

**Notes on public subjects, made during a tour in the  
United States and in Canada / by Hugh Seymour  
Tremenheere a machine-readable transcription.**

NOTES ON PUBLIC SUBJECTS, MADE DURING A TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES  
AND IN CANADA.

BY HUGH SEYMOUR TREMENHEERE.

*Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem, Romanosque tuos.*

VIRGIL.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CITY OF WASHINGTON

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1852.

F.S.R. E166 T78

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

**CONTENTS.**

UNITED STATES.

PAGE

The Public System of Education in the Free States of the Union 1

## Library of Congress

The Theory on which it is based—namely, that the Religious instruction which is not given in the Day Schools is given in the Sunday Schools—is not supported by facts, in reference to a large proportion of the labouring population 8

That the injurious consequences of separating Religious from Secular instruction are becoming evident to some of the most observant persons and the most zealous supporters of popular education 47

Reasons why another effort should be made to bring all parties in this country to an agreement on the principles on which a general system might be founded 58

Railways in the United States 60

Their probable effect on the future price of wheat in this country 69

Water Supply in the Cities and large Towns 105 A2

iv

The secret Ballot at the Elections for the State of Massachusetts 114

Note on Bribery at Elections 123

Extract from Message of the Governor of the State of New York on that subject 123

The Press 126

General Remarks 143

Beneficial results of the present more frequent intercourse between the educated classes of the United States and of this country 143

Good feeling towards England prevalent among those classes in the United States 144

## Library of Congress

Reasons why more travellers from this country should visit the United States 146

Railway travelling, &c. 147

Endeavours of the Press and of the Public Schools in reference to "Manners" 147

Hotels, Climate, Scenery, &c. 149

Appendix (A.) Estimated Cost of growing an Acre of Wheat on a Farm of 200 Acres in the wheat-growing districts of Ohio 157

"(B.) Cost of Transport of Wheat from those districts to Liverpool, and Selling Price there 159

"(C.) Report to Cincinnati Board of Trade 162

"(D.) Extract from Report on Boston Public Schools 165

v

## **CANADA**

Not sufficiently appreciated in England 173

Extent of Tour in 175

Roads, &c. 178

Climate 184

Geological Survey 193

Cultivation 195

## Library of Congress

Railways, open and projected 209

Canals, completed and projected 210

Increase of Towns 214

Field of employment for British capital and labour 218

Canadian politics 220

Progress made in the working of Constitutional Government 221

General results of 228

Boston Railway Celebration *Note p.* 227

State of the Canadian press 233

Education 235

Upper Canada 235

Prospective good effects of 244

Lower Canada 258

Inducements for persons of the upper class of society in this country to settle in Canada  
267

Mistakes of previous settlers 267

Country society 270

Occupations of country life 271

## Library of Congress

Field of exertion in public business 273

English sports 274

Deer Stalking.

Shooting.

Fishing.

Fox-hunting.

Races.

Financial credit and prospects of the Colony 276

vi

English sentiments and habits in the Colony 283

Honours emanating from the Crown 287

Question of the Representation of Canada in the Imperial Parliament, or at the seat of Government 288

Possible effect of Railways, &c., in the United States and Canada, on Emigration from this country 293

Society in Canada 298

The French Canadians 299

Concluding remarks 305

## Library of Congress

Appendix (E.) Return of Crown, Clergy, and School Lands in Canada 310

”(F.) On the Custom of the Sub-division of Property in Pennsylvania, &c. 312

”(G.) Extract from a Speech of the Hon. Francis Hincks, Inspector-General (Chancellor of the Exchequer), on the Financial Condition of the Province, delivered before the Legislative Assembly of Canada, July 16, 1851 (Toronto, 1851) 313

”(H.) On the Extent and Resources of the Great Basin of the Ottawa 315

### **UNITED STATES.**

#### **NOTES ON PUBLIC SUBJECTS, &c &c.**

##### **PUBLIC SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.**

An explanation, and indeed almost an apology, is due from any one who presumes to offer to the public any observations upon countries which he has visited for the first time, after so brief a sojourn as mine has been in those which afford the subjects of the following pages.

I can with sincerity say that when I commenced a short tour last autumn through a portion of the United States and Canada, I had no intention of writing a book. I hoped, indeed, to bring home with me some useful ideas on matters to which my time has been for some years chiefly directed—the education, and the general condition, of the working population. I thought also that, instead of tracing again the beaten tracks of Europe, where at present little but is visible but the ruins of political liberty, there would be more pleasure and satisfaction, as well as more intellectual profit, in taking a glance, however hasty, at the great people of our own race and kindred who are now rapidly filling a Continent, and also at those more immediately and closely allied to us, our fellow-subjects in Canada. But even a hasty glance at those great and magnificent countries opens so many

## Library of Congress

wide fields of thought, and fills the mind with reflections upon so many subjects of the deepest interest to us in England, that it is impossible to be in the midst of those subjects without being carried imperceptibly into as full and complete an investigation of them as time and opportunity permit. The introductions I took with me, and the acquaintances, and, I trust, lasting friendships, which it was my good fortune to make in both those countries, placed me at once at the fountain-head of much valuable information on various public questions, and therefore enabled me to make the best use of a short period of observation. Accordingly, instead of the recreation I went to seek on the 3 other side of the Atlantic, I found myself involved in inquiries which demanded no small amount of labour.

The working of the great system of public, that is, free Education, supported by local taxation, in the different Northern and Western States of the Union and in Canada, was the question which chiefly occupied me, and I was led to examine and consider it principally with reference to our own wants and our own difficulties in England.

The example of the New England States has been the one hitherto generally referred to, and the success of their system under their circumstances has been regarded as a strong argument in favour of a similar system in this country. But it appeared to me that there were many reasons why it was necessary to extend the field of observation beyond the New England States, in order to arrive at a conclusion applicable to the condition of things among ourselves. Accordingly, with a view to this inquiry, I visited in succession the following places:—the two small manufacturing towns of Newport and Fall B 2 4 River, in Rhode Island; some Iron-works on the Hudson River; Philadelphia, where there is a large manufacturing population; the town of Pottsville, and the large villages in the Coal district around, about 100 miles north-west of Philadelphia; the manufacturing town of Pittsburgh on the Ohio; the great and flourishing principal city of Ohio, Cincinnati, abounding in manufactures; the commercial and rapidly-increasing town of Cleveland, towards the southwestern end of Lake Erie. Passing thence, through Detroit, into Canada at its most

## Library of Congress

western point, I visited all its principal towns and a large portion of that fine country; and, finally, I terminated my inquiries at Boston, Lowell, and New York.

At all these places I received the most kind and ready assistance from every person to whom I felt at liberty to apply, whether "Superintendents" of Education, Chairmen and Secretaries of different Boards, members of School Committees, various gentlemen interested in the subject and practically acquainted with its details in their own neighbourhoods, the clergy, or the principal teachers of the different schools; and I was in many instances aided in collecting, personally, some statistics applicable to the inquiries I had in view, or was subsequently furnished with them from the proper authorities.

I left England on the 2nd of August (1851), and landed again on the 2nd of December. I was consequently absent four months, of which I spent fourteen weeks on that continent,—a brief stay, indeed, and one which the most kind and warm-hearted hospitality made me feel to be still shorter; but the facilities of travelling are such that little time is lost in mere locomotion. With the exception of 150 miles in Pennsylvania, and 250 in Upper Canada, for which I preferred hired carriages, for the sake of stopping at certain points (in some parts of those routes there was no other conveyance), nearly the whole of the rest of the tour above indicated was performed by railways or in steamboats, with a rapidity that greatly economises the available time of the traveller.

There is unquestionably in England a growing conviction that, notwithstanding the increased & voluntary efforts of the last ten years to extend, with the aid of the Government, the means of education for the labouring classes of the community, those efforts are, and are likely to remain, insufficient to meet the exigencies of the present state of society. Some general system, based on local taxation, appears to be looked to by certain large parties as inevitable by others as desirable. In despair of any agreement among the different religious denominations as to any mode of giving religious instruction in day-schools, the promoters of the Lancashire education movement propose a system purely secular. The counter-proposition, under the sanction of the Lord Bishop of the

## Library of Congress

diocese and the Very Rev. the Dean of Manchester, aims at the establishment of day-schools under the immediate superintendence of the respective religious denominations, with the possible sacrifice, however, in many instances, of the ancient parochial relations. Another large party in this country would, I believe, contend for the superior advantages of the principle adopted in the United States, and they refer with confidence 7 to the New England schools, and especially those of the State of Massachusetts, not only as examples of admirably conducted and eminently successful schools in all the ordinary branches of secular teaching, but as proofs of the soundness of the principle resorted to in order to meet the difficulty of religious instruction. I have endeavoured to look at this question in the United States, principally with a view to this latter proposition; and the conclusion to which I have been led, by a wide survey of its working in other besides the New England States, and by the seriously expressed opinions of a considerable number of able men of calm judgment, in various parts of that country, is, that the mode of solving this difficulty adopted in the United States is not one which we should be justified by the facts to follow.

It is necessary that I should here say that I admit to the fullest extent the correctness of all that has been asserted of the general excellence, as regards secular instruction, of the public day-schools in the towns, wherever I had an opportunity of seeing them, and the efforts making to improve those in the country; and I recognize 8 also, with all the best-informed persons I met with, the fact that, whatever may be its inherent merits or defects, the present public school system in the United States is a political necessity; and that, even were any large number of persons convinced of its unsoundness and its injurious tendencies, it would be impossible at present to depart from it. The question is, is it one to be followed elsewhere?

The theory on which the whole public school system of the United States is based is, that the religious instruction which is not given in the day-school is given in the Sunday-school, exception, of course, being made in regard to the children of those parents who are able and willing to instruct their children in the doctrines of their own faith at home.

## Library of Congress

In considering, however, a scheme of public instruction having special reference to the poorer and less educated classes of society, the above qualification may be left out of view, and the proposition may stand as above stated.

It is important to ascertain whether this theory is carried out in practice. If it be so in certain parts of the United States, whether this is not so much due to local circumstances that it can afford no safe guide for ourselves. If it fails under different circumstances, whether those are not precisely the circumstances we have to deal with in this country.

The first place where I made any inquiry into this subject was Newport in Rhode Island, one of the oldest towns of the Union, and possessing several branches of manufacture; its neighbourhood has also of late years been much resorted to by the wealthier classes from all parts of America as a summer residence, on account of its climate, which is moist and temperate, and thought to be somewhat like that of the Isle of Wight. I am indebted to the Rev. A. H. Dumont (Presbyterian Minister), School Commissioner and Chairman of the School Committee of the town of Newport, for much information on the general subject of education in that State. With regard to the present point, Mr. Dumont stated that, until about eighteen months ago, a portion of the manufacturing population was imperfectly provided with opportunities of public worship and with Sunday-schools, while another portion had more than they could take advantage of: that the attendance at the day-schools of the children belonging to that part of the population seldom exceeded four years on the whole, and at irregular intervals: and that at present the efforts of the different religious denominations succeeded in causing all, except about 10 per cent. of those who attended the day-schools, to attend the Sunday-schools. But among a small neighbouring manufacturing community at James Town, Mr. Dumont was of opinion that, from local circumstances, 50 per cent. only of the children who attended day-school attended Sunday-school; an unusual case no doubt in New England, but showing the possibility of such occurring on a larger scale, and not unlike what may very possibly occur in many localities in this country.

## Library of Congress

About twenty miles from Newport is the manufacturing town of Fall River, containing about 11,000 inhabitants. It has eight cotton mills, two print mills, a large woollen mill, and extensive iron foundries. The Rev. Mr. Porter, curate of the Episcopal church, and Mr. J. Eddie, a 11 member of the Congregational Baptists' community, both of whom took an active part in education, informed me that, notwithstanding the efforts of the different denominations, by advice and by the attraction of clothing societies, to get the children to attend the Sunday-schools, such was the indifference of many of the parents and the reluctance of the children, both those of American parents as well as of English or Irish, that a considerable proportion of those who attended day-school did not attend Sunday-school; that very many attended neither; and that those who attended at Sunday-schools could seldom be induced to stay after they attained the age of 14 or 15. This impression was confirmed by the opinions of two of the gentlemen most largely engaged in the manufactures of the locality, and for many years acquainted with the habits of the population. It receives also a further confirmation from the General Report of the School Committee of the town for 1849–50, with which I was obligingly furnished. At p. 4 of that Report it is stated that “the School Committee are required by law to ascertain 12 each year the number of scholars belonging to the town on the 1st day of May.” It appeared that the number between the ages of five and fifteen was on the 1st of May, 1850, 2502. At p. 17 of the same Report is a table giving the attendance of scholars at all the schools of the town, including the High School, the 1st and 2nd primary, and the 1st and 2nd grammar schools. The average attendance in summer was 1244, and in winter 1380—giving an average attendance throughout the year of 1304. This leaves 1198 children (or about 48 per cent.) between those ages who are not at day-schools; and with every allowance for the demand for juvenile labour in a manufacturing town, it indicates a neglect of the means of education placed within their reach, especially when the ample wages of all labour are taken into account. The Report also comments strongly on the irregularity of attendance of those who are registered as belonging to the schools.\*

\* See Note, p. 170.

## Library of Congress

I was desirous of ascertaining whether the habits of the persons employed at other iron-works 13 in that country differed materially from those I had seen, and also from the average specimens of our own. I accordingly visited one of the largest in the State of New York, employing on an average about 500 men, Americans, Irish, and a few English. I learnt from the proprietor, who was good enough to show me his extensive works, that the extravagant habits usually accompanying high wages in that branch of trade were conspicuous here as elsewhere; that pains were taken to provide good education for them in the day-schools, which were pretty well frequented; but “that there were none but very young children in the Sunday-schools. As they grew into boyhood, they were apt to be led away from the Sunday-school by their superiors in age, who felt themselves above that restraint; and accordingly, having had no definite religious belief early implanted in their minds, they usually, on marrying, adopted that of their wives:” a consequence, I believe, not unusual on this side the water, under similar circumstances.

I passed a week at Philadelphia, and saw 14 many of the admirably conducted primary, secondary, and grammar schools, as well as the High School, and received most ready and zealous assistance from several gentlemen interested in education, in making the inquiries I desired. In one large and excellent establishment, containing all the three first-named classes of schools, numbering, under one roof, 625 children, 1 ascertained by personal inquiry, by aid of the principal, that within a fraction of 30 per cent. did not attend any Sunday-school. In nine other schools—in some of which I was present when the inquiry was made, in others not—out of 2129 children, 389, or a fraction above 18 per cent., did not attend any Sunday-school. Allowing, in both instances, for the children of Jewish parents, and those belonging to the Society of Friends, the proportion would not probably be greatly altered. In seven others, principally girls' schools, containing 1599 children, 148, or a little under 10 per cent., did not attend Sunday-schools; girls being usually found to attend more frequently than boys. The difference in the percentage of attendance 15 is probably attributable, in a great degree, to the locality of the school, whether in the part of the city chiefly inhabited by the manufacturing and labouring

## Library of Congress

portion of the community, or by the more easy classes; the fact being recognized there as elsewhere, that, generally speaking, the lower the habits of the population, the greater their negligence in attending to the religious education of their children.

The above facts confirm what was stated generally to me by a gentleman of the city, much interested in education, that, as nearly as could be ascertained, out of a population of about 400,000, not more than 35,000, or rather above one-tenth, (about one-half of those of school-age,) attended the Sunday-schools; notwithstanding the exertions of all the religious denominations, aided by donations of clothing when required. There are in Philadelphia iron-foundries, machine manufactories, cotton and woollen factories, establishments for dyeing, paint-making, lead-tube making, hand-loom weaving, &c. &c. This city, in fact, contains, I was informed, the largest manufacturing population 16 in the United States. That a similar result should be found in the coal districts of Pennsylvania, around Pottsville, and at Pittsburgh on the Ohio, might be expected, inasmuch as the working colliery population consists principally of, probably, not the best specimens of Scotch, Welsh, Irish, German, and a few English labourers. The fact was stated to me by several gentlemen practically engaged in the mining and mercantile business of those districts, as one of which they had no doubt, and was confirmed to me by teachers of schools and other persons conversant with the subject.

In the town of Pottsville, with a population of 9000, there were in the day-schools 1000 children. Of these, according to the statement of a gentleman of the town well qualified to form a correct opinion, "about one-third go to no Sunday-school, and get very little, if any, religious instruction at home." In the country districts a less proportion attend Sunday-schools, as there are not the same facilities as in the towns and large villages. In confirmation of this I may add that, in one portion of the district, 17 where there was a population of about 1800, there was, I was informed, only one small Sunday-school. The principal village and the public school were about two miles off. In another part of the

## Library of Congress

district, where a large colliery population is collected, it was stated by the schoolmaster of the principal school that—

“There were only two Sunday-schools near, and those small ones; and that consequently great numbers of the children of school-age were running about doing nothing on Sundays, though on week days six-sevenths of those of school-age were in the day-schools.”

Another person, residing in the district, stated to me that—

“Hundreds of children in the neighbouring country districts go to no Sunday-school, and their parents are too ignorant to instruct them; they, consequently, get no religious instruction at all except what they get in the day-school, which cannot be much, as we read the Bible only for five or ten minutes daily.”

It is to be observed, with reference to the latter remark, that this is the whole amount of “religious instruction” permitted in the day-schools of the United States, with the occasional exception of a short prayer and a hymn.

18

“Moral instruction” is enjoined on the masters and mistresses to the utmost extent to which they are able to carry it in the course of the ordinary lessons of the school.

A gentleman extensively engaged as a Mining Engineer, not only in Pennsylvania but in other States of the Union, and himself personally interested in collieries and iron-works, informed me—

“That he had taken an active part in promoting education in all the neighbourhoods with which he was connected, and had seen and talked with a great many persons all over the mining districts upon the subject; and his conviction was, that, generally speaking, the children in the mining districts do not go to the Sunday-schools if they can help it, although

## Library of Congress

they are ready enough to go to day-schools. The Sunday-schools in the mining districts do not thrive much. An active Wesleyan minister may come among them and get up Sunday-schools, but he only stays two years; and when his term is up, another comes, who may not be so active, and the schools droop, or perhaps disappear.”

Pittsburgh on the Ohio is an important seat of manufactures for the supply of the “Great West.” It possesses, according to a statement emanating from the local Board of Trade, 13 19 Rolling Mills, 30 large Foundries, 5 large Cotton Factories, 8 Flint and 11 Window Glass Manufactories, together with many others. The population was in 1850 (including a large suburb) about 85,000.

I visited some of the best schools there, and found them conducted on the same scale of liberal expenditure, under well-qualified teachers, as I had seen in the other great towns. Without going again into the same details as I have given above, I may state generally, on the authority of a gentleman to whom I was presented as being fully conversant with the state of education there—

“That in the public schools of the town there are about two-thirds of the whole number of children of school-age (excluding those in some private schools); and that of those attending the public day-schools, from thirty to fifty per cent., according to the locality, do not attend any Sunday-school.”

The circumstances of the large and rapidly increasing manufacturing and commercial city of Cincinnati are, as regards the lower portions of the population, very similar to those of a like kind among ourselves. Accordingly, the Annual Reports of the Trustees and Visitors of the Common Schools there speak of the difficulties attending the general diffusion of education much in the same manner as we are familiar with in this country. In the Report for 1850, at p. 6, the President of the School Committee states—

“There always has been, and must be, in a population so unsettled as ours, and so heterogeneous, a constant change in the number of those scholars who commence

## Library of Congress

the school year; and long before it closes, the higher classes (in each school) are much reduced, while the primary departments are greatly increased. In the more busy seasons of the year many of our youth of both sexes are required by their parents to aid them in various domestic employments; and perhaps the false notion of permitting the child to select his own school, and attend as he pleases upon its instructions, is not among the least of the many causes which have produced so great fluctuations in the number and regularity of the attendance of the scholars.”

This irregularity of attendance, and the disproportion between those who do attend and the total number of children of school age, are strikingly shown in the two Reports for 1849 and 1850.

21

It is stated at p. 5 of the Report for the former year, that the total number of white children between the ages of four and twenty-one, in October of that year, was 33,548.

Of these there were enrolled at the public schools of the twelve districts into which the city was divided, including certain additional German and English schools, the Orphan Asylum, and the Central School (for the higher branches of Education), 11,544 children. The average number, however, actually in the schools amounted to only 6004; and the average daily attendance throughout the year to 5090. To these must doubtless be added a certain number, not ascertained, attending private schools.

In the Report for 1850, p. 6, the number enrolled as above is stated to be 12,240, and the average number in daily attendance 5362. Adverting to the Census of the previous year, the Report proceeds to state that, “of the 33,548 children between the ages of four and twenty-one, perhaps one-half are nominally connected with the common schools, and the numerous private institutions and seminaries of learning in the city.” 22 As the common schools are free, and excellent in their kind, and have the entire confidence of

## Library of Congress

the population, it is probable that the “private institutions and seminaries of learning” are chiefly supported by persons to whom the expense of private education is no object.

With regard to the irregularity of attendance of the children, of the lower classes especially, a gentleman to whom I was referred as one completely conversant with the subject, thus expressed himself to me:—

“The indifference and the cupidity of the parents are the great obstacles to the regular attendance of the children: the consequence is, that not half of those who pass through the schools are educated. And as respects Sunday-school education, notwithstanding all the efforts of the different denominations to ‘look them up,’ and to induce them, by offers of clothing, to attend, numbers of those who come to our day-schools go nowhere on Sundays; and many are uncared for altogether.”

Cleveland in Ohio is another instance among the many in the United States of the growth within the last 30 years of a village into a city of considerable commercial importance. Its favourable situation on an eminence above Lake 23 Erie appears to have encouraged the inhabitants to bestow even more than the usual pains visible in American cities, upon their public buildings, squares, and other sources of general embellishment. Among the rest their school buildings occupy a conspicuous place, and the encouraging Annual Reports of their acting managers meet with a ready response in the liberality of the citizens. It is affirmed in the Report for 1849–50 that “probably not less than five-sixths of those who are being educated” in the city “are depending for instruction solely” on the public schools. The Report does not afford the means of estimating with accuracy the numbers not under education. It gives, however, the total number of scholars in the school districts or wards and in the central high school for 1849–50 as 2081, and the average attendance as 1440; the Report for 1850–51 giving under the first head 2304, and under the last 1650. The total number of children between the ages of four and twenty-one in 1849 was 4773. It appears that those under four are excluded by law from their schools, “and those above fifteen generally exclude 24 themselves.” I gather from the general tenor of these Reports,

## Library of Congress

urging the building of additional schoolhouses, that many yet remain to be included in their schools; and in reference to the point of the attendance at Sunday-schools, I am enabled to state, on the authority of the acting manager of the Board of Education, "that at least one-third of the children attending the public schools never see the inside of a Sunday-school."

I would next refer to the instance of the city of New York, which I have adverted to after the above because the fluctuating and miscellaneous nature of its population makes it less a case in point in reference to any of the dense manufacturing populations of this country. As it has, however, its points of resemblance, it should not be overlooked.

The superintendent of common schools for the county and city of New York, Mr. Joseph M'Keen, was kind enough to furnish me with the following statistics, a portion of which he had prepared for his forthcoming Annual Report.

According to the census for the past year, the number of children in the city and county of New York between the ages of five and fifteen was 97,959. Allowing for those few under five and above fifteen who may attend school, the number of school-age may be stated at 100,000. The average attendance at the public, ward, and corporate schools throughout the year had been 40,055. The average attendance at the Sunday-schools had been ascertained to be only about 30,000.

Mr. M'Keen stated that the total number of children who had passed through the schools in the course of the year had been 107,000; and that the total number frequenting the Sunday-schools irregularly in the course of the year may be estimated at about 60,000. And as there are always many children at the Sunday-schools who do not go to day-school, the proportion of the children attending the day-schools of New York who do not attend Sunday-school is, from the above figures, obviously very considerable.

It is clear from the above facts that in several of the most conspicuous cities, towns, and seats of manufacturing industry in the free States of C 26 the Union, containing

## Library of Congress

populations analogous to those in this country for which there is the most pressing need to extend the means of education, the theory of a complete education, according to the view adopted in the United States, is not fulfilled in relation to a considerable proportion of the children at their schools; inasmuch as, in the first place, a certain, and in some cases a large proportion of the children attending the day-schools do not attend the Sunday-schools; and in the next, it is conceded that, of those who do not attend Sunday-schools, by far the greatest number, indeed nearly the whole, belong to parents incapable of giving religious instruction themselves, or indifferent to it, to the extent to baffle the efforts of the various religious denominations to induce them to attend to the religious welfare of their children. I feel it necessary to add that these conclusions, founded on personal inquiry and statistical facts, are at variance with the first impressions of very many persons, whether officially or practically conversant with the subject or not, whose opinions and impressions I asked for respecting it. To the inquiry, “Do 27 the children regularly attend Sunday-schools, and obtain there the religious instruction which is not given at the day-schools?”—whether addressed to school teachers, or to gentlemen who only possessed a general acquaintance with the actual working of the system of education—the very common answer was in the affirmative; and it was often a matter of surprise to the teachers themselves, that, on their asking the children present who attended Sunday-school to hold up their hands, so many hands were not held up. I have learnt in the course of many inquiries of this nature, that general impressions are seldom to be trusted from any quarter, and that they are very apt to be contradicted when brought to the test of accurate inquiry.

To a considerable number therefore of the children under education in the public schools in the places above referred to (including a tolerably wide range and much diversity of character), the education actually imparted will be almost purely secular; for the giving five or ten minutes daily to reading a few verses of the Bible without comment cannot be called, in reference C 2 28 to the education of youth, religious instruction; nor can its place be supplied by the mere moral teaching which is enjoined, and practised as far

## Library of Congress

as opportunity offers and the ability of the teacher extends to give it. And in reference to all who do attend the Sunday-schools, it may be added, without, I think, much fear of contradiction, and without in the least degree undervaluing the zealous and self-denying efforts of the immense number of voluntary Sunday-school teachers throughout the land, both here and in the United States, that the religious instruction given by persons unaccustomed to teach, and usually not trained to deal with the subject in the manner most capable of presenting it in all its parts to the minds of children, cannot be so precise and effectual as when it forms, as in all our Church and Denominational schools, a prominent part of the business of the school for an hour of every day in the week.

The conclusion I arrive at from the above facts, drawn from portions of the United States having populations similar to our own, is, that 29 inasmuch as the great majority of all classes and denominations in this country agree that no system under the sanction of and aided by the State could be consented to which did not in some way or other make effectual provision for religious as well as secular education, the example and experience of the United States, in so far as the localities above referred to are concerned, cannot be quoted as having fulfilled that requirement.

The question remains, in what particulars do the New England States generally, and Massachusetts in particular, differ from the localities above referred to, and to what extent do those differences affect the point at issue.

In the first place, in the New England State, instruction of all kinds, religious and secular, has been zealously attended to from the earliest period of their history.

The indication of this general feeling in the New England States is to be recognised in their earliest laws, as in the following instance from the laws of Massachusetts.

The first settlement of the town of Boston took place in 1630. In the year 1637 the following law was passed relating to "SCHOLES.\*

## Library of Congress

\* Sic.

“Sect. 1.—It being one of the chief projects of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in Church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavour, “It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, “That every township in the jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty house-holders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint. Provided that those which send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

“2. And it is further ordered, that when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or house-holders, 31 they shall set up a grammar-school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University.” [May, 1647.]

In the year 1671 the following enactment was added:— “Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of the country that the youth thereof be educated, not only in good literature but in sound doctrine, “This Court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of the overseers of the College, and the select men in the several towns, not to admit or suffer any such to continue in the office or plac of teaching, educating, or instructing youth or children in the college or schools, that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith or scandalous in their lives, and have not given satisfaction according to the rules of Christ.”—[May, 1671.— *Ancient Charters and Laws of Massachusetts Bay.* ]

## Library of Congress

It is not necessary in this place to do more than allude to the divergences of doctrine which so soon began to manifest themselves among the early settlers; the second of the above laws indicates its existence, and the desire to keep it in check; but the whole taken together are striking proof of the manner in which, without venturing to lay down a test of what "sound doctrine" was, they endeavoured to maintain the principle that learning in "Church and Commonwealth" should proceed together, and to declare their conviction that it "greatly concerned the welfare" of their country that their youth should be educated, "not only in literature, but sound doctrine." And it cannot be doubted that the existence of these township schools from that early period has produced in the New England States (for I believe they were adopted in all the other States as soon as they rose into Commonwealths) a general average of intelligence, and a general appreciation of the duties of parents in those particulars, beyond what is found, or what it is reasonable yet to expect, in the younger States of the Union.

Secondly, the strong religious feeling, derived from their Puritan forefathers, still pervading the New England States, imposes a social as well as a moral obligation upon every father of a family to attend to the religious education of his children; and this duty is to a great extent fulfilled, I am informed, even in the towns, with the exceptions hereafter to be noticed. As regards the rural districts, a gentleman whose position enables him to express an opinion founded on a wide experience, the Rev. Dr. S. C. Jackson, Assistant Secretary to the Board of Education in Massachusetts, educated in Vermont, and formerly settled for some years as a pastor at Andover, in Massachusetts, stated to me that,— "It is the general practice of the great majority of families in New England, in the rural districts, even in remote localities, to attend at the different places of worship, on the Sunday. The fact is, that nearly all are connected with some place of worship, and attend it more or less regularly, according to circumstances. It would be considered disreputable to any man not to be able to say honestly that he belonged to some congregation."

