Benjamin	2	500
91	Benjamin	2	500	91	Benjamin	2	500
92	Benjamin	2	500	92	Benjamin	2	500
93	Benjamin	2	500	93	Benjamin	2	500
94	Benjamin	2	500	94	Benjamin	2	500
95	Benjamin	2	500	95	Benjamin	2	500
96	Benjamin	2	500	96	Benjamin	2	500
97	Benjamin	2	500	97	Benjamin	2	500
98	Benjamin	2	500	98	Benjamin	2	500
99	Benjamin	2	500	99	Benjamin	2	500
100	Benjamin	2	500	100	Benjamin	2	500

Return of Altry sent down from <i>Michelinmachinas</i> since June 28 until December 28 <sup>th</sup> 1867.		Amount of Alimony												850		Pounds of Alimony		
By whom sent	to what place sent	Flour	Wheat	Bar	Salt	Starch	Rice	Eggs	Panicle	Olive	Molasses	Sugar	Alcohol	Beer	Wine	Tea	Coffee	Spices
1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885
1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885
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1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1									

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, Dartmouth papers, MG 23,  
A 1, vol. 1, pp. 831-835.

## A Voyageur Signs Up with the North West Company, 1787

Joseph Laverdure, a Canadian voyageur, has made his "x" on this *engagement*, agreeing to the position, destination, terms and payment offered him in 1787 by the North West Company. In the twenty years since 1767, growing competition and increasing distances to unexhausted trapping grounds had forced individual Montreal traders to consolidate. A consortium of firms, the North West Company, had risen to dominate the trade. It is no accident that the other two names mentioned in the agreement, Pond and Grant, were English. English-speakers now controlled the Montreal trade, with French Canadians supplying only fifteen per cent of the trade goods. Working in the fur trade was still, however, very much part of Québécois life. In the 1780s, one third of all men of a suitable age were engaged in the fur trade at some time.

*Engagements* such as this one, as well as fur trade licences and export statistics, are valuable sources for studying who was involved in the fur trade, the areas of trade, the value of goods, and many other aspects of the trade. The National Archives holds many such documents in its government records as well as in its private papers.

Moi Joseph Laverdure m'engage volontairement  
 ment a Mons<sup>r</sup> Pond & la Societé du Nord  
 West pour retourner au Rabasca en qualité  
 de Devant Canoe promettant de faire mon  
 Devoir comme un fidelle & honette homme  
 doit et est obligé de faire, d'obéir mes Bour-  
 geois en tout ce qu'ils me Commanderont  
 de l'ette & honette sans permission du trait  
 pour la somme de Six cent livres argent  
 d'y en au double en argent de Montreal  
 double equipt 4 Carrot de Tabacac 2 Mouel  
 voir 3 Grand & 3 Petit Couteau 1/2 de Rang 1/2 de  
 de Rapade - fait au ~~La~~ Portage la Roche  
 le 9<sup>me</sup> de Juin 1787

Joseph Laverdure  
 Marqua

Joseph owes by Mr Ponds Book 547  
 1/2 Carrot Tobo - at Lac la Roche 30  
 577

His accat w<sup>t</sup> Mr Grant

Wages 600<sup>+</sup>

Engagement of Joseph Laverdure as a  
 voyageur with the North West Company,  
 9 June 1787.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
 Division, Charles Bell collection,  
 MG 19, A 30, unpaginated.



## Join the Hudson's Bay Company and See the World: A Recruiting Poster, circa 1815

The Hudson's Bay Company, because it conducted its trade through Hudson and James Bays, imported its labour by ship directly from Great Britain. It sometimes recruited employees with posters such as this. Many were Orkneymen from northern Scotland. These young men found life with the Company exotic, challenging and often profitable, but their work was also demanding, with long periods at isolated posts and few if any prospects of returning home until the end of their working lives.

Unlike the looser associations of Montreal fur traders, the Hudson's Bay Company was a single company with at least a theoretical monopoly of the fur trade on all lands drained by rivers flowing into Hudson and James Bays. Until the 1770s, the Company tended to sit complacently at its posts on the shores of the bays waiting for the Indians to come to it. Increasing competition from Montreal, however, drew the Company more actively into the interior.

# WANTED.

---

**A** FEW stout and active YOUNG MEN, for the service of the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, at their Factories and Settlements in AMERICA. The Wages to be given, will depend on the qualifications of each individual: very good hands may expect from £12. to £15. a year, besides a sufficient allowance of oatmeal, or other food equally good and wholesome. Each person must engage by contract for a period of THREE YEARS, at the end of which, he shall be brought home to Scotland, free of expence, unless he chuses to remain at the Settlements of the Company, where THIRTY ACRES of GOOD LAND will be granted, in *perpetual feu*, to every man who has conducted himself to the satisfaction of his employers. Those who are thus allowed to remain as settlers after the expiration of their service, may have their Families brought over to them by the Company at a moderate freight. Every man who chuses to make an allowance to his relations at home, may have any part of his wages regularly paid to them, *without charge or deduction*. No one will be hired, unless he can bring a satisfactory character for general good conduct, and particularly for honesty and sobriety; and unless he is also capable of enduring fatigue and hardship. Expert Boatmen will receive particular encouragement. Those who are desirous of engaging in this service, will please to specify their names, ages, and places of abode, as also their present station and employments, and may apply to

at

Advertisement for recruits for the Hudson's Bay Company. Early nineteenth-century broadside.

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative no. C-125856).

## Eyeball to Eyeball on Cat Lake: Fur Trade Rivalry Intensifies, 1790

This letter, a copy in a fur trade post journal, was written in 1790 by John McNab, the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Albany Fort on Hudson Bay. It dramatizes at a local level the increasingly fierce and sometimes violent competition between the Montreal and the Hudson Bay fur empires. McNab conveys to his colleague the unwelcome news that "an inundation of Canadians encircled our Inland settlements and one sat down within a few yards of one of the stations at Cat Lake. . . ."

Rising costs and depleting fur resources meant the rivals had to expand to survive, and they engaged in a trade war, leap-frogging each other's posts until in the next decade they had pushed through to the Pacific slope. At enormous cost, the Montreal trade won the race. By 1800, the number of furs that passed through Montreal was more than four times the number received by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Hudson's Bay Company required that detailed journals like this one be kept at all its posts. The journals are now invaluable sources not only for information on the fur trade, but on native peoples, local flora and fauna, diseases, weather and climate, and a host of other topics. Indeed, the Hudson's Bay Company records are the principal source for the early history of the Canadian West. The National Archives of Canada holds microfilm copies of the Hudson's Bay Company records to 1870; most of the originals are in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



Albany Fort. 27 June 1790

Dear Sir

Yours of the 1<sup>st</sup> Inst. rec<sup>d</sup> yesterday by your  
Indians.

Mr Davis left us the 5<sup>th</sup> Inst. & with Mr Thomas  
from Moore sailed for England on board the Sea Horse Capt.  
Richards the 15<sup>th</sup> Inst with above 15000 lbs. from hence.

Last fall an incursion of Canadians entered  
our Indian Settlements & one cut down within a few yards  
of one of the Stations at Cat Lake five days ago. I had letters  
from the several Masters with the alarming news of their  
mischief influence, they did not then exceed 2000. among them  
all & there is not now above 1000 in the Fort. A complement  
is already appointed for another post & if my wishes are  
attained one more will be effected before the winter sets in.  
Oyewards of 20,000 Beavers in trading goods have been sent  
since our River opened which was on the 1<sup>st</sup> May without  
any deluge for these seasons.

Correspondents visited us with business in April  
last & then had no knowledge of their debt with you. They  
said it was reserved at their hunting grounds notwithstanding they  
paid 200 Beavers in part, here and debited debt which I would  
not count to, of course you will receive the remainder next  
year. I have not in your List also paid 10 Beavers of  
your debt. Others shall pay what is due if they come here.  
In behalf of the several gentlemen I offer their respects to  
yourself and Officers united with those of

Dear Sir

Your obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

John M<sup>c</sup> Nab.

Letter, John McNab to John Ballanden,  
Albany Fort, 27 June 1790, Severn  
House Journal.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, MG 19, D 2, vol. 3,  
unpaginated.



## The Founding of the Red River Colony, 1812

Miles McDonnell (1767–1828) penned this letter to his sponsor, Lord Selkirk, just before leaving York Factory on Hudson Bay with a small band of Scottish settlers. These settlers would establish a colony, called Red River, near the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, from which the modern province of Manitoba would arise. The settlement was a plan of Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk (1771–1820), who had gained a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Red River Colony, set in the heart of territory that the North West Company considered its own preserve, further increased tensions between the companies.

McDonnell's letter is his personal copy of record that he wrote in his letter book, a practice common until the beginning of the twentieth century.

York Factory 4<sup>th</sup> July 1812

My Lord

Sunday afternoon 23<sup>rd</sup> June the ice moved a little in front of our Encampment & cleared the mouth of the Creek our boats were in, but remained still fast because I expected we might be going up ~~about~~ a mile above Seal Island and join the south Channel which was open. With this intention every thing was embarked & we left the place at 12 o'clock next day. Much ice was drifting we had four boats - two of them very large & unmanageable. I got round with 3 men in a small boat & arrived at the Factory at 6 o'clock next morning 23<sup>rd</sup> June. The other boats had back - got entangled in the ice, & by the awkwardness of the people, they being chiefly Iron-ore-people, one large boat got adrift & was abandoned by the men. She contained the stores & luggage of myself & party & was found by an Indian two days afterwards, stranded on south side the river near the Factory, partly completely wrecked & the ladies still in her. She had floated there by means of a quantity of boards & bars that had been placed under the ladies. I sent a party from here & had all the things saved with little damage from having got wet. The ice opened at the Seal Islands, & the rest of my people came here 25<sup>th</sup> June.

Mr. And thought it best that I should wait till the people from inland should arrive. no particular party could be assigned me till then. The men were in the mean time employed in transporting my stores along with the <sup>car</sup> goods to the mouth of White River. Messrs Bird, Sinclair & Harris arrived the 23<sup>rd</sup> June. & on the 24<sup>th</sup> Instant the men were divided. 22 in my portion out of 49, all the are a portion of last years impostation. The people are so fluctuating that

## A “Wooden” Country: New Brunswick, 1784

British North America’s early colonists were well aware of the value of her forests, as this petition from the Loyalist inhabitants of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, clearly demonstrates.

All the colonies engaged in lumbering, producing squared timber, boards and planks, and staves and hoops for barrels. The early market for timber, however, was mainly local, and development was small-scale and without much specialization. Two decades later, a major war and greatly increased demand from Great Britain would suddenly and dramatically turn lumbering into a major industry.

This official copy of a petition comes from the papers of Ward Chipman senior and junior. Chipman senior was a Loyalist from Massachusetts who held important posts during the American Revolution. Both father and son held a variety of offices in New Brunswick, and their papers deal with an extensive range of topics.

297

Gentlemen

St Andrews 26<sup>th</sup> May 1784

We had the honour to receive your favor of the 18<sup>th</sup> instant with the enclosed report to, and have laid them before the Inhabitants of this town at a Meeting called for the purpose of considering the same.

We have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Meeting were unanimous in the opinion of the increasing & adventurous coming to the Inhabitants on the North side of the Bay of Fundy by the intended from Halifax the present state of Government & the innumerable of the great advantages which would attend the establishment of a New Province to comprehend all the Settlement on the North side of the Bay; and they earnestly wish that an application for that purpose which appears to be the general voice of the Inhabitants may be attended to by the British Legislature.

We have likewise the distinction to acquaint you that in the Grand Bay of Passamaquoddy alone is a sufficient quantity of Wood and other Lumber can in a short time be furnished to supply the greatest part of the British West India Islands; likewise large quantities of Sticks, spruce & other Lumber suitable for the European Market. At the first of our letters only arrived here in relation to the fact we have already sent a number of

Gentlemen

298

Cargoes of Lumber to the West India and several Ports in Nova Scotia; and as more Saw Mills are now erecting our Exports of Lumber will rapidly increase. There being no doubt that the Province of Nova Scotia & Canada can amply supply the British and West India Markets with all the kind of Lumber, generally exported from North America — all our Inhabitants most earnestly wish that the British Legislature may in their wisdom think proper to continue to these provinces the exclusive privileges of supplying the British West India with Fish and Lumber. And also grant to them Bounties on the Exportation of those Articles which will greatly add to the encouragement & increase of Trade & Fishery. We have wrote you this fully at the unanimous desire of the Inhabitants of St. Andrews at their Meeting this day — And have the Honour to be

To  
Messrs. Fredrick Houser  
George Leonard  
Millison Lyne  
The Horsfield  
William Leonard  
James Blair  
William Hosen  
Agents for the Loyalist  
on the St. John River

Gentlemen, Yours Most  
Obedient Servants  
Robert Pagan  
Gallin Campbell  
Wm. Gallop  
Jas. Pote

True Copy



## Hull to Québec City or Bust: The Lumber Boom is Born, 1806

This little book, although not very impressive at first sight, tells the tale of the first raft of timber to pass down the Ottawa River, bound for Québec City under the pilotage of Philemon Wright (1761–1839).

Wright records that he peddled his wares as he went. On 12 June, for instance, he noted that he sold “450 pces of bords to the priest of South Buck parrish at six dolers per hundred.” He had a long and anxious time in Québec City “a-waitin” before he finally sold his raft in October, but he had pioneered a route for timber on the Ottawa that continued to be used until only a few years ago.

What probably induced Wright’s venture in the first place were new British tariffs designed to encourage British North American timber production, increasingly needed by Britain in her struggles in the Napoleonic Wars. Even more attractive tariffs were put in place in 1808, and the lumber boom began in earnest.

In 1809, ninety thousand ship-loads of timber — ten ship-loads a day — crossed the Atlantic from British North America. The British American colonies suddenly accounted for two-thirds of the pine timber imported into Great Britain. The totals would continue to rise; the colonies had become Great Britain’s lumberyard.

Personal economic records like this one of Philemon Wright — order books, account books, ledgers, business correspondence, and so on — exist in substantial quantities in the National Archives of Canada and can be used to study many aspects of Canada’s early economy in detail.

11 of June 1806 at 3 hours after  
 sunset with a Craft Boat or  
 intended for Quebe 12

---

hands on board

Philemon Wright	
Tibanus Wright	
Marion Esprit	
John Turner	
London Oxford	
The Brio of 3 Bushels of wheat	1 6 3
14 lb of Butter	0 14 0
8 lb of Salt pork	0 8 0
fish from M. Marsh	0 5 0
4 Axes	
1 ditto brand	
4 Angers	
cutting utensils	
went on wine east	
12 sunrise was 11 o'clock	
wind west	
fell into the Bay above the	
low 100 house and below	
stage 4 hours the wind blew	
we drifted on	2 13 0

Entry for 11-12 June 1806 from  
 Philemon Wright's Raft Book.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
 Division, Wright papers, MG 24, D 8,  
 vol. 114, p. 12.

## An Early Concern with Conservation, 1808

British North American colonists often viewed trees simply as giant weeds impeding the cultivation of their land, but even they could be shocked by the wanton devastation caused by the plundering of forests for tall pines suitable for ships' masts. In this petition, some citizens in eastern Upper Canada complained of one firm that had been given a government contract to cut masts:

Where they have Fallen them large Trees it's like a wind fall and in Turning and Clearing ways to take These Masts away they Destroy many Peoples whole lots . . . Those People . . . have done more damage than can be conceived, by cuting [*sic*] Hundreds of trees down that they do not mean to take away and half cut many others that the Wind will Blow down, and Mostly all as good timber as they take away. . . .

This petition comes from a continuing series of letters and petitions to the government of Upper Canada about a wide variety of daily concerns. Government records, besides telling much of politics, administration and economic development, often throw light on day-to-day life.

002849

Edwardsburg 20<sup>th</sup> January 1808

C 10

We take the liberty to lay before you the  
 Composition and much Injury the Contractors of roads and  
 their workmen has done in the District of Schumacher and Eastern  
 they have cut down without reserve all the fine Timber as far  
 as they want which covers the greatest part of the front of the  
 District back to the Third Concession and along the River  
 as far as the River is navigable from Leeds through the  
 and clearing of lands of between Thirty and Forty feet wide  
 and not only that but where they have fallen them large  
 Trees it has a wind fall in in turning and clearing ways  
 to take these Machine way they destroy many People's whole  
 Particularly those that has but three Acres in breast and now  
 Christians to do this Damage without any Reparation —  
 We can assure you that there is no People more ready to  
 Obey our Sovereign Lord the King and his Representatives  
 than the People of this Country, When the order is shown  
 from his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, it shall  
 be strictly Obeyed but these People came on without  
 any Orders by main force and have done more Damage  
 than can be conceived by cutting thousands of trees down  
 that they do not mean to take away and half cut many  
 others that the Wind will blow down, and Mostly all  
 as good timber as they take away, because they are not of  
 the

002850

the Length and since they want, and that is all lost to his Majesty  
 and to the owners of the lands —

Mr. Gifford from Quebec went through  
 this Country with a very high and arbitrary hand threaten-  
 ing all those that found fault with the Depredations that his  
 or their workmen do on our lands —

We have the Honor to

Sir

Your Most Obedient and  
 Humble Servant

Wm Fraser  
 Tho Fraser

the Hon.<sup>ble</sup>

Mr. Scott Esq.

Chief Justice of  
 the Province

Letter, William and Thomas Fraser to  
 Thomas Scott, Chief Justice of Upper  
 Canada, Edwardsburg, 20 January 1808.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
 Division, Civil Secretary's  
 Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries,  
 RG 5, A 1, vol. 7, pp. 2849-2850.

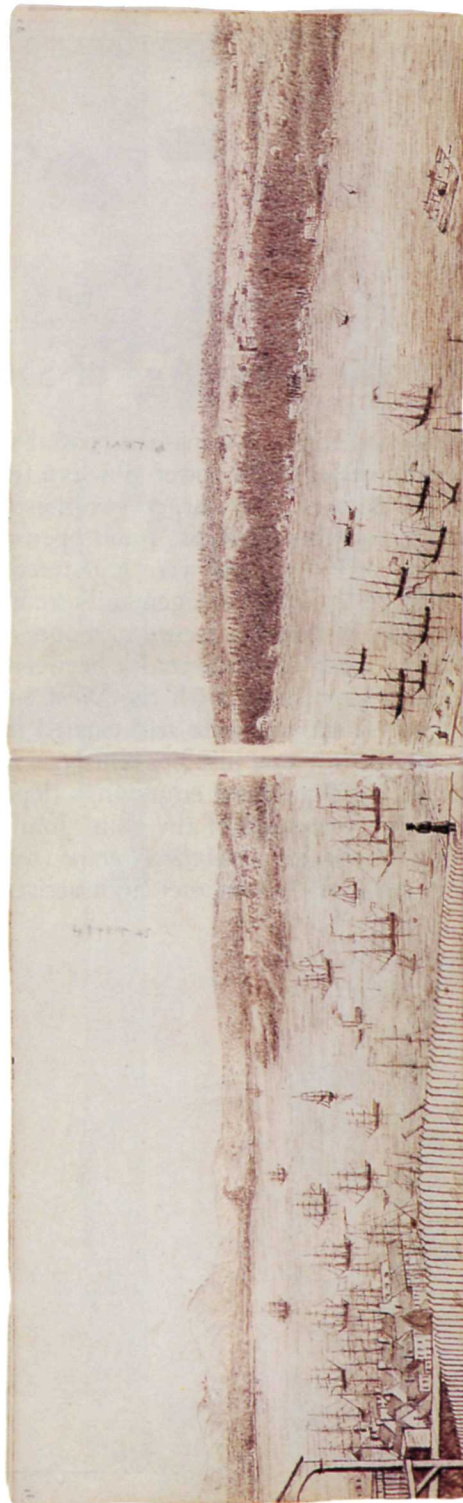


## Wooden Ships for Wooden Cargoes, circa 1815–1820

This view shows the harbour at Québec City crammed with ships as it would have been most years after 1808. To the right is a large timber raft.

Increased trade in timber meant that more ships were needed to carry it. In 1800, only about 150 ships sailed from Québec City. Ten years later, a peak number of 661 ships manned by 6,600 crew members sailed from the port. The number of ships built locally doubled in the same decade. The growth of Quebec's shipping was more than matched in the Maritimes and Newfoundland.

This view is by Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826), the wife of a government official and one of the few female artists in Canada in this period whose work has survived. The National Archives holds a sketchbook with 51 views as well as 14 watercolours and sketches by Mrs. Hale.



View of part of the lower town and harbour, Québec City. Elizabeth Frances Hale (1774–1826). Pen and ink, early 1800s. 12.8 × 20.6 cm. Folio. *In* Hale Sketchbook.

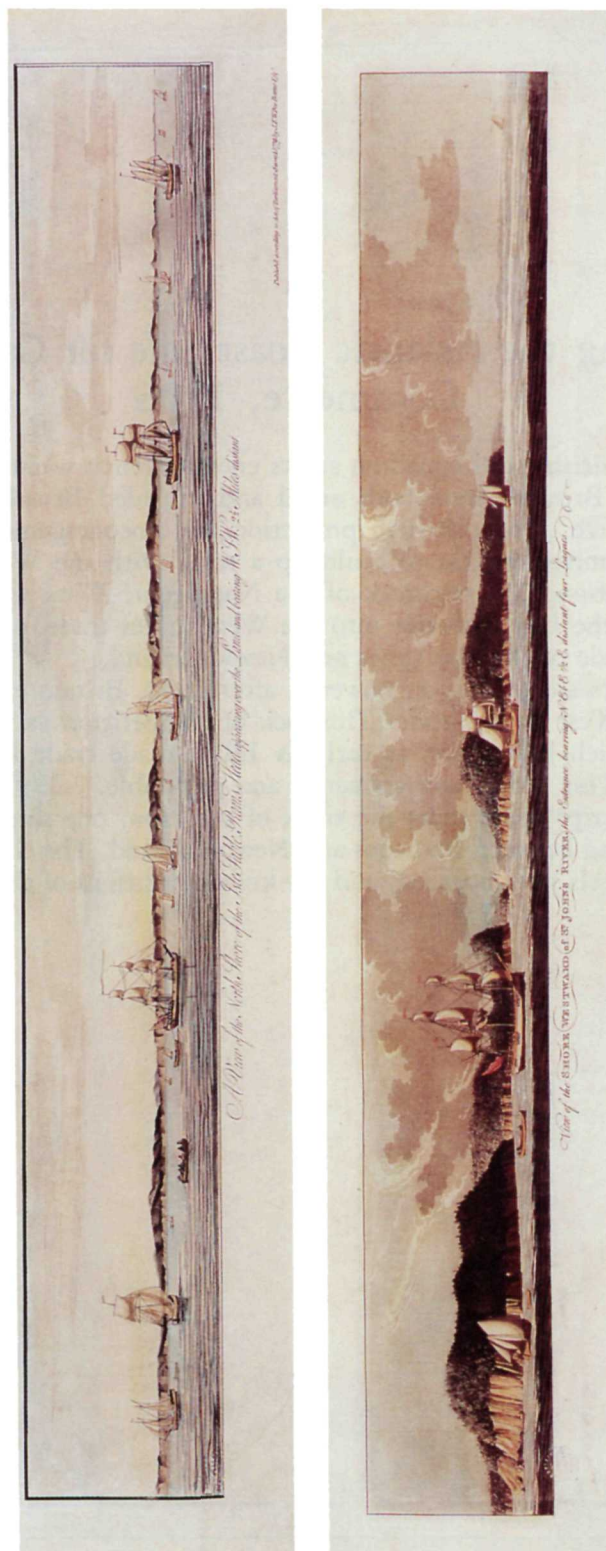
National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division, Hale Sketchbook, pp. 31–32  
(Negative no. C-131287).

## The Dawning of the Great Age of Sail, 1760–1815

Ships like these were a common sight in Canadian coastal waters between 1760 and 1815. The large three-masted vessel in the lower view is a fine example of a merchant ship of the mid-eighteenth century. The larger two-masted vessels are schooners, while the smaller vessels are probably shallops, small open or half-decked schooners.

In 1811, an impressive 1,300 vessels were registered as belonging to British North American colonists. Ship-building was generally a cottage industry, with small groups of men constructing a few ships in secure harbours or bays. These ships were used for fishing or coasting (short distance trade) between the colonies. Although the timber trade and growing commerce with the West Indies were a stimulant to larger-scale ship-building, most exports were still carried in British-built ships. For the Maritimes, the great age of sail was just beginning.

These two magnificent hand-coloured engravings depict ships at Sable Island, Nova Scotia, and on the shore westward of the Saint John River, New Brunswick, respectively. They are from DesBarres' *Atlantic Neptune* (see Item 8). In addition to its cartographic value, *The Atlantic Neptune* met high artistic standards.



*A View of the North Shore of the Isle Sable Rams Head appearing over the Land and bearing W.S.W. 2½ Miles distant. J.F.W. DesBarres. London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1 June, 1779. Aquatint with hand colouring. 13.3 × 72.0 cm.*

Originally on sheet of five views of the Isle of Sable (East End). London, 1 June 1779.

*View of the Shore Westward of the St. John's River the Entrance bearing NEbE½E distant four Leagues. London: J.F.W. DesBarres. Aquatint with hand colouring. 15.5 × 74.0 cm.*

Originally on undated sheet of three views, circa December 1780. Earlier state of view appeared as one of five views on sheet dated 26 July 1777.

*In J.F.W. DesBarres. Surveys of North America Entitled The Atlantic Neptune . . . London: J.F.W. DesBarres, 1775–1781.*

National Archives of Canada: Documentary Art and Photography Division (Negative nos. C-40972 and C-40973).



## Making the Atlantic Coast Safe for Canadian Commerce, 1806

In this chart a British naval squadron stalks enemy French warships off the coast of North America. Britain's wars both aided and impeded British North America's maritime commerce. Under British protection and encouragement, the Maritimes had tried with limited success to build up a trade with the West Indies after the American Revolution. The outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars with France induced Britain to allow the United States into the West Indies trade, a move that quickly decimated the trade of the Maritimes and Newfoundland.

Because of its aid to France, however, after 1808, Britain excluded the United States from the West Indies trade. This lack of competition as well as new British inducements, which had begun as early as 1803, made trade from British North America to the West Indies very attractive and profitable.

This manuscript chart plots the track of the *Hero*, one ship in a Royal Naval squadron patrolling between Barbados and Newfoundland. The chart marks locations where neutral vessels were boarded, and the known positions of the French squadron.

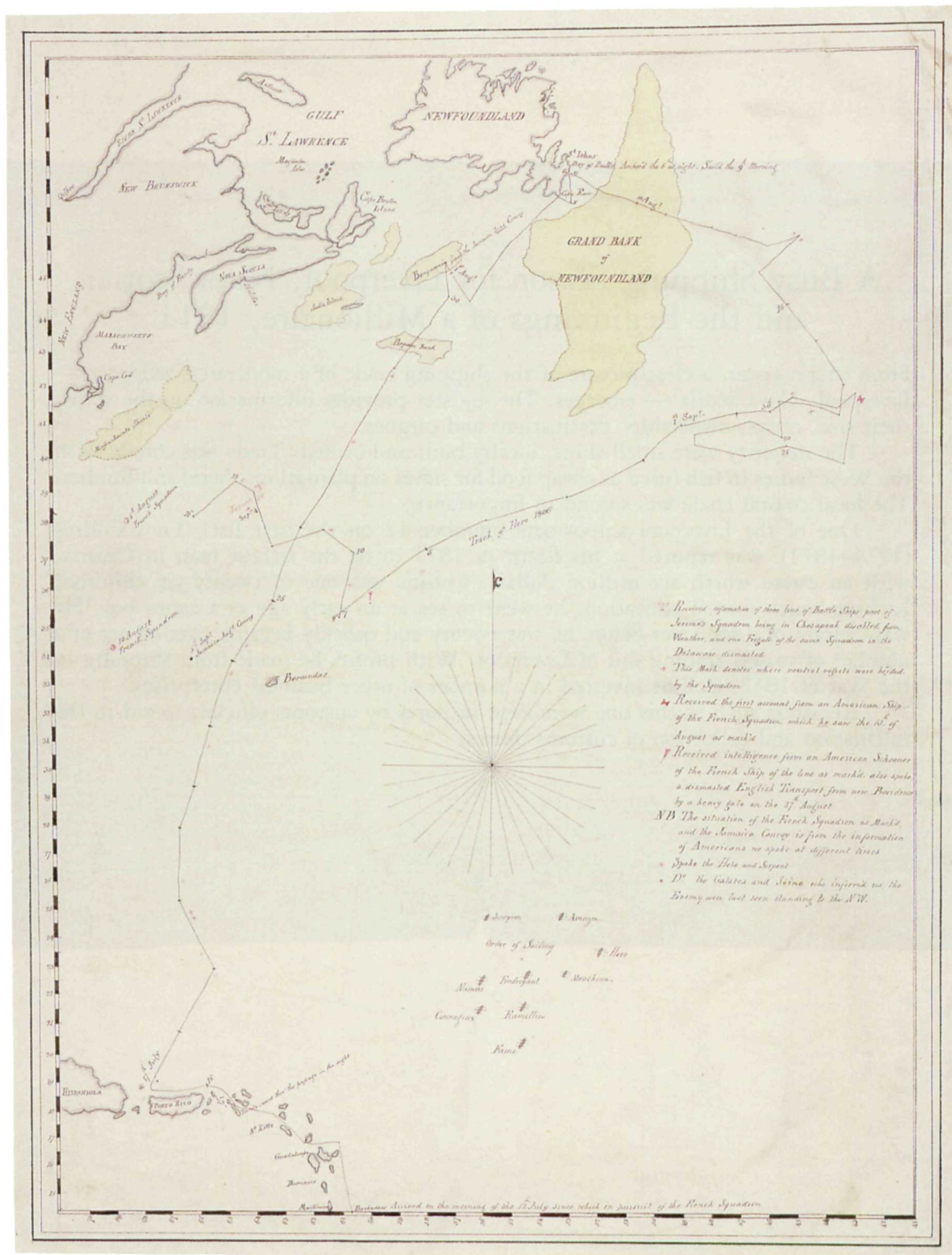


Chart of the track of the *Hero*, 1806.  
Cartographer unknown. Map:  
manuscript, hand-coloured, circa 1806.  
47.0 × 34.8 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 6752).

## A Busy Shipping Season for Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and the Beginnings of a Millionaire, 1811

From this register, a clear picture of the shipping trade of a moderate-sized port — Liverpool, Nova Scotia — emerges. The register provides information on the ships, their size, crews, ownership, destinations and cargoes.

The majority were small ships, locally built and owned. Trade was chiefly with the West Indies in fish (used as cheap food for slaves on plantations there) and lumber. The local coastal trade was second in importance.

One of the Liverpool shipowners (number 12 on the first list), Enos Collins (1774–1871), was reputed at his death in 1871 to be the richest man in Canada, with an estate worth six million dollars. Collins was one of twenty-six children. Lacking much formal education, he went to sea at an early age as a cabin boy. He was captain of a schooner before he was twenty and quickly became part-owner of a number of vessels trading out of Liverpool. With profits he made from shipping in the War of 1812, Collins invested in a number of other business enterprises.

Registers such as this one were kept in ports by customs officials to aid in the calculation and collection of customs duties.





## Cod Makes Newfoundland North American, 1810

The fisheries were Newfoundland's primary economic activity. Cod was the main catch, and it was marketed chiefly in the Catholic countries of the Mediterranean and in the West Indies.

A significant change occurred in the fisheries — and in Newfoundland — in this period. Up to 1800, most fishing was done from trans-Atlantic “Bankers” that returned to Britain at the end of the season. In 1788, there were 20,000 men involved in the fishery, of whom 12,000 returned to Britain with the fishing fleet. The difficulties and dangers of the Napoleonic Wars plus the fact that Newfoundland could now process and sell fish more cheaply than the trans-Atlantic fishing fleet spelled the end of the Bankers. The importance of the local schooners can be seen from the return displayed here. Newfoundland was now more definitely an integral part of North America than a fishing outpost of Great Britain.

This return of the fisheries and inhabitants for Conception Bay in 1810 comes from the papers of Sir John Duckworth (1748–1817), who was from 1810 to 1813 both Governor of Newfoundland and Commander-in-Chief of the Newfoundland squadron. His papers contain much relating to his official business in that period. In addition to original papers, the National Archives has assembled extensive microfilm copies of Duckworth's papers in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador; the Douglas Archives of Queen's University, Kingston; the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England; and papers in the possession of Justice R.S. Furlong of St. John's, Newfoundland.

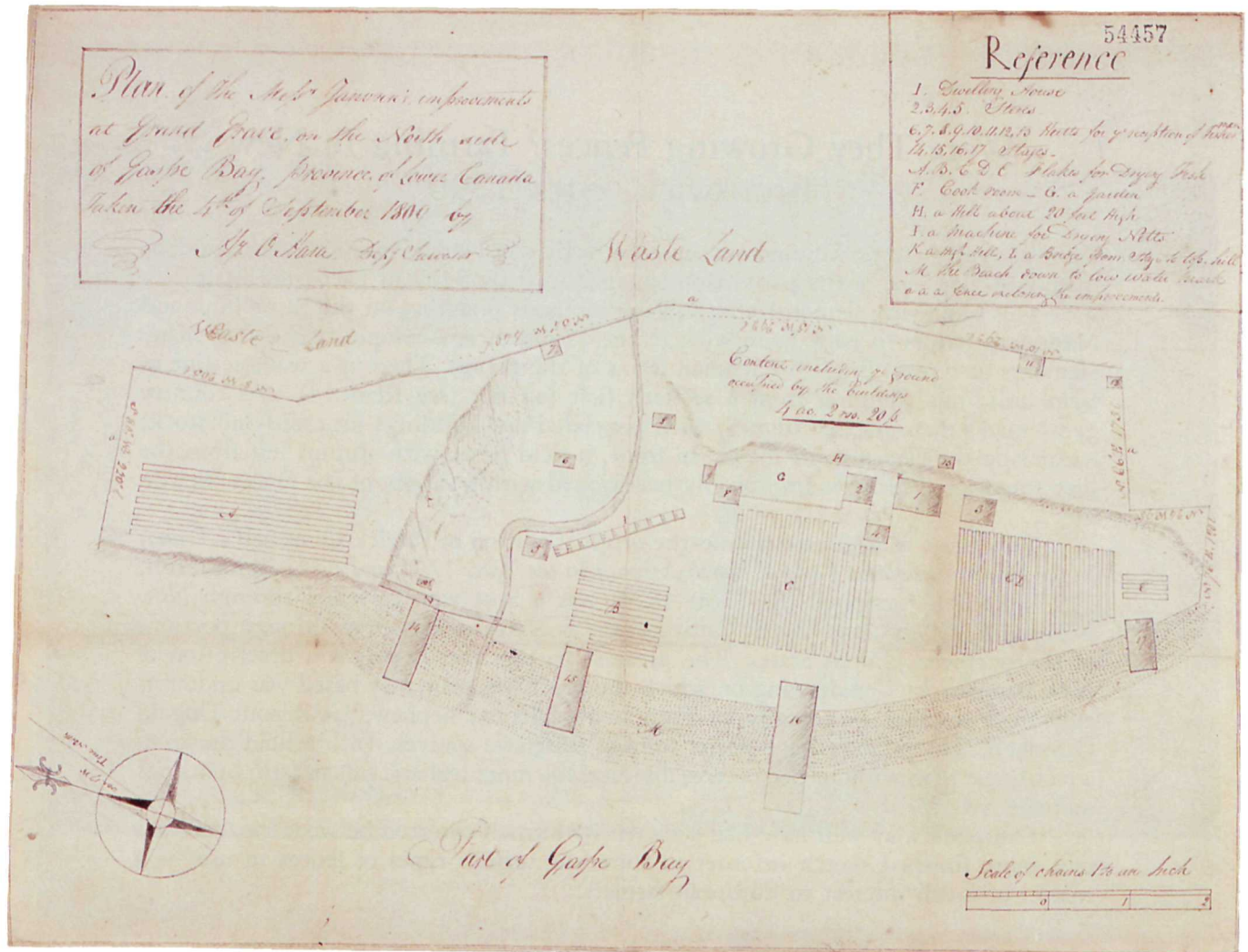


## A Fishing Station on the St. Lawrence River, 1809

Elsewhere, off south-western Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick's Bay of Fundy, and up the St. Lawrence River, fishing for a variety of species was also important. Large fish-curing and schooner-owning firms such as the St. John's firms and the Robin interests mixed with smaller enterprises.