## Library of Congress

This religious feeling, fortified by hereditary association, as well as strong by its intrinsic power, is a guarantee, in these States, for the supply, through domestic or Sunday-school teaching, of the religious instruction which is not given at the day-schools, beyond what can be looked for in ordinary communities and under circumstances less favourable to its development. C 3

34

Thirdly, the populations of the New England States may be described as, upon the whole and with comparatively slight exceptions, composed of one great middle class, having at their command, in their various spheres, the fruits of honest industry, living in comfort and respectability, and considering ignorance discreditable.

It is very possible that a system of general education may be adopted by a community circumstanced as above described, with safety to the faith and morals of the people, as well as with benefit to their secular intelligence, which would be eminently dangerous to the former if followed by another community under circumstances materially different.

And even in Massachusetts there are indications sufficient to show that, where the circumstances of the community do materially differ from what has been above described, the general system of education is not to be trusted to fulfil the part required of it, to enable it to correspond in practice with its theory.

The gentleman above mentioned, Dr. Jackson, thus informed me respecting the state of 35 the case on this point in localities of dense populations:— “In the villages and towns—meaning by that where the population is dense rather than rural—there is a class, especially foreigners, the most degraded and depressed of the population, whose children are irregular in their attendance at the day-schools; and therefore also, for the same reason—the neglect and indifference of the parents—irregular in their attendance at the Sunday-school.”

## Library of Congress

The Secretary of the Board of Education for Massachusetts, the Rev. Dr. Spears, very obligingly gave me a full account of the working of their system, which, as it relates to many points beside the one now under consideration, will be more conveniently given at length in another paragraph. But, as regards the present point, it will be seen (p. 44) that he thus gives his opinion: "Under the present state of things, our system does not reach the whole population of our manufacturing towns;" which Dr. Spears attributes to the fact that "the parents themselves neglect the education of their children."

And if I might, without impropriety, add the result of my own personal observation during a very brief visit to some of the principal schools 36 in Boston, containing several hundred children each, accompanied by the late Chairman of the School Committee and of the Board of Education for the city, J. Codman, Esq., Advocate, &c., I would state that, in about one-third of the school-rooms where the question was put by the principals of the different schools to the children, it appeared to them, as well as to Mr. Codman and myself, that about twenty per cent.—and, in a few instances, somewhat more—of the children acknowledged that they did not attend Sunday-schools. These day-schools were frequented, as might be expected, to a great extent by the lower portions of the population.

But it appears that even in Massachusetts there has been for some time a growing conviction of the necessity of more religious instruction being given in the day-schools, and also of greater exertions being made to obtain attendance at the Sunday-schools, and to make them more efficient. The following is the statement made to me by the Rev. Dr. Spears, the Secretary to the Massachusetts Board of Education, 37 which I insert here at length by his permission:—

"The readiest way of explaining the present state of opinion in regard to the question of the religious instruction of the children attending our public schools, is first to refer you to the 7th and 8th sections of Chapter XXIII. of the Revised Statutes of the State. These sections are as follows:—

## Library of Congress

“Section 7.—It shall be the duty of the president, professors, and tutors of the University at Cambridge, and of the several colleges, and of all preceptors and teachers of academies, and all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavours to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction the principles of piety and justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal benevolence; sobriety, industry, and frugality; chastity, moderation, and temperance; and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society, and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavour to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a republican constitution, and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness; and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices.’

38

“Section 8.—It shall be the duty of the resident ministers of the Gospel, the select men, and the school committees, in the several towns, to exert their influence, and use their best endeavours, that the youth of their towns shall regularly attend the schools established for their instruction.’

“Previously to the establishment of the Board of Education in 1836, sufficient prominence was not given to these sections; not from any intentional neglect, but from the matter especially referred to in section 8 being left dependent on such clerical influence as happened to be brought to bear upon it. There has been a simultaneous growth of opinion, both among teachers and school committees, in favour of more moral and religious instruction, and that is every day on the increase. At all the teachers' institutes, and all the conventions of teachers, where the topic has been brought forward, there has been an unanimous expression of opinion as to the necessity of more religious instruction. Secular instruction has hitherto occupied too much of the time. Formerly, in many schools, the Scriptures were used as a lesson-book in all the classes. At present this is being

## Library of Congress

abandoned, 39 and the practice of using the Scriptures in connexion only with devotional exercises and religious instruction is taking its place. This is the result of the progress of individual opinion upon the subject. Such explanations are given as are necessary for moral purposes; the religious tenets of the different denominations being excluded. Our reason for this is, that we consider that polemical divinity is not so appropriate to the education of young children as ethical and devotional instruction. The modes adopted are, reading the Scriptures, singing, and prayer, extemporaneous or written, according to the preference of the teacher. Another reason is, a suitable regard for the religious rights and opinions of the different classes of religious denominations. Thirdly, as a general proposition, in Massachusetts, great reliance may be placed on the family and the Sunday-school for the inculcation of definite religious knowledge in the rural districts and in the cities; but this cannot be said to the same extent of the manufacturing towns.

“In regard to Sunday-schools, there was formerly 40 much jealousy among the religious denominations as to what religious instruction should be given in them where only one could be sustained, which was attended by the children of persons differing from each other in religious opinions. Within the last half a dozen years a great unanimity has sprung up, in consequence of the proceedings of the American Sunday School Union, which pervades the whole of the United States, the head-quarters of which are at Philadelphia. It is composed of the various ‘evangelical’ denominations: that is, the Methodists, Baptists, Independents, and Episcopalians. Those who do not join it are the Unitarians, the ‘Universalists,’ and some others. The children of parents belonging to these various denominations frequently attend the same Sunday-school; and even where the different denominations have Sunday-schools of their own, they contribute largely to the funds of the Union, making use of their books, and giving instruction very much in the spirit of the Union. In the case of a village where any one denomination is so much the most numerous 41 that the rest cannot set up a separate Sunday-school, the families of the latter would have ordinarily no hesitation in sending their children to the school of the majority. This is the ordinary course of things. In such cases the particular tenets of any

## Library of Congress

one denomination are taught in only a subordinate degree; and it would be possible to attend such Sunday-school for many Sundays together without hearing one word bearing on the distinctive peculiarities of either. The origin of this is, that there is a growing opinion that their respective peculiarities of doctrine are subordinate to the great truths which they hold in common. It is this fact which enables us to place so much reliance on our Sunday-schools for religious instruction, and on our present mode of giving it in the day-schools, because this system has the confidence of nearly the whole community. It affords an answer to the objection of those who say that our religious instruction in the day-schools is too negative, that the positive part of it can be taught more fully in the Sunday-schools; and, in point of fact, it is so taught to the great 42 majority of the population, both in the cities and in the rural districts. It must be borne in mind that the above statement does not apply so specifically to the manufacturing towns.

“A few years ago there was some opposition made to the Board of Education on the ground of the negative character of its religious instruction. The clergy of the different denominations, upon closer examination, and upon observing the actual working of our system, have, speaking generally, abandoned their efforts in opposition to it. I discussed the question with several leading clergymen of different denominations, and the question was put to them as to how they could support ‘denominational’ schools in the rural districts and in the smaller inland towns. They were quite satisfied that the pecuniary means could not be found in such districts; and in the next, that, if means could be found for schools of a certain class, sufficient could not be obtained to make it possible to introduce the entire system of primary, grammar, or high schools, such as we have in every township. The only places where such ‘denominational’ 43 schools would be possible would be in the large and populous towns, and even there they have judged it inexpedient to attempt them, except in a few instances. The only ‘denominational’ schools that I am aware of in Massachusetts are set up by individuals, relying chiefly on the support of the denomination to which they belong, but without any ecclesiastical pledge of any sort, and these are rapidly declining; and even academies, incorporated and unincorporated, for the higher

## Library of Congress

branches of English and classical education, are being converted in considerable numbers every year into high schools, which are frequented by the children of persons of the highest station in the country. We have a high school for every four thousand inhabitants.

“Our usual arrangement is this. Our town-ships are about six miles square. In or near the centre is the village, the churches and chapels, and the high school. Around these, about a mile distant from the centre, are the grammar-schools; and nearer the extremities of the township, and elsewhere where needed, the 44 primary schools. We have two agents, who are sent where required, to give advice as to the best localities for these schools. One of these agents, Mr. Banks, was Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State, and the year before a Commissioner of Education: the other agent is Mr. Greene, Professor of Didactics at Brown University, New Providence.

“We have teachers' seminaries, established in 1836 or 1837, two for both sexes. The term is in one a year and four months, and in the other a year and a half. We intend to raise the qualification for entrance, and then make them schools for teaching.

“Under the present state of things, our system does not reach the whole population in our manufacturing towns. The parents themselves neglect the education of their children, and the manufacturing companies sometimes evade the spirit of the law which requires a certain amount of attendance at school of children under a certain age, It is not the special duty of the school committees to correct this evil, and it will probably be necessary for the towns to appoint 45 some person of influence, or with more or less of legal authority, to look after such children and bring them to school. A gentleman at Roxberry, Mr. Ritchie, employed by the city authorities, has made this experiment, and he has informed me that he has so far succeeded as to be of opinion that the attendance of all the children of school-age can be secured in this way, by the appointment of an officer of this kind. The condition of our population is such that there could be no difficulty in any family as to clothing the children decently, so as to attend the schools. If there are a few exceptions

## Library of Congress

in our manufacturing towns, those towns themselves could easily make provision for that purpose.”

On this plain and candid statement of the progress and present state of opinion in Massachusetts in regard to the question of religious instruction, it is in this country scarcely necessary to observe that the mode of imparting it in the day and Sunday-schools of that State; as above described, is one which, after long and vehement discussion among all the religious denominations 46 nominations of England and Scotland ten years ago, was unanimously rejected as dangerous to the faith, and as tending inevitably to confound all distinctions, and to weaken and eventually to destroy in the mind all firm hold of the essential doctrines of revealed religion.

It is at once noticeable, by any one who attentively considers the sections of the revised law relating to moral and religious instruction above quoted, that the list of moral virtues is no more than may be found in the works of many excellent heathen writers, and does not include many of the distinctive virtues of Christianity. And when the necessity for something more positive and more distinctively Christian is felt, and the attempt made to act upon that feeling, nothing more precise is found possible, under what is called a general system, than a mode of teaching which the reason and convictions of all the religious denominations in this country with one voice decided to be one on which Christianity could not be taught.

I took all the means in my power to ascertain what were the various currents of opinion 47 in the United States with respect to the actual effects traceable upon morals, character, and religion, of the mode of religious teaching in the public schools. On a question so delicate and difficult, and involving so much of political as well as other considerations, there will of course be many and great differences of opinion. Many gentlemen of distinguished ability, for the conscientiousness of whose convictions it is impossible not to entertain the greatest respect, while by their personal character they inspire the highest regard, informed me that they could discover nothing objectionable in the principle, and

## Library of Congress

could recognise no injurious consequences as traceable to the system in its mode of action. Others, equally estimable and equally eminent, informed me that they looked upon it as "a great experiment," of the ultimate results of which upon the religious character of the people they confessed their apprehensions, but that in the actual state of public opinion they considered no other system possible. Other gentlemen again, both lay and clerical, with equal opportunities of observation and means of arriving 48 at a right conclusion, spoke in the most distinct and emphatic manner of the visible effect which, in their opinion, the small amount of instruction in the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, and the lax mode of teaching them in the Sunday-schools, were producing on the religious convictions and moral practice of the mass of the people.

Dr. Spears adverts to the abandonment by the clergy, with whom he discussed the question, of their endeavours to found denominational schools, on the ground that they were unable to see their way towards obtaining the pecuniary means for them. I heard the most earnest desires expressed by many clergy of the New England States, of the State of New York, and of Pennsylvania, for the establishment of such schools, could the means be found, for the sole reason that they were distinctly sensible of the effects the present system was producing in loosening the hold of definite Christian principles on the minds of the people. In an interview I had the honour of having with the Bishop of Massachusetts, he stated that he should undoubtedly 49 prefer, in the interests of religion, parochial schools, but that, under present circumstances, he considered them, except in a few instances, unattainable. Some of the principal clergy of the Church of England in New York are exerting themselves with some measure of success with that object, and their views were expressed to me very strongly in the same sense. The portion of the press devoted chiefly to religious matters has frequently adverted to the same point; and at a recent public meeting, composed of persons of all religious denominations, the apprehensions above described were expressed, as resulting from the imperfect religious education of the people. I am able to state on what I believe to be undoubted authority that

## Library of Congress

the Bishop of Pennsylvania (who was absent from Philadelphia during my stay there) is anxious, for the same reasons, for the establishment of similar schools.

I might multiply the individual opinions of observant and calm-judging men in various parts of the United States, who expressed themselves to me to the same effect, but probably the 50 experience of the gentleman who furnished me with the following statement of his opinions will be sufficient, in addition to what I have above stated, to show in how grave a light, and with what apprehensions for the future, (apprehensions which have been publicly expressed in terms far stronger than I have thought it necessary to repeat,) the present experiment on so momentous a subject as the religious education of the people is considered by large classes of persons in that country.

The Rev. Dr. Edson, Rector of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, to whom I was directed as thoroughly conversant with this subject, expressed himself to me to the following effect:—

“It was twenty-seven years last March since I first came to Lowell, which was then a village of about six hundred inhabitants. Public worship was then held for the first time in the village, and the service was performed by myself. Lowell is now a town of about forty thousand inhabitants. I have resided here as a minister of the Episcopal Church ever since, and during the whole time have taken an active part in education as a member of the School Committee, and otherwise. Seeing that the system of public schools established by law was the only one possible under the circumstances of the country, I have 51 applied myself with all the zeal in my power to make it efficient; and I have endeavoured to cause the deficiency of religious instruction in the day-schools to be supplied, by encouraging Sunday-schools to the utmost of my opportunities. To the children of my own flock I have given all the doctrinal instruction in my power in the Sunday-school, and by other means. I have interested myself generally in favour of Sunday-schools, seeing in them the only mode under our system to imprint on the minds of those who most require such teaching, the principles of revealed religion. My experience, however, of now nearly thirty years, as a pastor, has, I am sorry to say, forced

## Library of Congress

upon me the painful conviction that our public school system has undermined already among our population, to a great extent, the doctrines and principles of Christianity. I perceive also its effects distinctly in the modes of thought and action of the young people who flow into Lowell from the neighbouring States, and, in fact, supply the demand for labour that is constant here. I find in my frequent intercourse with them that they possess a knowledge of none, or nearly none, of the distinctive principles of the Christian faith, and that many are in a state of mind beyond that of mere indifference, though not precisely in that of those imbued with the principles of the French and German schools of infidelity. I find in them a considerable indifference as to what sect they may belong to, thinking, all religions alike, and generally showing a great ignorance of the Bible, which they profess to take as their guide. I find many not only unable to repeat any of the Ten Commandments, but entirely unaware of there being any Ten Commandments at all. I find them generally well grounded<sup>52</sup> in the ordinary elements of what is called common education, and clever and acute as to all worldly matters that concern them, but very lax in their notions of moral obligation and duty, and indisposed to submit to any authority or control whatever, even from a very early age. This exhibits itself, among other ways, in the irregular manner in which they attend school, Sunday or day school. I have taken much pains with regard to that subject in Lowell, and I have, I am sorry to say, come to the following conclusion. In the first place, we have the Irish population. These are well looked after by their priests, and I have no doubt that nearly the whole of them attend some Sunday or other catechetical instruction. Looking, then, solely at the American population, and the few foreigners not Irish mixed with it, I believe that less than half of the whole number of children between the ages of five and sixteen attend any Sunday-school, or do so only most irregularly. It is easy to infer what sort of hold the Bible, its precepts, and its doctrines, can be likely to have on minds thus loosely prepared for the temptations of life. There is in the minds of the great majority no principle of deference to authority. There is indeed a school of persons in this country, and a very numerous one, who think it wrong to try to influence a child in its adoption of any form of religious belief. Very commonly also no point of doctrine seems to have been effectually and thoroughly explained to them,

## Library of Congress

and taught as from authority. All doctrines seem to have been treated as the deductions of individual opinions, and left pretty much to a child's own inference. The moral effect of this is visible in relation to all authority, beginning with the parental. It is no new remark that, 53 unless a child is from his earliest years taught to reverence an authority higher than, and in support of, the parental, he will very soon begin to question and resist the parental. That this evil is already nearly universally felt and acknowledged in this country there is no longer room to doubt. From throwing off authority in regard to religious matters, and holding doctrines loosely, the step is easy to abandoning them altogether; and accordingly it consists with my observation here during several years past, that the great majority of those now growing up cannot be said to hold more than belongs to mere natural religion. I look upon this very prevalent condition of mind with very great apprehension, for all history shows that this is only the first downward step to complete irreligion and infidelity, and thence to the corruption of morals such as was exhibited in the heathen world. I much fear that we are making sure and not very slow strides in that direction; and while I deeply lament it, I am free to confess I see no present remedy for it in this country. Allow me, however, to say, that it gives me the greatest satisfaction to learn that in England you are alive to these dangers. I earnestly pray that you may not fall into them; and if you think that the result of my experience here, and of the sincere convictions it has forced upon me, can be of any service in your country, I beg you will make any use of them you think proper."

I owe it to Dr. Edson to state that he is a gentleman very highly considered in his own neighbourhood, and that neither theoretical nor 54 party bias appeared in the least degree to enter into the expression of his opinions, which evidently were the result of earnest and sincere conviction.

That the result of such a system of education would be of the nature above described, has often been argued on general principles. Into those arguments this is not the opportunity to enter. My present concern in dealing with the subject, at a moment when probably public attention in this country may soon be again concentrated upon it, is to contribute some few facts and opinions which may tend to show, that the example of what has occurred and

## Library of Congress

is occurring on that subject in the United States cannot be referred to as a solution of our own difficulties, or as a safe guide in a path upon which we have not yet entered.

If the example of the United States does not assist us in solving the religious difficulties in the way of establishing a general system of elementary education, the most cursory observation of what has been done there, and is still doing, with so much zeal and energy for secular education 55 at least, cannot fail to leave a deep impression on the mind of an Englishman who witnesses it. He will see in the cities and larger towns large buildings, for the purposes of day-schools, three or four stories high, divided into class-rooms, and affording accommodation under one roof for 1000 or 1500 children.\* He will find in every village and township one or more buildings appropriated to this purpose, according to the needs of the population, and the greatest liberality exhibited in the expenditure upon books and apparatus, and generally in the salaries of the teachers. As an instance, I may mention that of the village of Storey, eight miles from Boston. Speaking of this, and of several others similarly circumstanced, Dr. Spears stated to me that—

\* As a proof how little regard is paid to expense in the fitting up of these class-rooms when the question of the efficiency of the school is concerned, it may be mentioned that the plan now becoming common, because most approved of, is to give every child a small desk and a chair to himself, or at most two are placed at one desk, with a chair each.

“The disposition of the people to vote money for educational purposes is so great that it needs to be checked in many cases. In the township of Storey, the whole real 56 property of which is valued at only 500,000 dollars, not less than 17,000 dollars were expended last year in the erection of five new schoolhouses, besides the ordinary expenses of maintaining their three grammar and two primary schools. It has been publicly mentioned on the best authority, with regard to the city of Cambridge, containing 16,800 inhabitants, that it pays annually more money in taxes in support of its public schools than is paid for instruction, from every source, in the University there (the Harvard), which is regarded as

## Library of Congress

the richest endowment and the most expensive University in the country. Such instances of a similarly liberal expenditure are very common.”

This liberality of expenditure for the purposes of education is rapidly extending itself over the whole length and breadth of the vast free territory of the United States. It has already for some years been conspicuous in all the cities and principal towns, as will be seen from the following statement, which I copy from the ‘St. Louis Intelligencer,’ in order to show that even in that remote quarter—in that astonishing city of nearly 100,000 inhabitants, on the banks of the Mississippi, nearly a thousand miles direct west from Philadelphia and Baltimore—the education of the whole people is as zealously 57 provided for as in most of the older settled cities of the Union, at a cost per head far exceeding what is applied to such purposes in the common schools of this country.

Cost of education per child in the public schools of—

Dollars.\* Cents. St. Louis 9 50 New York 10 62 Boston 15 42 Philadelphia 7 33 Baltimore 10 54 Cincinnati 6 37†

\* = 4 s. 2 d.

† Report for 1851, p. 14.

I may add to this—on e of many facts which I might mention, illustrative of the extent to which at least secular education has been carried in some of the States under their present system—that in the state of Connecticut, with about 400,000 inhabitants, only 500 were found, on a late inquiry, not to be able to read, and those were Irish. I mention this on the authority of a gentleman now representing a portion of Connecticut in Congress. Any one from England visiting those schools would be also, greatly D 3 58 struck with the very high social position, considering the nature of their employment, of the teachers, male and female; he will observe with pleasure their polite and courteous bearing, of such importance as an example of good manners to the children; he will admire the complete order, quiet, and regularity with which the whole system of instruction is

## Library of Congress

conducted by the exercise of mild, temperate, and, generally speaking, judicious authority; and he will perceive how great an amount of elementary secular instruction is given to those who stay a sufficient length of time to derive the full benefit of the opportunities of improvement there afforded. And I must confess that he will be likely to feel it as a just subject of reproach to his own country, that her very tenderness and zeal in the cause of religious truth, her very apprehension lest in her desire to attain an acknowledged good she may be betrayed into a step fraught with evil—or, to descend to lower ground, her religious jealousies and animosities—should interpose to keep all education, both secular and religious, from the minds of tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens: 59 at a time, too, when secular education is more than ever needed as a means of temporal prosperity and advancement, and when socialism and a vast and dangerous flood of “revolutionary literature” of the worst kind is occupying the ground left bare for its reception by the absence of all culture, secular or religious. How long, it may well be asked, is the Government of this country to be paralyzed by sectarian jealousies? and to what further extent are the very foundations of religious truth and social order to be undermined while the dispute rages as to the best method of preserving them?\*

\* See further on this subject, pp. 235–262.

60

### **RAILWAYS.**

We are in the habit of hearing from time to time of the number of miles of railway completed and projected in the United States, the cost of their construction, and other particulars relating to them; we hear also of the comprehensive system of railway communication projected in Canada, and probably soon to be carried into effect. The fine series of canals in Canada, and the great public works of the same kind in the United States, are also occasionally brought to the notice of the public in this country. I am not aware, however, that, considering the full development which they will have attained in the course of the next few years, their probable bearing upon two questions that most

## Library of Congress

nearly concern us in England—the increase and transport of agricultural produce, and emigration—has yet been adverted to with the particularity and distinctness which the subject deserves.

61

In passing over the countries through which these main routes take, or are about to take, their course, I was much impressed with the considerable amount of influence that they were likely to exercise in a few years on those interests. Up to the time of my leaving the United States (19th November last) no railway map had been published giving a complete idea of this subject, and I accordingly collected for my own information the maps of various companies, by which I ascertained what were to be the main arteries through which the cities of the Atlantic sea-board were to communicate with the vast West, and to what distant points in that wide and magnificent region they were to penetrate. From those materials, including the imperfect railway maps now in use, I have caused the annexed map to be prepared, showing also the principal lines in Canada, in progress and proposed. The lines of latitude are given as on a globe, in order the better to exhibit the relative positions, in point of latitude, in reference to this country, of our own possessions in North America.

62

Let any one take this map in hand and trace the lines, completed and projected, communicating from the sea-board with the interior.

Beginning with the South, he will find a line projected from Mobile, on the Gulf of Mexico, to take up the trade of the Mississippi at Cairo, and to be continued in a direct line north to Chicago, on Lake Michigan; thus opening a line of country comparatively unsettled, but full of resources, and affording another inlet for manufactures to the great West.

Next, on the Atlantic sea-board, from Savannah in Georgia, and Charlestown in South Carolina, converging lines (meeting in the northern part of Georgia) run through those territories, the “Upper Country” in each of which, or the district removed from the sea,

## Library of Congress

is capable of a great increase of production; thence through the highly fertile but still comparatively thinly-peopled States of Tennessee and Kentucky, to Evansville on the Ohio, and across the lower portion of Illinois to St. Louis—that great and increasing entrepôt for the trade of the West, situated just below the junction of the 63 Missouri with the Upper Mississippi, commanding 10,000 miles of inland navigation, and having already, though still in its infancy, a trade equalling nearly one-third of the whole foreign commerce of the United States.

The next great projected line westward is from Baltimore, penetrating, in spite of great obstacles, the Alleghanies and the Laurel Ridge south of Pittsburgh; crossing the Ohio at Wheeling; opening another rich and abundant mineral region; descending on the one hand on Cincinnati, and proceeding on the other to St. Louis.

The shortest and the cheapest line, however, to St. Louis from the Atlantic sea-board, will be the one from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh (the Pennsylvania railroad), carried on from that important manufacturing town, by the “Pennsylvania and Ohio Railroad,” through the centre of the great wheat-growing district of Ohio, the four counties of Columbiana, Stark, Wayne, and Richland, of about 500 square miles each in extent; crossing five lines of communication with Lake Erie by railway and canal, and four with Cincinnati, and striking directly across the 64 rich valleys and fertile prairies of Indiana and Illinois, by the Belfontaine and Indiana and the Terre Haute and St. Louis railways, to St. Louis.

This line will be completed, it is confidently stated, from Philadelphia to St. Louis—a direct line of 927 miles—in the course of next year.

From St. Louis the line is already commenced across the fertile State of Missouri to the city of Independence on the Missouri, a further distance west of, I believe, upwards of 250 miles, and it is expected that it will be opened in the course of 1854.

Again from St. Louis northward there are already direct lines of canal and river communication with Chicago on Lake Michigan, with the fine territory of Wisconsin, with

## Library of Congress

Minesota, whose name has yet been scarcely heard beyond the regions of the west, but which is so rapidly growing into a State that it is expected she will apply for admission into the Union in about three years from this time; and through the upper part of Minesota it is proposed that there shall be a railway from the shores of Lake Superior to the Upper Mississippi, "a work likely to be soon undertaken."

65

Again—such is the competition now going on among the Atlantic cities for the vast trade with the west, which they foresee will rapidly surpass by many fold its present great development—Philadelphia has projected, and will, it is asserted, very soon carry into effect, a line passing through her rich anthracite coal-field, and the small but valuable bituminous deposit near it, and proceeding direct across a comparatively unopened portion of her fine territory to Erie on Lake Erie, a convenient depôt from whence she hopes to bring another full stream of the grain and flour trade from the Upper Lakes to her own wharfs, and to send thence into the interior the manufactures, groceries, &c., destined to pay for the raw produce.

Again, and sixthly, there are the great lines of communication which the energy and enterprise of New York have, both long since and more recently, opened for themselves towards the north and west; the fine railway from New York to Dunkirk on Lake Erie (469 miles), which is now being continued along the lake shore to Cleveland, by a line "which is nearly a dead level, and has not a turn, except slight ones at 66 a few of the stations;" from whence it will soon communicate with Toledo, Detroit, Michigan city, and Chicago, and across Wisconsin to Galena on the Upper Mississippi, a total distance from New York of about 1400 miles; two-thirds of the distance being through a line of country as yet very thinly occupied, but capable of supporting a great and wealthy population.

There are next, seventhly, the comparatively long-established routes of the Erie Canal, and its branch from Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and also the Buffalo Railroad, by which the wheat and flour of Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, Michigan, Northern Ohio, and a part of

## Library of Congress

Upper Canada, flow down to New York; and also the communications, directly northward, by railway and canal, between New York and Lower Canada, by Lake Champlain.

Eighthly, there are the lines by which Boston claims her share in the traffic of the West and North: through Albany to the West, through Ogdensburgh with Upper Canada, and through Burlington to Montreal.

Ninthly, Portland has put in her claim on behalf of her fine harbour and diminished distance; 67 and her railway communication with Montreal and Quebec is rapidly approaching completion, to be extended eastward to the other British provinces as soon as the capital can be found to do it.

Tenthly and lastly, there is the great "Imperial Line," to connect the whole of the British provinces, and upon which the Legislatures of the three provinces, in a very praiseworthy spirit of mutual accommodation, have at length agreed; starting from Halifax, bending to St. John's, New Brunswick, continuing across the fine, but yet scarcely opened, territory of New Brunswick to Quebec; thence by the right, and now also, according to a recent scheme, by the left bank of the St. Lawrence to Montreal; thence to Kingston, Toronto, and Hamilton, and onwards in a direct line through the heart of Upper Canada to its extreme western corner opposite Detroit in Michigan. A branch, now in progress, diverges from Toronto to Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Lake, and another is projected to cross the country from Toronto, through Guelph, to Goderich, on Lake Huron; a third from Hamilton to Niagara; a fourth from 68 Goderich through Brantford to the upper end of the Welland Canal, on Lake Erie, and onwards to a point opposite Buffalo, a portion of this line being now in progress: all these, therefore, are about to bring through Canada a large portion of the great traffic from the upper lakes to the ocean, and to open new regions of the most fertile soil. The works on the Great Western Line from Hamilton westward are much advanced, without aid from this country. A branch from it is under discussion, from London to Sarnia on Lake Huron; and one is in the course of construction to connect Galt and Guelph with the main line.

## Library of Congress

Already a large proportion of the vast scheme of communication in the United States, between the Atlantic and the teeming regions of the West, is completed, as a glance at the accompanying map will show. Another large portion is under contract, and will be finished at the latest in three years from the present time; and the minds of men are so set upon having the rest, that there can be no reasonable doubt of its being done before the lapse of many more years after the next three. The townships 69 through which the lines pass readily adopt the plan of executing the earth-work and the bridges, while the companies obtain the money for the rails and the rest of the cost, by issuing debentures, where necessary, on the security of the line. It is asserted, on apparently competent engineering authority, that lines constructed on this plan usually have to pay at least 10 per cent on the capital borrowed. Nevertheless the thing is accomplished, and confers great benefits on every locality within reach.