A moderate-sized enterprise in the Gaspé owned by two brothers from the Island of Jersey and operated since 1792 is shown in the plan reproduced here. The plan shows in detail the layout and operation of a fishing station. "Stages" were docks and "flakes" were racks on which fish were laid out for drying.

The plan was part of a petition to government for a grant of land — a further demonstration of the wide range of information often contained in government documents.



Plan of Messrs. Janvrins' Improvements  
of Grand Cove, Gaspé. Hy. O'Hara  
Deputy Surveyor. Pen and ink,  
4 September 1809.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, Lower Canada. Land Petitions  
and Related Records, 1657-1842. RG 1,  
L 3 L, vol. 111, p. 54457.



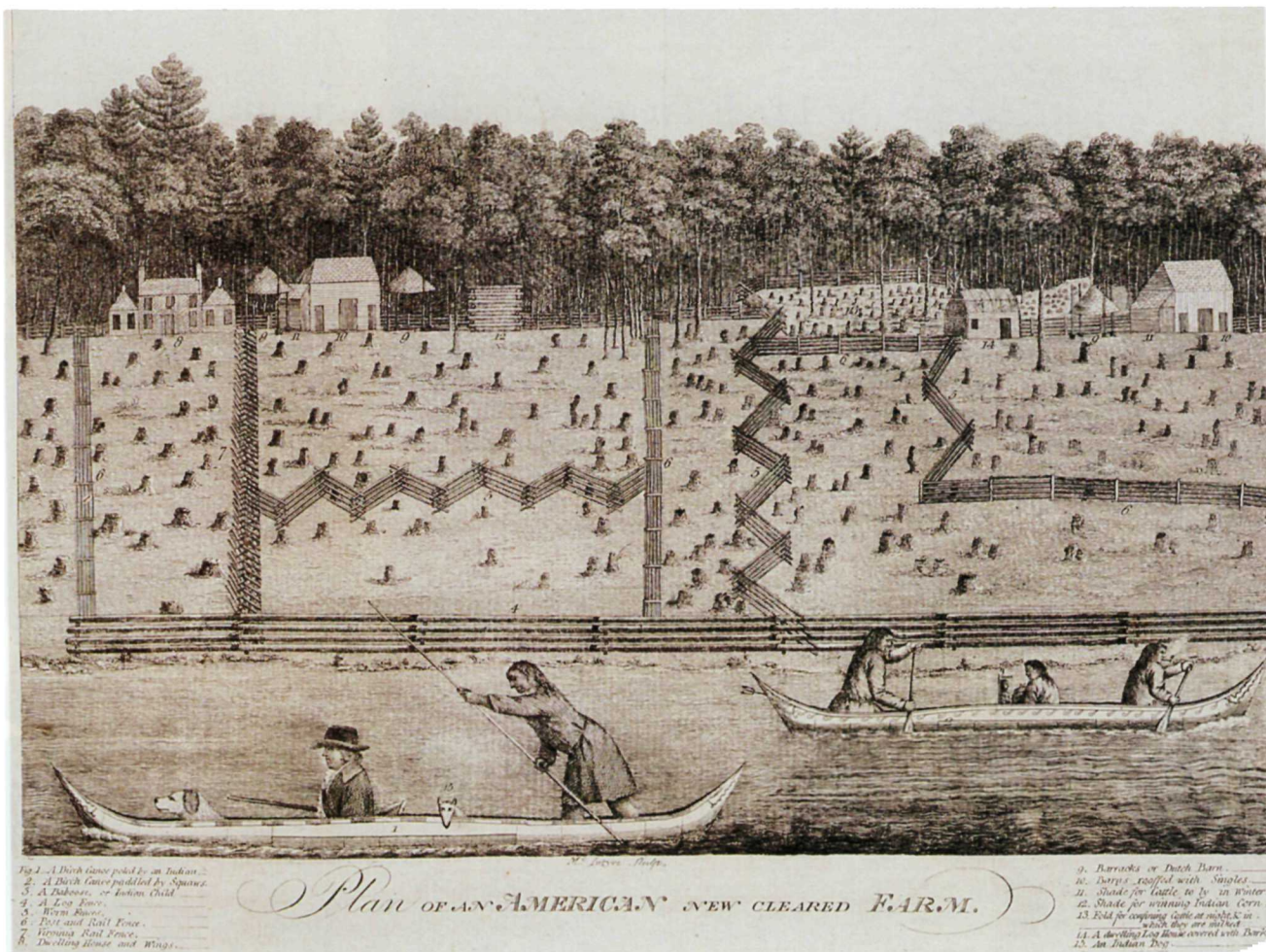
## Were They Growing Fences? Farming in New Brunswick, circa 1790

Farming was the most common occupation in British North America, with approximately 80 per cent of the population engaged in it on a full or part-time basis.

This engraving demonstrates farming methods practised on the Saint John and Nashwaak Rivers in New Brunswick in the 1790s. It is a composite showing many elements of typical English-Canadian farms of the period. There is a realistic line of farm buildings, ranging from a settler's first log hut (see Item 14) to a country gentleman's mansion (see Item 8) with associated out-buildings for crops and stock, backed by the ever-present forest. In front, a field beset with stumps left from the first stages of clearing is improbably partitioned with a variety of the fences then in use.

This print is an illustration in the original edition of Patrick Campbell's *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792* (Edinburgh, 1793). Patrick Campbell (fl. 1760–1823) was a Scot who travelled through New Brunswick, Quebec and Upper Canada as far as Niagara, as well as through portions of the northern United States. The greatest part of the *Travels* is a description of New Brunswick. The drawing on which the print was primarily based was undoubtedly made locally — possibly by Campbell's talented nephew, Lieutenant Dugald Campbell. The print is a composite from at least two sources, with a field drawn as a rectilinear plan without perspective dividing the more realistic line of farm buildings and the river scene.

Campbell may well have had a sketch by himself inserted between two sections of a more finished sketch in order to show the various types of fences in use — a matter of much interest to European farmers.



*Plan of an American New Cleared Farm.*  
 Attributed to Dugald Campbell  
 Engraved by McIntyre. Plate  
 1793. 33.0 x 24.5 cm

James Mack Campbell, *Travels in the Interior  
 Inhabited Parts of North America in the  
 Years 1791 and 1792*. Edinburgh: 1793,  
 facing p. 86.

National Archives of Canada: Library  
 (Negative no. C-130548).

## Patterns on the Land: French-Canadian Agriculture, 1795

In Quebec, wheat was the main crop, matching fur in export value by 1800. In this plan of 1795, the French-Canadian land system can be seen in the seigneurie of Sorel, with its long narrow farms arranged in ranges along rivers and streams.

Land under cultivation in Quebec expanded rapidly, especially after 1795 when British markets opened to Canadian produce. Agricultural exports, however, dropped sharply in the early nineteenth century, and wood rapidly replaced wheat as the chief export. There is much controversy about whether this drop represents a decline in agricultural production caused by unsuitable farming methods or a shift to supplying expanding internal markets because of an unstable international market.





"Map of His Majesty's Seigneurie of Sorel, situated in the county of Richelieu Province of Lower Canada . . . Surveyed in the year 1795 . . ." S.Z. Watson, Deputy Provincial Surveyor. Copy. E.J. Ford. Lieut. Royal Engineers Office, Québec. 26 February 1838. 130.0 x 225.5 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 26944).



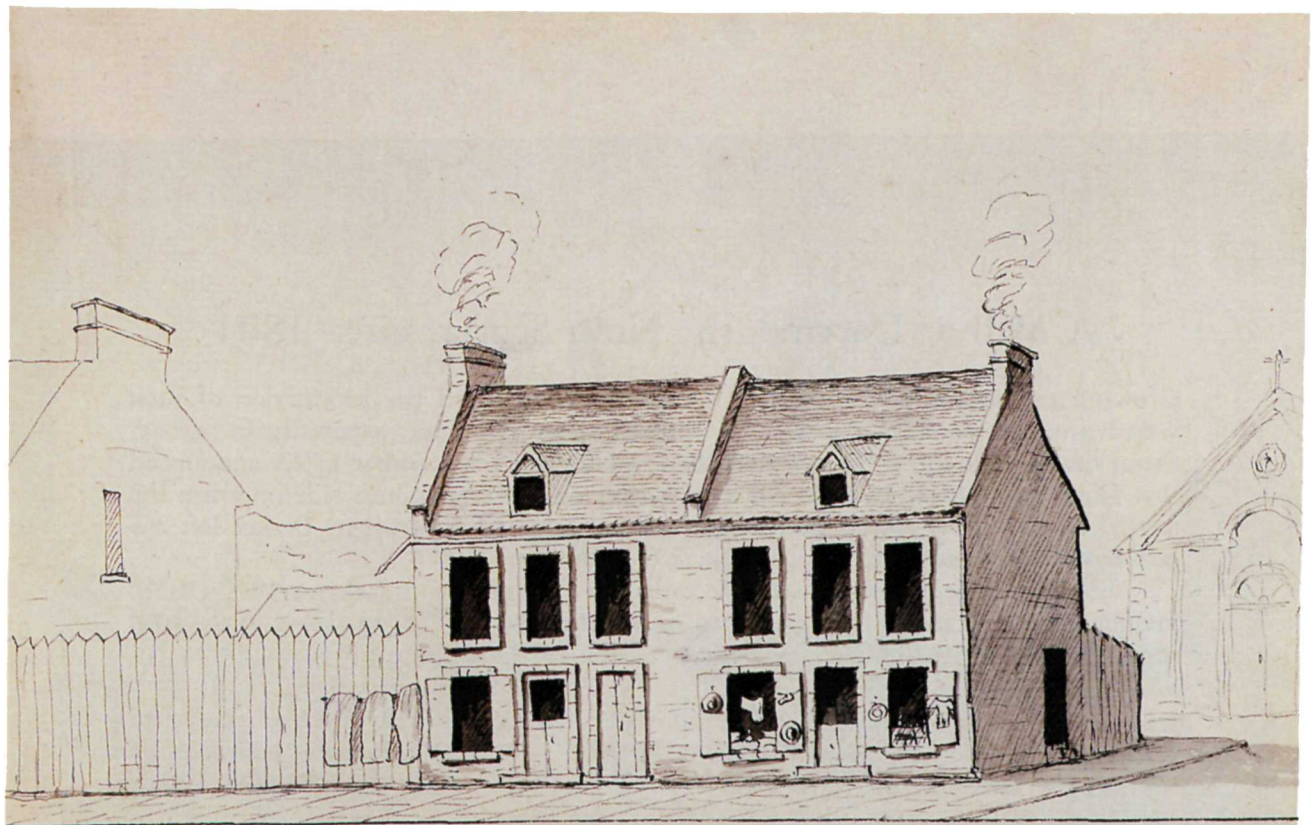
## Merchant Shops in Québec City, 1806

These adjoining shops on St. John's Street (rue Saint-Jean), Québec City, were on the edge of the upper town, possibly in the new St. John suburb beyond the city walls. Both shops display their goods: the tanner has his hides strung on a line, while the general merchant exhibits his wares on his window ledge and shutters.

One general merchant advertising his stock in the *Quebec Mercury* for 30 June 1806 listed, among other items for sale, "loaf sugar and teas, muscatal and sun raisins, almonds and nuts, sauces and florence oil, single and double Gloucester cheese, hardware, stationery and perfumery . . . Dartford gun powder and patent shot & c. & c."

Merchants often lived above their shops or — as in the case of the tanner, as an inscription on this work indicates — rented upstairs rooms to others. Expanding agriculture, burgeoning exports and the resulting growth of towns and cities meant that these shops would increasingly have their equivalents across central and eastern British North America.

The artist, Sempronius Stretton (1781–1842), served in Canada between 1803 and 1806 with the 49<sup>th</sup> and the 40<sup>th</sup> Regiments of Foot. His pictures include views of York (Toronto), Lake Erie, Queenston and Québec City. He executed many studies of Canadian birds — the earliest known — and of costume. The National Archives holds five watercolours by Stretton and a sketchbook with forty-three works, including the one displayed here.



Two Shops opposite my lodgings in Quebec, a Tanners, & a Merchants,  
all Canadian Shops were built after this manner —  
In St Johns Street — June 29. 1806

The rooms of the left hand shop were the lodgings of Lt Johnston 49th

"Two Shops opposite my lodgings . . ."  
Sempronius Stretton (1781–1842). Pen  
and ink with grey wash, 29 June 1806.  
16.0 × 20.0 cm. Folio.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division, Stretton Sketchbook, vol. 1,  
p. 36 (Negative no. C-14834).

## A Mill at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, circa 1801

Growing population and increasing prosperity encouraged the production of such varied products as soap, paper, hats, metals, ships and flour, especially in or near major towns. The *Royal Gazette* published in Halifax, 5 September 1797, announced that Davis and Barker had erected a grist mill on the Dartmouth side opposite the naval hospital. They would be ready to receive grain by September. Barker left the business shortly thereafter.

Interesting details of the scene recorded by George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820) include the long trough constructed to lead water into the second storey of the mill to power the mill machinery and the two men to the right using a sawpit to cut planks by hand.

This print is “before letters,” meaning it was produced to test the quality of the image before lettering was placed on the printing plate. Such an early impression from a plate yields the strongest and clearest image. The National Archives also holds a copy of this print done “after letters.”



View of Halifax from Davis' Mill. George Isham Parkyns (1750–1820). London: April, 1801. Hand-coloured aquatint, in blue ink. 32.4 × 53.0 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-985).



## Child Slavery? An Apprentice's Indenture, 1785

In this indenture, a standard printed form with manuscript additions, William Dedham, son of a labourer, aged fourteen years, commits himself to Andrew Doe of Québec City in 1785 as an apprentice for seven years. In return for his labour, Dedham is to receive room and board, five pounds towards a new set of clothes at the end of his apprenticeship, and instruction in the "Art, Trade and Mystery" of shoemaking.

This indenture has more to say about the apprentice's morals than his duties. He is not to play at "Cards, Dice or any other unlawful Game," nor is he to "haunt Ale-houses, Taverns or Play-houses." With their long periods of unpaid labour, and their virtual lack of restrictions on the powers of the master, apprenticeship indentures of this period have been called little more than a form of slavery.

Other indentures, contracts, partnership agreements, and the like scattered through the collections of the National Archives tell much about conditions of labour and social relations in this period.

# THIS INDENTURE <sup>9258</sup>

Witnesseeth, That *William Dedham* a minor aged *fourteen Years* hath put himself, and by these Presents, *by and with the Consent and approbation of his said Father* doth voluntarily, and of his own free Will and Accord, put himself Apprentice to *Andrew Doe of Quaba* master the said Art, Trade and Mystry, and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve *the said Andrew Doe* from the Day of the Date hereof, for and during, and to the full end and Term of *Seven Years* next ensuing. During all which Term the said Apprentice *said Master* faithfully shall serve, *his* Secrets keep, *his* lawful Commands every where readily obey. Shall do no Damage to *his* said Master nor see it to be done by others, without letting or giving notice thereof to *his* said Master shall not waste *his* said Master's Goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any. *he* shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said Term. At Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game, *he* shall not play, where- by *his* said Master may have Damage. With *his* own Goods, nor the Goods of others, without Licence from *his* said Master shall neither buy nor sell. *he* shall not absent himself Day nor Night from *his* said Master's Service without *his* leave: Nor haunt Ale-houses, Taverns, or Play-houses; but in all things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do, during the said Term. And the said Master shall use the utmost of *his* endeavour to teach or cause to be taught or instructed the said Apprentice in the Trade or Mystry of a *Shoe-maker*, and procure and provide for *him* sufficient Meat, Drink, Lodging and Washing, fitting for an Apprentice, during the said Term of *Seven Years* - and at the expiration thereof give *his* said Apprentice a Suit of new Cloaths or pay *him* seven Pounds of the new Currency, at the Option of the said Apprentice.

AND for the true Performance of all and singular the Covenants and Agreements aforesaid, the said Parties bind themselves each unto the other firmly by these Presents. IN WITNESS whereof the said Parties have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals hereunto. Dated the *Eighteenth*

Day of *August* in the *fourth* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *George the Third* - King of Great-Britain, &c. Annoque Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and *Eighty Five*.

Sealed and Delivered in  
the Presence of

*Wm* *X* *Dedham*  
mark

*Amadonelle*

*Robt Russel*

*Andrew Doe*

*Wm* *Dedham*

Apprenticeship Indenture of William Dedham, 18 August 1785. Printed form with manuscript additions.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Civil and Provincial Secretary, Lower Canada. "S" Series. RG 4, A 1, vol. 28, p. 9258.

# *Religion*

Outside of Roman Catholic Quebec, British North America in the period after the Conquest presented a picture of great religious variety, with many denominations ministering to the souls of the colonists. All the churches faced a common problem — too few resources to meet the demands for solace and guidance that were placed upon them. How the various denominations and church leaders tried to cope with that problem provides a perspective on documents relating to religion in the period.

## Congregational Meeting House, St. John's, Newfoundland, circa 1789

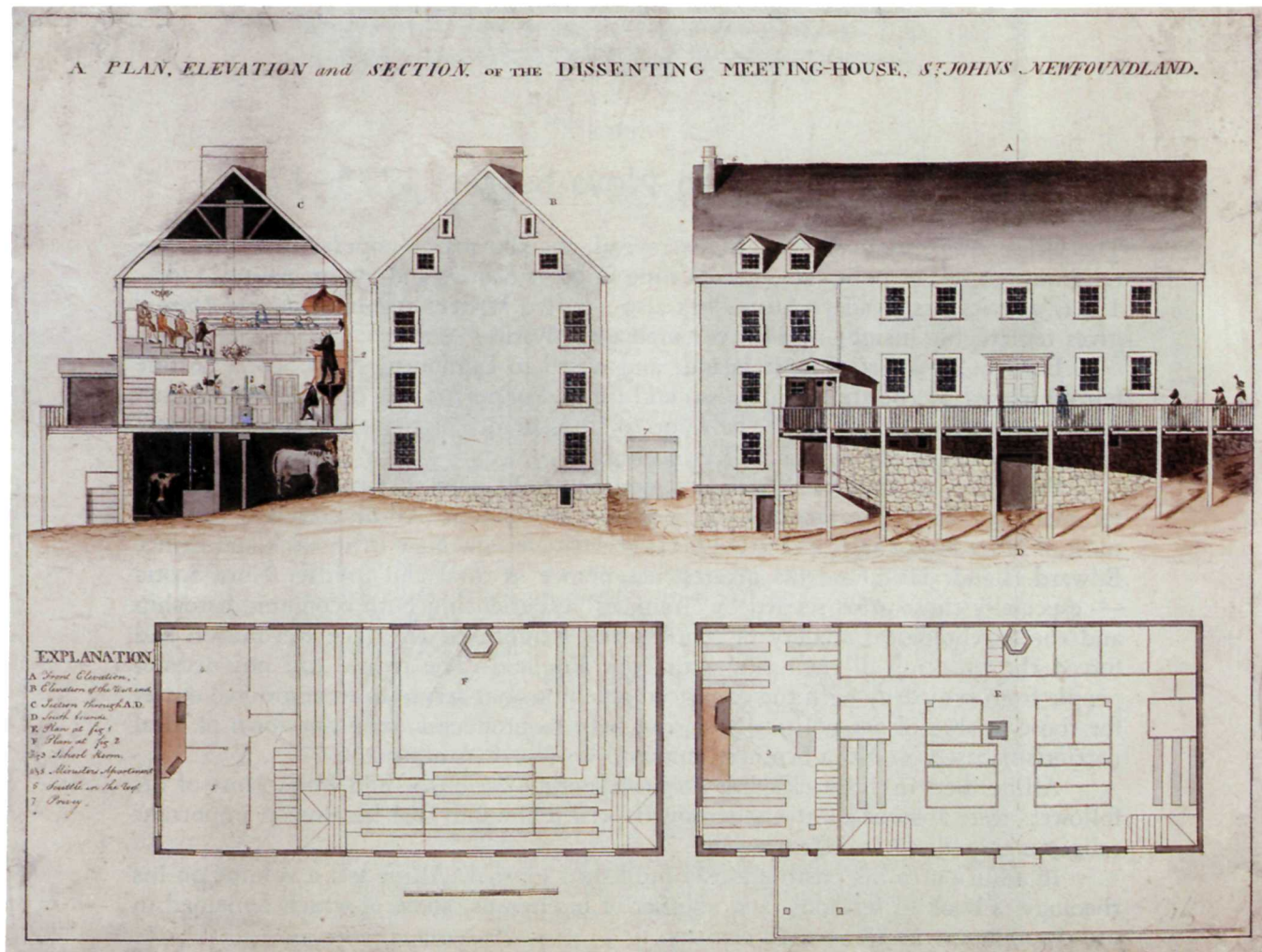
Even in matters of religion, Newfoundland remained Britain's neglected colony. Missionary priests from Ireland succeeded in winning masses of converts to Roman Catholicism, but they were too few to minister effectively to their flocks. Protestant dissenters relied largely on lay preachers; the Church of England was virtually inactive.

This Congregational church was founded by John Jones (1737–1800), a converted British soldier. Jones's small congregation originally met secretly on the "Barrens" outside St. John's because of British regulations against Dissenters. The situation was eased in 1784 by a proclamation granting freedom of worship in Newfoundland. The meeting house pictured here was built in 1789 and incorporated quarters for a charity school for all denominations, which Jones had begun with his own army pension. By 1794, Jones had a congregation of 400.

Despite Jones's success in St. John's, Congregationalism, with its lack of organization beyond the individual congregation and its appeal to the middle classes, did not take a strong hold in Newfoundland.

The skill evident in the execution of this plan as well as Jones's military background suggests this plan was prepared by an army officer. The plan's depiction of the Sunday dress of the relatively well-to-do in about 1790 is particularly charming. The plan itself is a very early example of the 200,000 plans and architectural drawings held by the National Archives.





"A Plan, Elevation and Section of the Dissenting Meeting-House, St. John's, Newfoundland." Artist unknown. Pen and ink with watercolour, circa 1789. 31.1 × 41.9 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
 Documentary Art and Photography  
 Division (Negative no. C-3374).

## The “New Light” in Nova Scotia, 1775–1784

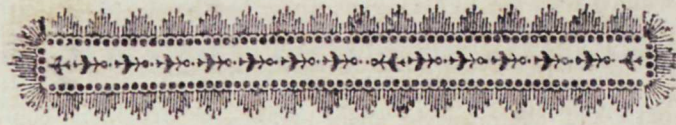
The Great Awakening or New Light revival was the major popular movement — religious, social, or political — of its time in Nova Scotia, and Henry Alline (1748–1784) was its first leader. Alline was also a gifted writer, and his *Life and Journal* gives remarkable insight into his tortured and mystical soul.

Born in Newport, Rhode Island, and raised in Falmouth, Nova Scotia, Alline felt oppressed by the strict Calvinism and limited opportunities of his environment. After years of doubt and guilt, he came to an assurance of conversion in 1775, just at the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Preaching an emotional brand of modified Calvinism that balanced God’s love for mankind with His terrible condemnation of sinners, Alline travelled through most of Nova Scotia and the settled parts of what are now New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. He found his greatest acceptance in rural and frontier Nova Scotia — especially those areas settled by “Yankees” experiencing both economic hardship and the psychological anxiety of rootlessness, heightened after the Revolution had forced the breaking of their ties with New England. The revival did not distract people from sympathy with the American rebellion, but served as an emotional outlet for those unable to act politically. It did help to produce a primitive form of local patriotism based on Nova Scotia’s “mission” in North America.

Alline died in 1784, leaving no formal organization behind him. Most of his followers were absorbed into the strong Baptist fellowship that became an important religious ingredient in Maritime life.

In addition to his posthumously published journal, Alline left a volume on his theology, a book of sermons, and another of his hymns, some of which remained in use throughout the nineteenth century.



THE  
REV. MR. HENRY ALLINE'S  
LIFE, &c.

CHRIST is the fountain of life, the source of happiness, the glory of angelic realms, and the triumph of Saints, and I trust is the life of my soul, the joy of my life, my present and everlasting portion. I therefore desire, and intend by his grace that his name should be my theme, until the last period of my days. And O may his blessed Spirit be breathed into all my endeavours, may his love sweeten all my trials, invigorate all my labours; may his name fill up every period of my life, when in private, and every sentence, when in public: and hoping that he will cause me to write and leave amongst the rest of my writings this short account of my life. And as that is my design, I shall not overburden the reader with a relation of many passages that would be of no benefit, but shall only relate that, which may be worth the readers perusal.

I was born in Newport, in the government of Rhode-Island, in North America, on the 14th day of June, 1748, of William and Rebecca Aline, who were born and brought up in Boston, who gave me an early instruction in the principles of the christian religion. I was early sent to school, and was something forward in learning; was very early moved upon by the spirit of God, though I knew not then what ailed me.

THE first moving I remember was, when about eight years of age, by some discourse between my father and my eldest sister, in a thunder-storm, when I heard her say, that she had reason to be so distressed, that if she should

## The Pious Habitant? 1810

There is a tendency to assume that French Canadians throughout the nineteenth century were devoutly pious and meekly obedient to the Roman Catholic Church.

How, then, to explain this *mandement* (order) in which the Bishop of Quebec complains that, despite his frequent warnings, habitants were turning local saints' day festivities into excuses for drunken brawls and debauchery? Some enterprising souls even seem to have become professional patron saint celebrators, wandering merrily from one parish to another in a seemingly endless spree. The bishop notes that he had already suppressed saints' day celebrations in twenty parishes, and gives warning to others. Such problems occurred frequently in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Roman Catholic Church shared a problem with all the Canadian churches of the period — shortage of clergy. The Conquest and European wars had virtually cut off European supplies of priests. The few recruits found locally received a poor quality of theological education, and, because of the urgent need, were often sent out to the parishes too young and ill-prepared. Even the best of the clergy were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of their parishioners: in 1805, there were 186 priests to serve 200,000 faithful in the Maritimes and Upper and Lower Canada. The resulting lack of effective spiritual guidance often led to arrogant independence, hostility and immorality among the laity. The church required determined and forceful leadership to reassert its control.

The frequent *mandements* issued by the bishops to their flocks (see also Items 87 and 97) give much insight into the concerns and reactions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.



1810

MANDEMENT concernant les Fêtes Patronales de Paroisses.

**JOSEPH OCTAVE PLESSIS,**

*Par la miséricorde de Dieu et la grace du S. Siège Apostolique  
Evêque de Québec, &c. &c. A nos très chers frères en Notre  
Seigneur, les Curés et Missionnaires de notre Diocèse, Salut et  
Bénédiction.*

DEPUIS longtemps, NOS TRES CHERS FRERES, les désordres introduits à l'occasion des fêtes patronales des paroisses, sont devenus pour vos évêques un objet d'amertume et de sollicitude, comme vous en pouvez juger par les divers moyens qu'ils ont mis en œuvre pour y remédier. Ces jours vénérables, destinés dans leur première institution à nourrir la piété et la sainte joie des fidèles, en leur remettant plus particulièrement sous les yeux les circonstances du Mystère ou les vertus du Saint en l'honneur duquel leur église étoit dédiée, sont devenus, par le malheur des temps, des jours de tristesse et de deuil pour la religion, des jours de promenades et de débauches, des jours de querelles et d'ivrognerie, des jours de blasphèmes et de batailles, dont la plupart d'entre vous ont entendu les affligeans récits, lorsqu'ils n'en ont pas été personnellement témoins. Nos Illustres Prédécesseurs ont essayé de toute manière de prévenir ces désordres, d'abord en déclarant que ces fêtes ne seroient plus que de dévotion, puis en en transférant quelques-unes au dimanche suivant, ensuite en les faisant célébrer dans des saisons moins favorables aux rassemblemens, enfin en supprimant tout à fait celles qui étoient l'occasion d'excès plus scandaleux.

Les choses en étoient là lorsque nous avons pris la conduite de ce diocèse. Sur les remontrances de plusieurs d'entre vous et d'après les informations prises dans nos visites, nous avons aussi ordonné la suppression totale de la fête du Patron dans une vingtaine de paroisses, comme le seul remède qui pût y arrêter efficacement le mal. Mais ce remède prive certaines ames pieuses d'un grand sujet de consolation et excite en elles une sorte de jalousie contre ceux dont les fêtes patronales subsistent encore, quoique non exemptes de tous les abus qui ont fait supprimer les leurs.

DESIRANT donc adopter un système qui mît toutes les fêtes patronales sur le même pied, et sincèrement touchés de l'aspect affligeant de tant d'églises privées d'honorer solennellement leurs saints patrons, nous avons

## A Defender of the Faith

Joseph-Octave Plessis (1763–1825), Bishop of Quebec, 1806–1825, was one of the most significant Roman Catholic clergymen of this period. Described as ambitious, methodical and a realist with a flair for diplomacy, Plessis concentrated his considerable powers on sustaining and strengthening his Church and managing its relations with the state. A decided opponent of the French Revolution and all it stood for, he saw Britain as a defender of traditional and established values. He was highly suspicious of democratic movements in French Canada. Plessis cooperated with the British authorities in civil matters while resisting their efforts to weaken the Church. He opposed a plan for state-controlled education, but encouraged the establishment of Catholic primary education. Faced with a serious shortage of clergy, Plessis channelled a significant number of young ecclesiastics into classical education, a policy that eventually halted the decline in recruitment. At his death in 1825, he left a Church much stronger than he had found it in 1806.





JOSEPH OCTAVE PLESSIS.

NÉ EN 1763,

CONSACRÉ EVÊQUE DE CANATHE EN 1801

*& Evêque Titulaire de l'Eglise Catholique du Canada depuis 1805;*

*Joseph Octave Plessis.* Attributed to William Berczy (1744–1813). Hand-coloured aquatint, early 1800s. 25.5 × 20.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-99308).

## A Manuscript of Possibly the Oldest Preserved Canadian Composition, circa 1756–1791

This manuscript volume from the parish church at Ste. Foy contains words in Latin and music for hymns sung at vespers, a complete “Mass and Office of the Holy Family,” and a complete “Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ According to St. Matthew for Palm Sunday.” Because this music was not part of the unchangeable portion of the Mass, the volume was probably used infrequently. The manuscript was prepared for François-Xavier Borel, a Frenchman, who was the priest at Ste. Foy from 1756 to 1774 and 1786 to 1791, for his own use from the pulpit.

The “Prose” part of the “Mass of the Holy Family,” a portion of which is illustrated here, may have been composed by Charles-Amador Martin (1648–1711), the second Canadian-born priest. If so, it may also be the oldest preserved Canadian composition. First printed in 1801, the “Prose” was chanted at the Québec Cathedral on the Holy Family feast day until the 1950s.



*officium SS. familiae ad missam*

**E**i adorabunt in conspectu ejus uni  
versæ familiae gentium. **G**loria.

**GRAD**

**A**lle luia

Jo seph fili david no li ti  
mere acci pere mariam con ju  
gem tuam quod e nim in e-a na  
tum est de spi ritu san cto est

**A**lle luia

*officium SS. familiae ad missam*

**S**ic de us dile xit mun —  
dum ut fili um fu - um u-ni ge  
nitum darei ut salve tur mun  
dus per ip sum.

**PROSA**

**S**acræ familiae felix spectaculum naf  
centis gratiæ dulce cunabulum se nobis  
referat **Q**uis natum cogitet intactæ  
virginis visum ne territet sol puri lumi

Volume of religious music and liturgy.  
Author unknown. Manuscript, circa  
1756–1791.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, François-Xavier Borel papers,  
MG 18, E 21, unpaginated.

## “The Most Valuable Baptist Document in Ontario,” 1805

The minute book of the Baptist Church in Boston, Ontario (near present-day Simcoe, inland from Lake Erie) has been called “the most valuable Baptist document in Ontario,” both for its early date (1804–1830) and for the extensive picture it gives of congregational life in pioneer days. The entries exhibited deal with the original organization of the church when it began in 1805 with seven members. The entries make clear that like many pioneer churches, the Baptists relied on lay members to preach and administer the sacraments. The Boston Church, as mentioned in the entries, joined the Baptist Shaftesbury Association centred in Vermont, which sent ordained ministers on tours to local congregations without clergy.

14  
On Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> after sermon By Eld. Lovell their  
appeared Benjamin Green and Sarah Green and  
gave their relation of the work of the Grace of God  
on their hearts and was Received and was Baptized  
together with Isaac Marmet and ~~Samuel~~ Polly Lane and  
Reibel Schovell took the right hand of fellowship  
with us — — — — —

Tuesday November 12<sup>th</sup> Met according to appointment  
opened meeting By singing and prayer and proceeded  
to the Business as follows — — — — —

1<sup>st</sup> Appointed Eld. Lovell to serve as Moderator of the  
present meeting Clerk — — — — —

2<sup>d</sup> Made choice of Brother Thos. Corlies as the stand-  
ing clerk of the Church. — — — — —

3<sup>d</sup> Voted Unanimously to send a letter By Eld. Lovell  
to the Shaftsbury association requesting them to  
receive this Church into their communion as a  
member of the association. — — — — —

4<sup>th</sup> Appointed Bro. James Corlies to prepare a letter for that  
purpose — — — — —

5<sup>th</sup> Bro. Corlies presented a letter according to appointment  
which was read and agreed to and the Clerk was directed to  
to sign the same in Behalf of the Church. — — — — —

And after conference Mary Cunningham came for-  
ward and told her Experience and was Received  
into fellowship with the Church. — — — — —

## *Society and Culture*

The period between the Conquest and the end of the War of 1812 marked a watershed for fine arts, literature and science in British North America.

On the one hand, in pioneer communities with limited resources to devote to high culture, there was no great outpouring of prose, poetry, music or drama. Popular leisure activities were simple and often geared to physical or outdoor activity. Folk songs and stories flourished, but were very seldom recorded. Folk art was not often preserved. Practical publications such as newspapers and almanacs put down sturdy roots, while nascent scientific interest concentrated on the natural and practical spheres.

On the other hand, prosperity, immigration and increasingly concentrated settlement were providing immigrant and native writers and artists with a base on which to begin to build a distinctive Canadian culture whose products before 1815 included Canada's first novel, poetry, plays, a growing travel and religious literature, and a golden age of French-Canadian painting.



## The First Novel Written in North America, 1763–1768

Most figures noted for making a major contribution to British North America's development in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were men. Few individuals indeed made their mark in the spheres of literature or high culture. It is striking then to encounter a writer who was both a woman and Canada's (as well as North America's) first novelist.

Dramatist, essayist, librettist, theatre manager and novelist Frances Brooke (d. 1789) was a noted figure in literary and theatrical circles in London. In 1763, she sailed for Québec to join her husband, who was military chaplain there. During her stay, which lasted until 1768, she wrote *The History of Emily Montague* (1769). The novel was structured as a series of fictionalized letters, based on Brooke's life at Québec and containing her witty and perceptive comments on politics, religion, society and nature. The grace and style of the narrative assured it would become required reading for travellers to Canada.