The first point which struck me on being brought into contact, as it were, on the spot, with the ideas suggested by passing along or across nearly all these main routes to the West, was the effect that the opening of so many new lines of communication, and so much new and fertile land, might have upon the future price of wheat in this country.

Professor Johnston has so recently dealt with this subject, that I might well have felt satisfied with what he has laid before the public upon it; but as trustworthy sources of information fell in my way, as probably facts and opinions from some of those countries are yet rare in this, 70 and as the effect of the great railway development now in progress has not, as far as I am aware, been fully considered, I do not hesitate to record here the substance of what I learnt respecting a point of such particular interest.

My informants were some of the principal merchants in the different places I visited in the West, and in particular some immediately connected with the grain trade at the manufacturing city of Pittsburgh, and at Cleveland, the chief shipping port for the grain of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

## Library of Congress

“The great wheat-growing district in Ohio comprises the four counties of Columbiana, Stark, Wayne, and Richland, in the northern part of that State, lying chiefly between the towns of New Lisbon, Canton, and Mansfield, having their chief mart at Massillon, near their centre, and communicating, by canals and railways at their centre and their eastern and western extremities, with Lake Erie towards the north, and with the Ohio towards the east and south. These four counties, comprising a space of about 2000 square miles, produced a surplus last year (according to the information of a gentleman engaged for the last twenty years in the trade) of 4,000,000 bushels of wheat; and this year their harvest has been good and their surplus proportionate. Six more counties 71 in Ohio were estimated to have produced about half as much surplus as the above.

“The land is far from being cultivated up to its capabilities. The usual course is to grow at first nothing but grain, until the land shows signs of exhaustion; then clover, which is again broken up after a few years. The farms are, on an average, about 160 acres each, or a ‘quarter-section,’ of which 80 to 90 will be under cultivation, and the rest in wood. Very few turnips are grown, though the climate is suitable for them. Generally little stock has been kept hitherto; perhaps half a dozen cows, and a horse or two to sell, and a small flock of sheep. The stock are fed on hay and oats and a little Indian corn. Farmers of the better class are now taking to a proper rotation: clover, wheat, Indian corn (manured), oats (seeded). The price of wheat at Pittsburgh for several years until the two last has been from 80 cents to a dollar per bushel (of 60 lbs.). For the last two years it has been about 60 cents. Massillon rules the price, as the chief mart, and the place from whence the wheat is shipped on the canal for Cleveland. The average price of wheat for the last seven years throughout the wheat region of Ohio has been 70 cents; below it two years, and much above it one. With wheat at 70 cents the farmers of Ohio can only employ labour at harvest-time: when it goes down to 60 cents, few of them can afford to employ labour at all. Two-thirds of them are independent in their circumstances, and will not force their wheat into market unless they can get 65 cents. Prices having been lower, a good many

## Library of Congress

have grown less wheat, and have gone into raising stock and horses. A considerable number have done this already.

“The many new lines of railway now in progress through 72 Ohio will open more excellent wheat land. Already the rich alluvial valleys of the Scioto in the centre, and of the Miami river in the western part of the state, grow a large quantity of wheat, the principal part of which finds its way northward by the Miami Canal to the lake at Toledo, or by the Ohio Canal to Cleveland; the point at which it is more profitable to send it in that direction than to the south, for Cincinnati and New Orleans, being, for the Miami, as low as near Dayton, not many miles above Cincinnati. By the same canal the wheat of northern Indiana comes down to Toledo; and the railway now crossing it, from Terre Haute across southern Illinois, will add to the quantity. The northern part of Illinois is already supplied with canal communication to Chicago, on Lake Michigan, and will be still further opened by the railways in progress. These districts, however, together with Wisconsin and Iowa, are finding spring wheat a more certain crop than winter, as the latter is apt to be ‘winter killed.’ The value of spring wheat is less by about 20 cents a bushel. A good deal of wheat is raised up the Missouri river; and in Minnesota there is an immense body of valuable wheat land, into which emigrants are now moving. There, and in the ‘oak openings’ in Wisconsin, the land is so lightly timbered, and the prairie grass, sometimes so difficult, is there so easily broken up, that a thousand acres have been seeded down in one year by one employer; and the average produce has been 34 to 36 bushels per acre. Many farmers there have farms of 1000 and 2000 acres. The country is very healthy, Central and southern Michigan also grow good wheat, a large portion of which is winter wheat.

“The productions of these new countries will, during 73 periods of small demand from Europe, bring down the price of wheat at Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland (the principal places of shipment from the ‘Great West’) to something under 60 cents per bushel.”

## Library of Congress

From the above facts the question arises, Can the farmers of Ohio continue to raise any large quantity of wheat if prices go down permanently to that point?

I took a good deal of pains to ascertain with accuracy, if possible, what was the actual cost of growing a bushel of wheat in the principal wheat districts of Ohio. On going into the calculation minutely with more than half a dozen of the most substantial and intelligent farmers I met with, they stated to me that they themselves had never made the calculation, nor ever estimated the actual value of their land, buildings, and stock, or the costs of cultivation.

“It was sufficient for their purposes to know that, if they wanted to sell and ‘go West,’ they could get 40 or 50 dollars an acre for land that had cost perhaps but a dollar and a half, and that they should get besides a good allowance for the buildings if they were of a good and permanent kind. At the beginning of the present century nearly the whole of Ohio was a wilderness. Those farmers E 74 who took originally wild land, and brought it into cultivation, built their own houses and farmbuildings themselves, at times when they had nothing else to do, and have therefore a difficulty in estimating their real cost. And as regards the price of land, it varies much with its quality, locality, and condition, whether exhausted or not by over-cropping; but it may be said to be from 25 to 40 and 50 dollars per acre for land in a fair state for occupation.”

Taking, therefore, the case of a farmer of 200 acres of land, worth forty dollars per acre—of whom there is a large class in Ohio, and a class possessing intelligence and capital, and capable of turning their attention to other crops and to stock as soon as they found the profits of wheat-growing diminishing—I went over the calculation with several of them, all of whom said they should not continue to raise wheat if it continued much below 65 cents; arriving in every case at the same result, namely, that a price below that point would afford a very small return, and would operate as an inducement to the most intelligent among them to apply their land to other purposes. I give the figures in the Appendix (A, p.

## Library of Congress

157), which, however, must be regarded only as an approximation, 75 though derived from many nearly concurring statements.

The next point is the cost of transferring it from the grower in the interior of Ohio, first to the chief shipping place, Cleveland, and thence to New York. This I ascertained to be on an average about 10 cents per bushel to Cleveland, and 20 more to New York. The particulars will be found at page 159, Appendix B.

At the time of my being in Cleveland (at the end of September last) the farmer in the interior of Ohio was only getting 55 cents per bushel for his wheat, instead of 65, the price below which he will not bring it freely to market. Adding, therefore, 10 cents per bushel, the cost of bringing it to Cleveland, and 20 cents more to New York, Ohio wheat at that time was deliverable at New York for 85 cents per bushel.

For the purpose of determining at what price wheat purchased at New York for 85 cents per bushel could be sold at Liverpool, I applied to some gentlemen engaged in that branch of business at New York, and subsequently, by the obliging assistance of a friend, to an eminent E 2 76 mercantile house at Liverpool; and as their accounts very nearly tallied, I give with the more confidence the full statement which was very kindly furnished to me by the house at Liverpool; for which see Appendix B, p. 161.

From this it appears clear that when red Ohio is deliverable at New York at the price at which, under present circumstances, it will come freely to market, namely, 65 cents to the grower, or 95 purchaseable free on board at New York, it cannot be sold at Liverpool (all charges included) under 5 s. 6# *d.* per bushel of 60 lbs., or 6 s. 5# *d.* per bushel of 70 lbs., the usual selling weight at Liverpool. While, if any shortness of crop in America, or any brisk demand from Europe, should raise it to a dollar free on board at New York, the equivalent selling price at Liverpool would be 5 s. 9 *d.* per bushel of 60 lbs., and 6 s. 83/7 *d.* per bushel of 70 lbs.

## Library of Congress

At the time when the above facts were obtained at Cleveland, the prices of wheat at the two other principal shipping places for the produce of "the West" were nearly the same as 77 at Cleveland. At Chicago (September 25) the prices quoted were—

"Wheat from teams—

Spring 53 c. per bushel.

Winter (for milling) 60 to 67 c.

Ditto inferior 50 to 56 c."

At Milwaukie (September 24) the prices for "prime samples of winter wheat" were higher; "millers were paying 70 to 75 cents." "White Michigan, well cleaned, is generally from 10 to 15 cents per bushel higher than red Ohio."\* The cost of transport from Chicago and Milwaukie (at the further end of Lake Michigan) to New York is, notwithstanding the distance, only a few cents per barrel of flour (representing in quantity 4½ bushels of wheat† ) greater than

\* "The flour of Ohio will be, however, from 25 c. to 50 c. per barrel better than Michigan or New York, as the Ohio flour takes up more water, and has more nutriment in it. The New York (Genessee Valley) and Michigan are sold at New York chiefly for confectionary purposes."

† But in commercial value five bushels. "The miller gives one barrel of flour for five bushels of wheat, at ordinary prices; he reckons that four and a half bushels make a barrel of superfine flour, and that the 'offal' pays for the barrel, leaving him half a bushel of wheat as his profit. At present, however, prices are so low that the millers are asking more than five bushels for a barrel of flour."

## Library of Congress

78 from Cleveland, the trade being carried on by large schooners taking a cargo of from 2000 to 4000 barrels (at five to a ton of 2000 lbs.), and the expense of the few additional days of navigation being but trifling.

At those dates the demand for wheat at New York was very slight; "it was being shipped more as a remittance against bills than for profit, of which it afforded a very small margin."

Under present circumstances, therefore (especially that of a large surplus existing in Ohio from two years' harvests, and which is held back at present prices), and notwithstanding the probable increase of production in the "far West," which, however, is likely to cause a diminished production in the great wheat-growing State of Ohio, it would seem that there is yet no sufficient reason for concluding that any large amount of wheat from the United States could be sent to Europe to supply a continuous demand unless it could command prices higher than have been attainable for the last two years.

The above, therefore, being the prices below which no large quantity can now be had from 79 the United States, it may be asked whether the state of the question is likely to be materially altered by a reduction of the cost of transport from the interior to the sea-board, consequent on the completion of the great system of railways soon about to penetrate in almost directly straight lines to the heart of these large wheat-growing regions.

Several gentlemen connected with some of these lines, as engineers, directors, or otherwise, expressed to me a very sanguine opinion that they should be able to carry a large quantity of flour to the sea-board, from Ohio and the far West, by the lines now under construction, at a cost not only below existing lines, but below that of the canals.

In support of the latter opinion are certainly the following facts, stated to me by one of those gentlemen. "The Dunkirk and New York Railway is now (October 1) carrying flour to New York (and they have contracted to do so up to November 1) as cheap as the (Erie) canal, viz. 56 cents per barrel for 469 miles, or a little above a cent per ton per mile. We 80 are at present shipping flour from Cleveland, via Buffalo, as follows:—

## Library of Congress

“To Buffalo 12 c.

By Erie canal to New York 56 c.

0 68

Cost of barrel of flour at Cleveland (October 1) 3 25

3 93

“From Cleveland to New York, viâ the Welland Canal,—

“Freight 0 65

Cost of barrel of flour (October 1). 3 25

3 90\*

\* At that time, and as a confirmation of the above, the statement of the prices current in New York (September 27) was as follows:—

“Less wheat pressing on market. Demand for home and export moderate. No sales. Dol. c.

“Flour—Canadian 4 0 per barrel.

“Ohio 4 0 “

“New Michigan and Indiana 4 12 “

“The railway, therefore, is now carrying as cheaply as the Erie, and cheaper than by the route through the Welland Canal.

## Library of Congress

“Railways made at a greater cost and with heavier gradients charge more; but it is expected. that the western railways through Ohio 81 will charge about a cent per ton per mile. They will be made at a moderate cost, and will be remarkably level and straight. The average cost of the Ohio roads will not be above 20,000 dollars per mile completed. The Columbus road has straight stretches of from 9 to 20 miles, and only 4 miles of curvature in 135 miles, and those at some of the stations; the Cleveland and Ashtabula (and thence to Erie) Railway has ‘straight stretches’ of from 7 to 20 miles; the Pennsylvania and Ohio runs along the backbone of the State, right through the great wheat-growing district from Pittsburgh westward; the ‘Pennsylvania,’ from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, has also comparatively easy gradients and small curvatures. They will, therefore, attain high speeds and carry cheaply.”

If these expectations are realized, a barrel of flour will (probably in the course of 1853) be carried from Massillon, the great inland mart for flour in Ohio, to Philadelphia for 44 cents, being 440 miles, at the assumed and probable rate of one cent per ton per mile.

From Cleveland to New York, by the “Lake E 3 82 Shore” Roads, which will be opened in 1852, and by the New York and Erie Railway, will be 633 miles. The cost of transport of a barrel of flour from that place to New York would, at the above rate, be 63 cents.

From Cleveland to New York, via Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, will be, by the railways now in progress, 583 miles; consequently, a barrel of flour would reach New York by that route, at the above rate, for 58 cents.

From Cleveland to Philadelphia, viâ the same roads, is 493 miles; therefore, at the same rate, a barrel of flour would reach Philadelphia from Cleveland at a cost of 49 cents.

From Philadelphia to Crestline, the point of intersection between the great western line of the Pennsylvania and Ohio and the Cleveland and Cincinnati line, is 541 miles;

## Library of Congress

consequently a barrel of flour would reach Philadelphia from that point, at the above assumed rate, for 54 cents.

In estimating the probabilities of these reductions being in fact realized, it is necessary to bear in mind three considerations: first, that the 83 great Atlantic cities, in projecting and nearly bringing to completion the above lines, have been actuated by a spirit of very sharp rivalry in the endeavour to draw towards themselves as large a share as possible of the rapidly developing traffic of the "great West;" secondly, that the Reports of the lines in progress in Ohio speak confidently of their being well supported by the local traffic alone, which will enable them to carry the "through" traffic to Philadelphia at the lowest possible charge; thirdly, that, "as the canals are State property, they can, if pressed by competition, reduce their tolls to the lowest point sufficient to keep them in repair." Fourthly, that the average time that a barrel of flour is on its passage from Cleveland to New York, viâ the canals, is 16 days, and that there would therefore be a saving of perhaps six to eight days' interest on every transaction—a small item, doubtless, but yet not to be left out of the account.

The above considerations lead, it would appear, legitimately to the conclusion that when these lines of railway are completed, which will be, it is expected, in the course of 1853, there will be a reduction of several cents in the cost of transporting a barrel of flour from the great wheat-growing districts of the United States to the Atlantic sea-board.

Another point for consideration in reference to future prices of wheat is the effect that will be produced by the opening in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, of so much new land by the passage of these railways through them. The extent of such land must be considerable. It is stated that "the Columbus line alone opens new land along almost its entire length of 130 miles." A large and valuable tract will also be opened by the proposed railway from Cincinnati to St. Louis (see p. 63). The advantages of being near a railroad, in States so abounding in resources as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, will doubtless attract settlers; and as new settlers can raise their crops at the cost of not much beyond their own labour, and

## Library of Congress

look forward, as a part of their future remuneration, to a continued rise taking place in the value of land, they will, probably, not be very particular as to the price they will obtain for their wheat, if they grow any. It must be remembered, however, that in those new lands wheat does not make any necessary part of a rotation; and that a settler will grow Indian corn and other crops, with a view to stock, if he finds it pays him better. Also that the older settlers will be disposed to do the same; and that the process already commenced among them of diminishing their wheat cultivation would be stimulated by any further fall of price.

Again, the railways, by opening cheaper and readier communications with the great cities, will tend to the increased production of stock, as well as of butter, cheese, &c. The extent to which this will be carried will, of course, depend principally upon the demand afforded by the increasing markets. The probable growth, therefore, of the great cities and of the smaller towns, becomes an important element in the inquiry.

Little need be said of the well-known rapidity of growth of the Atlantic cities during the last 30 years:—of New York, from a population of 123,706 in 1820 to 517,000 in 1850; of Philadelphia, 86 from 119,325 to 411,000 within the same period; of Boston, from 43,298 to 138,788; of Baltimore, from 102,313 in 1840 to 169,125 in 1850. The continual development of the vast resources of the “Great West” causes a constant stream of supplies of all kinds to flow through them towards it, while their increasing demands for labour are fed by the perpetual influx of foreign immigration. But less is known of the manufacturing and mercantile capabilities of the towns and cities of the interior beyond the Alleghanies, and within or bordering upon the vast basin of the Mississippi.

In the course of next year the important manufacturing city of Pittsburgh, on the Ohio, will be brought within twelve or fourteen hours of Philadelphia—exchanging its present slow and expensive communication by the Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railroad for the excellent line of the Pennsylvania Railway. The population of Pittsburgh has increased, even with such imperfect facilities as it has already enjoyed, from 7250 in 1820,

## Library of Congress

to upwards of 80,000 in 1850. The following account of the industry 87 and prospects of this remarkable city was given me by one of its principal merchants:—

“The manufactures of Pittsburgh took a start in 1812, when we were cut off from supplies from England, and they have been making great progress ever since. The published statement of our Board of Trade shows that we have now 30 large iron-foundries and several small ones, 13 rolling-mills, 5 large cotton factories, 8 flint and 11 window glass manufactories, 5 White lead factories, a copper smelting and rolling mill, besides numerous smaller branches of skilled labour, such as the making of locks, steel springs, axles, saws, gun-barrels, files, shovels, spades, soda, 7 phial furnaces, &c. &c. Our fine bituminous coal lies in nearly horizontal layers of from four to nine feet thick above the level of the river, and cropping out on its banks; the enormous extent of this formation is well known. About 12,000,000 bushels are raised annually for our own consumption, and delivered at the factories and iron-works at from a cent and a half to three cents per bushel of 76 lbs.; for domestic purposes we pay four cents to four and a half per bushel. We export also down the river annually 12,000,000 bushels more. The total annual value of our manufactures is estimated at 50,000,000 dollars. The iron-furnaces are in all directions from ten to fifteen miles round. Those that have not depended too much on borrowed capital, and are also well situated—that is whose sites have been chosen with judgment in reference to facilities of getting the materials for taking advantage of the water-carriage—are flourishing, 88 and do not want protection, having easy water-carriage and lime and coal near. The finest kind of iron-ore is found on the ‘hanging rock’ on the Ohio, and chiefly in Clarion County, about 50 to 100 miles N.E. up the Alleghany river and the Clarion, which is a branch of it; some is brought also from Tennessee and Missouri. There are many furnaces also on the Monongahela, a few miles above the city. The cotton is brought up from Tennessee, and most of the cotton-yarn can now do without protection. Woollen factories would take root here, if there was capital for them. There is a flannel and blanket factory on the Alleghany, a few miles off. The hills all round us are very favourable for

## Library of Congress

sheep; all through the southern and eastern counties of Ohio sheep do well; and there are great capabilities for sheep runs all over the northern parts of Virginia adjoining us.

“We, in common with all the towns and cities on the rivers west of the Alleghanies, have the great advantage of participating in an inland navigation of at least 10,000 miles, extending over the whole of the vast basin of the Mississippi. The Monongahela and Alleghany, uniting at this spot, place us at the head of the navigation of the Ohio (the two first-named rivers being navigable from 60 to 200 miles upwards), and thence we communicate with the Wabash, the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Illinois, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Arkansas, the Red River, and all the canals connected with them. We have also the great advantage of a fine and healthy climate; we are 700 feet above the sea-level, and have no marsh or stagnant water near—nothing but dry hills all round us. Our resources are enormous, and we have as yet far too little capital for our purposes. More will probably come to us when our communications with Philadelphia are completed. Nothing can deprive us of our great natural advantages; and the continually increasing population in the ‘great West’ will afford us a growing market. Hitherto capital has been scarce, and we have to pay very high rates of interest for it, on the best freehold securities. Our exports to New Orleans and other places in the south are paid for by sugar, molasses, groceries, ‘dry goods,’ &c. The workmen in many occupations here are paid chiefly through the ‘stores’ with these goods. The contractors who supply many of the foundries, glass-houses, &c., with coal, receive in payment iron, glass, nails, groceries, &c., on account, which they must dispose of at the market price; and on settling, the manufacturer gives his note of hand at four to six months. The employers who pay in cash command the best men, and if cash-payments could be more general we could turn out articles of manufacture at a much lower price, notwithstanding the high rate of labour—75 cents to a dollar a day.”\*

\* Colliers earn from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day. An attempt was lately made to reduce them to a dollar and a quarter, which caused a strike, in which they succeeded. The colliers consist of about one-third Welsh, one-third German, the rest Irish, with a few

## Library of Congress

English and Scotch, and a very few Americans born. Those who are engaged in supplying the "river trade" are subject to frequent interruptions of work, while the river is not in a proper state for navigation. The rest are pretty steadily employed at the above wages.

Another gentleman gave me, as a proof of the 90 prosperity of the city, the following facts as to the rise in the value of land:—

"The city authorities wanted lately a spot for a 'House of Refuge,' and tried to get a 'cheap lot.' They negotiated for thirty acres about six miles from the city, and the lowest sum that they could get it for was 600 dollars per acre. The proprietor of eighteen acres of garden-ground between three and four miles below the city, now let for 25 dollars per acre, could at this moment get 12,000 dollars for them, being at the rate of near 670 dollars per acre. Two years ago ordinary farming land could have been had within five miles of Pittsburgh at 50 dollars per acre; it is now held for a much higher sum. On the whole, our manufactures are flourishing, and, with the exception of some of the iron (the foundries) and some of the cotton, do not want protection. Ohio and all the Western States, and also the South, are for free-trade. Our tariff may want amendment in some particulars; and the *ad valorem* system is objected to as giving rise to frauds. Our great lines of railway will be finished westward to the Mississippi, and perhaps to the Missouri, in three years, and probably soon after to Chicago; all of which will tend to the increase of our business here."

There is every probability, therefore, that Pittsburgh will afford a growing demand for other agricultural products besides wheat. And as regards the actual price of wheat at that city 91 as compared with New York, it may be interesting to record the following figures:—

When I was at Pittsburgh (September 24) the price of flour was—

d. c. d. c.

Ordinary 3 15 to 3 25 per barrel.

## Library of Congress

Superfine 3 50

Wheat 0 60 to 0 65 per bushel.

At New York, about the same date, the "Price Current" stated—

"Prices very low, and have probably touched the bottom. For flour—

d. c.

Wisconsin 3 75

Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan 3 75

Fancy Michigan 3 81 to 93

Pure Genessee 4 0

Extra ditto 4 76."

The prices, therefore, at Pittsburgh and New York were, considering the cost of transport to New York, nearly the same, the price in Pittsburgh being slightly the highest, if estimated at the usual cost of carriage from Massillon.

Four hundred and seventy-seven miles below 92 Pittsburgh, by the waters of the Ohio, and 350, when the railways are completed, by land, is Cincinnati, the "Queen City of the West," beautifully situated in a fold of the Ohio, and on a small rising plain between encircling hills;—almost the creation of this half-century, and one of the many astonishing evidences of American energy and industry with which that country abounds. Its population in 1800 was 750; in 1820 it was 9602; and in 1850 it amounted to 116,108. It is more popularly known for its "hog-trade" and its great slaughter-houses. But its numerous and increasing manufactures have not, I apprehend, attracted the notice they deserve.

## Library of Congress

In the Annual Report to the Chamber of Commerce, dated August 13th, 1851, is given "a full and complete statement of the manufactures and industrial products of Cincinnati." Of these the Report states, "The number and products of the several manufactories and workshops in 1851, compared with 1841, show the great and unprecedented increase of this department of business, and present in a clear light the future destiny of our city."

93

The number of the different branches of manufacture is 180. This number is so remarkable, and embraces so many different kinds, that I think it would be acceptable to many persons in this country to have an opportunity of considering it. I therefore add it to the Appendix (C), p. 162. Their rapid extension is confidently anticipated, from the effect of the lines of railway now being constructed, which will connect Cincinnati with St. Louis on the one hand, and with the sea-board at Charleston on the other, through Lexington in Kentucky;\* even more, however,

\* "We present in connection with this report a full statement of the manufactures of Cincinnati, which affords a very clear idea of the importance and magnitude of this branch of business. In our last annual report we took occasion to notice the advantages of this place as a manufacturing city, arising partly from her central position, partly from her natural resources, and partly from the numerous channels of communication, natural and artificial, which connect her with the surrounding country. For many of the leading articles of our manufactures the south has been, and will continue to be, our most important market; and everything, therefore, which is calculated to extend the trade in that direction must be regarded with favour by the friends of these interests. The statistics alluded to show that the increase in the manufacturing business has been rapid, and it is now so extensive that it is necessary the markets for the products should be extended in every accessible direction. It is gratifying, therefore; to observe that important connections will shortly be afforded by the projected railroad lines; and while the Hamilton and Dayton railroad, with Indiana connections, and the Ohio and Mississippi railroad, will benefit this trade much, the line constructing from Covington to Lexington, in Kentucky, which will

## Library of Congress

be extended through the south, and have its terminus on the seaboard, will prove more important than either; and, indeed, we consider it to be utterly impossible now to estimate the advantages this road will be to our manufacturing interests." *Report to Chamber of Commerce*, p. 3.

94 from the fact of the line to St. Louis "passing at many points" in a total distance of 327 miles, "through inexhaustible beds of iron and coal" (p. 5). Another valuable district of coal and iron will also be opened to Cincinnati by the railway through Chilicothe, about 100 miles off, into Virginia and on to Baltimore.

In connection with the rapid development of their trade and manufactures is discussed the question of the supply of provisions, and especially the price of wheat, to their large population; and, at page 7, the remarkable statement is made, that during the whole of the past year the relative value of wheat and flour has been higher at Cincinnati than at New York. The passage is evidently deserving of consideration in this country:—

95

" *Breadstuffs*. —The market for flour, throughout the year, as will be seen by the weekly average prices below, presented an unusually steady appearance; and the lowest monthly average was \$ 3 15 [for the month of July], and the highest \$ 3 68 [for the month of December]. From the large crop of wheat in 1850 it was expected that the receipts of flour at this port would show a large excess over last year; it being expected that they would reach at least 600,000 bbls. They have not proved, however, as heavy as was anticipated, although the increase on last year is 50 per cent. It is now very evident that the supplies at this port have not increased in proportion to the amount produced, and unless our railroads are extended into the surrounding country we cannot look for any other result. There are three channels of transportation through our State which are rapidly attracting the produce business of the interior from this point; so much so, that the relative value of breadstuffs in this market is now, and has been during the year, higher than in New York. The value of a barrel of flour at this time in our market is (wholesale) \$3 20, while in New

## Library of Congress

York it is \$ 4. Freight from this city to New York is 95c., and other charges would increase the expense to \$1 15; so that flour purchased here at \$3 20 would not net the shipper in New York over \$2 85 or \$2 90, allowing for the difference in exchange. The only reason why flour should not be at \$2 90, instead of \$3 20, is the inadequacy of supplies to the demand.”—p. 6.

As also are the following, which prove incontestably the great amount of surplus of wheat 96 during the last two years in Ohio, and confirm the statement that the Ohio farmers will not send their wheat freely to market when the price is under 65 cents per bushel.

“In our Report of last September we had occasion to state that the prospects were highly favourable for a prosperous season. The crops were good, especially wheat, the yield of which in Ohio we estimated at 30,000,000 bushels. This estimate proved to be very nearly correct, the official reports showing the crops in sixty-two counties to have been 25,137,174 bushels. The remaining twenty-six counties from which we have seen no returns, would doubtless increase the amount to 33,000,000 bushels. This yield was greatly larger than that of any previous crop. In Kentucky, Indiana, and other western States, the crop of this grain was also unusually good, as has been fully shown by the supplies that have been sent forward through the several outlets. The fact that the stock of wheat in the country at the commencement of the past year was larger perhaps than ever before, led many to look for very low prices early in this season; but we took occasion to predict that prices would not recede, as expected, until the close of the season, and not even then, unless the prospect of the harvest of 1851 should be favourable. One reason given for the conclusion arrived at was, that farmers would retain a very large proportion of the grain should low prices prevail; another, that low prices would induce a heavy consumption; and another, that Europe, notwithstanding the favourable result of her own harvest, 97 would, at moderately low prices, increase her demand; and the result of the season shows we were not far astray. The increase in supplies of flour sent forward was not in proportion to the increased yield of wheat; and until within the last month or two fair average prices have been maintained. The lowest monthly average in this market,

## Library of Congress

prior to July, was \$3 43, and the highest \$3 68, and the average for the year is about \$3 50. In New York prices have receded to a low point, and it is remarked that flour was lower in that market since August 1st than ever before. The European demand during the year, notwithstanding the low prices current abroad, was good, and the exports from the United States to Great Britain and Ireland, during the eleven months ending August 1st, were 1,493,345 barrels of flour, against 792,742 barrels at the same time last year; and 1,318,905 bushels of wheat against 332,939 bushels last year.”—p. 1.

“The crops throughout the west, with scarcely an exception, were again large the last season; and the supply of cereal products is larger in the west, and we may say in the United States, than ever before. This abundant yield, following, as it does, a harvest scarcely less productive than that which has recently been gathered, tends to destroy confidence in the market; and on the eastern sea-board prices have already reached an unprecedentedly low point, and in this market they are tending in the same direction; and the probabilities strongly favour prices very little above, if not below, a producing point. The consumption (as is always the case during seasons of low prices) will doubtless be heavy, and we may also look for a continued good European demand, notwithstanding the F 98 good harvests which have been gathered in Great Britain, as well as in most of the continental countries; but all this will not be sufficient to absorb the surplus stocks to such an extent as to enable holders to obtain prices equal, or nearly equal, to the average of the last season. There will doubtless be a much heavier surplus stock held at the close of the season of 1851–2 than that now in the country.