It is remarkable that the artist of Mrs. Brooke's portrait was also a woman, the Scottish-born Catherine Read (1723–1778), a fashionable London portraitist of the day who, in an age dominated by male artists, specialized in painting women. The two women were close friends, which may account for the warm informality of the portrait, so different from the convention of the day.



Portrait of Frances Brooke. Catherine  
Read (1723–1778). Oil on canvas, 1771.  
71.6 × 59.4 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-11373).

## An English Canadian Poem, circa 1806

Closer to the generality of literary production in English-speaking Canada at this period are William Robe's two epic poems, "Quebec Winter" and "Quebec Summer." In this passage from "Summer," Robe discusses (as virtually every writer did) the poor condition of Canada's roads and, more unusually, the local diet at Québec City as winter turned to spring. Although rather pedestrian as poetry, Robe's observations were perceptive and often ranged well beyond conventional poetic interests to include, for example, the plight of the unemployed in winter, the police, and the flies in summer. Written on paper watermarked 1806, the poems are not known to have been published.

Before 1815, Canadian literature was very much in the pioneer stages of its development. Many could not write, and those who could were too busy to do so or did not have the inclination or literary skill to put their thoughts on paper. In English, much writing was in the form of published diaries and journals or letters of soldiers and inhabitants, the most remarkable being Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures in Canada . . .* (1809) (see Item 13). Closely related were travel accounts by British and European tourists. Both forms tell us much about general conditions and the thought of people at the time. Religious writings were prominent and in Nova Scotia included *The Life and Journal of the Rev. Mr. Henry Aline* (1806) (see Item 71). Poetry was more common as a literary form than prose.

The period was important in the main for laying the foundations of future literary development.

William Robe (1765–1820), an officer of the Royal Artillery, served in Canada 1794–1795, in 1799 and again circa 1800–1806. Robe designed the Anglican cathedral at Québec City and supervised its construction.

Canadian roads! how much to be admird &  
 Canadian Laws much more! which mend <sup>roads</sup> these  
 Or leave them to be mended as they can!  
 While wheels & Carriages; and necks, and limbs  
 Of horses and of men endanger'd are  
 Almost at every step: surely 'tis shame,  
 While ample means are found in every rock  
 In forming good and solid roads, that here  
 Thanpooch to Britains first Provincial Town  
 I shou'd every way be miserably bad!  
 Yet, let us hope, 'twill not be always so;  
 The spirit of improvement once begun,  
 It'll soon extend itself around the town,  
 And mend the rugged ways. —  
 The Farmers, all employ'd to till the soil,  
 And send to sea; scarce ought to market bring  
 Save Veal, their earliest produce; so that Veal,  
 And Veal, and nought but Veal, each table craves  
 Limber, and thin; and red; not boasting age,  
 But eight, and six; nay four days old is brought  
 Falling at once the sight & appetite.  
 Now Providence again displays his Grace,  
 For, first the <sup>early</sup> ~~first~~ the River mounst;  
 Not such as in the Thames is often caught  
 But many times as large; and comes at once  
 In quantity to feed the Country round:  
 Which then come striped Barr, more delicate  
 And not so plenty given; but follow'd soon  
 By salmon large, showing his silvery sides,  
 And Surgeon, which great London's lordly May  
 Presents with pomp & state to Majesty,  
 Not here so highly honor'd, but in dirt,  
 Grovelling he lies upon the Market Square  
 Scarce heeded but by poor, nor finds a place  
 On any table delicately deck'd.  
 Not want we smelts, by London's Jills admir'd,  
 Of larger size & equal flavor found.  
 Again the Lower town begins to shew  
 Its busy faces hurrying to and fro,  
 While every Eastern breeze some woful brings

"Quebec Summer." William Robe  
 (1765–1820). Manuscript, circa 1806.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
 Division, Lawrence M. Lande collection,  
 MG 53, 189, pp. 4–5.



## A Poem by French Canada's Most Significant Contemporary Writer

This manuscript for “Le Dépit ridicule ou le Sonnet perdu” was written by Joseph Quesnel (1746–1809), the most significant literary figure of his day in French Canada. A Frenchman who had been captured on a French privateer during the American Revolution, Quesnel settled in Quebec in 1779. A versatile writer, he composed songs, plays and poetry. His play *Colas et Colinette, ou le Bailli dupé*, a comic opera in three acts with fourteen songs, was first produced by the Théâtre de Société (which Quesnel helped to found) in Montreal in 1789–1790.

Another of his plays was entitled *L'Anglomanie, ou le Dîner à l'anglaise*, a satire ridiculing the seigneurs' infatuation with English fashion. Some of his poems appeared in newspapers, and his music was performed locally.

Other French Canadians composed songs and poems, which they often published in newspapers. Indeed, newspapers themselves were significant vehicles of French Canadian culture. *Le Canadien*, founded in 1806, first gave voice to the nationalist tone that has marked Québécois literature ever since. Joseph-Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, was the foremost orator of his day, and many of his pronouncements were published (see Items 73 and 97).

Still, as in English Canada, formal culture was thin. No novels were published. A vigorous folk tradition of songs and stories flourished, but very little was written down in this period. Quesnel expressed his frustration at the lack of artistic development through the wry humour of “Le Dépit ridicule.” The poet complains to his wife “What is the good of the trouble I take for rhyming / If no one ever has time to listen to my verse.” She, more practical, responds: “I see you every day writing or dreaming / Whilst I must bring up your children.” The poet then announces his great project to her — to lock his friends in a room and read to them “all the lines of my last work.”

The National Archives holds twenty-four manuscript poems by Joseph Quesnel in the Lande collection, as well as other of his family papers relating to his business and personal affairs.

Qui sache ici presser ce qu'il faut un Poète,  
 Le plus chétif homme qui soit dans l'univers  
 Pourrait toujours quelque un que fasse cas des Vers,  
 Mais ici, Serviteur, composez un ouvrage  
 Puis pour être applaudi coudes tout le Village,  
 Vous serez fort heureux si parmi ces messieurs,  
 Vous pouvez, cherchant bien, trouver deux auditeurs.  
 Quel diable d'emp ! c'est trop ; ma muse infortunée,  
 N'en a trouvé qu'un seul dans toute ma tournée.  
 Que me faut-il pour rimer, la peine que je prends ?  
 Si d'écouter mes vers on n'a jamais le temps ?  
 L'instant pour les trouver n'est jamais favorable,  
 L'un est encore au lit, l'autre est encore à table ;  
 Celui-ci <sup>vient</sup> ~~est~~ <sup>de</sup> ~~est~~ changé, celui-là va partir,  
 Ils ont tous des raisons pour ne vous point voir ;  
 Que si d'un bon moment à la fin je profite,  
 L'un cause, l'autre rit, un autre prend la fuite,  
 Ou si par complaisance, ils restent un moment,  
 Riant sur un pastiche ils sortent brusquement.  
 Est-il rien, dites-moi, de plus insupportable ?

Mad. Fr.

Pour un rimeur, le vrai, ce n'est pas agréable.  
 Ce chagrin cependant se négocie à l'usage,

Car d'écouter vos vers qui peut les obliger ?  
 En cela leur conduite est commune à bien d'autres,  
 Ils ont leurs embarras et vous avez les vôtres,  
 Et mille soins encore ~~à l'écouter~~, Sans vous chaguer,  
 Auxquels il conviendrait de vous mieux appliquer.

M. Fr.

Perles ! voilà parler en femme bien prudente,  
 Mais vous êtes parfois, madame, un peu mordante.  
 Vous blâmez mon dépit et vous savez pourtant  
 Que ma muse a besoin d'un encouragement.

Mad. Fr.

Mais votre muse est-elle un si grand avantage ?  
 Que me servent vos vers enfin dans le ménage ?  
 Je vous vois tous les jours sérieux ou bien rêver  
 Tandis que vos enfants il me faut élever.

M. Fr.

Je me déstais ici, s'il faut que je le dise

Mad. Fr.

Vouloir abandonner maison et marchandises !  
 En endroit agréable où l'on vit de command,

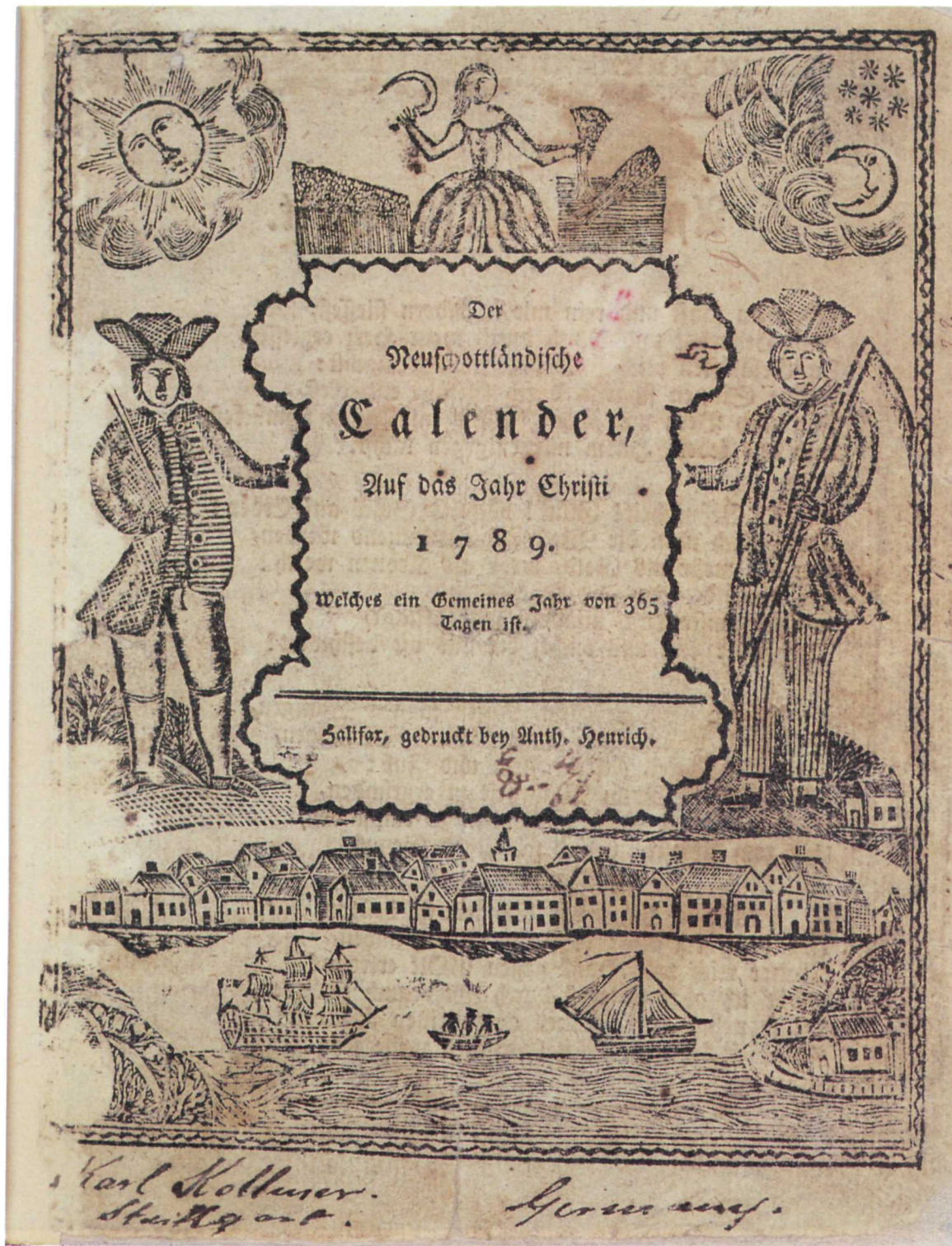
## Canada's First Ethnic Publication, 1787

The literary diet of most Canadians who could read consisted largely of newspapers, almanacs, hand bills and posters — those practical publications of greatest immediate relevance to their daily lives.

Aimed at the large German community in Nova Scotia that centred around Lunenburg, this Nova Scotia almanac *Der Neuschottländische Calender Auf das Jahr Christi 1789*, is the third edition of what was possibly the first ethnic publication in Canada. Its publisher, Anthon Henrich (Anthony Henry) (1734–1800) was of German parentage and had been active in printing in Halifax from 1760. He also founded the first Canadian newspaper to run independently of government patronage (*The Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, 1769) and in 1776 published the first Canadian book to contain an illustration. Henry was convinced that his modest almanac with its appropriate local information could compete with the German almanacs flooding into the province from Pennsylvania. He promised in the 1788 edition, "I will use my greatest endeavour to keep our mother tongue current through this press . . . although many of the young people declare an aversion for it, out of a wonderful conceit."

Set in a type imported from Germany, the almanac is well composed and profusely illustrated with ornaments and zodiac signs. The little book contains standard almanac information on phases of the moon, zodiac charts, tables of historic dates, lists of local government and military officials, court days and the like. It must have enjoyed considerable success, as it continued to be published annually beyond 1800.





*Der Neuschottländische Calender Auf das  
Jahr Christi 1789. Halifax: Anthony  
Henry, 1788. Title page.*

National Archives of Canada: Library  
(Negative no. C-105286).



## French-Canadian Portraiture, circa 1800

This portrait is an example of the most significant development in Canadian fine arts of the period — the beginnings of a golden age of French Canadian painting that would stretch forward to the 1850s. Growing urban communities and increasing prosperity created a demand for painters, especially those specializing in portraiture. Painters like Robert Field in Halifax and William Berczy, who spent a portion of his career in Upper Canada, benefited from this demand, but the effects were most noticeable where the concentration of population was highest — in Quebec. Louis Dulongpré, creator of this portrait, was credited in his obituary with 3,500 oil and pastel portraits, an output almost beyond that of any other Canadian painter. Religious canvases provided some income for Quebec artists as well, but little inspiration. The tastes of the clergy were traditional and conservative.

French-Canadian painters created a distinctive Canadian portrait style, unique because it evolved when Quebec artists, cut off from study in France by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, pursued their own path. Beginning with the ornate rococo heritage of the French court, the Canadian style was tempered by sober thoughts of war and revolution in Europe, as well as threats of American invasion at home. The style combined a provincial naiveté with the sophistications of a European style to produce portraits that are alert, lively, and very much linked to their Canadian roots.

Louis Dulongpré (1754–1843) was a Frenchman who had studied in France and settled in Montreal after fighting in the American Revolution. He began painting portraits and religious works in the 1790s. The subject of this portrait, Joseph Papineau, was the father of the orator and politician, Louis-Joseph Papineau. Dulongpré executed four copies of it.



Joseph Papineau. Attributed to Louis Dulongpré (1754–1843). Oil on canvas, n.d. 74.3 × 61 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-95591).

## Seeds for Sale, circa 1764–1773

Like literature and the fine arts, science was in its infancy in Canada before 1815. One area of considerable amateur and professional interest was botany. Many letters of the period refer to seeds being sent abroad to relatives and friends. Here, on a more ambitious scale, John Wright offers to sell exotic Canadian seeds to interested gardeners in Britain. Wright was the gardener to the Governor of Quebec. As early as 1764, he was gathering large quantities of seeds to send home to “Noblemen & Gentlemen of the Society of Edinburgh,” who, as he notes in this handbill, presented him with a gold medal for his efforts.

By 1767, Wright was offering to send to Britain seeds of up to 400 different species individually parceled with the proper botanical name and the soil each plant required marked on the package. Wright also imported and sold British vegetable and flower seeds as well as fruit trees and roses, thus also encouraging the acclimatization of British plants to Canada. Wright returned to Britain in late 1772 or 1773.

All the available information on Wright comes from various advertisements in the official government newspaper, the *Quebec Gazette*. The National Archives holds an extensive subject and nominal index for the *Gazette*, 1764 to 1823.

# CATALOGUE

## TREES, SHRUBS, FLOWERS and HERBS,

DISCOVERED IN

### CANADA, in NORTH-AMERICA,

By JOHN WRIGHT, GARDINER and SURVEYOR of his MAJESTY'S Gardens, in the CITY of QUEBEC.  
Collector of American Seeds, for a Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in Scotland, and Sold by him,  
on the cheapest Terms, at QUEBEC.

## TREES and SHRUBS.

## 1. PINUS with five leaves.

2. Pinus strobus

3. Yellow Pine

4. Pinus resinosa

5. Pitch Pine

6. Pinus mitis

7. Pinus strobus

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## Fishing on the Montmorency River, 1782

Except for native games, very little in the way of organized team sports existed in Canada before 1815. Summer activities consisted mainly of picnicking, hunting and fishing — and as the habitants' wealth of fish in this watercolour suggests, fine clothes and fancy equipment did not always lead to the best catch.

One young British soldier fishing for salmon very near to Montmorency in 1815 recounted the sentiments that have led generations of Canadians to brave sunburn, heat and mosquitoes in search of fish:

At last — never shall I forget that moment — in a sweeping eddy, almost under a rock, I had a splendid rise — hooked my fish and away he went. . . he had run me out about five-and-twenty yards of line, when he leaped out of the water, and tried all sorts of manoeuvres to disengage himself. . . . I succeeded in killing my fish. . . . It weighed nearly ten pounds, and, as may be imagined, I was not a little elated at my success . . . to a youngster as I then was, and passionately fond of fishing withal, the sensation I experienced on taking my first fish is scarcely to be defined. . . . Never to my latest breath shall I cease to remember this eventful day.<sup>1</sup>

This view, with its delicate shading and striking luminosity, is perhaps the finest surviving example of James Peachey's work.

<sup>1</sup>Frederick Tolfrey, *The Sportsman in Canada*, 2 vols. (London: 1845), I, pp. 82–83.