“(Indian) Corn is also giving way, under the favourable prospects of the growing crop; but a partial failure of this crop in some of the southern States, and a total failure in others, will give it some advantage over flour. It is also probable that an increased European demand will exist, though the low price of flour will restrict its consumption abroad.”—p. 2.

The Report comments on the remarkable fact of the relative value of wheat being at Cincinnati, within a few miles, comparatively, of the place of its growth, higher than at

## Library of Congress

New York, and points to the numerous lines of railway now under construction and being completed, as “feeders” both of the population and their trade. Of the one then projected and since determined on to St. Louis, it thus speaks:—

“The road, as at present surveyed, is nearly on a straight line; and the distance from Cincinnati to St. Louis is reduced to 327 miles. This road traverses a beautiful and fertile country, everywhere susceptible of the highest cultivation, crossing in its route the valleys of the two White rivers and that of the Wabash—all famed, the world over, as unsurpassably rich and productive. At many points it passes through inexhaustible beds of iron and coal. We doubt whether any line of equal length could be projected in the country that would compare favourably with this for all the varied products of the west.

“The road in its course intersects at eligible points six distinct and important lines of railroads, all either completed or in course of construction. These roads must necessarily throw upon it an amount of business that it would now be impossible to estimate.”—p. 5.

And after noticing the great increase in the export of cheese, it concludes by congratulating the community that they have now “many things besides *wheat* to sell;” and that they are “wiser than of yore, and have not put ‘all their eggs into one basket.’”

The commercial importance of the great city of St. Louis is well known. It has already nearly 100,000 inhabitants, and, being about to be brought into direct communication with Philadelphia by a continuous line of railway, it will doubtless assume a still higher place. The distances will be divided in round numbers as follows: Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, 350 miles; Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, 350; Cincinnati to St. Louis, 327—a little above 1000 miles. A line from St. Louis to the City of Independence, on the Missouri, direct west for, I believe, upwards of 250 miles more, has been already determined on, and, indeed, commenced.

There are springing up, besides, in the West many second-rate cities and towns, of which little has yet been heard in this country: such as Chicago, which, within the last ten years,

## Library of Congress

has grown from a small village to a city of upwards of 30,000 inhabitants; Milwaukie, which in the same time has increased to above 20,000; being the principal shipping places for the wheat of Illinois and Wisconsin. Detroit, Cleveland, Sandusky City, and Toledo, better known, are also rapidly increasing, by commanding the grain trade of Michigan, Ohio, &c. These and other inland towns are rising into importance, and will become more and more large centres of demand for all kinds of agricultural produce.

It remains to say a few words on the price of agricultural labour. I believe it may be stated in general terms, that, over the wide space (in 101 the free States) from the Atlantic to the extremity of Ohio, the usual wages of agricultural labour are 50 cents a day and board and lodging, the latter being estimated at a dollar and a half more per week; the whole equalling about 18 s. 10 d. a week of our money. This applies chiefly to the best labourers in steady employ, and living with the farmers. In the well-farmed counties of Chester and Lancaster, in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, the rates are said, in some cases, to be rather above this; the price of farming-land being also in those counties often as high as 120 or 150 dollars per acre, and the farmer not considering himself remunerated for growing wheat unless he can obtain a dollar a bushel. On the other hand, towards the western part of that State, in answer to some inquiries on the subject, I was informed that wages were often, in winter, as low as 50 cents per day, without board and lodging (= 12 s. 6 d. per week), and that many were then out of employ. The price of wheat when I was in the interior of Pennsylvania in September last was, at Bedford, a town of about 1500 inhabitants, and 31 miles 102 west of the railway, 62 to 65 cents per bushel of 62 lbs., "and had been at that point for about two years; but previously to that, about a dollar per bushel was the average price." In winter, wages, according to another account, went down sometimes to 1 dollar and board and lodging(= 10 s. 2 d. ) per week. Harvest wages are 1 dollar 50 cents (= 6 s. 3 d. ) per day. In the neighbourhood of Hollidaysburgh, on the line of the railway, wages were said to average throughout the year 7 to 8 dollars per month, and board and lodging 6 dollars, equivalent to about 13 s. 4 d. to 14 s. 7 d. per week. Again, after passing through the Alleghanies, I found that, on their western slopes and through

## Library of Congress

Ohio generally, agricultural wages for steady men were stated at 50 cents per day and board and lodging, or 4 dollars 50 cents, equalling 18 s. 10 *d.* , per week. This was the rate given me by four English farmers who had settled near Blairsville, about 50 miles east of Pittsburgh; the same was also stated to be the usual rate near Greensburgh, about 30 miles in the same direction; the usual value of farming land being 103 throughout that region (of red sandstone) about 35 dollars per acre. There, also, occasional labourers only received 50 cents (2 s. 1 *d.* ) per day, without board, &c., and many were said to be out of employ in winter. Much was said by farmers of the high price of labour; but notwithstanding the approaching completion of many lines of railway, which would set free much Irish labour, they did not expect that the price would be materially brought down, inasmuch as there were three great demands which would tend to keep it up: first, that of the extreme West; next, that which, would be created by the opening of new land along the lines of railway; and thirdly, the growing prosperity of the cities west of the Alleghanies, as well as of those on the sea-board.

The above, therefore, are, I believe, the principal elements in the problem, of much interest to this country, as to what will be the probable paying price at which American wheat can be delivered in any large quantity at Liverpool. Some of the above particulars have been adverted to in various published statements on the 104 subject; others, however—such as the effect of the railways now in progress, in opening new land so much nearer to the Atlantic sea-board, and cheapening the cost of transport thither—have hitherto, I think, scarcely received due consideration. Without pretending to be able to draw any very definite conclusion from what I have ventured to put together, it may, perhaps, be allowable to say, that the question cannot be altogether disposed of by the alleged fact that in the United States the growth of the consuming is equal to that of the producing population.

Of the extent to which the question may be affected by the circumstances of Canada, and its great capabilities of production, I shall have something to say in a future page; to which I shall also defer what I wish to add on the manner in which the opening of these great and

## Library of Congress

new fields of well-remunerated industry bears upon the question of emigration from Ireland and from the United Kingdom generally.

105

### **WATER SUPPLY; MEANS OF CLEANLINESS IN THE CITIES AND LARGE TOWNS.**

To any one who has had opportunities of observing the state of some of our large centres of mining and manufacturing population, the general aspect of cheerfulness and cleanliness pervading the manufacturing portions of the cities and towns of the United States, presents a contrast by no means flattering.

The absence of smoke, arising from the use of wood or of anthracite coal, is of course at once a great point in favour of the trans-Atlantic cities of the sea-board, and suggests a keen desire that the celebrated "Smoke Bill," which has so often made its appearance in Parliament, may one day end in something less evanescent. F 3

106

But what is of more importance for our consideration, the public opinion of the United States will not permit the health, the comfort, and—as far as morals are affected by material things—the morals of the community to be sacrificed by the reckless and irresponsible use of capital in the manner so prevalent in parts of our mining and manufacturing districts. Any one conversant with those districts could point to many localities where large capitalists have covered whole square miles with buildings for the labouring classes, without the smallest regard to drainage, ventilation, cleanliness, decency, cheerfulness, or comfort of any sort.

Under the municipal arrangements of the United States, and in the face of the public opinion dominant there, such things cannot be done; and in being permitted to do them here, that class of the community are continuing to furnish, most unfortunately, I believe, for themselves and for the general interests of the country, rightly considered, the most forcible arguments to the worst opponents of our social system.

## Library of Congress

It would, perhaps, be unfair to compare 107 Lowell, the creation of the last five-and-twenty years, with only 40,000 inhabitants, where only water-power is used, and in the laying out of which town the different companies had the experience of England before them as a guide and a memento of what to avoid—Lowell, with its wide streets, ornamented with trees, like all American towns, after the manner of the Parisian Boulevards, and its neat houses and gardens—with the dense masses of population gathered together upon our coal-fields. Moreover, if need were, it would be easy to enumerate a long list of instances, in this country, where either large companies, or individuals of wealth and of eminent station, have, both in the manufacturing and the mining districts, housed the hundreds—nay, the thousands—of people in their employ, with an attention to comfort and even elegance which I have never seen equalled out of England. But the average state of things is that which most demands attention, and I would rather refer, as a standard of comparison, to the extensive and wealthy manufacturing and commercial city of Philadelphia, as an instance worthy of observation 108 in reference to this country. The manufactures, and consequently the manufacturing population of that city, are rapidly increasing; and if any one visits the side of the city where this increase is taking place, and compares it, in his own mind, with twenty places that will instantly occur to him if he is conversant with South Staffordshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Merthyr and Dowlais, Lanarkshire, &c. &c., he will find his convictions strengthened that such neglect of matters of vital moment to the best interests of the labouring classes in our country, as is there exhibited, ought not to be.

It is not needful to state what means are taken to prevent them in the United States. We have means enough of our own if they were but used. Better it will be that they should be used, and that quickly, before others are demanded not quite in accordance with our present notions.

The “luxury of cold water” is one which certain of our great companies seem to think unnatural to man—of cold water, at least, in abundance and purity. It is rather tantalizing

## Library of Congress

109 to one who leaves London in the beginning of August, to find himself, in ten days, in cities across the Atlantic where bath-rooms are almost as numerous as bed-rooms in every private house of any pretensions to the comfort that even a moderate competency can command, and where the purest of water is let in at the highest habitable part of every building, in unlimited quantity, and for a most moderate payment. It is somewhat amusing, too, to see the Irish maidens in Philadelphia (in their usual vocation of house-maids, there as elsewhere) tripping out in the early morning, upon the broad brick foot-pavements, and screwing a small hose of an inch in diameter to a brass cock concealed under a little iron plate near the kerb-stone; then, with an air of command over the refreshing element, directing a copious shower against the windows, shutters, front door, white marble steps, elegant iron railing, green shrubs, small and much-cherished grass-plot, heavy-blossomed creepers hanging on neat trellis-work, and, finally, upon the grateful acacias, or the silver maple, or the catalpa, or the alanthus, or the mountain-ash, 110 above her head. Next advances a graver character, whose business it is to "lay the dust." He drags after him a snake-like hose some fifty feet long, one end of which he has screwed upon the stop-cock fixed to a post by the side of the pavement, while from the brass pipe of the other end, which he holds in his hand, he throws a strong jet over the street, and a considerable distance beyond the point at which he has arrived when he has come "to the end of his tether." He then removes the screw end to the next cock, which is at the proper distance to enable him to reach, by the jet from the hose, the point where he left off. The jet is also eminently serviceable in cleansing streets, courts, and alleys, which can never be sufficiently purified by mere sweeping; and also for clearing out drains and sewers, and preventing accumulations which cause offensive and noxious exhalations. It is recommended for that purpose in the "Report of the General Board of Health on the Supply of Water to the Metropolis" (London, 1850, p. 231); and experiments with it are adverted to which had been made at Sheffield and 111 elsewhere; apparently without a knowledge of the fact of its successful and very popular use in the United States. No one who has seen it in operation there, and who has also experienced the comfort and luxury of an abundant supply of fresh, sparkling, cool, and, what is of more consequence than

## Library of Congress

all, most agreeably Soft water, in the hotels and private houses, can fail to feel himself under the temptation to encourage a wish, that the individual members of our large London Companies, and they alone, might be confined to the use of their own hard and muddy water for the rest of their lives.

I find in the "Report of the Watering Committee of the City of Philadelphia for 1849," (published January, 1850,) the following statement, showing "the number of dwellings, &c., in the city, supplied with the Schuylkill water to the 31st December, 1849; with the amount of water-rent, &c."—

Doll. Cents.

11,543 Dwellings at 5 0

4,107 Baths " 3 0

1,101 Wash-pavements " 3 0

7 ditto " 5 0

112

548 Water-closets at 1 0

6 ditto " 2 0

222 Wash-basins " 1 0

2,258 Single dwellings and back tenements " 2 50

34 Back tenements " 3 0

Then follows an enumeration of the amounts paid by taverns, bakeries, hotels, stables, steam-engines, factories, workshops, stores, &c. &c.

## Library of Congress

The first Report of the Boston Water Board was published in December, 1850. It would, of course, require some time before the water could be generally introduced. There were, in this first year, 13,463 "water-takers;" and of these, 1202 had obtained "the right to attach a hose for washing windows, sprinkling streets, washing carriages, or other purposes," at the same cost as at Philadelphia. The rate for the ordinary water-supply is fixed according to the amount of the assessment of taxes for each house.

There is no need to refer at any length to the celebrated waterworks capable of supplying, it is said, five times the present population of New York. The water was introduced in 1842, at 113 the cost of nearly 3,000,000 *l*. According to the Report of the Croton Aqueduct Department for 1850, "The income from the water has never equalled the interest on the debt, though each successive year making a closer approach to it." The deficiency, which has been supplied by general tax, is then shown; and it appears that it was, in the year 1842, as much as 20 cents on every 100 dollars of valuation, whereas in 1850 it had diminished to 6 25/100. The two last Annual Reports, which are the only ones I have an opportunity of referring to, do not give any statistics as to the number of "water-takers." Several of the smaller towns of the Union have either already followed, or are preparing to follow, the good example set by the large cities in respect to this essential element of health and comfort.

114

### **BALLOT.**

As I was among probably the few Englishmen who witnessed the recent proceeding of taking the votes at the State elections in the city of Boston, for the first time, by Secret Ballot, it may not, perhaps, be undesirable that I should record what I witnessed, and the opinions I heard expressed concerning it.

The cause of the change in the mode of voting was the following. At the election last year for the office of senator to Congress, the votes were given by the "General Court" (the

## Library of Congress

Assembly and Senate) a considerable number of times without either candidate being able to obtain the required majority of two-thirds of the whole number of electors. At length one party carried the proposition that the votes should be given by secret ballot. The result was, that one of the candidates was elected by a majority of one. The successful party subsequently caused a measure to be passed by the State legislature 115 making the voting by secret ballot compulsory at the State elections.

It is an error which, judging from the speeches and writings of a certain school of politicians in this country, seems to be endowed with a strong vitality, that the example of the United States can be quoted in favour of the secret ballot. The term "ballot" in the United States has never, for the honest portion of the community, meant anything other than a particular mode of taking votes, openly and ostentatiously given. What became of the votes when given, how they were counted, what bundles of false ones may have been smuggled in, how vain the attempt to scrutinize the result and to expose fraud—even in the notorious case of a candidate whose known and stanch supporters numbered at least half the constituency, and who yet was beaten, according to the ballot-lists, by a majority greater than the whole constituency taken together—these questions may be answered by the plea of imperfect arrangements or blunders of administration; but in regard to the principle of protection by concealment, it is and has been a thing little known or thought of 116 in the United States. Nor could the concealment of a vote have been of the smallest use to any individual to enable him to "save his place;" since the party succeeding to power is said almost invariably, and as a matter of course, to make a "clean sweep" of all the offices and places filled by their opponents. The mere fact, therefore, of an appointment by one party is, in the common course of politics, a ground of exclusion by the other, from the highest down to the lowest employments. Attempts to influence votes by intimidation must also, from the circumstances, be most rare, whatever may be the case in regard to "bribery and corruption;" which, if the public statements of public men are to be always held as seriously made, must be not unknown to popular and very large constituencies in the United States.

## Library of Congress

But intimidation was the alleged motive for the recent adoption of the “Secret Ballot” at the State elections at Boston. Two days before the late election (on the 7th November last) I had the good fortune to be invited to attend a meeting of about 5000 electors, in the old and renowned Fanueil Hall; at which meeting some 117 most forcible and eloquent addresses were delivered by distinguished speakers, chiefly on a matter of principle connected with the forthcoming election, which they felt most deeply; but no portions of those addresses exceeded in vehement denunciation and close argument those passages which condemned and repudiated for themselves and their auditors the secret ballot. They treated it as an insult to their character as free men, and they asserted,—and the assertion was responded to by the cheers of the whole assembly,—that he who was afraid to exercise the franchise in the face of the world was unworthy to possess it. The alleged acts of intimidation were adverted to, and it was argued that, even if true, it was no sufficient reason for forcing on the whole constituency a measure repugnant to the best feelings of every honest man, for the sake of sheltering a few timid ones; and in the second place, the broad ground was taken that the franchise is a solemn trust; that every man is interested in knowing how every other man exercises that trust; and that he who is not in a position to exercise it fearlessly in the face of day, is not a man to be invested with it all.

118

I went to two of the polling-places to see the process. Persons were in attendance distributing printed lists of the candidates of the three competing parties. The voter took which list he pleased, put it into an envelope, and handed it to the persons sitting in a portion of the room parted off, who were appointed to receive it. I saw no attempt at concealment or mystery; the voting which I witnessed was as open as if no envelope had been used. It was, indeed, in the power of any one to have taken all the three lists and an envelope, and, stepping aside, to have put into the envelope, secretly, the list he preferred. But, as was argued by one of the speakers at the meeting above referred to—a manufacturer and a large employer of labour—it would have been most easy for any one

## Library of Congress

wishing to influence votes, to cause the voters, whom he could not trust, to put the proper list into the envelope in the presence of an agent attending for that purpose.

The particular mode adopted, therefore, would not have ensured a protection from intimidation, if any powerful parties had been determined to exercise it, and any others were in a position to be subject to it. And the general arguments used against secret voting, at the large meeting just mentioned, were as strong, and assumed as high ground, as any that could be used in England. I was informed that the same feeling was common to a large proportion, all but a majority, of both the Whig and Democratic parties in the State.

I have been induced to touch upon this subject more for the sake of recording the high principle on which so large a party in that state (Massachusetts), and, I believe, in the United States generally, reject and repudiate the secret ballot, than with the view of describing the particular mode which I witnessed of endeavouring to carry it into effect. But as the ballot is still made in this country a topic of “popular” oratory, addressed to certain portions of the community, I thought it incumbent on me, as I undertook to advert to it at all, to seek for information upon its average practical working in the United States, from persons whose position, and opportunities of observation, would place their testimony beyond dispute. I accordingly add the following, which has been addressed to me by a gentleman of long political experience, and of the highest personal character, but whose name I, of course, am precluded from giving. To state it, would be to draw down upon himself, from a portion of the press of the United States, a series of comments which would probably amount to what we should call persecution. I therefore, in full confidence in the integrity of my informant, take upon myself the responsibility of the truth of his statements.

The ballot, in America, is looked at by the honest portion of the people merely as an expeditious mode of voting. It is only by persons of a very opposite character that it is sought as a veil or blind—as a convenient instrument of fraud—by which they are

## Library of Congress

frequently enabled to make the smaller appear the greater number, and to transfer the victory from the conquerors to the conquered—from the majority to the minority of the electors polled. For, far from the undue influence of money, party-spirit, or any other evil thing, being controlled by the ballot, I believe it to have been immeasurably increased. It has only changed the course of corruption. Instead of buying hundreds of voters, the candidate has only to buy one or two of the judges, with whom the result of the election must, in almost all cases, ultimately rest. And how are the judges, acting under such corrupt influence, and making their false returns, how are they to be detected? Certainly not by a scrutiny of the ballot-box. *That* would show no evidence of the fraud. Let every precaution which the experience of this country has suggested be taken; let clerks be appointed to record on tally-lists the names of the voters as they hand in their ballots to the judges; let committees, composed of the friends of the respective candidates, stand on the outside, prepared to write down the names of the voters as they come up to the box;—what can these arrangements do more than prevent the judges from receiving illegal votes? They cannot prevent them, or any one of them, from abstracting tickets from the box, and replacing them with an equal number of a different complexion. If care be taken to replace those abstracted with an equal number of other ballots, then the whole number of tickets in the box will correspond with the number of names on the tally-lists, as well as with the lists of the committees on the outside. Perhaps this can be done with greater facility when the closed and the tickets are being counted off. The tickets, being counted and then put into parcels (say) of ten each, are then tied up in bundles. Now, if a judge be prepared with a supply of bundles in his pocket, it requires but little sleight of hand to substitute them for the true ones; and, if he is only careful to return as many as he has taken away, how is the fraud to be detected, except by taking the opinion of every voter (as has been done in several instances, and especially in the recent case of the Pennsylvania district election), which is, after all, but a return to the *vivâ voce* system, as the only certain test of truth?

## Library of Congress

Frauds of the kind which I have been describing are, I believe (nay, I am morally certain), of common occurrence in this country; and what is there to preclude G 122 them from being, under like circumstances, equally common in England? Why should not a thousand pounds be able to accomplish in the latter what has been so frequently effected by less than a thousand dollars in the former?

Sir Charles Lyell tells us that a member of the Mississippi legislature had declared to him “his conviction that the repudiation of the State debt there would not have been carried in his county but for the facility afforded by secret voting. The same individuals who openly professed a more honourable line of conduct must (he said), out of selfishness, have taken advantage of the ballot-box to evade an increase of taxation, otherwise there could not have been a majority in favour of disowning their liabilities.” And, from all accounts, much the same may be said of many other repudiating counties and states. It has been often asserted, and I believe with perfect truth, that Ballot has been the parent of Repudiation. How fully these things bear out Pliny in those passages of his 3rd Book, xx., and his 4th Book, xxv., to which you referred,—“*Quotocuique,*” &c., and “*Quis sciet!*”\*

\* *Vereor ne procedente tempore ex ipso remedio vitia nascantur. Est enim periculum ne tacitis suffragiis impudentia irrepat. Nam quotocuique eadem honestatis cura secreto, quæ palam? C. Plinii Ep., lib. 3. xx.*

*Scripseram tibi verendum esse ne ex tacitis suffragiis vitium aliquod existeret: factum est Tantum licentiæ pravis ingeniis adjicit illa fiducia, Quis enim sciet? Poposcit tabellas, stylum accepit, demisit caput, neminem vereiur, se contemnit. Lib. 4. xxv.*

Whoever, in this country, has perseverance enough still to recommend the ballot to public 123 favour, must not seek to support his arguments by the principles or the practice of the United States.

## Library of Congress

Intimidation, or any other form of interference with the rights and the independence of the elector, will always in this country be stigmatised as it deserves; and neither that nor any other abuse of power, wherever it is disposed to show itself, can effectually or for any length of time resist the wholesome effects of public exposure.

Note. — *Bribery at Elections*. —Having adverted above to the alleged “bribery and corruption” that goes on at certain elections in the United States, notwithstanding what is in this country popularly considered a panacea for it and so many other evils—namely, large constituencies—I feel bound to add the following justification of the assertion.

Extract from “The Message of the Governor of the State of New York to the Senate and Assembly,” for the year 1850:—

“The alarming increase of bribery in our popular elections demands your serious attention. The preservation of our liberties depends on the purity of the elective franchise, and its independent exercise by the citizen; and I trust you will adopt such measures as shall effectually protect the ballot-box from all corrupting influences.”— *New York Commercial Advertiser* , Jan. 8, 1850.

Extract from the “Message of the Governor of the State of New York to the Senate and Assembly,” for the year 1851:—

“The increase of corrupt practices in our elections has become a subject of general and just complaint. It is represented that, in some localities, the suffrages of considerable numbers of voters G 2 124 have been openly purchased with money. We owe it to ourselves and to posterity, and to the free institutions which we have inherited, to crush this hateful evil in its infancy, before it attains sufficient growth to endanger our political system. The honest and independent exercise of the right of suffrage is a vital principle in the theory of representative government. It is the only enduring foundation for a republic. Not only should the law punish every violation of this principle as a crime against the

## Library of Congress

integrity of the State, but any person concerned in giving or receiving any pecuniary consideration for a vote, should, upon challenge, be deprived of the privilege of voting. I submit the subject to your consideration, in the hope that additional remedies may be prescribed and enforced.”

The interpretation to be given to this passage is not, if I am rightly informed, to be confined to the lower Irish of the large cities, or to the State of New York. There is a certain class of persons, somewhat numerous in the United States, who live by “working the elections,” which, as they are pretty frequent, give them ample occupation. There is another class, that of “trading politicians,” who look for their reward in various shapes during the tenure of office of the party which they espouse. There is, finally, the large, and in some places not badly organized, class of Irish labourers, whose votes are apt to turn the scale on very many occasions. These are, it is notorious, often won to the side of the party in power, whatever it may be, by being employed out of the public funds, at by no means inadequate wages, for special jobs, just previously to the period of elections. The practice has given rise to a common euphony for bribery, “pipe-laying.” It arose from an alleged manœuvre at New York during the progress of the introduction of the Croton water. After a period of inaction, the authorities, as is reported, were suddenly seized with an extraordinary degree of zeal in breaking up the streets and laying down pipes—in some instances, it is said, long before they were wanted; and Irishmen were brought into the city from all quarters to assist in that beneficent expenditure. It is further said that many of these pipes had to be taken up again, having been laid in a manner that did not meet with subsequent approval.

125

Another term appears frequently in the public prints which requires a little explanation, for the benefit of our optimists in this country: it is the term “log-rolling,” and is derived from the “backwoodsman's craft,” and from the neighbourly assistance common on the outskirts of civilization. When a settler has cut down his timber, and sawn it into convenient lengths for getting it off the land, his neighbours assemble with their oxen and chains, and in a few hours drag the whole off his “clearing.” When summoned, he is ready to do

## Library of Congress

them the same turn. Political and electioneering “log-rolling” means, therefore, “Help me in my job, and I will help you in yours.” There is evidently a slight difference in principle in the two processes, which, however, does not prevent the political “log-rolling” from being successfully resorted to. In the first case—that of the backwoodsman—the end is attained by all pulling one way; in the second, though ostensibly each party is pulling different ways, the end, somehow or other, turns out to be the profit of both.

It may be desirable to illustrate this by an instance. A member of a State Legislature wishes to obtain an appropriation of 20,000 dollars for some public work in his county; he secures the support of other members by promising to vote for a similar grant to theirs. Some 50,000 or 100,000 dollars of the public money will therefore be spent, where a tenth part of the sum would be all that would be strictly necessary for the public service. Authentic instances of this kind are freely mentioned to any one who may have the curiosity to inquire into this phase of the working of the United States Legislatures, some of which are, of course, more conspicuous than others in this particular.

Also in the matter of Government contracts of all kinds, if common fame is to be depended upon, the amount of jobbing and corruption, especially in times of war, would astonish the acute Parliamentary critics of our army and navy and miscellaneous estimates. It is asserted that one of the principal reasons why war is so popular in the United States is the wide field it opens for these practices. The Florida and Mexican wars abounded in examples of them, some equalling anything that could have occurred in the most corrupt period of our own Government during the last century.

126

### **THE PRESS.**

It had never come in my way, previously to my landing in New York, to read an American newspaper, and all I knew of them was by description, and through such extracts as are copied occasionally into the daily London papers. It was, therefore, a new and pretty

## Library of Congress

ample field of study, between the intervals of riding, driving, and walking by the sea at Newport in Rhode Island, enjoying for ten days its refreshing coolness, and the abundant and most friendly hospitality of the numerous pleasant families who have their villa residences in that favourite neighbourhood. Papers from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Charlestown, New Orleans, Richmond (Virginia), Cincinnati, St. Louis, Independence (Missouri), Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago—three at least from some of those places and two from others—tempt the curiosity of a stranger; and if the 127 whole of the above are not found at the gigantic hotels at Newport, you are not long before making their acquaintance on the desks round the walls of the reading-rooms in the hotels of the different cities.

Raising my eyes from the daily study of all that was attractive in I know not how many square yards of paper (no slight matter considering the usual smallness of the print), I was tempted for some time to ask myself whether it were really true that I, as an Englishman, was meeting with nothing but civility, cordiality, and kindness from every one I fell in with, while probably every individual among them had been just reading, in some paper or other, the most virulent denunciations of England, the bitterest taunts against her policy, the most undervaluing remarks on her power, and the most depreciating estimates of the individual character of her people.

After a three months' course of these papers, I think I am safe in saying that the ordinary tone of more than two-thirds of them is of that quality, whenever they take occasion to discuss 128 anything in which England, or English customs, or English character may be involved; and that in a moment of the least political excitement, a still large portion of them join in the same cry, and it then requires no ordinary courage in the editor of an American newspaper to deal out to England, or any one of her actions, the simplest meed of fairness.

## Library of Congress

I asked very many persons what was the meaning of all this, and the answer I invariably received was, "Oh, you must not mind what our papers say; we don't read such trash as most of them contain; it is written to catch the Irish votes at the elections."

With all deference to my numerous and most respectable informants, I am not satisfied that this answer goes to the root of the matter.

For a solution I think it is necessary to begin with the beginning; and that beginning is, in a nation all educated on one plan, the public schools.

In the course of my visits to these schools, in the range of country which I have already described, I asked permission to look, among the 129 other school-books, at the book of history in common use. I found there were several, some preferred in some parts of the country, and some in others. I looked through them all. They contain either a very brief résumé of history, both ancient and modern, or of modern alone, principally that of England, so brief, however, as to be entirely unimpressive to the minds of youth, being very little more than a mere dry detail of facts and dates. The staple of these books is, as is very natural, American history, from the landing of the Puritans to the termination of the last war. The most prominent part is, as naturally, given to the history of the war of independence. Of the spirit of their forefathers in undertaking that war, and of their courage in carrying it to a successful issue, they have much reason to be proud. The exploits of that war (and the successful ones of the last) figure, of course, conspicuously in those histories. The error of the British Government and people in provoking the struggle is chastised with no sparing hand; while the power of the American people, as exhibited in beating the British Government, G 3 130 and the glory thence resulting, occupy a conspicuous place. As long as such histories are written in a fair and simply patriotic spirit, without seeking to perpetuate hostile feelings, and without either unjustifiable exaggerations or unfair concealments (and I cannot say that some of the books I looked at were free from such defects), no one can complain that American children should read principally American history; but a young person who has been instructed in a course of

## Library of Congress

history in which a few years and a few events are made to assume such prominence, while the history of previous centuries and subsequent events are all but unknown, will be apt to have very exaggerated ideas of his own nation and a very slender one of any other.

By way of exemplifying the exceedingly meagre summaries of history, ancient and modern, that accompany some of these American histories, I will refer to the following passage from the "Report of the Annual Examinations of the Public Schools of the City of Boston," for 1849 (page 13):—

131

"The text-book of history now in use in our schools is not a good one. It is very brief, not very accurate, and very uninteresting. It appears to be nothing more than a very dry detail of the leading facts of history, related in no connection except that of chronological order, and utterly destitute of anything to awaken and interest the attention. We will give an illustration of its character. In the part devoted to Grecian history, the names of Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, and Leonidas are not introduced in the narration of the Persian invasions; and the name of not a single inhabitant of Greece, who lived between the time of Solon and that of Epaminondas, is mentioned in the course of that part of the history. Yet this period of nearly two hundred years was prolific of great men, and is probably the most important era in the history of civilization." To prevent any possible misapprehension, I add the whole passage in the Appendix (D), p. 165, together with the questions in History, at an examination of candidates for the High School at Lowell.

For similar instances, in reference to modern 132 times, and to the history of England in particular, no one need be at a loss who will take up any of the Histories in use in the schools of the United States. It would seem that "heroic examples," that "pathetic incidents," that "sentiments that either exalt or fortify, or soften and melt the human heart"\*—those main instruments for the inculcation of a high tone of thought and the creation of expanded sympathies in the mind of youth—were to be found almost exclusively within the brief period of the United States' history, from the war of independence to the

## Library of Congress

present hour. It may be said that the number of those who are taught in schools, or who acquire afterwards even the elements of any such comprehensive knowledge of history, or are possessed with the feelings that arise from it, are few in any country. The material difference, however, between most other countries and the United States is, that in the former the numerical mass do not govern, and that in the latter they do.

\* Sir James Mackintosh. Vol. i. p. 118 of his 'Memoirs and Life,' by his Son. London, 1836.

133

Ignorance, therefore, or, what is perhaps worse, contracted ideas, are there of more political moment, and afford a greater hold for the sentiments and passions that the declamatory writings above described inspire.

And that these writings do take that hold on the numerical mass of the people in the United States—by which expression, the numerical mass, I mean to exclude the higher, the educated, the commercial, and the better sort of the trading classes generally, and some of the most enlightened of the rural classes as they have been described to me—is abundantly evident to any one who even for a short time freely mixes with them. How, indeed, can it be expected to be much otherwise, when to the universal mass, prepared or unprepared by intellectual training, young or old (for mere boys very soon turn politicians), comes the daily stimulus of the democratic press, flattering their vanity, pandering to their passions, and striving to fill them with exaggerated notions of their self-importance? Neither is there much difference between the democratic and a large part of the Whig press in that particular. 134 The writers in these papers seem to delight in fanning and keeping alive national animosities; and it is both strange and unnatural to see the most studious and unceasing endeavours made to maintain those animosities between us and our brethren of the same race and kindred on the other side of the Atlantic, when between ourselves and the French they have all but expired.\*

## Library of Congress

\* Unfortunately our own press not uncommonly presents examples of a mode of comment on what it disapproves in the conduct of the American government and people, the caustic satire of which burns deeper than the arguments. Every disparaging word is caught at, and its import magnified, and every sarcasm, from whatever quarter, in book or pamphlet, speech or newspaper, is quoted and re-quoted for years, as proofs of the bad disposition of the English people towards everything American.

Of all this the people of England are in general profoundly ignorant, and, it must be added, profoundly indifferent to it. In the mean time that democratic press is occupied in nursing the popular ambition by holding forth the doctrine that it is the “manifest destiny” of the American people to absorb the whole continent and its adjoining islands. It stirs up the warlike spirit which pervades the whole 135 country; it systematically teaches them to undervalue the power of England, and to look upon her as weak and declining; and it inspires them with an evident desire to try their strength with Great Britain, in the confident expectation that it would give them very little trouble to lay her prostrate. That during the excitement on the Cuban affair, of which I had good opportunities of watching the course, the democratic press should pour forth even more than its usual quantity of declamation in its endeavour to stir up the passions and promote the objects above adverted to, might be expected; but I confess I did not expect to see so many of the Whig papers at that time fall in with the same tone. The conduct of some few of them was manly and honourable. They resisted from the first the popular impulse towards that unprincipled aggression. But it was lamentable and of evil augury to read, in other papers of that party, leading articles, the premises of which were for, and the conclusions against, that act of piracy; sentences one day condemning the offender, yet defending the offence; another day sentences taking the opposite 136 line, and so written as to be quoted as proofs of consistency should the turn of events render the “cry for Cuba” an available one at the next elections. The trimming of some of the Whig papers during several weeks displayed as complete a want of principle as the aggression, and a less amount of determination than the democratic papers exhibited in their bold and unscrupulous adoption of it from the beginning.

## Library of Congress

I should be sorry to be thought for a moment to imply that any number of the upper classes in the United States, commercial or professional, or of the respectable and intelligent trading classes in their various grades, or of the rural population in the New England and parts of the other settled States, partake in these feelings or opinions. The cultivation and knowledge of the former, and their acquaintance with foreign countries (for it is rare to meet with an American in easy circumstances, in the cities, who has not been to Europe), and the general high average of intelligence among the latter, prevent any such supposition entering one's mind. But the proportion which these classes bear to the whole 137 population, even of the cities, is comparatively small; and it is upon the lower portions of the people in the cities and towns, upon the number of persons of unsettled occupations that congregate in them to prey in some way or other upon the community, and upon the less intelligent of the 23,000,000 people scattered over the vast extent of territory from the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico to the Mississippi and the Missouri, that these papers speculate, when they create or keep alive the excitements above referred to. And that they operate upon congenial ground I do not doubt; not so much from the numerous instances I met with in distant villages and towns towards the West, and in intercourse with a great variety of people in the middle and lower grades of life, whom a traveller has no difficulty in conversing with whenever he pleases,—among whom, with a great degree of practical knowledge of their own neighbourhood and its various interests, I was invariably struck with their, almost entire ignorance of anything beyond it,—but from the opinions of a considerable number of the most observant and intelligent 138 persons who have been long conversant with the real state of opinion and the average modes of thought in the remote parts of the country.

This high opinion of themselves and low estimate of other powers, which pervades, I believe, the numerical mass of the people of the United States, renders it by no means improbable that they may at any moment, in a period of popular excitement, hurry along the upper and more sober-minded classes of the community, and their Government, into a course of national policy which those classes might in reality condemn, but which they

## Library of Congress

would have no power to arrest or alter. Such an instance, to refer to no others, occurred in the case of the Mexican war, which was condemned by all their best statesmen, and against which they were warned in the most earnest manner by nearly all that deserved to exercise any moral weight in the community. But the popular current was too strong for them, and they were finally led to acquiesce in what they could not prevent; one imprudent step of the Government, in risking 139 a small body of troops in an exposed position, having been held to commit irretrievably both Government and people. Such periods of popular excitement must be expected to recur at no very great intervals, where their causes fall in with the principles of a large, not to say preponderating body in the State; where so many eager expectants are ever on the watch to profit by them; and where an unscrupulous Press is ever at hand to mislead the popular mind, and to play upon the excitable temperament of the people.

When such occasions arise, I believe there is no more effectual mode of keeping the peace than to show unmistakably to those persons who pull the wires of these popular excitements, that there is no weakness in the counsels of Great Britain, nor any failing in the strength of her arm, if need be, to sustain them. Those persons, indeed, know full well that no more than a minute fraction of that strength was ever put forth in the unfortunate collisions that have hitherto taken place between Great Britain and the United States. The great mass of their 140 readers are profoundly ignorant of that fact. It will not be the fault of these newspaper writers, if their fellow-countrymen are not some day rather roughly awakened to their error.

I think it necessary to justify what I have stated respecting the Whig press by an instance. It shall be the last, in point of time, of a long list that I might have referred to.

I have been, since August last, a diligent reader of one of the New York Whig papers, which was described to me, and I think, on the whole, rightly, as the one most ably and respectably conducted.

## Library of Congress

In its number of December 13, 1851, is a copy of a speech which its editor was to have delivered, if he had an opportunity, at one of the banquets in honour of M. Kossuth. To this intended speech the editor attaches his own name at full length. The sentiments, therefore, were not uttered on the spur of the moment, but are deliberate. The editor had recently returned from Austria, to the government of which country he had been accredited as the minister of the United States. In this intended speech occurs the following sentence, in reference to the recent affair of the Prometheus, which had been fired into by a British man-of-war, and compelled to pay port-dues to the Government of Nicaragua:—

“But we are asked to interfere in European politics! With whom, and against whom? Why, *with* England, and *against* Russia! With England, who is daily striving to get a foot-hold upon our southern border; who respects not the faith of treaties recently made; and who but yesterday, as it were, dishonoured our flag on the coast of New Granada; and from whom we have just demanded the most ample apology, under a threat of war.”

This gentleman, who had been recently filling one of the most honourable diplomatic situations which his country could confer, sees, it would appear, nothing indecorous in charging the British Government with a wilful disregard of the faith of treaties; and 141 this, without waiting to see whether the British Government would or would not disavow the act of the commander of the British vessel.

Neither, apparently, does this former minister see anything unbecoming in holding such language as that of “demanding a most ample apology, under a threat of war.”

It might be somewhat curious, though not to the present point, were I to add an extract from a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States by Mr. Senator Foote, printed in the very next column to that occupied by the above intended speech, and in which Mr. Foote designates this gentleman by his name at full length, and charges him, by his title of the “late minister to Austria,” with “more than fiendish malignity,” and with “spreading abroad the most reckless assertions;” and volunteers to show that “every falsehood and

## Library of Congress

unprincipled statement” made by him had been amply refuted; with more in the same peculiar style.

How far these amenities may be held to neutralise each other I am unable to say.

An American friend, for whose character and abilities I have a very high esteem, and to whom I have submitted this volume, was of opinion that I should suppress the two last paragraphs, on the ground that they were of no public interest.

I very respectfully beg to differ from him. I think it desirable that a portion, at least, of the public in this country should have an opportunity of being acquainted with such facts, and drawing from them their own conclusions.

My friend is also of the opinion that I have attributed “too much authority to the newspapers” in his country. Doubtless, among the class of cultivated and intelligent gentlemen to which he belongs, they have a very limited influence. But I cannot abandon a very strong impression, from all I saw and heard, that among the mass of the population they have a great deal. Nothing can be more repulsive to an English taste than the servile flattery, the reckless abuse, the suppression of truth, and the propagation of falsehood, that is continually meeting the eye in a vast majority of the newspapers of that country. The facility with which they can be set on foot gluts the market, and reduces the profits to so low a point, that very few men of character and ability will condescend to embark in that species of occupation. Many newspapers are established by tradesmen as vehicles for their own advertisements—many to serve a temporary political purpose, which they advocate unscrupulously for a few weeks, and then disappear. The above facts convey their own moral, for consideration in this country.

143

### **GENERAL REMARKS.**

## Library of Congress

The best results are taking place from the greater frequency of intercourse between the upper and educated classes of both countries, occasioned by the facilities of steam navigation.

It is almost a part of the business of the mercantile and the principal members of the retail trading classes to go to Europe to extend their connexions, to gain information in their particular line, or to lay in their own stocks. Of the wealthier and the professional classes, nine out of ten go to Europe the moment they are able to accomplish it; and it is rare to find any person who inherited even a moderate competence, or has obtained the means by his own exertions, who has not been there.

In the course of many most agreeable conversations 144 with individuals of all those classes who had visited England, the only thing I felt disposed to regret was, that, generally speaking, they had seen very little except the town life; the manufacturing districts and the capital being usually the principal points of attraction, according to their respective occupations or pursuits; the wealthier persons, and those travelling for mere information and pleasure, passing on to the Continent after a short stay in London. There are, of course, many exceptions among the latter, who, in the course of their sojourn, see various specimens of our modes of country life. It is much to be desired that that phase of British social life and institutions should be more generally and better known to those who visit England from the United States; a nearer acquaintance would probably remove some lingering misapprehensions on both sides. But whether an educated American has travelled or not, he is, if I may allege my own experience, ever ready to display the greatest cordiality and kindness to any one from this country, on the slightest introduction. Indeed, even without it, in the 145 casual intercourse of hotel life, or in travelling, I invariably found every one disposed to converse, if conversation was volunteered, and most willing, if opportunity offered, to perform any act of courtesy and politeness. I cannot adequately express the gratification I have experienced from the personal intercourse it was my good fortune to have with very many among the highly-cultivated families of the

## Library of Congress

upper class in different parts of the country. That in the course of travelling you are not occasionally forced into juxtaposition with persons of a very different description, to whom some of the severe things that have been said and written of portions of American society might apply, I will not assert. But I am able to say that, in the ten weeks I was in the United States—a great part of it spent in what may be popularly called rather “out of the way” parts of the country, though short of the great, half-settled, anomalous West—I met with nothing that the commonest good-humour and forbearance would not make light of. If the manners of some are much too free and easy to consist with the simplest principles 146 of good-breeding, and the habits of others obnoxious in many respects, the traveller in a country not his own is, I think, bound to remember that he came to these annoyances—if such he feels them to be—and not they to him, and that probably, if he were to come again when he was twenty years older, he would find that many of them had disappeared. And if he looks above these secondary matters, and sets to work to endeavour to understand the “form and pressure,” the meaning and the bearing of the vast society that is, within this century, to fill up the great valley of the Mississippi, with all their present experiments in government, in religion, in laws, and in social life, he will, if he be one of English training, find subjects of reflection, speculation, and inquiry, which the application of a year or two, if he had time for it, would scarcely satisfy. It was everywhere a subject of regret among the educated portion of the community that so few Englishmen not connected with mercantile pursuits visited them. I believe it would be greatly to the public benefit on both sides of the water if more did so, and if 147 we saw more of the upper class of American society here.\*

\* On the subject of manners, which has proved so attractive to other pens, I do not intend to say more than one word, and that shall be neither offensive nor flattering.

I suspect that, if all people in this country were compelled, if they travelled at all, to travel in third-class carriages, or, which comes to nearly the same thing, if a general average of comfort were struck between first, second, and third, and there were no escape from the mode of travelling that resulted from it, the process would not be agreeable to sensitive minds. Happily, the use of tobacco in its most repulsive form is all but unknown to us,

## Library of Congress

and, therefore, you would not find persons guilty of practices resulting from it, that are inexpressibly disgusting, and from which, moreover, you have often no exemption, whether you are sitting near persons of the most respectable exterior or otherwise. (It must be remembered, however, that it is most rare to see any one in the rank of a gentleman in the United States offending in that particular.) Neither, if you had just risen from a chair on the deck of a steamboat, to take a momentary look at a passing view or to reach anything, with a most evident “animus revertendi,” would you be likely to find that a “gentleman” standing near you, and having a keen eye to. number one, had taken the chair from under you and appropriated it to himself; and also that it required no slight tact and good humour to induce him to surrender it again. Similarly with regard to your seat in a railway carriage. Nor would you, probably, be often addressed in a manner that would not sound quite appropriate to “ears polite.” If, however, there is one thing on which the press of the United States is unanimous, it is in condemning and endeavouring to correct what remains of these “disagreeables.” They need no one's aid or interference; and, indeed, in this, as in many other matters of no concern to us, such interference and harsh comment have led to much mischievous irritation.

I was informed, and indeed I saw evidence of it in all parts of the country, that the root of these matters was being attacked in the public schools.

The following was a statement made to me on the subject by a gentleman of large experience, holding an important public office in the education department of one of the eastern States:—

“We are aiming at the reformation of manners in all our public schools, and in our normal schools, teachers' institutes, and county associations of teachers. Manners are made a prominent subject of criticism daily in all the teachers' institutes of the State. Any impropriety of speech or demeanour is commented upon, without, however, reference to the individual. Several of our leading writers on education have held that the national manners ought to be corrected through the public schools.”

## Library of Congress

In a considerable number of the many public schools I visited in different parts of the United States I had been struck with the entire absence of good manners on the part of the children, whenever any circumstance gave occasion for exhibiting their ordinary demeanour. There was a marked want of any outward demonstration of deference and respect, and, on the part of the teacher, what appeared to me a most singular submission of himself to the children. Nothing was put to them as from authority, but the most trifling command was conveyed in a tone and in language implying that it was for them to judge whether they would obey it or not; and in some addresses to the children I heard somewhat inflated appeals to them as responsible for their own actions, and soon about to become citizens of the greatest and most glorious Republic that the world had ever seen, with other topics in the same strain, all tending, as it seemed, to produce a most undue notion of themselves in the minds of the children, and a complete independence of all control, parental or any other. In other schools I observed nothing of the kind; but, on the contrary, the master or mistress maintaining their proper position and speaking with authority, yet asserting it with all due mildness.

I asked a gentleman, holding an official position in the education department of one of the States, for a solution of this. His answer was as follows:—

“What you have noticed has been the result of a reaction against the Puritan severity in the management of children, which has carried many among us to a contrary extreme. It produced a school of thinkers who maintained that nothing but ‘moral suasion’ should be resorted to in the management of children. They are called ‘non-resistants;’ they think that no force should be used in the management or training of children, but only appeals to their affections, their conscience, and their reason, and that human nature can be depended upon largely for bringing them right. These doctrines have been carried into the public schools in numerous instances. The effect is, that the master appears in a false position before the children, and the principle of deference to authority is loosened, or

## Library of Congress

rather not established at all. Opinion is now beginning to set the other way, and we are endeavouring slowly to reproduce more authority in our schools.”

Both manners and principles will, I apprehend, in time feel the benefit of the gradual diffusion of these sounder views.

Whoever from this country visits the United H 2 148 States for the purpose of mere travelling, will probably at first experience a little difficulty in conforming to the mode of life in the great 149 hotels. Private sitting-rooms are seldom asked for, except for families, and therefore not always to be had by persons travelling alone, or if so, at in some cases rather a high rate. The early dinner-hour is at first felt to be a constraint; but 150 there is more trouble in deviating from, than in adhering to, the usual practice. At some of the best hotels at New York the hour is later, five to half-past, but in the other cities from two to three. French cookery is the rule in the cities, and an imitation of it in the country and on board the steamboats. Those remarkable river steamboats, some of them of astonishing dimensions, have been often described. They are bold conceptions, and admirably adapted to their double purpose of freight and passenger traffic. But on surveying with surprise the luxury and splendour of their decorations, you are tempted to ask yourself for what potentate of the East or West they were originally constructed, and how they contrived to get across the Atlantic. Everywhere you meet with uniform civility and attention, and even in the smallest country inns universal cleanliness, though often a scanty supply, according to English notions, of the materials of the toilette. The high wages of servants, and the difficulty of obtaining good ones, are, I believe, among the principal causes of the custom of so many people 151 breakfasting, dining, and taking all other meals at the same table; and the general absence of conversation is the natural consequence of such a number of persons being brought together, unacquainted with each other, and perhaps mutually unwilling to form acquaintances they know not with whom. Meals, moreover, on such occasions, are popularly said to be “matters of business,” to be got over as quickly as possible. Not so, however, at some of the best

## Library of Congress

hotels, where the numbers you meet are smaller, and where mutual confidence springs up rapidly among people evidently of similar tastes and similar social position.

The autumnal climate is, as is well known, generally delightful, but this year there was a period of unusual heat in September, the thermometer being for some days from 92° to 95° for the greater part of the day. It was, however, so far endurable, that it did not seem to prevent any one going about his ordinary occupations. From 95° the mercury sank, in less than thirty-six hours, to below the freezing-point in and in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and, I believe, over a wide extent of country. The rapid alterations of temperature are among the most trying incidents to the climate of the United States. Its general brightness and dryness are said to be among the causes of the alleged excitability of the American character.

No one who has seen will ever forget the gorgeous autumn tints of an American forest, wherever the “hard woods” and not the pine predominate. That “lustrous woodland” is unequalled by anything of the kind in Europe. But to an eye accustomed to the luxurious loveliness, the exquisite outlines, the picturesque combinations of the south of Europe, the general aspect of the scenery in the United States (I speak of its northern portions) is monotonous. There are scenes on the Hudson, on the Catskill Mountains, in other directions in the State of New York; among the Alleghanies; on the banks of the Susquehanna and the Juniata; on the Ohio; in Vermont, among the White Mountains—to say nothing of Niagara, which needs no mention—doubtless of great beauty; but they are widely apart, and few in comparison with the great extent of country. The aspect of the country towns, too, is monotonous, as well as that of the villages, though they are bright and clean, with unvarying white houses and green Venetians, and white church-spires and public buildings. Here and there a few good specimens of Gothic and Elizabethan, and also of the Roman style, show a growing taste in architecture. The public buildings generally in the towns and cities are of fine dimensions and solidly constructed. One peculiarity in the cities is that of the lines of railway passing on a level along some of the principal streets. The trains are, however, drawn by horses from the point where they enter

## Library of Congress

the suburbs, or soon after. Another unusual sight to an English eye is the habit of carrying the electric telegraph wires along the streets, into the heart of the cities. I counted six-and-twenty lines, on one occasion, visible from one spot. They are very loosely hung (partly, I believe, on account of the great changes of temperature to which they are exposed), and altogether seem put up in a very "rough and ready" manner. But of this no one will complain who finds that he can send a message from New Orleans to Quebec and Halifax, or from New York to Chicago, and receive an answer in a few hours, and for a very moderate payment. It is singular to see along the common road, in the remote forest, the solitary wire stretched, or rather dangling, from tree to tree, or from the rudest, and by no means the most upright, poles, crossing and recrossing the road to cut off angles, quite unprotected, but usually the trustworthy and all but instantaneous messenger of thought between minds perhaps a thousand miles asunder. Even small country towns often have their electric telegraph, conducted for many miles along the common township road from the main line. The chief characteristic, however, of the towns and villages is the breadth of the streets, the excellence of the foot-pavements, and the ornamental appearance of the trees which are so commonly planted along their sides. The portions of the cities, also, that are inhabited by the wealthier classes, partake largely of this element of cheerfulness and beauty,—a matter doubtless often before adverted to by travellers, but which it would be most desirable to imitate more frequently in our own land. The exceeding good taste of many private residences which I had the good fortune to see indicates the spread of real refinement. The public evidences, however, of the increase of mere luxury are very numerous, and excite many reflections on matters of public policy. With the temptations of wealth and luxury all around, and the standard of expense in all the ordinary social relations continually rising, how are ill-paid public men to be expected to stand alone in retaining a republican simplicity, and to keep themselves undefiled by corruption? On the slavery question I do not touch, not because I feel in the least degree indifferent to it, but because I have a strong opinion that all comments on it from this country do more harm than good. It is a heavy weight on the minds of the most thoughtful inhabitants of the United States from one end of the country to the other. Interference of

## Library of Congress

any kind only tends to exasperate feelings already, perhaps, too much heated for calm consideration. If it could be put aside and forgotten for five years, it would 156 be a great gain for all parties. A practicable solution might then, perhaps, be arrived at. We may rest assured that nothing that can be said on this side of the water can add to the impression of the momentous fact that the slave population are already 3,000,000, and in the lifetime of many now in existence will possibly be 6,000,000. Still less do taunt and crimination become us, whose predecessors brought to that country the first elements of the present tremendous problem ( *funesta dote d' infiniti guai* ). These, and many other things that he may meet with, may not suit the ideas of an Englishman of the present day; but if wrong, there are plenty of minds in the United States engaged in the effort to correct them. I have no desire to meddle with them. I am writing, not for American, but for English readers, and because I believe that I have had a few things to say which may not be undeserving the consideration of my own countrymen.

### APPENDIX.

#### **(A.) *Vide* p. 74. Estimated Cost of growing an Acre of Wheat on a Farm of 200 Acres in the wheat-growing districts of Ohio.**

Dols. Cents. Dols. Cents

Two ploughings after fallow 2 0

Two harrowings and seed 1 75

Weeding, &c. 0 0

Harvesting and carrying 2 0

Threshing, at 3 cents; cleaning and stacking, 3 cents; 20 bushels, at 6 cents. 1 20

Carrying to mill, 10 miles, at 2 cents (20 × 2) 0 40

## Library of Congress

Cultivation and delivery to miller 7 35

Interest on Capital invested in land at 6 per cent., say at 40 dollars per acre 2 40

Interest on Farming Capital for 200 acres, 650 dollars, or 3 dollars 25 cents per acre, at 6 per cent. 20

Interest on Farm-buildings for 200 acres, 3000 dollars, or 15 dollars per acre, at 6 per cent. 90

Taxes (State, County, Roads, Schools, Poor), Appraisement of 1 per cent. on 75 per cent. of the Capital and Buildings, 3650 = 2775 dollars on 200 acres, say per acre 14 10 99  
158

Return.

Dols. Cents.

20 bushels, at 60 cents. 12 0

20 " 65 " 13 0

25 " 55 " 13 75

25 " 60 " 15 0

25 " 65 " 25

Under their present system their straw is of little value to them. The common assertion was, that the average produce was not above twenty bushels per acre, and also that they did not bring their wheat freely to market until the price was at least 65 cents. If interest and taxes were reduced by one-half, it would not, probably, make any material difference

## Library of Congress

in the actual result, as it would be an indication of less produce or of produce of inferior value.

With regard to the above statement, another gentleman, having good means of judging, said to me—"There are many farmers in Ohio, living in great comfort, with houses and buildings worth at least 2000 dollars, who live at more cost, and hire labour, and who cannot get on as they have been accustomed with wheat under 75 cents to 80 cents. These men will probably have made their own bricks for their buildings on the spot, and have had a saw-mill near to prepare their timber, and have done a great deal of the labour themselves. It is common to say that 'the West' can grow wheat at 50 cents; but the cost of transport from the interior will be in proportion to distance, 159 unless close to the lakes, where a few hundred miles in addition do not make much difference. My opinion, however, is, that there is no rule yet for price in the West. The main elements of cost there are labour and the distance from the lakes. The great difficulty is to harvest the crop."

(B.) *Vide* p. 75.

Cost of Transport of Wheat from the above mentioned districts to Liverpool, and Selling Price there.

According to information from the best sources at Cleveland, at the end of September last, the prices and cost to New York were as follows:—

Per bushel of 60 lbs.

The farmer in the interior is now getting for red\*

\* The wheat of Ohio is principally red.

wheat 55 cents.

Freight to Cleveland 10”

## Library of Congress

65 ”

“We are now shipping ‘Ohio red’ from Cleveland to New York at 65 to 67 cents, the lowest prices we have known for some time. The cheapest mode of transport to New York is through the Welland Canal to Oswego, and thence on by canal. The usual cost by that route is 16 cents to 20 cents per bushel. We 160 are now delivering it at 85 cents per bushel at New York. The Oswego route is about 1 cent per bushel cheaper than through Buffalo. The great mass of the wheat goes through in spring and autumn; at mid-summer freights are about 10 per cent. less. At these prices wheat is not delivered freely by the farmers, and any demand would raise the price. They will send it on freely at 65 cents, which would make it 95 cents at New York.”

The present selling price of wheat at New York (November 15, 1851) is quoted thus:—  
Cents per bushel.

White Genessee 96 to 98

White Michigan and Ohio 86 ” 90

Red Ohio 82 ” 84

Mixed Canada 84 ” 86

The following is the statement of the cost and charges at New York, the charges from New York to Liverpool, and the selling price at Liverpool, referred to in page 75:—

161

WHEAT from NEW YORK, BALTIMORE, or PHILADELPHIA, to LIVERPOOL.

Per Winchester Bushel of 60 lbs. Per Bushel of 70 lbs. Drs. cents. Drs. cents. s. d. s. d.  
1000 bushels at 80 cents 800 0 Measuring and delivering on board 30 0 Brokerage ½ per  
cent. 4 dollars, and petty charges 2 dollars 60 cents 6 60 Marine insurance on 870 dollars

## Library of Congress

at 1½ per cent 13 5 49 65 849 65 Commission 2½ percent 21 24 870 89 £. s. d. Free on board at New York, &c. Exchange at par 195 19 0 3 11 4 6# £. s. d. Freight on 26 tons 15 cwts. 3 qrs., at 15 s. and 5 per cent 21 1 10 Dock and town dues, entries, &c. 2 13 4 One month's rent and fire insurance 1 19 2 Cartage, portorage, receiving, storing, turning, and delivering to buyer 6 12 11 Brokerage ½ per cent., commission and guarantee 21 per cent., interest on capital 1 per cent., 4 per cent. on £238 9 10 5 41 17 8 £237 16 8 At 3 months and 3 days. To sell at Liverpool. 4 9 5 6½ Free on board in New York. To sell at Liverpool and pay first cost and charges as above. Per Winchester of 60 lbs. Per Bushel of 70 lbs. Per Winchester of 60 lbs Per Bushel of 70 lbs. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. At 80 cents, exchange at par. 3 11 4 6# 4 9 5 6½ " 85 " ". 4 1 9/10 4 10 ¼ 5 0 1/10 5 10 1/10 " 90 " ". 4 7½ 5 4# 5 6# 6 5# " 1 dollar ". 4 10# 5 8 5 9 6 8 3/7 162

(C.) Vide p. 93. The Manufacturing and Industrial Products of Cincinnati. Report to the Board of Trade, Aug. 13, 1851, by Mr. Charles Cist, editor and publisher of 'Cincinnati in 1851.'