*A View on Montmorenci River...* James Peachey (fl. 1773–1797). Hand-coloured etching, 1782. 42.8 × 61.0 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-2024).

## A Dance in the Château St. Louis, 1801

Many travellers remarked that British North America had only two seasons — summer and winter. Winter was the prime time for leisure activities, and no region was more fond of skating, sleighing and partying than French Canada. In this view, warmed by fireplaces and lit by candlelight, a “danse à la ronde” is performed amidst the rich surroundings of the Château St. Louis, the Governor’s residence where soirées were held once or twice a week in winter. The dancers, in a mixture of elegant dress (fashion was only about a year behind London and Paris) and local costume, present a study in contrast as do the observers in the background, many of whom are in habitant dress. Music is provided by a country fiddler and tambourines. Similar if more modest gatherings occurred at all levels of British North American society, with dancing, card playing and feasting.

George Heriot (1759–1839) sketched extensively during his travels as Deputy Postmaster-General of British North America. His works, a number of which accompany his classic, picturesque *Travels through the Canadas* (1807), are a valuable record of early Canadian life. The National Archives holds seventy-three Heriot watercolours and wash drawings, including a sketch book, as well as many aquatints and engravings after his works.



Dance in the Château St. Louis. George Heriot (1759–1839). Watercolour, 1801. 24.6 × 37.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-40).



## *Social Conditions*

Perhaps in no area of life did the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century differ more from our own time than in its attitude to the provision of health and welfare systems. Available services were much more limited and less effective. Social problems like alcoholism, inadequate health care, violence and social disorder, however, were as great or greater a concern, relative to the scale of society, as in our own time.

## Lottery Tickets, 1781

In eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Canada, it was not seen as the role of government to build schools, hospitals, orphanages or other community facilities. Their creation relied largely upon the churches and individual charity — often in the form of lotteries.

Now exceptionally rare, these first-class tickets in the 1781 Halifax Public School Lottery sold for 20 shillings (about \$2.50) each. They could win up to 4,250 pounds (\$10,500). The sponsors were attempting to raise 750 pounds (\$1,875).



Halifax Public School Lottery Tickets,  
1781.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, MG 9, B 9-23.

## A Mutual Insurance Club, circa 1805

Destitution due to serious illness, old age or the death of a bread-winner were terrifying threats to many Canadians before 1815 and indeed for more than a century thereafter. Provision for sickness or death were a heavy burden borne almost entirely by the individual. One solution was for individuals (almost invariably men) to band together in "friendly societies," pooling their funds for mutual aid.

The Quebec Benevolent Society, whose general regulations are exhibited here, was founded in Québec City in 1789 with twenty members. It grew to 238 by 1808. Candidates for membership had to be between twenty-one and forty-five years old and in good health. They paid an initiation fee and monthly dues. In return, they received modest benefits of 20 shillings (\$2.50) per week for the first twelve weeks of illness or disability and half that rate thereafter. Lump sums of £10 (\$25.00) were paid on the death of a member's wife or for a member's funeral. A widow and her family could receive £50 (\$125.00) on a vote of the membership.

The society drew its members from both the French and English communities in Québec City and was proud of its role in reducing the increasing tensions between the two groups.

Although the society claimed to draw its members from "all ranks of society," only the financially comfortable could have afforded to join it. Such societies were rare and unlikely to exist outside urban areas. Beyond their own resources and those of their kin, the vast majority of people would have had little or no protection in the face of serious illness or death.

Then, as now, advertising was important to insurance services. This manuscript copy of the Quebec Benevolent Society's regulations, written about 1805, comes from the papers of John Neilson, proprietor of the *Quebec Gazette*. He probably used this manuscript to typeset a pamphlet of which he produced 400 copies for the society. The order books of the printing firm are in the Neilson collection at the National Archives. They are a valuable source to historians and to students of literature who use them to study ephemeral publications — pamphlets, official notices, advertisements, playbills — for many of which no copies now survive.



000047

General Rules.

March 6. 3. • At a meeting of a number of Citizens of the Merchants & other houses in the City of Quebec on Wednesday the 25<sup>th</sup> of Sept 1799, a Resolutions was brought in by the Citizens meeting existing in Great Britain now under the authority of an Act of Parliament, was found to be having a Tendency to obstruct their said maintenance in old and new Subjects and especially and for the relief of widows and their issue of deceased Members under the name of the Quebec Permanent Society and from time to time. Resolutions of the said Society and good Government should have been passed but which are not now allowed to be admitted to the present Government of the same. It is now agreed by the existing Members of the Society, that hereafter and until altered, the following General Rules shall guide and be observed by them:

Meetings & resolutions of Association  
 April 1. The members shall meet for the purpose  
 of carrying into effect the objects of the Society.  
 The first three days in every month from every

000048

## Reges Generales

[illegible]

• Let. 1. — M. Roubaud s'occupera de l'effet de  
sauf en consultant les experts de la Société la plus  
tard de charger. Il est à l'effet de la loi de la loi de la loi.

## The Inmates of a Hospital at Montreal, 1814–1815

More than in our own day, hospitals were the last refuge of the impoverished, the very old and the abandoned. In the first list of hospital inmates, the number of elderly is very noticeable, while the “salle de refuge” is not an area we would associate with a modern hospital. The young boys listed are all five years old or younger. The second list of young children entering the hospital in 1814 and 1815 seems particularly shocking: 57 per cent of them died within a few months of admission.

Various lists for hospitals, orphanages, insane asylums and prisons of this period are scattered through official and private papers at the National Archives. They provide rare insights into these early social and charitable institutions.

1814		1815		1816		1817		1818	
avril	2	jean	bien malade	mort	le	16	avril		
	8	cellesim	vill	mort	le	16	avril		
	21	louis	vill	mort	le	30	avril		
	23	marie	Coste vill	mort	le	4	juin		
juin	13	antonin	vill	mort	le	28	juin		
	23	baptiste	lin vill	mort	le	9	juin		
	29	jean	baptiste	mort	le	3	mai		
juin	14	Louis	bien malade	mort	le	29	juin		
	19	marie	veronique vill	mort	le	1	juin		
	22	francois	vill	mort	le	21	juin		
	29	antonin	vill	mort	le	9	juin		
juin	11	marion							
	13	francois	bien malade	mort	le	24	juin		
	15	marguerite							
	16	pierre							
juin	2	Louis							
	3	basile	brunelle	mort	le	6	mars		
	23	marie	archange bien malade	mort	le	29	novembre		
1815 janvier	4	albanais							
	10	marie	jeanph						
	22	pierre	albanais						
février	13	jeanph		mort	le	10	juin		
	18	marie	Louise	mort	le	26	juin		
	27	pierre		mort	le	23	juillet		
	28	jean baptiste	bien malade	mort	le	2	mars		
mars	1	jean							
	3	mathias							
	6	casimir	bien malade	mort	le	18	mars		
	6	cellette	vill	mort	le	22	mars		
	10	cellesim							
	13	georgien	bien malade	mort	le	3	avril		
	14	Saule		mort	le	28	juillet		
	14	jean baptiste							
	14	frédéric							
	18	marguerite							
avril	3	jeanph		mort	le	1	mai		
	18	marie	jeanph bien malade	mort	le	3	mai		
	19	Louis	vill	mort	le	8	mai		
	23	matthie	vill	mort	le	19	juin		
	26	pierre	vill	mort	le	3	juin		
mai	2	marguerite	vill	mort	le	21	mai		
	19	denise	vill	mort	le	28	juin		
	24	jeanph	vill						
	26	pierre							
	31	théodore	bien malade	mort	le	6	juin		
juin	3	Louise							
	20	marie	jeanph						
	23	Louis							
juillet	2	jeanph	bien malade	mort	le	30	juillet		
	10	pierre							
	10	marie	clément						
	12	francois							
	27	marie	phélie						
	27	marie	veronique						

## Liquor Control, 1787

Strong drink fuelled most social gatherings of this period. It was considered essential for much heavy work and provided escape from the dreariness of everyday life. Per capita consumption was much higher than today, and many towns and cities had more taverns than all other businesses combined.

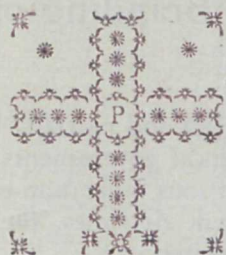
This circular letter issued to parish priests on the authority of the Bishop of Quebec deals with the problem of over-abundant and under-regulated taverns. It notes that the government had decreed that tavern licences were to be issued only to those who obtained attestations from the local priest and the captain of the local militia. The letter urges priests to give recommendations to as few individuals as possible and only to those of known integrity. The use by the government of the Roman Catholic Church to convey new instructions and enforce regulations was commonplace in the period and readily accepted by both parties.



1789

*Lettre Circulaire à Messieurs les Curés de Campagne.*

MONSIEUR,



POUR entrer dans les vues du Gouvernement qui a sagement fait annoncer dans la Gazette de Québec du 15 du présent mois, qu'après le 5 Avril prochain nul n'obtiendra le licence pour vendre des liqueurs dans les paroisses de campagne, sans s'être auparavant muni de l'attestation du Curé du lieu et du Capitaine de Milice; nous vous exhortons à faire usage de cette marque de confiance d'une manière qui réponde aux intentions qu'a le Gouvernement de maintenir partout l'ordre, la paix et les bonnes mœurs.

Vous observerez donc de ne donner cette recommandation qu'au plus petit nombre que vous pourrez, et seulement à des personnes d'une probité reconnue, chez qui vous ayez lieu d'espérer qu'il ne se passera aucun désordre occasionné par l'usage immodéré des boiffons.

Je suis bien parfaitement,

MONSIEUR,

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant Serviteur,

† JEAN FRANC<sup>s</sup>. Ev. d'Almire, Coadjtr. de Québec.

QUEBEC, 16 Mars, 1787.

BON POUR COPIE.

3.

## The Petition of a Thief Against the Branding of His Hand, 1795

Justice was often ineffective in early British North America and partially because of that, extremely harsh. Colonists often petitioned their local governments that they did not have enough law-enforcement officers, that prisons were non-existent or decrepit and that lawlessness was rampant and unchecked. At times, the only way to stop crime seemed to be to issue stern, even brutal, sentences.

Here a petty criminal, sentenced to six months for stealing a modest amount of woolen cloth, petitions for remission of the second part of the sentence — that he be branded on the hand. He was granted a pardon by Lord Dorchester.

Historians and social scientists have recently begun to study crime and punishment in early British North America using court records and related material like this petition in an attempt to better understand social disorder and its causes.

To the Right Honourable Guy Lord Dorchester, Captain  
General and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of upper and lower  
Canada: Nova Scotia: New Brunswick and their Dependencies,  
Vice Admiral of the same: General Commander in chief of all  
His Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces, and the Island of  
Newfoundland &c &c &c

The Petition of Isaac Newton a Prisoner in the Common Goal of Montreal.

Most humbly sheweth,

That your Excellency's Petitioner was tried, and convicted of  
stealing woolsacks to the Value of Twenty Shillings last March Term, and in  
consequence of such conviction, your Petitioner was sentenced to be imprisoned for  
the space of six Months, in the Goal of Montreal: to be burnt in the hand, and  
the burning in the hand, to be deferred until this present September Term.

That your Excellency's Petitioner did not know the consequence  
of the crime, at the time he committed it, but is now deeply impressed with the  
most heart felt contrition and remorse, and truly sorry he is. He ever transgressed  
the laws of his Country: implores your Excellency's forgiveness and Mercy.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly implores your  
Excellency (that in consideration of his youth, inexperience  
and general good Character before he committed this his  
first crime, and also his orderly behaviour while under  
confinement, as will fully appear by the annexed  
(certificate) to be graciously pleased to remit a most  
dreadful part of the Sentence, (to be burnt in the  
Hand) and your poor Petitioner, during the residue  
of his life, ever will remain a living instance of  
your Lordship's goodness, clemency and Mercy:  
And Petitioner as in Duty bound will ever Pray:

Montreal  
31<sup>st</sup> August 1795.

Isaac <sup>his</sup> Newton  
Mark

a Pardon to be prepared  
By order of Lord Dorchester

Dated 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1795

Herman Wilbuis Ryland

Petition of Isaac Newton against the  
burning of his hand, 1795.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, Provincial and Civil Secretaries'  
Offices, Lower Canada. Applications for  
Pardons or Clemency, 1767-1857.  
RG 4, B 20, vol. 1, p. 400.

# *Native Peoples*

In eastern and central British North America, the presence of European colonists had become an established fact for native peoples, and much of their energies were focused on coping with the complications arising from that situation. Further west and in the North, where the white presence was less dominating, native cultures continued much more to follow their own rhythm. Native societies of this period generated little documentation that has been placed in modern archives; surviving white documentation, however, often contributes substantially to understanding their cultures.



## An Important Fragment in the Beothuk Puzzle, 1768

The final result of contact with whites for small and weak Indian tribes could be extinction.

Having occupied areas of the island of Newfoundland for more than 1,000 years, the Beothuks by the eighteenth century had retreated into the sparsely populated area of Notre Dame Bay. Continuing white pressures and violence wiped them out completely by 1829. They disappeared almost without a trace; their habitations disintegrated and their sites were destroyed by new settlements or washed away. Very few artifacts have survived. This lack of archaeological evidence gives very special significance to the maps and accounts of Captain John Cartwright R.N. (1740–1824), which were based on an expedition he undertook in 1768 at the request of Governor Palliser of Newfoundland to make contact with the Beothuk.

This map, along with two others and a lengthy report on his excursion, were sent by Cartwright in 1773 to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the vain hope of eliciting aid for the Beothuks. The map is packed with information — it shows the position of the Beothuk wigwams and square dwellings along the Exploits River, Indian “deer foils” (caribou fences), and areas with “sewels.” Figures from 1 and 6 along the river mark the positions of Cartwright’s party at the end of each day of travel, and hand-written notes contain geological observations.

Scholars have used the number of dwellings on the map to estimate the Indian population in 1768 — about 350. Equally important are the illustrations, the most detailed depictions of Beothuk artifacts now in existence. They include a distinctive canoe and paddle, a summer *mamateek* (wigwam), a bow and arrow, quivers, rectangular and round containers, an axe and “sewels” (sticks with bark tassels used to extend deer fences where tree cover was sparse). It is little enough left of a people who prior to white contact numbered more than 1,000.

The National Archives holds two other maps, (a general one of Newfoundland and a map of Triton Island and surrounding area in Notre Dame Bay) and the manuscript report “Remarks on the Situation of the Red Indians, natives of Newfoundland . . . taken on the spot in the year 1768,” sent by Cartwright to Dartmouth. It is perhaps not surprising, given his sympathy for the weak and down-trodden, that Cartwright in the 1790s became a famous radical leader in British politics.



Map of the Exploits River. John Cartwright (1740–1824). Map: manuscript, hand-coloured, circa 1773. 38.8 × 30.2 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 27).

## A Symbol of Micmac Resistance, circa 1804

This Micmac catechism and grammar, written on alternate pages in Micmac and French, was transcribed by Joseph Gueguen (1741–1825) — who had himself laboured among the Micmac before the Conquest — for a new French missionary, Father Jean Mande Sigogne (1763–1844), who had arrived in 1799.

Roman Catholicism had flourished for the forty years after the Conquest, even though the Micmac had been without priests. The Micmac themselves had maintained manuscripts of what they called simply “the book” — a collection of biblical passages, a catechism, some psalms, hymns and prayers. Written in hieroglyphs on birchbark, it was copied as required.

The Micmacs were the first North Americans to come into contact with Europeans, and they had two hundred years of experience behind them when the British arrived. The gradualness of white penetration into their homeland had allowed them to come to terms with change, accept what they could and reject what they could not. They had reached an agreeable compromise with the French and they resisted the coming of the English. They maintained their band structure and clung to their Catholicism.

The Micmacs’ religion was an act of defiance, commemorating their ties with the French. From the first, the Micmacs had incorporated their own beliefs into Christianity, a tendency that had been accentuated by a long absence of priests. Their religion had a strong native element, and they saw it as part of themselves. Catholicism continued to define them as a group distinct from the colonists around them, and their beliefs stiffened their will to fight assimilation.

Although the book illustrated has been a part of the Indian Affairs records in the National Archives since 1885, its significance has only recently been recognized. Native studies researchers and linguists are presently studying it in order to understand the degree to which religious terminology was assimilated into the Micmac language by the turn of the eighteenth century.



87  
Bib. senn do' sechtaslk?

A. Kéhi nixham éla skizel neskizigilq; net nan  
neguenn elnagichp nan kigi paselhechp delang  
ks adelnaske hin.

B. Néguel elnagidek kichkato kéhep sténin?

A. M's éla; méch skizig kéhi nixhamesichp.

B. Ksa k'it edsk, ak skizigahmijot kins deli esaken  
ks ak skizigahmijot kins?

A. Delé éla; annchemma ba lns.

B. Tami b' ségi schkizinsichp éla elnichi?

A. Malial éla sténinuk ségi schkizinsichp.

B. Tami ségi schkizinsichp éla nixhamesichp?

A. Nixhamesichp éla annchemma ba ségi schkizinsichp.

B. Kéhi nixham skizel, ak mali skizel, edsk  
labozgik ak m's neskizigilq delichp?

A. M's éla; chik ba neskizigilq schkizigilq.

B. K'it éla; hemb, chamméslamode p'plogh  
chhalachere. Schkizigilq.

A. K'it ségi k'it nixhamesichp éla schkizigilq m's deli schkizinsichp  
lan k'it nixhamesichp éla schkizinsichp  
net nan elp ségi schkizinsichp lan schkizigilq m's  
schkizigilq ségi schkizinsichp kins deli schkizinsichp.

D. Qu'est-ce que le Sauveur?

R. C'est le fils unique de Dieu qui s'est fait homme, et  
qui a voulu se rendre tout semblable à nous.

D. En se faisant homme a-t-il changé la nature?

R. Non certes il n'a pas ce fait pour être véritablement Dieu.

D. Est-il comme nous un corps et une âme?

R. Qui peut qu'il a pris notre nature, de sorte qu'il est véritablement homme.

D. De qui est-il né comme homme?

R. Il est né du sein de Marie.

D. De qui est-il né comme Dieu?

R. Il est véritablement né de Dieu même.

D. Le fils de Dieu et le fils de Marie sont-ils deux personnes?

R. Non, c'est un seul Jésus Christ.

D. Pourquoi est-il dit que Jésus Christ a été conçu du  
St. Esprit?

R. C'est pour nous apprendre que Jésus Christ n'a été  
ni engendré, ni conçu à la façon des autres hom-  
mes. C'est encore pour nous faire connaître que  
Jésus Christ n'a pas été conçu, et n'est pas né comme  
nous dans et avec le péché.



## The Iroquois: Brother Against Brother, 1780

The Iroquois League, the most organized and powerful native grouping in north-eastern North America, had its homeland in upper New York State. When the American Revolution broke upon it, the League was dismayed and puzzled by the spectacle of Englishman fighting Englishman; most Iroquois attempted to maintain an uneasy neutrality. In 1777, gifts and constant pressure finally ripped apart the "Longhouse" (as the Iroquois called their confederacy). Some supported the rebels; most remained loyal to the Crown.

These poignant speeches, recorded on the spot in Mohawk, represent a last, futile attempt to restore unity. Little Abraham (d. 1780), an elderly Mohawk leader who had remained a true neutral, led a delegation of rebel Iroquois to the British stronghold at Fort Niagara in 1780. There he and the others begged the loyal Iroquois to lay down their arms and return home, to live in peace with the Americans. The speech shown runs in part:

We have heard one another's words once more, we who were formerly of the Long House. What has happened to us is calamitous! There is now no Long House where you and I can safely tell each other our fears . . . You, who went away, should reconsider the policy of the Long House . . . so that all our people will live again upon our former firesides and plantations, and smoke will rise again from our former cabins and all will enjoy the lordship of their lands again. This is our mind.

But it was already too late. The Americans, the previous summer, had pillaged the Iroquois lands, levelling the settlements. There was no going home again.

Little Abraham was thrown into a windowless, unheated stone vault where he died, a disillusioned man. The loyal Iroquois fought on to the end of the war, when they were granted new land by the British at Grand River and Deseronto, Ontario. There, the gradual incursion of white settlement would radically alter their way of life.

The text of this speech comes from the Claus Family papers, which date from 1755 to 1886. Several members of the family were important officials in the Indian Department both before and after the American Revolution, and the papers contain correspondence, journals, accounts, and other records of the Clauses and other Indian Department officials relating to Canada's native peoples. Because of their high informational value, the papers have undergone extensive conservation and have been microfilmed.

yon gwaet gea ni gon on negh kas kagh ro non  
 ne ne ro nea de la ta de gea gon de la ta dea tugh nigh  
 son ni gea non se ni ge wat gea ni gon egh ni sa gea  
 yon ghe ran da on sa ya gea da te la na non ghe  
 on ghe non ghe sya nigh ghe ne ne tji ni yo negh rak gwaet  
 ka ro non tji na on ghe ya da la na nea yagh de ka non  
 sa degh ok ne egh tji yage ni sha nigh se a yage ni  
 tugh ghe ne naugh on ni ya gya don kagh ghe do gh se  
 se wat te vis on kagh hagh nea yon ghe ya da la na  
 la de la ta ka ro non ni a se gea ni ok ho nea tji ni yage ni  
 no rangh ghe gea gea non ghe syon ni ne ka ti yage ne gh  
 da on se se la ya do negh on ghe ya ne vagh se vagh  
 a on se se la ta kagh tho kagh ka non ghe syon ni ne gh  
 la tji se la dat re waugh a ghe gon la jon tyea don  
 tji ni gea tji ta ghe ne tji o ni ni gon ne ka yean thon ghe  
 ya yea ghe ran don yon ghe a gh gon ka yon tyea on  
 ka ge la na ni yo ka ge na ka on gh loen jagh egh ni gon y ni  
 yon ran dea a ya ta ha waugh ka ya ne vagh se vagh yon  
 gya te vis don ne on ka ri on nigh sya se tyot kor  
 yon ge nigh tha vagh ghe ka ya ne vagh se ra yon gwaet  
 te vis don egh ne ni yo ni waugh  
 ro tigh se a va ghe te va o ti la na la ta dea ro non  
 ne ne ro nea de la ta de gea gon de la ta dea tugh nigh  
 son ni gea non se ni ge wat gea ni gon egh ni sa gea  
 yon ghe ran da on sa ya gea da te la na non ghe  
 on ghe non ghe sya nigh ghe ne ne tji ni yo negh rak gwaet  
 ka ro non tji na on ghe ya da la na nea yagh de ka non  
 sa degh ok ne egh tji yage ni sha nigh se a yage ni  
 tugh ghe ne naugh on ni ya gya don kagh ghe do gh se  
 se wat te vis on kagh hagh nea yon ghe ya da la na  
 la de la ta ka ro non ni a se gea ni ok ho nea tji ni yage ni  
 no rangh ghe gea gea non ghe syon ni ne ka ti yage ne gh  
 da on se se la ya do negh on ghe ya ne vagh se vagh  
 a on se se la ta kagh tho kagh ka non ghe syon ni ne gh  
 la tji se la dat re waugh a ghe gon la jon tyea don  
 tji ni gea tji ta ghe ne tji o ni ni gon ne ka yean thon ghe  
 ya yea ghe ran don yon ghe a gh gon ka yon tyea on  
 ka ge la na ni yo ka ge na ka on gh loen jagh egh ni gon y ni  
 yon ran dea a ya ta ha waugh ka ya ne vagh se vagh yon  
 gya te vis don ne on ka ri on nigh sya se tyot kor  
 yon ge nigh tha vagh ghe ka ya ne vagh se ra yon gwaet  
 te vis don egh ne ni yo ni waugh

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Claus Family papers, MG 19, F 1, vol. 2, p. 165.

## Western Indians: Dependants of the Fur Trade? 1776

Further west, the pressures of white civilization were weaker, and natives maintained their independence more easily than in the East. This contemporary copy of a letter in a fur trading post journal hints that the fur trade was as dependent upon the Indians as they were upon it. Fur traders relied upon the Indians as couriers and suppliers of provisions — two of the many basic tasks white traders could not easily accomplish on their own. Giving presents to the Indians was an accommodation by Europeans to the culture of the native peoples. Basically, the traders were dependent upon the natives for furs. If this was “a leisure time for Indians,” then it was perforce a leisure time at the trading posts. The letter mentions efforts and “inducements” to “retrieve and increase” trade. In part, this was because of rivalry among fur trading companies, but even more because at this period the Indians’ demands for goods were inelastic. An Indian would trap enough to satisfy his basic needs, with some left over for entertainment. So, competitive terms and lavish gifts did not increase the demand for supplies; they simply caused natives to hunt less since they could bring in fewer furs to obtain what they wanted. This is not to suggest that natives were never exploited by the fur trade, but clearly native people could still demand and receive a system of trade that in certain basic procedures conformed to their own way of life.

Like the letter exhibited as Item 54, this one is a copy of record in a fur journal.

A Letter To Mr. William Falconer  
Master at Severn House.

Albany Fort the 13<sup>th</sup> June 1776

Dear Friend

This being a Leisure time for ~~the~~ Indians, I have choose it for sending the Request to the Northward and to acknowledge the receipt of your Favour of 5<sup>th</sup> December last, Tusquothecot & Nisquis are the only Indians employed on this occasion. I have Sent. Wauchuck, & some others are coming your way but am not certain for they ramble any where in summer.

The ~~last~~ winter turned out very poor both for furs and Provisions which run ~~hard~~ upon me I had not a Goose in the Factory sometime before the Spring Season came on, which has however proved very favourable, for I valued 32 Hogsheds but I have near 50 men to feed, I wish I had some of the Old stock you mention, The spring remark: ably backward.

I cannot tell what my Trade will be having only few of my Principal Leaders in as ~~good~~ ~~not~~ yet. I am poorly of for furs but I can use with any place in the country for feathers for I suppose when they are all Packed I shall not be much short of a Ton weight.

I am entirely of your Opinion that Presents and mild treatment are the greatest inducements to the the Indians, I try all I can to retrieve & increase the Trade, Mr. Swell too exerts himself at Henly, Mr. Jarvis is gone from there Inland with Indians, & three Englishmen are going by themselves to explore the Country. I wish to God I had a pipe of Brandy & a Roll of Tobacco up amongst ~~the~~ the Indians I doubt not but they would have more effect than the Eloquence of a Cicero.

All Friends at Henly, East Main & Moose River ~~where~~ were well when I heard last, I enclose your Letter, I hope this will reach Severn before you Sail, God send you a good voyage large Trade and every thing you can wish. Prays

Your Affectionate Friend  
and Humble Servant

Thomas Hutchins

Moose For  
Letter To Mr. Falconer  
Master at Severn House

Letter, Thomas Hutchins to William Falconer, Albany Fort, 13 June 1776.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript Division, Severn House Journal, MG 19, D 2, vol. 2, unpaginated.



## The Pacific Coast, 1778

In this sketch of a Nootka communal house, the only indication of the white man's influence is the sketch itself. The building is constructed of massive cedar planks and support beams from the local forest. The planks were of great value, handed down through generations. Clothing, hats and rugs were locally made, as the loom attests. Fish, the major food supply, are being roasted and suspended on horizontal poles above a fire for drying and smoking.

Contact with white civilization for Pacific Coast natives was quite limited. When they did trade, West Coast natives rapidly acquired a reputation for their discrimination and their ability to drive a hard bargain. The confidence the Indians showed in their trading was indicative of their power. The Indians could have destroyed any of the trading vessels that visited their villages.

This pencil sketch was probably executed by John Webber on the spot during Cook's visit to Nootka in 1778 (see Item 2).



Interior of Communal House with  
Women Weaving, Nootka. John Webber  
(1751–1793). Grey wash and pencil,  
March–April 1778. 19.1 × 14.6 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-2821).

## An Extraordinary Painting of an Inuit Costume, circa 1768–1781

The Inuit, at this period the almost exclusive inhabitants of the Arctic, experienced very little contact with Europeans. The first sustained contact came between Moravian missionaries and Labrador Inuit in the 1770s. Except for this and fleeting trade at other locations, white culture had almost no impact upon them.

Rarity of contact makes information about the Inuit very valuable and gives this oil painting an exceptional ethnographic value. Among depictions of the time relating to native peoples, the work is unusual for its large size and the fact that it is an oil. The latest research suggests, moreover, that this painting is an accurate study of an authentic Labrador or Baffin Island Inuit costume modelled by a European woman in London between 1768 and 1781. The desire for thoroughness is evidenced by the presentation of both a front and a back view to capture the full costume. So great was the attention to detail that it is possible to identify the material from which the clothing was made. The wide, high boots are of special interest. The style appears to have died out in the nineteenth century, and no specimens of the boots exist today.

The artist, Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807), was a Swiss portrait painter who lived in London between 1766 and 1781. The National Archives also holds a companion oil of an Inuit man's costume.





Woman in Inuit Clothing, circa 1768–1781. Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807). Oil on canvas. 91.5 × 71.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-95201).



# *War of 1812*

On 18 June 1812, at the height of the Napoleonic conflict, the United States declared war on Great Britain and struck at the British possessions on the continent. The immediate cause was British action on the high seas — searching American ships for goods destined for enemy ports and impressment of American sailors.

The main battles of the war took place near the international boundary in modern Ontario and Quebec. Although now half-forgotten, the war posed a serious threat that the United States would capture and absorb Canada. Many colonists — with good reason — feared the American boast that taking Canada would be “a mere matter of marching.”

## A Letter that Gave the British a Vital Warning, 1812

Through their commercial grapevine, the Canadian fur traders of the North West Company learned in June 1812 that the United States had declared war on Great Britain and her colonies in Canada. The merchants conveyed this electrifying news to British officials in Canada long before official channels brought word of hostilities.

A copy of this letter (this version is the British army's official deposit copy) was despatched immediately to Captain Charles Roberts, commander at St. Joseph's Island in Lake Huron, the most westerly British military post. The fur traders had worked quickly; Roberts also heard the news from a messenger from Amherstburg (Windsor) and via a letter from Major-General Isaac Brock.

As a result of the warning, the American garrison at nearby Mackinac Island awoke on the morning of 16 July to find the astonishing sight of 45 determined British redcoats, 180 voyageurs and fur traders, and 400 war-like Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebago, Menominee and Ottawa, backed by two six-pound brass cannons, demanding immediate surrender of the garrison. The dazed Americans did not even know there was a war on! They surrendered without a shot. The bloodless victory, along with the taking of Detroit, gave the British early control of the Michigan territory and the Upper Mississippi — as well as a sharp psychological edge over the supposedly “wily” Yankees.

The National Archives of Canada holds approximately 2,000 volumes of the records of the British army in Canada, which the British government agreed to leave after the army's withdrawal. They are a treasure trove of information not only on Canada's military history, but on her social and economic history as well.

Adjut General Office

Quebec 25<sup>th</sup> June 1812

Sir

I am commanded to acquaint you that by an Express received by the North West Company, the Commander of the Forces has received intelligence that the American Government has declared War against Great Britain. His Excellency therefore avails himself of the opportunity offered by the dispatch of Canoes to St Josephs to write you this intelligence and to direct you to observe the greatest vigilance and Caution for the Protection of the Post and for the ultimate security of the Party committed to your Charge.

The Gentlemen of the North West Co has assured the Command of the Forces of their Cordial and active Cooperation in aiding the exertions of His Majesty's Government by every means in their Power and I am commanded to inform you that it is His Excellency's most express Orders that you will to the utmost of your ability afford every assistance and Protection possible to Promote the Interest and Security of the North West Company, consistent with a due regard to the security of the Post and in Case of necessity the ultimate retreat of your Party.

Mr McKay the bearer of this is a Proprietor of the North West Company.

I have the Honor to be Sir  
your most Obedt. Servt

(sd) Edw Baynes

Adj. Gen. A. W.

To  
Capt. Roberts  
10<sup>th</sup> R. C. B  
Comms  
St Josephs

Letter, Edward Baynes, Adjutant General  
to Captain Charles Roberts, Quebec,  
25 June 1812 [clerical copy].

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, British Military and Naval  
Records Series, RG 8, C Series, vol.  
688A, p. 65.

## An Indian Ceremony to Mark the Death of Brock, 1812

Having lost in the far West, the Americans risked a second army at Queenston Heights near Niagara and lost again. The British took 925 prisoners, but at the cost of the life of their brilliant commander, Sir Isaac Brock (1769–1812).

Brock was buried in a formal but simple funeral at Fort George on 16 October 1812. On 6 November, the Indian allies of the British, chiefly Iroquois, gathered to hold a solemn council of condolence.

The Indians had played a vital role at Queenston Heights. After Brock's fall, they had recommended the circuitous path the British and Canadians used to gain the heights. Four hundred Indians, along with a platoon of black troops, served as forward skirmishers, striking terror and confusion into the American ranks while the British regulars and Canadian militia advanced to rout them.

In his address, here translated by William Claus, the Deputy Superintendent General of the Indian Department, Koseanegonte, Chief of the Cayugas, uses ritual and poetic language to offer consolation to his people's white allies who are "darkened with Grief, your Eyes dim with Tears, and your throat stopt with the force of your affliction."

This report of an Indian council comes from the British Military and Naval Records Series in the National Archives. Because, until at least the end of the War of 1812, native peoples were viewed by the government primarily as military allies, there is an extensive amount of material on Indian affairs in this series. The National Archives also holds the records of the Department of Indian Affairs and its predecessors, covering all regions of the country and dating from 1677 to the present. The records presently fill a massive 2,600 metres of shelf space.



At a General Council of Condolence held at the Council House  
 Fort George 6th November 1812 with the said Nations, Hurons  
 Chippewas, Potawatamies &c. 194  
 Present. William Claus Esq<sup>r</sup> ~~Esq<sup>r</sup>~~ <sup>Esq<sup>r</sup></sup> General  
 Captain Norton C-256  
 Captain J. B. Raper and  
 several other Officers of the Indian Department.  
 Nidnawoyont. Little Cayuga Chief Speaker  
 Brother. The Americans have long threatened to strike  
 us, and in the beginning of the summer they  
 declared War against us, and lately they commenced  
 Hostility by invading the Country at Queenstown  
 in this contest which with the help of God terminated  
 in our favor your much lamented Commander  
 General Brock his Aid de Camp Colonel McDonnell  
 and several Warriors have fallen.  
 Brother. We therefore now seeing you distressed with  
 Grief your Eyes dim with Tears, and your throat  
 stiff with the force of your affliction. With  
 these strings of Wampum we wipe away your  
 Tears, that you may view clearly the surrounding  
 objects. We clear the passage in your throat that  
 you may have free utterance for your thoughts,  
 and we wipe clean from blood the place  
 of your abode, that you may sit there in  
 comfort without having renewed the  
 remembrance

A General Council of Condolence Held at  
 the Council House at Fort George on the  
 Death of Brock, 6 November 1812.

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
 Division, British Military and Naval  
 Records Series, RG 8, C Series,  
 vol. 256, p. 194.

## French Canada Supports the War, 1813

In contrast to its uneasy neutrality in the American Revolution, French Canada united in a whole-hearted support of the War of 1812. This *mandement* of the Bishop of Quebec in 1813 not only criticized the United States for attacking Canada, despite Britain's attempt to avoid shedding blood and to maintain the long-standing relationship of peace, friendship and commerce with Americans, but also expresses deep pride in the support French Canadians had given the war. The clergy militantly opposed the American aggression as giving aid to their mortal enemy, revolutionary France. The French Canadian aristocracy saw in the war a chance to revive their faded military glory. All of society resisted what to them was an attempt by Anglo-Saxons to subjugate and absorb French Canada.