FACTORIES, SHOPS, WORKS, MILLS, YARDS, ETC. 1841. 1851. No. Hds. Product. No. Hds. Product. Dollars. Dollars. Agricultural machines 1 30 36,000 Alcohol and spirits, wine distillers 6 12 608,260 Animal charcoal factory 1 12 25,000 Apple-butter makers 3 9 5,000 Architects 6 9 17,000 10 15 22,000 Artificial flower factories 3 40 14,200 Awning, tent, bag makers 3 8 12,000 7 66 45,000 Bagging factories 1 87 78,650 2 238 270,000 Bakers 52 132 259,000 140 445 637,662 Band and hat box makers 1 5 9,000 6 60 36,000 Basket, cradle, makers 2 5 2,800 7 30 18,000 Bell and brass founders 8 62 81,000 12 132 209,500 Bellows makers 2 6 12,600 3 8 18,000 Blacking paste makers 2 12 11,000 3 16 24,000 Blacksmith shops 52 294 311,400 82 223 235,395 Blinds, Venetian, shops 6 27, 40,000 Block, spar, and pump makers 6 20 26,172 5 18 21,000 Boiler yards 8 90 106,000 10 97 349,000 Bonnet-bleachers and pressers 10 33 22,000 Bookbinderies 15 102 100,700 15 136 122,000 Boot and shoe makers 166 652 488,000 374 1760 1,182,650 Brand, stamp, and blind chisel makers 3 7 6,800 6 16 13,500 Breweries 8 60 126,000 31 172 566,000 Brick-yards 35 175 87,500 60 367 207,000 Brick-masons and plasterers 108 466 208,650 208 876 408,650 Bristle and curled hair dressers 2 42 16,600 4 104 48,800 Britannia-ware factories 1 8 12,840 2 32 38,690 Brush makers 4 15 19,000 15 90 60,500 Bucket and tub factory 1 90 84,200 Burr mill-stone makers 2 18 10,500 4 19 24,000 Butchers 62 157 1,098,015 121 600 2,850,000 Camphine and spirit-gas makers 2 7 19,000 3 7 17,200 Candy and confectionery makers 12 35 54,000 12 80 128,120 Caps, men's and boys, makers 9 50 39,000 Carpenters and builders 160 645 418,600 284 2320 2,116,000 Cars and omnibuses, railroad 4 110 108,447 Carriage factories 6 87 127,000

## Library of Congress

24 212 247,400 Carpet weavers 7 37 46,000 18 65 56,000 Carvers in wood 3 7 7,000  
Castor-oil factory 1 8 55,000 Charcoal, pulverized 3 9 18,500 Chemical laboratories 3 29  
68,000 5 79 226,000 Cistern builders 4 12 21,300 3 36 75,000 Cloak and visite makers  
2 6 3,000 Clothing factories 86 813 1,223,800 108 950 1,947,500 Coffee roasters 1 17  
38,000 Comb factory 1 20 18,550 1 18 18,000 Composition roofers 4 18 40,000 Coopers  
31 176 167,000 63 796 387,000 Copper, tin, and sheet iron workers 32 208 211,300 42  
240 258,000 163 Copper-plate printers 5 8 21,000 2 9 50,000 Cordage and rope makers 4  
18 33,600 9 130 180,000 Curers of beef, tongues, &c 13 40 135,000 Cutlery, surgical and  
dental instruments, tailors' shears makers 8 13 10,700 4 25 40,000 Daguerreotypists 1 1  
950 32 110 80,000 Dentists 36 80 92,000 Die-sinkers 3 5 5,000 Domestic liquor factories  
16 46 726,000 Dyers and scourers 10 30 15,540 15 24 28,000 Edge-tool makers 8 37  
41,600 19 72 97,900 " grinders 1 18 20,000 Engravers 8 11 23,550 14 30 50,000 Fancy  
job printers 2 25 30,000 Feed and flouring mills 10 43 816,700 14 65 1,690,000 Fire  
engines, hydraulic apparatus builders 2 13 13,750 1 37 65,000 Flooring mills 6 31 73,000  
14 72 351,200 Florists 15 35 120,000 Foundries and engine shops 13 563 668,657 44  
4695 3,676,500 Fringe, tassel, &c., makers 1 7 15,400 4 40 20,000 Furniture factories 59  
335 664,000 136 1158 1,660,000 Gas and coke works 1 50 65,000 Gas-fitters 2 24 45,000  
Gas burner cap factory 1 3 5,000 Gilders 10 36 39,000 Glass works, cutters, &c 1 5  
10,000 2 30 40,000 Glove factories 3 33 20,000 Glue " 5 40 28,000 Gold leaf and dentists'  
foil makers 1 5 11,000 " pen factory 1 3 3,500 Grates, &c., factories 2 52 45,000 Ground  
spice and drug mills 6 56 140,000 " mustard " 2 10 15,000 " marble dust " 1 15 14,000 2  
4 3,500 Gunsmiths 5 15 16,842 6 30 35,000 Hatters 25 181 312,000 40 367 445,000 Hat  
block factories 1 4 4,500 Horse-shoers 12 35 48,000 Hose, belts, &c., factories 1 2 2,109  
4 26 96,000 Hot-air furnace builders 1 20 60,000 Ice packers 14 60 150,000 Iron, rolling-  
millings 2 148 394,000 5 550 1,050,000 " safe, chest, and vault factories 1 12 11,400 3  
56 96,000 " railing factories 5 77 96,000 Japanned filter maker 1 4 6,000 " tin ware factory  
1 2 2,000 1 34 52,000 Lever lock factory 5 49 39,000 10 60 53,000 Lightning rod factory  
1 50 150,000 Lithographers 1 4 3,500 4 24 20,000 Looking-glass factories 6 17 26,000  
7 34 48,000 Machinists 4 42 77,000 12 120 130,000 Marble workers 1 3 10,000 5 164  
190,000 Masonic and Odd Fellows' regalia embroiderers 4 18 21,000 Mathematical and  
optical instrument makers 3 16 30,00 6 24 40,000 Matmaker 1 3 7,240 164 Mattress  
makers and upholsterers 10 58 84,800 10 80 95,000 Milliners 60 650 820,000 Mineral  
water factories 8 64 165,000 Mineral teeth factory 1 5 9,000 Morocco leather yards 7 18  
25,000 6 62 89,500 Musical instrument makers 7 18 25,000 6 62 89,500 Music publishers  
1 30 50,000 Nut and washer maker 1 40 20,000 Oil, castor, factory 1 7 60,000 " lard and  
stearine factory 1 4 31,000 34 124 3,015,90 " linseed mills 3 " vitriol laboratory 2 4 36,000

## Library of Congress

1 24 135,000 Packing-box and refrigerator factories 8 28 39,000 12 65 120,000 Painters and glaziers 41 148 78,000 72 632 385,000 Paper makers 9 120 330,000 Patent medicine factories 4 10 68,000 14 90 660,000 Pattern makers 2 3 3,500 14 30 25,500 Perfumers 8 45 120,000 Pickles, preserves, sauce makers 2 12 25,000 Plane, &c. makers 4 34 95,000 7 96 167,000 Planing machine factory 1 12 30,000 Platform scale makers 6 36 60,000 Plough makers 6 30 37,900 6 24 45,000 Plumbers 4 18 48,000 16 135 195,000 Plug, bung, &c. factory 1 8 12,000 Potters 2 11 12,000 14 50 36,000 Pork, beef, and ham curers' factories 33 2450 5,760,000 Printing ink factories 1 4 2,500 2 8 12,000 " press factory 2 11 9,000 1 30 52,000 Publishers 12 656 1,246,540 Roofers' patent 1 12 36,000 Saddlery, harness and collar makers 22 102 23,100 40 222 346,500 Saddle-tree makers 1 5 4,500 Sail makers 4 15 9,000 Saleratus factories 3 6 50,000 Sand-paper factories 2 10 12,000 Sarsaparilla cough-candy factories 1 10 92,000 Sash, blind, and door factories 22 90 71,700 25 220 312,000 Sausage factories 15 21,000 22 166 162,000 Saw mills 6 31 73,000 15 206 411,000 Saw factories 2 6 6,700 Screw-plate factories 2 12 16,500 Sheeting, yarn, and candlewick factories 5 410 636,000 Shirt and stock makers 5 75 40,000 15 250 157,000 Silver and gold workers 8 36 56,500 5 50 90,000 Soap and candle factories 17 122 322,940 38 710 1,475,000 Spectacle makers 1 4 9,000 Spoke factories 2 36 70,500 Stainers, glass 1 5 15,000 Stair builders 3 18 24,000 Starch factories 2 16 45,000 5 42 98,000 Steamboat builders 5 306 592,500 7 554 488,000 Stencil cutters 3 8 5,000 Stereotypers 3 60 46,000 Stocking weavers 2 7 12,000 4 21 13,000 Stone cutters 6 70 83,000 22 349 222,000 Stone masons 44 218 101,000 36 428 308,000 165 Straw hat and bonnet factories 5 50 60,000 Stucco workers 2 6 6,000 2 14 12,000 Tailors 60 295 276,000 98 815 832,000 Tanners and curriers 21 126 335,000 30 380 965,000 Tobacco, cigar, and snuff factories 26 358 225,000 62 1310 931,000 Trunks, carpet bags, &c. makers 15 275 506,000 Turners 12 27 28,275 30 143 152,000 Typefounders 3 85 45,400 2 121 100,000 Undertakers 14 56 76,000 Varnish factories 2 9 135,000 Veneer " 2 20 66,000 Vinegar " 5 11 30,500 26 59 168,750 Wadding " 1 11 25,000 Wagon makers 21 96 104,300 42 136 132,000 Wall paper stainers 43 34,400 4 36 30,000 Wash-boards, zinc factories 3 40 85,000 White lead factories 3 44 121,750 4 123 385,000 Wig makers 3 8 6,000 2 5 7,500 Window shade factories 4 81 73,000 3 400 50,000 Wine manufacturers 40 500 150,000 Wireworkers 4 12 13,000 5 30 69,000 Woolcarders 2 18 30,000 4 13 10,500 Wrought nail makers 4 12 9,000 Whisky distilleries 3 37 145,000 38 110 2,857,920

(D.) *Vide* p. 131.

Extract from Report on Boston Public Schools.

## Library of Congress

“In history we do not think that the attainments of the pupils are such as could be wished. Nor is the mode of teaching in this study a good one. The fault, however, is not to be attributed either to the pupils or their instructors. The classes generally have shown a very fair knowledge of all that could be learned from the sources of learning at their command. The textbook of history now in use in our schools is not a good 166 one. It is very brief, not very accurate, and very uninteresting. It appears to be nothing more than a very dry detail of the leading facts of history, related in no connection, except that of chronological order, and utterly destitute of anything to awaken and interest the attention. We will give an illustration of its character. In the part devoted to Grecian history the names of Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, and Leonidas are not introduced in the narration of the Persian invasions, and the name of not a single inhabitant of Greece who lived between the time of Solon and that of Epaminondas is mentioned in the course of this part of the history. Yet this period of nearly two hundred years was prolific of great men, and is probably the most important era in the history of civilization. It embraces the time of the Persian invasions. It was the age of Pericles, of Alcibiades, of Plato, of Xenophon, of Herodotus, of the great dramatic poets—in short, of nearly all the most eminent intellects of ancient Greece. It is but justice, however, to the author to say, that the principal defects of this book are inseparable from the plan on which it is compiled. A history of the world in a duodecimo volume of 300 pages cannot be otherwise than meagre in its information, and a book of larger size would be too expensive.

“History might be made the most interesting and one of the most profitable studies to which the attention of children could be directed. It so abounds with 167 the materials of reflection, there is so much in it to impress the imagination, to elevate the moral sentiments, to touch the heart and enlarge the mind, that it is much to be desired that its capabilities as the means of moral as well as intellectual culture should be duly improved. But this cannot be done while pupils have no other books than those which are confined to the detail of facts, the mere husks and dross of history, without comment or improvement. A child may learn that the Athenians defeated the Persians at Marathon and Salamis,

## Library of Congress

that they were in turn repelled with disaster from, Syracuse, that Alexander overran Asia, that the Romans expelled their kings and conquered the known world, without having awakened in them one glow of feeling or being made aware of the materials for reflection and for a higher instruction than the mere knowledge of facts which these and other such great events in the world's story might present to their view. And such is all the advance that can be expected from the book now in use. In the course of our examinations it was not much, used, and such attempts were made as the limited time permitted to draw out what knowledge the children had, and to awaken their interest in this study, but it was generally found that, while they could tell very readily what was in their text-book, the information derived from it had not been conveyed to their minds in such a manner as to induce a desire for greater research. In short, we do not think, from what appeared at the examinations, 168 that history is a favourite study, or that the quality of the knowledge of it which can at present be obtained is of a very valuable or durable kind. A book is wanted which, while it narrates facts, should also contain such reflections as would awaken the interest of the children, and, if this were supplied, there is no branch of study that would so much contribute to mould aright the intellectual and moral habits of children as history. We have occasionally met with pupils in the schools whose answers showed that they had read more and better books of history than their text-book, and they were generally among the most intelligent and meritorious. Could a school history be found which converted the dry outlines of events into such life-like pictures as are presented in the pages of Herodotus, or as are drawn in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, or in the delightful narrative of Livy, the effect on our schools would be very soon perceptible; and history, instead of being what it now appears to be, a very imperfectly studied and ill-relished task, would become one of the most delightful recreations, as well as one of the most improving studies, that could be adopted for their improvement."

By way of further illustration of the subject of the text (p. 131), I add the questions in history proposed to the candidates for admission to the High School at Lowell, which I find

## Library of Congress

in the 'Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Lowell, for the year ending December 31, 1850.'—p. 21.

169

The public schools of the city of Lowell consist of “forty-six primary schools, nine grammar schools, and one high school in two departments.”

The candidates for admission into the high school were presented from the nine grammar schools.

“ *History*. 1. In what year was America discovered by Columbus? 2. What people colonized the West India Islands? 3. Who was the conqueror of Mexico? 4. Who first circumnavigated the earth? 5. Under whose patronage did John and Sebastian Cabot sail? 6. What river was first explored by James Cartier? 7. Which of the United States was first settled by the English? 8. To whom was Pocahontas married? 9. Did Virginia favour the cause of Cromwell, or of King Charles? 10. What adventurer gave the name to New England, and made a map of the country? 11. With what Indian chief did the Plymouth colony make a treaty of peace, which continued fifty years? 12. What war terminated this peace? 13. Under the jurisdiction of what colony was Maine placed in 1652? 14. By whom and where was “King Philip” killed? 15. Why was Canada hostile to New England in the wars which arose between France and England? 16. What made Louisburg a place of great importance in King George's war? 17. Of what religious sect were the New Haven colonists? 18. What State was colonized by Roman Catholics? 19. Of what religious sect were the first settlers of Pennsylvania? 20. What were the feelings of the Indians towards I 170 William Penn? 21. Which of the United States was colonized under the direction of Oglethorpe?”

Note to page 12.

I have since received a return, made by the sixteen different denominations at Fall River, of the average attendance at the Sunday schools in that town. I am indebted to one of the

## Library of Congress

principal manufacturers of that place, Mr. A. Robeson, for this information. The number returned as the average attendance is 2026. It has been shown that the total numbers between the ages of five and fifteen were, in May, 1850, 2502. Twenty per cent., therefore, of the children between those ages are not in habitual attendance at Sunday-schools—a number corresponding with that exhibited by other localities subsequently mentioned.

The number of teachers is given as 341, and the number of adult classes as 62.

It must be remembered that it is very much the habit in the United States for the upper as well as the middle and lower classes to send their children to the same Sunday and day schools. The above statistics, therefore, apply probably to nearly the whole of the population.

### **CANADA.**

12

### **CANADA.**

“ The people of England are by no means aware how fine a country they possess in Canada,” said an Upper Canadian gentleman to me, a few days after I entered the province; and I am inclined to subscribe to his assertion. Books, especially travellers' hasty and imperfect sketches, such as my own, can do little more than convey a few facts and a few general impressions: it is necessary to have passed through the heart of the country, to have seen its splendid agricultural capabilities, to have witnessed the enterprise that is now at work in drawing them forth, to have mixed with its intelligent and loyal people, to have observed how much they have done for the improvement and embellishment of their country by great and noble public works; by their canals, roads, and buildings for general purposes in towns, and how 174 rapidly its great resources, agricultural and commercial (not to speak of incipient and very promising branches of manufacture), are being developed, before a right estimate can be received of the value

## Library of Congress

of this favoured portion of the most important of the colonial dependencies of the British Crown, the provinces of North America.

My justification for attempting to say anything on the subject of that country, after so brief a visit, is the strong impression it has left upon me that neither Canada in particular, nor the British North American provinces generally, are appreciated as they ought to be by the people of England; and having passed through both Upper and Lower Canada, from the extreme western point opposite Detroit, to Quebec, and taken all the means that came in my way to inform myself on some of the interesting points concerning them, I feel a desire to impart to others a portion of what I have myself gathered.

It may be useful to mention briefly the mode of travelling I adopted, and the time occupied in my tour.

I entered Upper Canada, on the 3rd of October, 175 from Detroit, by steamboat, through Lake St. Clair, up the "Thames"

"(Arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum)"

to Chatham in seven hours. I drove to London

"(Parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis Pergama)"

67 miles, in fifteen hours (the roads being unusually bad after heavy rains), changing horses and carriage twice; stayed a day there, and thence to Woodstock, 32 miles, in four hours and a quarter, the owner of the horses, who drove, only pulling-up twice, for five minutes each, to water. Remained a couple of days in the neighbourhood of Woodstock, and proceeded thence to Hamilton, 50 miles, in nine hours, baiting two. Coasting the upper end of Lake Erie to Lewiston, a few miles up the Niagara River, and thence to the Falls by carriage, across the lower Suspension Bridge, and along the Canada side to the Clifton Hotel, immediately opposite the Falls, six hours. Stayed four days at Niagara,

## Library of Congress

and then back to Hamilton by land, taking “en route” the most interesting portion of that fine 176 national work the Welland Canal, the succession of locks near its highest level; distance 47 miles; time, changing horses once, eight hours. A day at Hamilton, and thence by steamboat to Toronto, in five hours. Remained five days at Toronto, during which I drove some distance inland to see farms. By steamer to Kingston, in half a day and a night, coasting the shore. At Kingston a day, and then, leaving Upper Canada after a stay of nineteen days, I divided the remaining part of the month, and up to November 5th, between Montreal and Quebec. I am sensible that so short a visit of scarcely five weeks can give but the slenderest title to say anything about a country then seen for the first time, notwithstanding any amount of diligence in seeking for information, or access to the most trustworthy sources for obtaining it. I have only to say to those who may be willing to receive it on the above terms, “valeat quantum.”

Few Englishmen will be induced to visit a country for pleasure or information without knowing something first about the hotels, roads, and means of conveyance. Ellah's hotel at 177 Toronto, and Young's at Hamilton, are kept in the English manner; and at the Clifton House at the Falls there are private sitting-rooms, with bedrooms adjoining, the magnificent spectacle of the Falls being immediately opposite the windows. At Sword's hotel, Quebec, you may also live, if you please, as in an English hotel. At Woodstock and London there are very respectable hotels; and at Delaware and Chatham such as are suitable to the smaller kind of country towns. Of the above I speak from experience, and I believe that any one extending his range of travel to the other country-towns of the province, would find a similar fair average of comfort. If he enters this country from the States, he will be glad to find at those hotels what is not very common in the country he has left—good, well-fed beef and mutton, and the humble, though useful, accessories of good English knives and forks, and other minor articles of manufacture for domestic purposes, which we are too much accustomed to in abundance and perfection not to miss greatly wherever tariffs are high enough to forbid their general use. I 3

## Library of Congress

The roads of Upper Canada are, as far as I have seen, quite as good as could be expected in a country of such extent and so newly settled. The worst which I encountered was the unfinished one from Chatham to London, part of a fine line completing the main communication through the province from east to west (from Hamilton to Windsor, opposite Detroit), and which has been left in its present state in consequence of the Government having abandoned the charge of local works. It is, however, now surrendered to the counties through which it passes, and will, I understand, be taken in hand again next spring. From London to Woodstock there is a macadamized road, over which you may drive in fine weather at the rate of ten miles an hour. From Woodstock to Hamilton, through Paris (the great rival European capitals have furnished ambitious names to very peaceful spots on the margins of bright streams, surrounded by a few score acres of "clearings," and beyond those a belt of beech and maple and the towering pine), about a third of the road is macadamized, and the rest was being planked, and was nearly 179 completed. The road more commonly used, by Brantford, was then in some places temporarily out of order. The greatest portion of the road from Hamilton to the Falls is good, and in part macadamized. From Toronto to Lake Simcoe a macadamized road runs in a straight line for 42 miles. There are other main roads of communication, partly macadamized, partly planked, or in process of being completed in one way or the other: as, from Hamilton to Toronto and Kingston, from Hamilton to Galt and Guelph, from Woodstock towards Goderich, from Coburg to Rice Lake, and several others.

The cross-roads, especially those leading to shipping ports on the lakes or to market-towns, did not seem, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, to be in as good a state as the farmer would find it his interest to put them. If by help of a good road he can take to mill or market three times the load in half the time, and with much less wear and tear of cattle and carriage than he can on a bad one, a liberal expenditure to obtain a good road is one of the best of economies. But the struggle between the more and the less 180 enlightened farmers on this point has to be gone through in Canada, as was the case in times past in every county in England. In Canada the especial value of good roads, in

## Library of Congress

enabling the grower of wheat to send his produce early to market before the season for shipping closes, appears likely to hasten conviction in that particular.

In Canada, as in the United States, the public conveyances, called stages, in the form of those seen in old prints of the time of Elizabeth, roll through the country in a manner somewhat strange to unaccustomed eyes. These "stages" are apparently washed but once in their natural lives; but they are drawn usually by four good horses, and driven by a man on a low seat, with his knees not much below his chest, after a fashion which would disturb the thoughts of an old disciple of "The Road, the Turf, and the Chase." The spirit of adaptation, a common and valuable one, has evidently prevailed here; for whereas in England we have adapted the road to the carriage, in Canada they have prudently adapted the carriage to the road; and accordingly these springless vehicles, poised on their broad bands of leather, rear and plunge very safely over and into the numerous mud-holes of the unfinished roads; while the light vehicles in private use, with their high fore-wheels (well enough for horses that never shy or attempt to turn short round), bound over them without doing any very great violence to the ribs and back of the occupant.

I had heard, before I entered Canada, many comparisons to its disadvantage in regard to enterprise and activity in various matters, and not least in regard to roads; and I had seen statements to that effect in various newspapers of the United States. It was therefore with some degree of surprise that I found myself travelling occasionally at the rate of eight and ten miles an hour on roads superior to any I had met with in Pennsylvania or Ohio. I endeavoured to ascertain what number of miles of macadamised and of plank roads had been made in the province, but no sources of information that I have been able to refer to give any general summary of them. In an able publication now coming out and nearly completed, "Canada, Past, Present, and Future," by Mr. W. H. Smith (Toronto, 1851, 2 vols. 8vo.), I find detached accounts of the sums spent on roads in different counties of the upper province, under the head of "Public Works," and which, therefore, exclude the various smaller lines of communication made by private companies and by the townships; and a great stimulus has been given to the operations of the latter in those matters by the

## Library of Congress

Municipal Act of 1849, to be adverted to more especially in a future page. On the roads, however, that have been made by the public, I gather, on enumerating them, that there had been spent, up to December, 1849, in the

Western District, on 4 roads, exclusive of bridges £49,365

County of Middlesex on 2 roads 74,079

Norfolk 1 " 33,333

Lincoln, Haldimand, Welland 1 " 28,788

Wentworth, Halton 2 " 80,520

York county and Toronto roads 157,664

Canada Company's roads and bridges, to Feb., 1848 27,493

£451,242

183

This does not comprise the whole of the upper province, the work from which I extract the statement being yet incomplete; nor is the number of miles given; but it shows no very great lack of public enterprise in that particular, for a population which in 1824 was only 151,000, and which had risen in 1849 to 720,000.

Between those periods there had also been expended by the upper province—

On the Welland Canal £1,400,000

"Cornwall Canal 515,000

besides the sums spent on the St. Lawrence Canals and the Chambly Canal by both provinces.

## Library of Congress

Roads had also been made by private companies, but the cost of obtaining a special Act of the Legislature for each prevented their being very numerous. In 1849 a general Act passed, with very simple provisions, enabling any five persons to form themselves into a joint stock company for making roads. The readiness with which the land-owners and farmers of Upper Canada have availed themselves of these powers, is made evident by a "Return of the several Companies" under the Act of 1849, "authorizing 184 Joint Stock Companies to construct Roads and other works; the amount of Capital subscribed in each, whether for roads or other works, and the extent of the road contemplated by each Company," presented to the Provincial Parliament July 18, 1851. No tabular summary is appended to the Report, but I have put the whole together, and found that thirty-seven companies have registered themselves to make that number of roads, and have a subscribed capital of 228,146 *l*. There can be very little doubt, therefore, as to Upper Canada being pretty well supplied with roads before many years have elapsed, whatever may be her present deficiencies. The last part of the return asked for, as to the number of miles to be made, was not complied with.

*Climate.* —Many erroneous impressions prevail as to the climate of Canada, and especially of that of the Upper Province. Extreme heat in summer, extreme cold in winter, deep snows, late springs, frosts injurious to vegetation, have been the characteristics usually attributed to the whole country. Accurate scientific observations, 185 and improving agricultural skill, are rapidly dissipating these opinions. A very interesting little Tract has lately been published, which places these matters in a right light:—"A Comparative View of the Climate of Western Canada, considered in relation to its Influence upon Agriculture," by Mr. Henry Youle Hind, Lecturer on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy at the College of Toronto, &c. &c. (Toronto; Brewer, M'Phail, & Co., 1851). In this Tract Mr. Hind shows very convincingly the "decided superiority" of Western Canada "for agricultural purposes, over the State of New York, the northern part of Ohio and Illinois, the States of Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, the Far West, and the whole of New England—in a word, over the wheat-growing States generally;" and that the emigrant "in preferring any part of the United

## Library of Congress

States” for farming purposes “is actually selecting for himself a climate of greater winter cold and summer heat, and not only more unhealthy, but also far more hazardous to the agriculturist than that which obtains in the Canadian peninsula.”—(p. 1.)

186

Admitting that what is yet known of the climate in relation to agriculture is as yet imperfect and elementary, it is still strongly confirmatory of the supposition that “the peculiar situation of the Province among the great Lakes” gives it many advantages. These are enumerated as

1. In mildness, as exhibited by comparatively high winter and low summer temperatures, and in the absence of great extremes of temperature.
2. In adaptation to the growth of certain cereals and forage crops.
3. In the uniformity of the distribution of rain over the agricultural months.
4. In the humidity of the atmosphere, which, although comparatively less than that of a truly maritime climate, is greater than that of localities at a distance from the Lakes.
5. In comparative immunity from spring frosts and summer droughts.
6. In a very favourable distribution of clear and cloudy days for the purposes of agriculture; and in the distribution of rain over many days.
7. In its salubrity.

187

Mr. Hind adds that “the meteorological data introduced are chiefly derived from the admirable and extensive series of observations which have been made at Her Majesty's Observatory at Toronto, under the direction of Captain Lefroy, R. A., F. R. S.; the Reports of the Regents of the University of the State of New York; Forrey's Climate of the United

## Library of Congress

States; the American Almanac; and Dr. Drake's Work on the Diseases of the Valley of North America.”—(p. v.)

The direct influence of the Great Lakes in elevating the winter temperature is shown by the high mean temperature of Toronto as compared with other places north and south of it, but away from their influences; and by a comparison of the occasional minimum temperature of Toronto, eleven degrees below the freezing-point, with the occasional minimum of places west of the Lakes, or in the great valley of the Mississippi; at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin,—32; Fort Howard, Wisconsin,—32;—Fort Snelling, Minnesota,—40; St. Louis, Missouri (five degrees south of Toronto),—25; Cuba, 188 New York,—26; Louisville, New York,—35; the higher temperature of Toronto being traceable partly to the fact that “the surface-water of the open Lakes is never less than 32°, and generally about 33.5,” or “about 7° or 8° above the mean temperature of Toronto during the three winter months.” Another table shows as conclusively the much greater equability of temperature of Toronto than of the western States, in the far greater differences between the summer and winter mean temperature in the latter; in other words, “the great and often dangerous extremes of temperature” in the western States. The summer mean temperature of Toronto, on an average of ten years, was 64.51°. The summer mean of Fort Crawford, Wisconsin, is given at 72.38°; Council Bluffs, Missouri, 75.81°; Muscatine, Iowa, 69°; Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, 67.97°; Detroit, 67.33°; (Berlin, 63.2°; Cherbourg, 61.9°; Greenwich, 60.88°; Penzance, 61.8°).

The effect of clearing the land of forests is next adverted to in its relation to climate, by enabling the sun's rays to penetrate the soil, 189 “diminishing thereby the duration of frost and snow in the winter months, and retarding their advent in the autumn months.” In connexion with this subject the advantages and practicability of draining are touched upon, and instances are mentioned of drains in a clay subsoil, (one of which I saw,) two feet, two feet ten, and three feet six deep, and about one-third of a mile long, which ran the whole winter; “the thermometer when introduced into water coming from them never falling below 34 degrees, while when exposed to the air it sank to zero.” These drains were made

## Library of Congress

of rough pine slabs, with the clay firmly stamped over them. Another was formed of "road metal," in a rich vegetable mould, having a depth of two feet six, and a length of 250 yards, and it also ran all the winter.

The frequent recurrence of spring frosts in districts remote from the lakes is next mentioned, from which the lake district is comparatively free. The effect of the clearing of forests, on this point, is noticed, on the authority of Humboldt and others.

190

"The extensive forests with which the greater part of Western Canada is still clothed, tend, by their nocturnal radiation, to diminish the temperature of the nights during the summer season. Humboldt has clearly shown, that by the reason of the vast multiplicity of leaves, a tree, the crown of which does not present a horizontal section of more than 120 or 130 feet, actually influences the cooling of the atmosphere by an extent of surface several thousand times more extensive than this section. The upper surfaces of the leaves first become cool by nocturnal radiation; these again receive heat from the next lower stratum of leaves, which is, in turn, given off into space. The cooling is thus propagated from above downwards, until the temperature of the whole tree is lowered, and, as a necessary result, the air enveloping it. As the forests of Western Canada disappear before the rapid encroachments of the settler, we may look for a rise in the minimum temperature of the spring, summer, and autumnal nights. Late spring and early autumn frosts will probably become rarer as the country becomes more cleared.

"Notwithstanding the cold produced by the radiation of heat from the leaves of forest trees during summer nights, there is no reason to suppose that the destruction of forests elevates the mean temperature of the year. From observations extended over thirty years, at Salem in Massachusetts, it appears that the annual mean temperature of the year oscillates in that neighbourhood within a degree about the mean of the whole number of years. The winters in Salem, instead of having become milder during the last thirty-three years, as supposed from the destruction of forests, have become colder by 4 deg.

## Library of Congress

Fahrenheit.—(Forrey, 191 quoted by Humboldt.) The tendency of the destruction of forests is, *cæteris paribus* ,

“1. To elevate the mean temperature of the summer months.

“2. To lower the mean temperature of the winter months, but to shorten their duration.

“3. To accelerate the advent of spring.

“4. To dry up swamps and shallow springs, and to diminish the supply of water in creeks.

“5. To hasten the disappearance of snow from exposed districts.

“The comparatively gradual approach of spring, in the Canadian Peninsula, is a great advantage to the husbandry of the country. High maximum means of temperature, at that season of the year, with low minimum means, are treacherous, and often indeed ruinous to the agriculturist. Their influence on health is also very detrimental. Compare Toronto with Muscatine, Iowa, to the west of the Lakes, in these respects.

Toronto. Muscatine, near Iowa City. March. April. March. April. Mean. Min. Mean. Min.  
Mean. Min. Mean. Min. 1845 35.68 6.6 42.13 15.5 40.3 8. 55.1 16. 1846 26.25 5.4 39.06  
9.3 40.5 20. 52.7 28. 1849 33.24 15.1 38.74 15.5 37.3 10. 44.3 22. Mean. 31.72 9. 39.97  
13.4 39.3 12.6 50.7 22.

“Hence, April, with a mean temperature at Muscatine of 50°·7, sufficient to force on vegetation, suffers occasional 192 mean *minimum* temperatures of ten degrees below the freezing point; whereas the *mean* April temperature at Toronto is nearly eleven degrees below that of Muscatine, and effectually arrests the progress of vegetation until the danger arising from killing frosts is greatly diminished. These are important considerations in estimating the adaptation of a climate to the purposes of agriculture.

“The destruction of forests seems to have a marked effect upon swamps, springs, and running streams. In all parts of the country neglected saw-mills may be seen, having been

## Library of Congress

abandoned by their proprietors owing to the 'want of water.' It is indeed a constant and yearly increasing complaint, that springs and rivers are drying up, and that the supply of water in mill-creeks is year by year diminishing. This decrease may reasonably be ascribed to the destruction of forests, whereby extensive swamps are exposed to solar radiation, and that supply of moisture which they received in the summer months from the condensation of the aqueous vapour of the atmosphere, by the leaves of the trees overshadowing them, being altogether cut off. The frequency of extensive swamps is one acknowledged cause of the retardation in the advent of spring, and the production of early spring frosts; it is evident, that with the progress of the settlement of forest-covered tracts, these causes will gradually exert less influence in producing one of the most objectionable features in the climate of this country."\* —p. 25–27.

\* Whether from climate or other causes, the proportion of persons of florid complexions and robust frames appeared to me much greater in Canada than in the United States.

193

The comparatively even monthly distribution of rain is also of great benefit to Canadian husbandry. By the tables given at p. 30 it is shown that while at Muscatine the rain fall for the year 1849 was 57·9, nearly 50 per cent. of which fell in two months, June and August, it was at Toronto 32·18, and pretty evenly distributed throughout the year. In the months of May, June, and July it appears that the number of rainy days at Toronto were in each of those months respectively 8·6, 10·4, 10·5, 7·8. The bearing of this fact on the important matter of turnip husbandry is very evident, as well as upon many other forage crops; and the general humidity of the climate is shown to be only 7°·5 less than that of Greenwich.

*Geology.* —The admirable Reports of the Geological Survey of Canada which are published "by order of the Legislative Assembly," and are in a very convenient form for reading and reference, give so complete an account of the geological distribution of the various strata and their agricultural capabilities, as far as the survey under Mr. Logan has yet been carried, that K 194 no emigrant or landowner can be at a loss for the fullest

## Library of Congress

information as to the best purposes to which to apply his land, or as to the “economic materials” it contains. These Reports show what vast resources lie yet undeveloped in the splendid lands of Canada. It is most striking to one who has never before witnessed such prodigality of nature, to see whole districts of many square miles in extent composed of alluvial deposits from 30 to 80 feet deep of soil in some places so rich as to bear good crops of wheat for several successive years without manure; and others of nearly equal value resting on red sandstone, trap, serpentine, limestones, and other strata most favourable for agriculture; the evidences of the strength of the soil being manifest over all that still remains in the state of aboriginal forest, in the noble trees that occupy the ground in every stage of vigour and decay. There are also for many miles in succession (as along the Grand River), soils too rich for wheat; others of a good sandy loam, suitable to, and requiring, the usual English rotations; other tracts of rich black mould, but requiring drainage—too rich at 195 first for wheat, but which have been cropped with wheat for thirty or forty years without manuring.—(Report for 1849–50, p. 92.) “The natural growth of these lands” (along the valley of the Thames, Western District) “is oak, elm, with black walnut and white-wood trees of enormous size; the black walnut timber is already becoming a considerable article of export. Fine groves of sugar maple are also met with, from which large quantities of sugar are annually made,” p. 93. The rich soils of the neighbourhood of London, Woodstock, Zorra, Goderich, Galt, Paris, Brantford, Port Stanley, Port Dalhousie, St. Catherine's, Hamilton, Toronto, Lake Simcoe, Coburg, &c. &c., are in the course of being analysed, and the results of several of the analyses have been already published. The scientific agriculturist therefore has these valuable preliminary points of information ready to his hand.

*Farming.* —In consequence, perhaps, partly of the very fertility of the soil, there is undoubtedly a great deal of very bad farming in Upper Canada. Judging from the state of the farms of a very K 2 196 large proportion of the smaller occupiers, one is led to conclude that they must have taken to the business without much previous knowledge of it. They very seldom follow any proper rotation, but, as a general rule, “grow wheat as long

## Library of Congress

as the land will produce it." Root crops are but little cultivated by them, their management of stock therefore is very primitive; the young stock are nearly starved during the winter, and require the feeding of more than half the summer to recover the weight they have lost during the severe season. Many also die for want of proper food, for in addition to the want of nourishment they are seldom kept under shelter sufficiently in the winter months. Root crops being neglected, fodder is scarce, and no skill or economy is shown in the preservation and use of manure. The land is foul, and the grain when brought to market has usually a large admixture of dust and seeds. The value of land is continually rising; the small proprietor therefore thinks himself sufficiently remunerated for his labour in clearing the land and bringing into cultivation by the price it will fetch, notwithstanding 197 its comparatively exhausted state, whenever he chooses to "sell out."

There are, however, large and rapidly increasing exceptions to this state of things. Over large tracts of some of the best land in the province is now to be seen as good farming as one could desire to meet with. Gentlemen of independent property have set the example in many of the most eligible situations for settlers; substantial farmers from England and Scotland have followed, and have introduced with success all the best practices of "the old country." I saw in the neighbourhoods of London, Wood-stock, Paris, Hamilton, Toronto, admirably managed farms; and whole townships elsewhere—such as especially some north and east of Toronto, and north-west, north-east, and south-east of Hamilton—are described as being of similar excellence. Great attention has been paid to the importation of the best stock from England and Scotland; the markets, therefore, of Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, &c., &c., are supplied with meat of excellent quality and well-fed. An objection to the growth of roots and 198 crops that had been entertained by the smaller farmers without much capital or enterprise—namely, the difficulty of preventing their freezing in the winter—had been easily overcome by the superior class of farmers, by storing them properly in cellars under or near their cattle houses, and I accordingly saw many fields of well-cultivated turnips, mangold, and white Belgian carrots, and heavy crops of each. Wool bears a good price (1 s. to 1 s. 3 d. per lb.), and is much sought for by agents from

## Library of Congress

the manufacturers of New England, as well as by the rising woollen factories in Canada, as at Sherbrooke, in the eastern townships, and elsewhere. The country is becoming well settled in all directions, and land within a reasonable distance of a market is worth from 20 to 50 dollars per acre, buildings included. In many cases, occupiers of their own land take also an adjoining farm on lease; in others, tenants are found for separate farms. In one case, which was mentioned to me, the terms for a farm of 120 acres, about forty miles from Toronto, were 50 *l.* per annum for the first year, 60 *l.* for the second, and 75 *l.* for the remainder of 199 a seven years' lease. On some farms which I went over, the land was as clean, and the whole details of husbandry put out of hand as skilfully, as on a good average farm in England.\*

\* Lest I should be thought to be dealing with a subject of which I have no experience, I feel it necessary to add, that I have had a small model farm in hand for the last ten years, and have given some attention to farming matters for the last twenty.

*Climate and Cultivation of Lower Canada.* —Still more general, I believe, has been the misapprehension as to the climate of Lower Canada and its effect upon agriculture in that province—a misapprehension which has arisen in a great degree from the want of precise and scientific inquiries. In the month of August, 1850, a “Report of the Special Committee on the State of Agriculture in Lower Canada” was presented and printed by order of the Legislative Assembly. This Report is one of much interest; it has cleared up many errors, and laid the foundation of a greatly amended state of things.

At pages 130–2 of that Report, tables are given, comparing the mean temperatures of Montreal and Toronto for a period of thirty-four months, from 1847 to 1849, no farther 200 data being accessible; and it results from that comparison that the difference of temperature between Upper and Lower Canada for three years was only 1° 48#: the mean of Montreal being 46° 4#, and that of Toronto 45° 50#. With reference to the result, the Report states (p. 7), that “during the mid-winter months, when the temperature is much lower in Lower than in Upper Canada, it is of little consequence to the plant whether

## Library of Congress

the cold varies a few degrees more or less, as the snow protects the earth from the too violent action of the frost.” In proof of the little difference in the climate of Upper and Lower Canada, as regards its influence upon agriculture, the natural productions of the soil are the same in both sections of the province. The cultivated products are also the same, with the exception of certain fruits (peaches, melons, grapes, &c.). At page 129 of the Report, this is shown in detail:—

“In Lower Canada the new land is covered with timber; the greater part of the trees being from two to three feet in diameter—the larger the timber the better the soil—and therefore the choice of land is generally directed by the growth of timber on it. Where beech, maple, hickory, 201 butternut, and chesnut grow, we find a good soil of yellow or hazel loam; where elm, white ash, white oak butternut, and red oak grow, the soil is strong; where white-pine, hemlock-pine, birch, and spruce grow, the soil is sandy; cedar swamps, though often composed of good soil, are not desirable, unless easy to drain; black ash, soft maple, or plane swamps, are mostly on a clay or marl, and if well drained make lasting meadows; where there are small poplar and small white birch, the soil is poor, being light loam on white clay.

“The foregoing may be taken as a descriptive list of forest trees in the Lower Province, and the soils on which they grow. The soils most congenial for orchards are light loams or gravel. Apple-trees thrive much, also, on rocky or limestone land. A great variety of apple, pear, peach, plum, cherry, grape-vines, and other fruit trees may be found in the neighbourhood of Montreal; the apples from thence are considered superior to any other. Cherries, chesnuts, walnuts, hickory, hazel, and filbert nuts, grow wild, as in Upper Canada,—as do gooseberries, strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, cranberries, and black currants.

“The emigrant farmer, therefore, may be told with truth, that although the season appears short, and the cold intense, at certain periods, the winters are more pleasant and

## Library of Congress

salubrious, and the summers warmer than those of England; the seasons more uniform, and the air more clear and dry.”

Remarks have been often made on the bad farming of the French Canadians and their backwardness in following in the steps of modern K 3 202 improvements. In one of the numerous and valuable communications to the Committee, appended to the Report, some facts are stated which will suggest more charitable and equitable conclusions on that subject:—

“Our first settlers from old France were not agriculturists, but either fishermen or the sons of good families, to the latter of whom seignories were granted. On their arrival in the country, the land—as is the case with all new land, from the continual decomposition of vegetable matter—was rich, and although the settlers only worked one-third of the year, with their economical habits, the ground produced much more than they consumed; the remaining two-thirds of their time they spent in smoking, dancing, ceremonies of the church, and on the road going to Court or market.

“Education was not thought of; the children went on the same way: and yet, without any improvement to their land, it still yielded more than sufficient for their families. Another generation comes on, and they begin to complain of the crops falling off, and not producing as formerly, but for the want of education could not imagine the cause; and, unfortunately, the Seigniors, who actually were as much interested as the farmers, were not acquainted with agriculture or cared but little about it. This has continued until all the old farms—in the hands of Canadians of French origin—are so worn out from continual cropping, they will not produce enough for their subsistence, and the proprietors are all in debt.”

203

## Library of Congress

To this is to be added the fact, that to this day they are, generally, unacquainted with our language, and “labour under the additional disadvantage of having no agricultural works published in their own.” (pp. 64, 116.)

The principal defects in their system of cultivation, as enumerated by the Committee (p. 21), are—

“First, the want of an appropriate rotation of crops; secondly, the want or bad application of manures; thirdly, the little care bestowed upon the breeding and keeping of cattle; fourthly, the want of draining in certain places; fifthly, the want of attention given to the meadows, and the production of vegetables for feeding cattle; sixthly, the scarcity of improved agricultural implements.”

And the consequence is, that “they do not derive from the soil more than one-fourth of what it can produce.” (p. 21.)

Among the means pointed out in that Report for the improvement of the agriculture of the lower province (such as the opening of new roads, the survey of the Crown lands, and the adoption of a better principle in the award of prizes in the Agricultural Societies aided by the State), was the publication of a short tract, 204 setting forth, in plain terms, how a French Canadian could improve his cultivation by very easy processes within his own reach. A tract of this kind has been written (*Traité sur la Tenure générale d'une Terre dans le Bas-Canada*), and “published by order of his Excellency the Governor-General (the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine), and presented and recommended by him to the cultivators of Lower Canada.” (Quebec, 1851.) It is described as having been written “by an inhabitant of the district of Montreal, who has put in practice, with the greatest success during more than twenty years, the system which he recommends; and who, having commenced without capital, has become a proprietor of lands.”

## Library of Congress

A copy of this excellent little treatise was presented by the Governor General (through the Roman Catholic Archbishop and the parochial clergy) to every individual French Canadian occupying land. It is easy to conceive with what feelings of respect and gratitude so valuable a mark of interest in their welfare, and so useful a guide to their future prosperity, was received by the loyal, warmhearted, and courteous inhabitants 205 of Lower Canada, when coming to them under such sanctions. There can be no shadow of doubt as to the effect it will produce in correcting the errors of their old system of management, and bringing out the resources of their fertile soil.

What they are capable of under good guidance, or under the stimulus of example, has been already shown in several localities, to an extent sufficient to justify more favourable anticipations from the future. Proofs of this were mentioned to me in reference to the neighbourhoods where good farming had been introduced by English or Scotch settlers; and the communications attached to the Agricultural Report above mentioned, sufficiently attest the capabilities of the land when properly treated. In one of them (at p. 122 of the Report), it is affirmed that there are many instances in Lower Canada of men who twenty or thirty years ago commenced with nothing but their skill and industry, and who, having raised themselves to comparative independence, "have leased worn-out farms at from ten to twenty shillings per arpent" (1 arpent 18 perches = 1 English acre). Many 206 could be pointed out "who have not only paid these rents, but have purchased several farms for themselves." Many prejudices had been dispelled by the enterprise of these good farmers, such as the idea that winter wheat could not be grown with success, that good root-crops could not be raised, &c. &c. At the Agricultural Show at Quebec, on the 28th October last, I saw as good turnips, mangold, carrots, parsnips, kohlrabi, and other roots, as I ever met with at an average Agricultural Exhibition in England. If this could be done in the neighbourhood of Quebec, still more could it be on the fine land round Montreal, nearly a degree and a half more to the south. Accordingly, at the extremely interesting farm of Major Campbell (late secretary to the Governor General), at his seignory of St. Hilaire, about 25 miles from Montreal, on the line of the Montreal and Portland Railway, I saw, a

## Library of Congress

few days later, excellent root-crops, some stored for the winter, some still in the ground, and an establishment which approaches very nearly, in the completeness of its building arrangements, and in the scientific skill with 207 which the whole is managed, to the best specimens of high farming in this country.

One of the most valuable districts of Lower Canada is that of the eastern townships. It has hitherto, from certain local circumstances, been imperfectly settled, though affording every inducement to attract both agricultural and manufacturing capital. While this great tract of 4,886,400 acres of land, of which less than a third can be considered, according to good authority, as unproductive, has been all but neglected, an emigration of no less than 25,000 persons took place from Lower Canada in the five years ending with 1849. To endeavour to check this, and to open the eastern townships to settlers generally and to the Lower Canadian population in particular, an inquiry took place this year, the result of which has been a "First Report of the Special Committee appointed to inquire into the Causes which relate to the Settlement of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada." Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, Toronto, 1851 (June). This territory is thus described at p. 11 of the Appendix to that Report.

208

"This vast territory promises to become, at no distant period, the richest, the most populous, and the most flourishing part of Lower Canada; not only on account of its climate, milder than that of the shores of the St. Lawrence, of the immense extent of excellent and fertile soil which it includes, and of its abundant streams of water, but also, and more especially, because that part of our fine country borders on the territory of our industrious neighbours, and must be traversed by the main lines of communication between the two countries; as by the railroad from Montreal to Melbourne on the St. Francis, and from Melbourne to Portland on the Atlantic, and soon hereafter, we trust, by that from Melbourne to Quebec."

## Library of Congress

The recommendations of that committee are—first, to lay a tax on wild lands; secondly, to establish an efficient road-law; thirdly, to open good lines of communication and to improve existing roads; and there can be no doubt that these suggestions will forthwith be taken into consideration by the Legislature.

This being the state of the case with regard to the climate, soil, communications, present condition and prospective improvement of agriculture, in these noble provinces, let any one take up the map of British North America and consider what will be the effect of the completion of that 209 magnificent, imperial system of railway communication, which, starting from Halifax, is about to pass from Nova Scotia, through New Brunswick, to Quebec, and from thence to Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, and through the entire length of Upper Canada to its western extremity, opposite Detroit; there to meet the already constructed railway across the State of Michigan to Chicago, and onward, towards the Mississippi, which will be reached by a line now in progress, within the next few years. I speak of this great main line through the British provinces as “about to be completed,” because the Legislatures of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, have agreed upon a basis of co-operation, Canada making herself responsible for four-twelfths, New Brunswick for five-twelfths, and Nova Scotia for three-twelfths of the cost, the Imperial Government being expected to guarantee the necessary loan, which will enable these provinces to borrow the money, 7,000,000 *l.*, at three and a half per cent.; and because half the portion from Quebec to Montreal is open, and the line from Hamilton to 210 New Windsor (its western terminus), partly under contract.\* Let the branch lines from the main one be then traced; from Prescott on the St. Lawrence, to Bytown on the Ottawa, now under construction; from Toronto to Lake Simcoe, 50 miles north, and on to Lake Huron, already commenced; thus following out suggestions as to opening this rich and valuable line of country by a railway, from which the most profitable results are anticipated: again, the proposed branches from Toronto to Guelph and Goderich; from Hamilton to Niagara, to connect with the lines through the State of New York; from Brantford to Goderich, on

## Library of Congress

Lake Huron, on one side, and to Port Maitland and the mouth of the Welland Canal, on Lake Erie, and beyond, to a point opposite Buffalo, on the other.

\* A guarantee of the whole sum at once will clearly be for the interest of this country, as it would secure the contemporaneous construction of the best-paying portions of the line,—those from Quebec westward.

Let the magnificent canal communications be next considered,—both those that exist and those that are projected, and which will at no distant day be, without doubt, effected. The first are 211 well known; those that enable a vessel of 350 tons burden, laden at the extreme end of Lake Michigan, to pass through the Welland Canal, and thence by the Rapids of the St. Lawrence, to Montreal and Quebec, laden with 3000 barrels of flour below and 1000 upon her deck. The second are the improvements now in progress in deepening Lake St. Peter, which it is proposed to continue until ships of 1000 tons burden can come up from the ocean to the wharfs at Montreal—upwards of 500 miles inland from the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence at Point Gaspé; the construction of a large canal from a point somewhere nearly opposite Montreal to Lake Champlain, with a corresponding enlargement of the canals from that lake to the Hudson, which will enable the large vessels laden on the upper lakes to proceed by that route to New York without “breaking bulk;”\* the construction

\* For an account of this proposed canal, and for many interesting and valuable facts relating to the resources of Canada, and best means of giving them further development, I would refer to a Prize Essay on ‘The Canals of Canada, their Prospects and Influence.’ Written for a premium offered by His Excellency the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.T., Governor-General of British North America, &c. &c. By Thomas C. Keefer, Civil Engineer. —Toronto, A. H. Armour and Co. 1850.

212 of a short canal (of only one mile) at Sault Sainte Marie (a plan projected also by the United States), in the narrow strait above Lake Huron, and which will open the whole of Lake Superior,—that vast inland sea,—with its newly discovered mineral resources

## Library of Congress

of copper and iron, to the commerce of the St. Lawrence, and give another impulse to the already rapidly increasing settlement of the territory of Minesota\* —a name hitherto probably scarcely heard of in England, but the name, nevertheless, of a fertile region nearly as large as England, and one so attractive to settlers that it is expected, within three years from the present time, to be sufficiently peopled to be able to demand admittance into the Union.†

\* The purchase from the Indians of the whole of the remainder of the territory, not before sold by them, is just completed.

† The following extract, from an able Report by the United States Consul at St. John's, New Brunswick, to the Secrerary of the United States Treasury, on the Trade and Commerce of the British North American Colonies (Washington, 1851), adverted to again at p. 279, will be read with interest in connexion with the subject of the anticipated effect of the proposed Lake Champlain Canal on the future development of the trade and commerce of Canada:—

“It is proposed to construct a canal on a large scale near Montreal, to unite the waters of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence: this, if carried out, will unquestionably prove to be of great benefit to the inland commerce generally, and the lumbering districts of Eastern Canada. You can, however, judge of its merits, and better appreciate its importance, by the following extracts from a report of a Committee (of which the Hon. R. H. Walworth was chairman), appointed by a meeting held at Troy, in July, 1849, of which meeting Major-General Wool was president, to whom was referred the duty of visiting the site of this great undertaking, and an extract from a report made by the Montreal Board of Trade on the same subject, of which board Thomas Ryan, Esq., is president.

“One source of revenue from the canal anticipated by your Committee, is the transportation of large quantities of coal from Pennsylvania and other States situated upon our great western lakes, for the manufacture of iron, and the transportation of such iron for

## Library of Congress

the use of the western States. It is well known that a very considerable region of country in northern New York is filled with the richest and most extensive beds of iron ore in the United States, or perhaps in the world. Many of these beds which have been opened, and are now being worked, are situated upon the very borders of Lake Champlain, or within a short distance from it. The present capabilities of the iron works in the vicinity of these mines, or on the shores of the lake, are about 60,000 tons of iron annually, the production of which quantity of iron will require about 120,000 tons of coal. The future capability of these extensive mines for the production of ore, and the extent to which iron works may be erected in that region where water-power is so abundant, are incalculable, and can only be limited by the wants of the country. The present price of coal at Erie, is from one dollar fifty cents to two dollars per ton; and the estimated price of tonnage and tolls, supposing it to be the same in this as in the Welland Canal, is about seventy-seven cents. All other expenses of transportation to points upon Lake Champlain, would not exceed from seventy-five to one hundred cents, making the price of this coal, when delivered on the shores of Lake Champlain, only from three dollars fifty cents to three dollars seventy-five cents per ton. This is much less than the coal can be obtained for from any other quarter, especially when the wood for the manufacture of charcoal shall have been cut off, as it must be in a very few years. And this canal, by opening a direct communication with the western States and the fertile region of Upper Canada, will furnish a new and constantly increasing market for the iron of northern New York, and will supply return cargoes for the vessels which bring down the coal.

“Again, connected as this canal would be with the Ottawa, as well as other rivers which flow into the St. Lawrence, either above or below Montreal, the shores of which rivers are now lined with immense forests of the most valuable pine timber, it would bring to Lake Champlain, and through the Champlain Canal to the Hudson River, the products of these forests; and will thus cheapen that species of lumber, which, from its scarcity, is now commanding exorbitant prices. This, of itself, it is believed, would for many years afford a very handsome revenue to the canal. A large branch of trade would also be opened

## Library of Congress

with Newfoundland, Labrador, and Nova Scotia; for there is but little doubt that their fish, oil, gypsum, coal, &c., could be delivered on Lake Champlain, and even at Troy, at a less expense for transportation than the same articles are now delivered at these points by way of Boston and New York. But when there is added to this the trade of northern Pennsylvania from Lake Erie, the trade of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and the fertile peninsula of Upper Canada; when it is considered that the lands now cultivated in this extensive region of country bear but a small proportion to the wild lands, and that such will be the gradual increase of production then, that the Erie and Oswego canals, even when enlarged, will be totally inadequate to such increased commerce; by this single improvement, steamers and vessels from all the upper and western lakes, as well as from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, can reach Burlington, Whitehall, and all the other ports on Lake Champlain, without breaking bulk. The flour, pork, beef, coal, and all the products of the west, can, by means of the railroads now in course of construction, be distributed in the interior, and also be landed at Boston, at a less expense, with less depreciation of value by transport, and in a shorter period than by any other route.

“To the city of New York the construction of this work is of the greatest possible importance. With the Champlain Canal of sixty-six miles to Troy, or seventy-two miles to Albany, enlarged to the same size as the proposed canal, vessels from any western lake port could, without breaking bulk, discharge at the port of New York, and then could there reload with emigrants and merchandise direct for the west.

“From Lake Erie to New York, by the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain, there would be about 194 miles of canal navigation, with 702 feet lockage, against 363 miles of canal, with 698 feet lockage, by way of the Erie Canal. In the one case there would be no transshipment from the lakes to New York, but a continuous water communication, affording navigation for vessels of 350 tons burden. In the other case there would be two transshipments, and, by the present size of our canals, a water communication navigable by boats of 75 tons only. It must also be borne in mind that vessels, in descending the

## Library of Congress

St. Lawrence, need not be delayed by passing through the locks in that river, as loaded vessels may now descend the rapids in safety, and are only compelled to use the locks in the ascending voyages.”

Having mentioned with some particularity the resources and advantages of other favoured portions of Canada, I am reminded by the reference to the district of the Ottawa in the above extract, that it would be an injustice to it not to add some account of its vast capabilities. I accordingly give in the Appendix (H), p. 315, some extracts from a public document concerning it.

213

Let any one who has considered these provinces thus far now glance for a moment at their  
214 great and flourishing towns;—Hamilton, beneath a bold escarpment and enfolding  
hills 215 richly covered with the primeval forest; the undulating plain on which it stands  
diversified 216 with foliage, cultivation, and villas; the inlet from the Lake, which forms  
its harbour, presenting an agreeably varied outline; the villas generally in a thoroughly  
correct style of architecture, and surrounded by grounds as well kept and as neat as art  
and care can make them; the streets wide, the houses substantial, the public buildings  
creditable, the shops and wholesale warehouses showing every sign of a thriving and  
exuberant trade:\* Toronto, spreading over a wide and gently rising plateau on the lake  
shore, handsomely built, increasing most rapidly, possessing public buildings which in  
dimensions, in correctness of taste, and in solidity of construction, are surpassed by few of  
a similar kind in the second-rate towns in England; its wealth steadily accumulating, under  
perhaps the comparatively slow but yet the certain course of the

\* It is to be regretted that the planting of trees for shade along the foot-pavements of the  
principal streets, which gives so pleasing an appearance to the towns in the United States,  
has not yet, except in a very few instances, been adopted in Canada.

217 strict business principles and mercantile honour of the “old country;” its numerous neat  
and well-kept villas, and houses of larger pretensions attached to considerable farms at a

## Library of Congress

further distance from the town, attesting the effect of the process:\* Kingston, also showing signs of prosperity and progress; distinguished even among the towns of Canada for the grandeur and correctness of design of its public buildings (market-houses, public offices, &c.); occupying an important position at the head of the Rideau Canal; guarded by its strong fort, which combines in the landscape with the varied outline of the town, the inlet forming the small dockyard, the woody islands, and the surrounding country: Montreal, alive with commerce, pleasing the eye with the graceful forms of the hills around; L

\* It was lately publicly stated, on undoubted authority, that, while at one of the great commercial towns on the other side of the lake, in the State of New York, the individuals composing the leading mercantile firms had nearly all changed three times over within the last twenty years in consequence of failures, the persons in leading positions as merchants, &c., at Toronto, had been the same during the whole time, or had transmitted their wealth and position to their sons; and that many who were beginning their career at the commencement of that period, had been pursuing it without reverses and were now wealthy.