## JOSEPH-OCTAVE PLESSIS,

*Par la miséricorde de Dieu et la grace du Saint Siège Apostolique, Evêque de Québec, etc. etc. A tous ceux des Fidèles de notre Diocèse, qui demeurent dans la Province du Bas Canada, Salut et Bénédiction en N. S.*

**I**L y a environ un an, Nos très chers Frères, que nous vous invitâmes à consacrer un jour à des œuvres de piété, de pénitence et d'humiliation, pour attirer sur l'Empire Britannique en général et sur ce pays en particulier la protection du Ciel. Sans elle, vous le savez, il est impossible aux hommes de faire avec succès aucune entreprise, ni de se tenir en garde contre les attaques de leurs ennemis. Nous étions alors menacés prochainement par les Etats-Unis d'une déclaration de guerre qui ne tarda pas à avoir lieu, nonobstant les mesures conciliantes proposées à diverses reprises par la Grande Bretagne pour prévenir l'effusion du sang, et pour maintenir ses anciennes relations de paix, d'amitié et de commerce avec cette Puissance,

La première nouvelle d'une guerre a coutume de frapper d'abord les esprits et d'y laisser une impression de terreur, surtout parmi des citoyens qui jouissent depuis longtemps des douceurs de la paix. Néanmoins, à l'ardeur sans exemple qui se manifesta sur le champ dans toutes les parties de la Province, on eût dit que vous étiez depuis longtemps préparés et exercés à courir aux armes. Empressement à laisser vos foyers, zèle des pères de famille à envoyer leurs enfans aux bataillons qui leur étoient assignés, promptitude étonnante à acquérir l'habitude des exercices militaires, impatience remarquable d'aller au combat, désir unanime de seconder les desseins et les efforts du sage et habile Général que la Divine Providence a placé à notre tête; tant d'heureuses dispositions faisoient tout ensemble l'éloge de votre religion et votre de loyauté. Elles furent connues au loin et ne contribuèrent pas peu à préparer les défaites successives d'un ennemi déjà intimidé par la supériorité de la discipline et de la valeur de nos troupes et milices du Haut et du Bas-Canada. Jusqu'à ce moment, non seulement nous avons conservé l'intégrité de notre territoire, mais nous nous trouvons en possession de plusieurs postes qui ne faisoient pas partie des Domaines Britanniques avant le commencement des hostilités.

Si de cette partie du monde nous portons nos regards au delà des mers, nous appercevrons l'Europe commençant enfin à se rassurer contre les entreprises gigantesques du dévastateur qui avoit conjuré sa ruine. Plusieurs Puissances du Nord instruites par leurs malheurs passés se sont déjà ralliées à l'Angleterre, preuve de leur retour à une politique plus saine. Plusieurs autres chancelent et ne tarderont vraisemblablement pas

## Châteauguay, 1813: A Key French-Canadian Victory

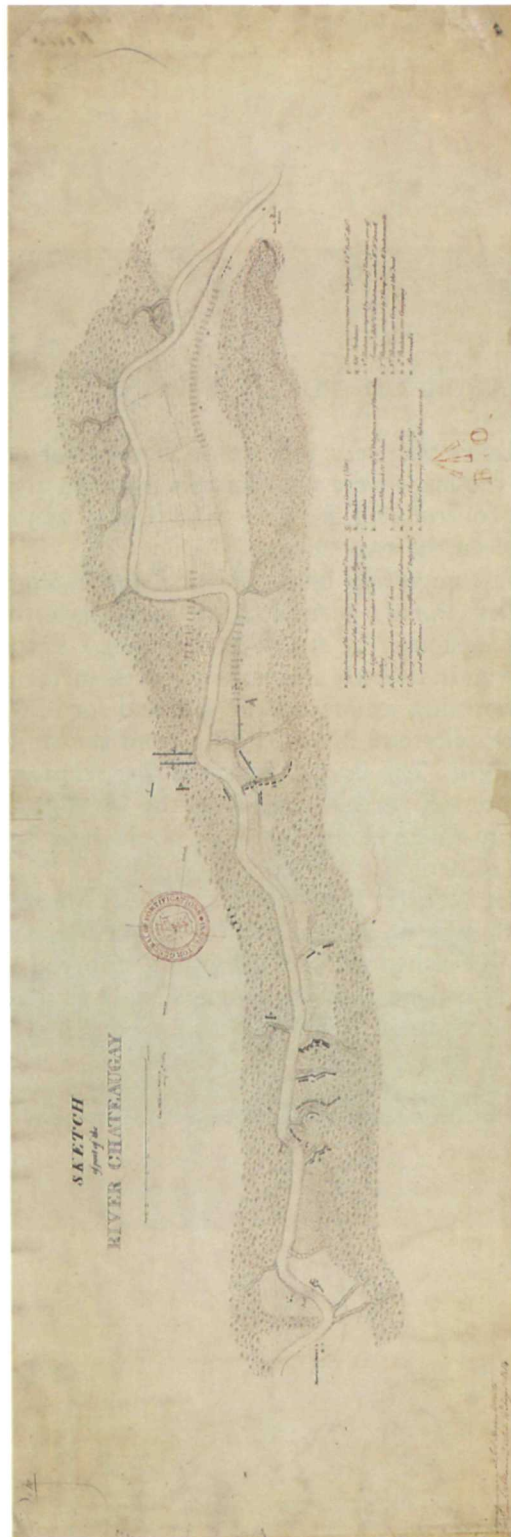
The year 1813 was a dark one for Canada: the Americans won major victories in the west; burned York (Toronto) and carried out intensive, if finally unsuccessful, attacks in the Niagara Peninsula. Late in the fall, the Americans launched a two-pronged attack on Montreal. One force of 4,000 regular troops advanced up the Châteauguay River to within 15 miles of the St. Lawrence River. There they were met by a small force — only about 500 of them actually engaged in the battle — consisting of French Canadian militia and some Upper Canadian Scots. The core of the force was the Canadian Voltigeurs, who had been drilled all the previous winter by their leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles de Salaberry (1778–1829), a French Canadian career officer in the British army with wide experience in the Napoleonic Wars.

As this map shows, de Salaberry chose carefully the position where he would meet the Americans — the spot where the road on which they were advancing veered near the river and was bordered on the other side by swamp. After prolonged skirmishing in which de Salaberry cleverly deployed his men to suggest a much larger force, the Americans lost their nerve and withdrew. The second American army was later defeated at Crysler's Farm.

Châteauguay was a small battle, but a handful of Canadian militia, some only partially trained, resisted and turned back an attack by American regulars. Montreal was saved, and its loss could well have cost the war.

This plan was prepared in August 1814 by the British military for its own reference from a sketch done by de Salaberry himself.





Sketch of Part of the River Châteauguay.  
George Williams, R.M.S.D. Map:  
manuscript, 9 August 1814.  
101.1 × 33.3 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 19176).

## Attack on Fort Oswego, 1814

Control of the Great Lakes was very important in the War of 1812. With limited land communications, the lakes were vital for moving men and supplies. The Americans gained and held control of Lake Erie from 1813, while the balance on Lake Ontario see-sawed between the two sides.

In early 1814, the completion of the *Prince Regent* (seen here on the left, close to shore) and the *Princess Charlotte* (centre of the view) gave the British a temporary advantage, which they exploited to attack Fort Oswego at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The battle is seen in its early stages, with Swiss mercenaries, Upper Canadian militia, and marines storming ashore on the left and forming ranks, while seamen and marines armed with pikes are disembarking from the ships to land immediately below the fort on the right. The British took the fort, capturing large quantities of supplies. If they had pressed further inland to the Oswego Falls, they could have captured a major equipment cache and perhaps would have kept the American fleet out of action for the summer.

Lieutenant John Hewett (fl. 1806–1869), a Royal Marine upon whose drawing this aquatint was based, was in the thick of the fighting. According to a letter in the National Archives, he rushed the fort's flagstaff, climbed it under heavy fire and ripped down the American flag — which perhaps explains why the flag and flagstaff occupy a disproportionately large position in this view.



*Attack on Fort Oswego, Lake Ontario, N. America, May 6th, 1814, Noon.* John Hewett (fl. 1806–1869). Etched by Robert Hovell. London, 1 May 1815. Hand-coloured aquatint. 47.8 × 61.0 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division (Negative no. C-41207).

## Carnage at Fort Erie, 1814

Later in 1814, the Americans again crossed the Niagara River, taking Fort Erie. After a victory at Chippewa and a bloody draw at Lundy's Lane, they withdrew to the fort. The British army set up camp and constructed gun batteries, while the Americans extended the fort's defences, all of which can be seen on this plan.

After insufficient shelling of the fort, the British regulars on 15 August attempted a complicated night attack that the explosion of an ammunition magazine turned from defeat to disaster. The British casualties were an appalling 900 men.

On 15 September, an American sortie, for which the British were inexcusably ill-prepared, spiked three of the six British siege guns. Losses were heavy on both sides, and neither could claim a clear victory. The British withdrew to Chippewa and the Americans eventually re-crossed to Buffalo, blowing up Fort Erie on 5 November. The war in the Niagara peninsula had become increasingly bloody and senseless.

This contemporary manuscript copy was prepared by George D. Cranfield, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General at Kingston in 1815, for future reference from an original done on the spot by Lieutenant W.A. Nesfield. It passed out of the military's hands and came to the National Archives as part of a private collection.





"Plan of the Operations of the British Army in front of Fort Erie, in the Months of August & September, 1814." George D. Cranfield, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, after Lt. W. A. Nesfield. Map: manuscript, hand-coloured, 3 May 1815. 58.4 × 49.4 cm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Cartographic and Architectural Archives  
Division (NMC 22341).

## A Woman's View of the War, 1814

Surviving letters, diaries and journals that record the everyday thoughts and concerns of people are not very common for this period, and those by women are especially rare.

The "Mrs. Gordon" who wrote this letter is possibly the wife of James Gordon, an assistant commissary during the War of 1812. Catharine Prendergast, the recipient, was living at this date in the United States.

Through the letter, a reader gets some sense of the stress the war was causing Mrs. Gordon. She laments that "this fine country is all most laid in wast" and longs for peace. Despite the fact she has a one-year-old child, she had twice accompanied her husband as the British army in 1813 retreated up the Niagara peninsula. She had not expected to see her parents, who had stayed behind, alive again, but is touchingly grateful that her entire family survived to be together on Christmas day. Her fervent wish concerning the conflict is "I hope and trust this year will put an end to it."

This letter comes from the Merritt Family papers. Catharine Prendergast was the fiancée of William Hamilton Merritt, later builder of the Welland Canal. The papers contain rare personal letters dating back to the American Revolution and before.

12 Mile Creek 12 January

000061

I am indebted to the fortune of war  
for this opportunity of writing you I send it by Capt  
Leonard's Family who have been at my Father's  
since the capture of Fort Niagara I really don't  
know where to direct it the only time we had the pleasure  
of hearing from you was at the commencement of war  
you was on your way to Lansingburgh since then  
I have you have, or we would of heard from you however  
I must acknowledge our communication is very precarious  
and am confident that is the only reason my Dear girl  
I am happy to think you are ~~not~~ so far from the  
seat of war I have twice followed my Husband to battle  
- when thinking at the last time I should ever see  
my parents but fate has been kind enough to bring us through  
every danger all our Family was together on Christmas day  
we should of been very happy to of had your company as one,  
this fine country is all most laid in waste it has felt the ravages  
of war with perfect extent my Brother has just come home to  
accompany Gen. R. Leonard across the river I flatter myself that the  
we should have a peace ~~this~~ last Spring and expected  
to of seen you in this but have been most severely  
disappointed I hope and trust this year will put an en-  
tire stop I hope you will be able to drop me alone by some

opportunity and let me know where you are and whether  
my letters reach you that we may know also often  
the L are gone and a Dragoon waits this they all send  
there love to you I need not mention any names my  
youngest child is 1 year old you are his godmother his name  
is James Murray Gordon is over the river

God bless you my  
Dear girl  
Catharine Prendergast

This was the only letter I read from  
you for some time

12 Jan 12 12 Mile Creek

Letter, Mrs. Gordon to Catharine  
Prendergast, 12 Mile Creek, 12 January  
[1814].

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, Merritt Family papers, MG 24,  
E 1, vol. 3, pp. 61-62.

## Canada's Most Famous Privateer, the *Liverpool Packet*, 1813

Because the New England states remained largely neutral, the Atlantic colonies were spared the horrors of war inflicted upon Ontario and Quebec. The war with the United States had the effect of lifting the Maritimes and Newfoundland to a new feeling of self-confidence and local pride.

The Maritimes and Newfoundland, however, did more than cheer others' victories. Thirty-seven vessels of the five colonies (Cape Breton was a separate colony until 1820) engaged in privateering during the war, and twelve others carried letters of marque as armed traders. They made 207 recorded captures. The most famous privateer was the *Liverpool Packet*. Manned by a crew of forty-five Liverpool fishermen, she took fifty prizes from American coastal shipping. She was once captured after a grim battle with a ship carrying three times her fire power, but was retaken and continued to strike terror amongst American shipping to the end of the war.

The document shown here relates to a problem with the official recognition of the *Packet's* right to capture and sell enemy ships — her "letters of marque." The petition includes a list of ships and cargoes she had taken up to the end of 1812.

In the records it holds of the Vice Admiralty Court, Halifax, the National Archives has many prize court documents outlining both the capture and the cargoes of enemy ships taken by Canadian privateers.



2124

To His Royal Highness George, Prince of Wales,  
Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great  
Britain and Ireland, and all other His Majesty's  
Lieutenants.

Most Gracious Prince.

As the Undersigned Owners and Agents  
for the Master and Crew of the private Ship of War the Swampy Packet, beg leave  
and humbly to state to Your Royal Highness, that all arrived in the said Ca-  
nister Sea Subalterns of the Town of Liverpool, in the Province of Nova Scotia,  
where they carry on the Fishery, and have ever conducted themselves as dutiful  
and faithful Subjects to His Majesty.

That the United States of America in the month of June  
last, suddenly declared War against His Majesty, and granted letters of Marque &  
Raid against the Ships and Goods of all his Majesty's Subjects, and thereby the  
Fishery in which your Lieutenants were engaged, was ruined and broken up, and the  
Fishermen were deprived of their usual Subsistence, by the numerous Privateers that in-  
stantly infested every part of the shores of this Province.

That your Lieutenants being possessed of a small fast sailing  
Ship, called the Swampy Packet, which was furnished with a letter of Marque  
against the Privateers, detached, & commanded by John C. Reynolds, Government of this  
Province, to man and fit her out to cruise against the American Ships, to retaliate  
on them the great injury they had done to His Majesty's Subjects in this Province, and  
your Lieutenants much to the satisfaction of His Majesty's Subjects in this Province, and  
Lieutenant, R. D. His Majesty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in  
Chief on this Province, who was pleased to grant a Commission for said Vessel un-  
der the Great Seal of this Province, dated the twenty fourth day of August last, where-  
by he authorized and directed John Freeman, the Commander of said Vessel in  
like manner and in His Majesty's name, to seize, take and bring in the Ships,  
Vessels, and Goods of the People of the United States of America, and did also by one  
other Commission dated the twenty fourth day of November last, authorize and direct  
Lieutenant Reynolds who succeeded the said John Freeman in the command of the said  
letter of Marque, likewise to seize the property of the People of the said United States,  
and His Excellency was pleased at the same time to assure your Lieutenants that  
he would use his best endeavours to secure to them all the benefit and advantage  
of priviledge, that they may take from the Enemy.

That your Lieutenants under such authority and with such  
Encouragement, at a great expence, manned and fitted out the said Privateer, and  
sent her several Cruises in which she has not only protected the Trade of His Ma-  
jesty's Subjects in this Province, but has taken from the Enemy the several Vessels  
specified in the Schedule which they have humbly annexed herewith, and your Lie-  
utenants flattered themselves with the hope not only of recovering the Charge and  
Expence of said Vessel, but also to enjoy in some measure the great loss which their  
Town has suffered by the War.

That every Day which your Lieutenants have taken, ex-  
cept One, have been made since the date of Your Royal Highness's Proclamation,  
granting to the Owners and Crews of letters of Marque the whole of the Taxes to

[illegible]

Petition to George, Prince Regent, by  
the Master and Crew of the *Liverpool*  
*Packet*, 1813 [copy].

National Archives of Canada: Manuscript  
Division, MG 24, I 182, vol. 4,  
pp. 2124 and 2126.

## The Upper Canada Preserved Medal, 1813

The War of 1812 ended in a stalemate; the Treaty of Ghent re-established the status quo before the war. Canadians, however, could be proud of their role in fighting a powerful enemy to a stand-off in a war they had had no wish to incur.

A number of medals were issued by the British authorities relevant to the War of 1812 "in commemoration of the brilliant and distinguished events in which the success of His Majesty's arms has received the royal approbation." It was decided to honour the engagements at Fort Detroit, Chateauguay and Crysler's Farm.

In addition, a special medal was struck by a colonial organization, the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, formed in the early months of the war to relieve wartime distress and commemorate conspicuous bravery. The obverse of the medal showed, as the directors described it in 1813:

A streight between two lakes, on the north side a Beaver (emblem of peaceful industry), the ancient armorial bearing of Canada. In the background an English lion slumbering. On the south side of the streight, the American eagle planeing in the air, as if checked from seizing the Beaver by the presence of the Lion. . . .

Recipients were to be recommended by officers of the militia. Because of the large number of recipients recommended and because of controversy over the authority to award the medals, all the extant ones — 62 gold and 550 silver — were eventually melted down. This medal is a modern re-strike, made from the original moulds.



Obverse and reverse of "Upper Canada Preserved" medal, 1813 (modern re-strike). Struck in silver. Diameter 51 mm.

National Archives of Canada:  
Documentary Art and Photography  
Division.

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A PLAN, ELEVATION and SECTION of the DISSENTING MEETING-HOUSE, ST. JOHN'S - NEWFOUNDLAND.

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