218 some of its old narrow and somewhat picturesque streets reminding one of Europe; its public buildings,\* erected and in progress, equally substantial and creditable: Quebec, with its undying interest, its beauty of position and outline, its crowd of masts along the wharfs, its fleets at anchor below the citadel, or in the "Timber-coves" beneath overhanging cliffs and foliage, its quaint old streets, its imposing fortifications, and its busy population.

\* In the term "public buildings," wherever I have used it, I do not mean to include the churches, although several in each town are in an excellent style of architecture. The cathedral at Montreal has very slender claims to any merit of this kind; yet I fear it is often considered, by visitors from the United States, as a specimen of the cathedrals of Europe.

Let all these circumstances be weighed; the great natural resources of these provinces, the energy now at work in developing them, the inducements thereto held out by the home growth of a consuming population, and by the expanding facilities of transport either to the

## Library of Congress

home or the foreign market; and it will be seen how extensive a field is there opening for the still further employment of British capital and labour.

219

The ordinary interest of capital in Canada is 6 per cent. The ordinary price of common labour in Upper Canada is 2 s. to 3 s. (sterling) a day; and as all common articles are admitted under a low revenue tariff of from 2½ to 12½ per cent., the usual articles of consumption, including provisions, are cheap and good. The principle, indeed, of the Canadian tariff is to levy pretty high duties on sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, wines, spirits, and other articles not produced either in the colony or the mother country, and to place revenue duties, as low as the wants of the province admit, on manufactures.

The annual accumulations of British capital were stated, during the discussions on the income-tax and on the railway mania of 1846, as amounting to some 60,000,000 *l.* ; they have since been estimated at 75,000,000 *l.* , of which vast sum about one half finds employment in investments as fixed capital, in new buildings of various kinds—as houses, manufactures, bridges, roads, &c. &c.—while a large portion of the other half, which cannot be profitably occupied in extending existing fields of investment, is obliged to seek L 2 220 for new ones. The amount of British capital already employed in Canada is very great; a considerable number of the leading merchants being either connected with large mercantile houses in London, or being independent off-shoots from them. A supply, also, of excellent agricultural settlers has of late years come to the colony. That there is an ample and a growing field for more, the facts above adduced show without a doubt. The question is, are there any reasons, in addition to those exhibited, why it should flow in that direction?

This opens the consideration of Canadian politics, which, however, I shall touch upon but briefly.

## Library of Congress

The politics of Canada were, for many years, “a sore subject” in England. Whenever public attention was called to them, it was generally in relation to complaints as to the mode of government, terminating in insurrections; complaints (and most just ones) as to the suddenness of the alterations of our tariff, and the want of consideration shown to the Canadians at the time; civil disturbances, threats of throwing off all connexion with the mother country and “annexing” 221 themselves to the United States. And whoever, in his desire to look more closely into those matters, consulted the public press of the colony, found it (with a few and occasional exceptions) dealing in accusations of the blackest kind against opponents, imputations of the lowest and most corrupt motives, personalities, and other marks of bitter animosity, and very seldom rising to a tone of calm and searching discussion on the important questions of the day. It requires a nearer view and a better acquaintance than books or newspapers can give, to form a just estimate of the beneficial change that has latterly taken place, and of the point at which those provinces have arrived in the process of initiation into the working of constitutional government.

There is no need to revive in this place the facts relating to that great cause of difference a few years ago between the Executive and one of the parties in the province—the Rebellion Losses Bill. They are unhappily too familiar to every one in the colony. The result of the course of policy then pursued has, however, been this— 222 it has shown most unequivocally to the whole people of Canada that they are bonâ fide and to the fullest extent in possession of the great privilege of Constitutional Government. This is unquestionably a great point for them to have established, and worth a great deal more than the temporary feelings of irritation which accompanied the passing of that celebrated Bill. I think I perceived that those feelings had been considerably softened down in the great majority of persons that I met with, although it still remains as a deep cause of offence in the minds of many. They cling to the idea that the Governor-General (Lord Elgin) should have refused his assent to the Bill, and should have sent it to England either with or without a recommendation that it should have been disallowed by the Crown. To have done the former, as was argued at the time in this country, would have been to

## Library of Congress

place the Crown in direct antagonism with the French and the Liberal party in the colony; to have done the latter would have been to shrink from a responsibility which on great occasions it is often the first duty of a servant of the Crown 223 to assume. In either case the Crown would have been brought into direct collision with powerful and exasperated parties in the province, and, what would have been still worse, the representative of the Crown would have been lowered to the position of a partisan. I believe it is now, after two years of reflection, pretty generally admitted that, considering the failure of former attempts to carry on the government on the basis of the ascendancy of race and party, and considering the then embittered state of public feeling, the discontent engendered by commercial distress, and the hostility to British rule in Canada manifested by certain classes in the United States, even as late as the year 1848, it was a critical moment in the destinies of this colony, and that it is fortunate that it terminated as it did. Where the contrary opinion still lingers, it appeared to me to be the result of too low an appreciation of the constitutional position and duties of the Executive. This is far from being unnatural, considering the comparative novelty of constitutional government in the colony, and the long habit contracted under the old mode of 224 administration, of looking at the Queen's representative as the supporter and almost the instrument of one party alone. It may be, as it is still argued, that the experiment of constitutional government was introduced too soon, that neither the state of intelligence of the mass of the people, nor the condition of the public press, was such as to justify so sudden a change. But it is admitted on all hands that there is no returning to the past—that what has been done cannot be undone—and that all that remains from henceforward is to make the best of matters as they now exist. It is therefore natural to conclude that, the more constitutional questions come to be studied, as they arise in the course of public affairs, the more will the point, which in England is so familiar, become plain and obvious, that the true place of the representative of the Crown is one above and aloof from the personal considerations of party, and one which keeps in view only the just and impartial administration of public affairs with reference to the great general interests of the country.

## Library of Congress

A circumstance, exemplifying this principle, 225 was agitating the colony during my stay there, in consequence of the appointment to office, in conjunction with the party which had a majority in the Legislative Assembly, of two individuals personally very obnoxious to the party out of power. It was the simple constitutional course, and any other would have had the disadvantage, in addition to being unconstitutional, of making political martyrs, and therefore placing in such hands a great accession of popular power.

Two other circumstances are also worth adverting to, as indications of how entirely the government is now being carried on in accordance with the Parliamentary principles of this country. 1. This very change of the “personnel” of the administration, adverted to in the last paragraph, was in part the result of a measure of a distinguished member of the ministry having been voted against by some of his usual supporters, aided by members of the old Tory party and some of the Radical section of their own. The minister whose measure was by that vote condemned by an influential portion of his own party, took the dignified course of resigning office—the measure L 3 226 that was condemned having been the year before strongly supported by both parties. 2. The general election was about to take place, and all parties were busy with canvassing and addresses. The Ultra-Radical party, which apparently draws its inspirations from the most “advanced” portions of the American democracy, adopted the line of attempting to bind their candidates by pledges on every question of the day. A very firm stand was made against this unconstitutional attempt at dictation, by some of the men of highest position in the colony, who refused to submit to what would utterly destroy the House of Representatives for every useful purpose as a deliberative body, by converting its members into a mere meeting of delegates to register the decisions of irresponsible committees.

These are the processes by which a real feeling is brought home to public men of their duties and responsibilities, by which statesmen are formed, and the public mind educated in the working of constitutional government. And it must be evident to any one who calmly observes what is passing in those provinces, that, in the 227 short time during which they

## Library of Congress

can be considered to have been in possession of real responsible government, they have made great and important steps in its practical assertion according to its true theory. This consideration cannot but raise the Canadian people in the estimation of every Englishman who visits that colony, and of every one else acquainted with the privileges which they enjoy under their essentially free constitution.\*

\* It was, doubtless, a sense of this well-established and important fact that showed itself in the cordial and animated reception which the authorities and people of Boston gave, in the month of October last, to the Governor-General of these provinces, and to the large body of distinguished Canadians who accompanied him. The occasion was a railway celebration, on the completion of the Vermont central line from Montreal to Boston. The mayor and corporation of Boston, and other eminent persons of that city, had repaired to Montreal to invite the Queen's representative, the ministers and the leading members of the Canadian Parliament, the municipal authorities, and the most prominent individuals of the latter city, to a friendly fête in commemoration of an event pregnant with great prospective commercial advantages to both those wealthy communities. The invitation was accepted; the Governor-General, surrounded by his ministers, and a large assemblage of persons of distinguished position and character in Canada, was received by the authorities and the whole people of Boston, not only with the most munificent hospitality, but with marked demonstrations of honour and respect to himself as Her Majesty's representative, and the constitutional head of the Canadian people. The Canadian ministers also, and the distinguished individuals with them, met with a reception that spoke a sense of their being fully appreciated as representing a people holding a place among the free governments of the world. In that light the celebration was looked upon even by the local papers in distant parts of the Union, where I chanced at the time to see them, and it was spoken of in a very gratifying manner.

In point of fact, as I have undertaken to express an opinion on the present constitutional state of the government of Canada, I cannot withhold my conviction that it possesses a far greater degree of real freedom than it could acquire by any imitation, such as the ultra-

## Library of Congress

Radical party are apparently aiming at, of any of the peculiarities of the constitution of the United States. The Executive in Canada, holding precisely the same relative position as the Crown with us, has far less direct power and patronage than the President of the United States. The ministerial responsibility, also, is far greater and more immediate than anything that can exist under the system of the United States Government. In Canada they are, as with us, members of Parliament, and ready and obliged to answer in their places any questions, and to meet any charges brought against them. The ministers of the United States are not permitted to enter the Legislature, nor can they be displaced by a hostile vote; during the whole term of their being ministers, they are entirely free to act in any way they choose, under the direction of the President (who may, if he pleases, act in the most important matters without them), and, if they satisfy him, it matters not to them what the rest of the nation may think of them or their measures. And it should be remembered also by that ultra-party, that the adoption of portions of the United States' system of government, without the whole, would form a constitution far less guarded by constitutional checks than that of the United States; for this simple reason, that the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States hold in their hands a supreme and arbitrary power of declaring what is and what is not consistent with the written constitution, and can, consequently, disallow and annul any attempt of any ultra-party to go beyond it. The British constitution, being an unwritten one, and the venerable result of the wisdom of successive ages, has no such arbitrary check; and while it rests on the good sense and moderation of an enlightened public opinion, will never need such. Let, however, numbers overbear weight of character and authority, and our constitution has no ulterior appeal, and must be swept away. Our needful and useful reforms have hitherto been kept within that dangerous boundary, and it is to be hoped ever will be. There was no constitutional point which I had an opportunity of discussing with able and intelligent men of all parties in the United States and in Canada, which was adverted to by them with greater interest than this; for it is there deeply felt, that, of all the nations of the civilized world, Great Britain alone has, through the shock of long-past as well as recent convulsions, preserved the principle of authority and the sentiments of respect and reverence, and has, therefore, the better

## Library of Congress

chance of preserving, as of old, wisdom in her councils, and the blessing of Providence on her course.

228

The general results of the complete introduction of Constitutional Government in Canada 229 may, I think, be stated as follows:—First. That although many most estimable persons continue to think the experiment had better not have been tried, all now acquiesce in it, and are prepared to make the best of it; while the great majority of the community look with satisfaction and hopefulness on the change that has taken place from the old mode of administering the 230 affairs of the colony, and at the same time feel a not unjustifiable pride in the reflection that they now possess a system of government, in all the most important respects precisely analogous to that of the British Constitution. Secondly. That the Conservative party are recovering the good feeling that a large portion of them so entirely lost at the period of the unfortunate occurrences at Montreal in April, 1849,\* of which a signal proof was very recently given in the presentation of an Address by the Mayor and Corporation of Montreal, and a large number of the inhabitants, to the Governor-General, on the occasion of his return from the gratifying and in all respects important reception at Boston. That address bespoke an entire oblivion and reconciliation in respect of the past. It was responded to in a spirit and in words that will long live in the hearts and memories of the people of Montreal.

\* Most fortunately, and by the wise forbearance of those in authority, no blood was shed; and consequently no rankling wound was left in the breasts of either party. Had the British arms been called in to support by force either of the exasperated parties at that critical moment, half a century would not have effaced the mischief.

231 Thirdly. Animositities of race appear to be fast disappearing—a great result in every point of view. French Canadians and English are learning to act together as a great united Canadian people, having the same object in view—the honour and prosperity of their magnificent country. Fourthly. The French Canadians are loyal and contented, and are partaking, as I have taken occasion to show, in as great a degree as can yet be expected,

## Library of Congress

in the onward movement of the active races around them. Fifthly. Authority, law, and order, have been strengthened by the public example of the harmonious working together of the two great powers of the State, the Legislative and the Executive. Sixthly. Attention is less distracted than formerly, from the great questions of public improvement,—railways, canals, roads, education, agriculture,—on all of which the public mind in Canada is now bent with great energy,—little less, apparently, and judging from the public prints, than exists among ourselves.

All this tends to show that government and society in Canada are upon a solid basis No 232 other fact could have so much weight as this in encouraging persons, who may think of emigrating, to ally themselves and their fortunes with the destinies of that country, or in bringing commercial capital to its shores. As for the “annexation” movement of a few years ago, the mention of it now only excites a smile; and if universal rumour is to be trusted, those who, in a moment of temporary irritation, were most forward in it, are the last to wish to hear any allusion to the subject. A newspaper which was set on foot to advocate those ideas, died away in a few months. The discussion provoked by it had the good effect of making only more clear to the understandings and feelings of the whole Canadian people the fact, that they were and would be of far greater importance, as a people, while connected with Great Britain, than they ever could be as one of the States of the Union; that they had already within themselves all the guarantees of law, order, and good government, and all the elements of material prosperity, with the important addition of the aid of British credit and British capital; and that they had good 233 reason to be proud of being part and parcel of this empire, and of a country which enjoys, beyond all other countries, the blessings arising from a temperate and rational freedom.\*

One of the greatest aids that could be now

\* Canada has, in point of fact, more freedom of action than is possessed by the individual States of the Union, and consequently more than she would have if she were one of them. An illustration of this is now before the public in those countries. All the States bordering

## Library of Congress

on the great lakes are anxious for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, which Canada is ready to grant. The general Government of the United States has opposed obstacles to this, arising out of the imagined interests of some of the other States. To any such measure which Canada might think advantageous to her interest, the Imperial Government would not think of interposing the slightest obstacle.

Also, under any right estimate of happiness, Canada has the advantage, in a comparative immunity from the perpetual strife and intrigue of elections, and from the ostracism of wealth, talent, high principle, and wisdom to which Universal Suffrage is always more or less inclined.

Since the above was written, the General Election has taken place, and I cannot help thinking that many circumstances relating to it, which I see mentioned in the public papers, may be fairly taken as confirmatory of the soundness of the policy pursued in that country during the last few years. It is said that never was an election in Canada so free from violence; that "annexation" has been almost unheard of; and that the attacks were few upon the Union of the Provinces, the change in the seat of Government, and the Governor-General. It is much to be hoped that this may be regarded as the inauguration of a long period of moderation, peace, and mutual efforts for the common welfare.

234 given to the prosperity and dignity of these fine provinces would be an elevated and purified daily press. With a very few exceptions (and those not always and altogether such, according to my own limited observation), the press of Canada does injustice to the political, moral, social, and intellectual character of the people, and is not of a tone to qualify it to speak for a cultivated and intelligent society.\* It rarely, as far as I could observe, attempts any calm and philosophical discussion of the topics of the highest moment to the future destiny of the colony, moral and social; but is rather occupied in stimulating, instead of striving to allay, the exasperations of party struggles, which are always apt to be most bitter among men only beginning

## Library of Congress

\* The state of the press in Canada makes it necessary for me, to prevent any possible misrepresentation and imputations of motives, to say that I have not, nor ever had, nor ever expect to have, the slightest personal interest in Canada, or in anything that concerns it. The interest I have taken in it is of a purely public nature, and such as any Englishman may be allowed to take in a question of great public importance,—the material and moral progress of our colonies; and what I have thus essayed to write upon it has arisen, as I have before said, from the mere accident of my turning my steps in that direction, instead of another, during an autumn tour, without a previous acquaintance with half a dozen individuals in Canada.

235 to learn to act together on the great arena of public life, under a system of political freedom. An improvement in the tone of the press would, by degrees, educate the public taste above that which now only tends to lower it, and with it, to a certain extent, the estimation in which the colony must be held elsewhere.

It must be admitted that such writing as appears in some of the papers that are the present organs of party, would not be found in them unless it was in harmony with the tastes of a considerable number of subscribers; and the admission must lead to the inference that education has a great work before it in that colony.

*Education in Upper Canada.* —The manner in which the great question of elementary education has been dealt with in Upper Canada is eminently deserving of earnest and impartial consideration: not only from the effect it is likely to produce in Canada itself, but on account of its more general interest. In order to explain the provisions of the Act under which the system now in force has been established, I cannot do better than quote largely from an 236 “Introductory Sketch of the System of Public Elementary Instruction in Upper Canada,” by the Chief Superintendent of Schools (the Rev. Dr. Ryerson), on the occasion of the ceremony of laying the first stone of the “Normal and Model Schools and Education Offices for Upper Canada” at Toronto, on the 2nd of July of this year (1851).

## Library of Congress

For thirty years previously to 1841, annual Parliamentary grants were made in aid of common schools, but expended without system and to very little effect. In that year the first school-law was passed. In 1845 Dr. Ryerson made an extensive personal inquiry into the common-school systems of America and Europe, the result of which was embodied in a Report, and afterwards in two laws of 1846 and 1847, subsequently enlarged and improved by the present law of 1850.

Dr. Ryerson states (p. 5) that the system embodied in this law is derived from what appeared to him most excellent in all those which he examined. 1. He derived the machinery of the law from that in force in the State of New York, 237 which was, however, “defective in the intricacy of some of its details, in the absence of an efficient provision for visitation and inspection of schools, religious instruction, and uniform textbooks for the schools.” 2. He considered the principle of supporting schools in the State of Massachusetts the best, but requiring modification, in order to substitute the free action of each locality for the compulsory requirements of the State. 3. He preferred the books of the National Board of Education in Ireland. 4. He considered the system of training teachers, and the principles and modes of teaching prevalent in Germany, superior to all others. “Another feature, or rather cardinal principle,” which is embodied in the law, is that of “not only making Christianity the basis of the system and the pervading element of all its parts, but of recognizing and combining, in their official character, all the clergy of the land, with their people, in its practical operation” (p. 7); maintaining at the same time “absolute parental supremacy in the religious instruction of their children, and upon this principle providing for it according to circumstances.”

238

The general organization is thus described (pp. 7–12):—

“The system of public instruction is engrafted upon the municipal institutions of the country. We have municipal councils of counties, of townships, of cities, of towns, and of incorporated villages. The members of county councils are elected by the councils

## Library of Congress

of townships and towns—one or two for each. The members of township, city, town, and village councils are elected by the resident free-holders and householders of each municipality.

“The municipal council of each township divides such township into school sections of a suitable extent for one school in each, or for both a male and female school. The affairs of each school section are managed by three trustees, who hold their offices for three years, and one of whom is elected annually by the freeholders and householders of such section. The powers of trustees are ample to enable them to do all that the interests of a good school require—they are the legal representatives and guardians of their section in school matters. They determine whatever sum or sums are necessary for the furnishing, &c., of their school and the salaries of teachers, but account for its expenditure annually to their constituents, and report fully to the local superintendent, by filling up blank forms of annual reports which are furnished to them by the Chief Superintendent of Schools. from year to year. The town-ship council imposes assessments for the erection of school-houses, or for any other school purpose desired by the inhabitants of school sections through their trustees. The inhabitants of each school section decide as to the manner 239 in which they will support their school according to the estimates and engagements made by the trustees, whether by voluntary subscription, by rate-bills on parents sending children to the schools, or by rates on the property of all according to its assessed value, and opening the school to the children of all without exception. The latter mode is likely to supersede both the others; but its existence and operation, in connexion with each school, depend upon the annual decision of the inhabitants of each school section, at a public meeting called for that purpose.

“The duties of teachers are prescribed by law, and their rights are effectually protected. No teacher is entitled to any part of the school fund who does not conduct his school according to law, and who has not a legal certificate of qualifications from a county Board of Public Instruction; nor is any school section entitled to receive any aid from the school fund in which a school is not kept open six months during each year by a teacher thus

## Library of Congress

recognized as to both moral character and attainments. The law also requires a public quarterly examination to be held in each school.

“The inspection of the schools is made by local superintendents, who are appointed by the county councils, and who may be appointed one for each county, or one for one or more townships, at the pleasure of each county council. Each local superintendent is entitled to at least one pound (four dollars) per annum for each school under his charge. He is often allowed more. He is required to visit each school at least once a quarter, and to deliver a public lecture on education in each school section once a year, besides apportioning the school moneys to the several school 240 sections within his jurisdiction, giving checks, on the orders of trustees, to qualified teachers upon the county treasurer or sub-treasurer, aiding in the examination of teachers, deciding various questions of dispute and reference, corresponding on school matters, and reporting annually to the Chief Superintendent, according to the forms prepared and furnished by him.

“Besides the local superintendents, all clergymen recognized by law, judges, members of the legislature, magistrates, members of county councils, and aldermen, are school visitors, to visit all the schools, as far as practicable, within their respective charges and municipalities. Their visits are voluntary; they are desired ‘especially to attend the quarterly examination of schools, and at the time of such visits to examine the progress of the pupils, and the state and management of the schools, and to give such advice to teachers and pupils, and any others present, as they may think advisable, in accordance with the regulations and instructions which shall be provided in regard to school visitors according to law.’ The law also authorises the holding of general meetings of school visitors in any municipality, on the appointment of any two visitors, ‘to devise such means as they may deem expedient for the efficient visitation of the schools, and to promote the establishment of libraries and the diffusion of useful knowledge.’ The school visits of the clergy in Upper Canada amounted last year to 2566; the number of visits by the other school visitors was

## Library of Congress

9970; and 5852 visits were made by local superintendents, being an increase of 2879 over those of the preceding year.

“There is a Board of Public Instruction in each county, 241 consisting of local superintendents and the trustees of grammar-schools in such county. These county Boards consist largely of the clergy of different religious persuasions, associated with some of the most intelligent lay gentlemen in each county; so that the country has the best guarantee that its circumstances will admit for the moral character and intellectual qualifications of teachers. The teachers are examined, and arranged into three classes, according to a Programme of Examination prepared and prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada.

“The municipal council of each county is responsible for raising at least an equal sum for salaries of teachers in the several townships within its jurisdiction with that which is annually apportioned to them out of the parliamentary appropriation by the Chief Superintendent of Schools. The county councils also appoint the local treasurers of the school fund, and the local superintendents of schools, and provide for their salaries. Special provision is also made for the security of the school fund against the diversion of any part of it, and for the prompt payment of it to teachers at the times specified by law. Both the county and township councils have authority to raise any sums they shall think proper for public school libraries under general regulations prescribed according to law. A parliamentary appropriation has been made for the establishment of school libraries, to be expended on the same conditions with the appropriation for the support of schools.

“The law also provides a system adapted to the circumstances of cities, towns, and incorporated villages. In M 242 each city and town there is one board of trustees for the management of all the schools in such city or town—two trustees elected for each ward, and holding office for two years—one retiring annually. In each incorporated village not divided into wards there is a board of six trustees elected, two retiring from office and two elected each year. These boards of trustees, thus constituted, appoint the local

## Library of Congress

superintendent, and determine upon the number and kinds of schools, the employment of teachers, and all the expenses necessary for the schools in each such city, town, or incorporated village; and the municipal council is required in each case to raise the sum or sums estimated by the board of trustees for all their school purposes, and in the manner that they shall desire. There is also the same provision for the establishment of libraries in each city, town, and village, as exists in respect to their establishment in each township and county.

“At the head of the whole system we have a Council of Public Instruction and a Chief Superintendent of Schools, both appointed by the Crown. The Council has the entire management of the Provincial Normal and Model Schools, recommends the text-books for the schools and books for the school libraries, and makes the regulations for the organization, government, and discipline of common schools, the examination and classification of teachers, and the establishment and care of school libraries throughout Upper Canada.

“The Chief Superintendent, who is *ex-officio* member of the Council of Public Instruction, and provides accommodations for its meetings, apportions the school fund to the several municipalities throughout Upper Canada, prepares 243 the general school regulations, and submits them, as well as that of text and library books, to the consideration of the Council; prepares the forms of reports and modes of all school proceedings under the Act, and gives instructions for conducting them, as well as for holding teachers' institutes; decides questions of dispute submitted to him; takes the general superintendence of the Normal School; provides facilities for procuring text and library books, and provides and recommends plans of school-houses; prepares annual reports; corresponds with local school authorities throughout Upper Canada, and employs all means in his power for the promotion of education and the diffusion of useful knowledge. He is responsible for his official conduct, and for all moneys that pass through his department.

## Library of Congress

“Such is an epitome of the system of public elementary instruction in Upper Canada. The foundation may be considered as fairly laid, and something has been done towards rearing the superstructure. In 1846 provision was made for the establishment of a Normal School, and the sum of 1500 *l.* a-year was granted towards its support. The school was opened in the autumn of 1847, and since then 618 teachers have been trained, a longer or shorter time, by able masters, including practice in teaching in a Model School established for that purpose. Last year a grant of 1000 *l.* per annum was made to facilitate the attendance of teachers in training at the Normal School, and 15,000 *l.* for the erection of buildings. The number of schools in Upper Canada, under the care of the department, is 3059; the amount of money available during the year for the salaries of teachers, besides all M 2 244 other expenses connected with the schools, was 88,536 *l.* ; the number of pupils in the schools reported was 151,891.

“There has been an annual increase in the statistical returns of each branch of the common school system during the last five years. The system is to a great extent voluntary. Each municipality exercises its discretion as to whether it will or will not accept the parliamentary appropriation upon the conditions specified, and each school section does the same in regard to the terms on which aid is offered in support of its school. The general regulations and oversight are such as merely to secure a fulfilment in each locality of conditions which are required by the Legislature—the collective wisdom and voice of the country—and to maintain a standard of teaching that will prevent funds provided for the promotion of knowledge from being prostituted upon ignorance and vice. The working of the common school system is a great social development; yet in its infancy but, instinct with life and energy, and fraught with results which can be more easily conceived than described.”

A system of general elementary instruction combining all these advantages—free scope to local action, efficient superintendence, provision for the supply of good teachers and well-selected books—must by degrees exercise great influence on the intellectual development

## Library of Congress

of the mass of the people. The Normal school is also to afford instruction in the best principles of husbandry, 245 illustrated by practice on the land of the establishment. The amount of success now attending the whole scheme is very encouraging; the chief superintendent in his last published Report (Toronto, 1850), mentions, in illustration of this, the following among other facts—that, as compared with the neighbouring State of New York, the average attendance of the children in proportion to the whole number on the register is greater; that the schools under qualified teachers are kept open longer; that the proportion of teachers in the Normal school was much greater; that the schools in the rural districts are superior to those of New York, although the school law of the latter has been in existence thirty years; that the school books are better; and the amounts raised by school-rate bills and by local assessments are as large in proportion as in that State. And as regards the proportion of children attending school to those of school age in the province, it appears that, for the year 1849, of 253,364 children between the ages of five and sixteen, there were on the school rolls 138,465—a number her still much too few, but indicating, as compared 246 with previous years, a progressive improvement.

The point in this general system, of greatest interest in England, is that of the arrangements for religious instruction. The material distinction between this system and that of the United States is in the provision for doctrinal teaching. It will be seen by the following extract from the “General Regulations for the Organization, Government, and Discipline of the Common Schools in Upper Canada,” that this is left open to an arrangement between the parents and the teacher.

“In regard to the nature and extent of the daily religious exercises of the School, and the special religious instruction given to pupils, the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada makes the following regulations and recommendations:—

“1. The public religious exercises of each school shall be a matter of mutual voluntary arrangement between the trustees and teacher, and it shall be a matter of mutual voluntary arrangement between the teacher and the parent or guardian of each pupil,

## Library of Congress

as to whether he shall hear such pupil recite from the Scriptures, or Catechism, or other summary of religious doctrine and duty of the persuasion of such parent or guardian. Such recitations, however, are not to interfere with the regular exercises of the school.

247

“2. But the principles of religion and morality should be inculcated upon all the pupils of the school. What the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland state as existing in schools under their charge, should characterize the instruction given in each school in Upper Canada. The Commissioners state that ‘in the National Schools the importance of religion is constantly impressed upon the minds of children, through the works calculated to promote good principles and to fill the heart with love for religion, but which are so compiled as not to clash with the doctrines of any particular class of Christians.’ In each school the teacher should exert his best endeavours, both by example and precept, to impress upon the minds of all children and youth committed to his care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of society and on which a free constitution of government is founded; and it is the duty of each teacher to endeavour to lead his pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above mentioned virtues, in order to preserve and perfect the blessings of law and liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices.

“By order of the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada.

“ J. George Hodgins , “Recording Clerk, C.P.I.

“Education Office, Toronto, Adopted the 5th day of August, 1850.”

248

## Library of Congress

In order to illustrate the working of the arrangement, it is necessary to refer to the Statistical Table of the "Religious Faith" of the teachers. (Report of 1850, p. 26.) From this it appears that in the year 1849 there were belonging to the Church of England 737 teachers, to the Church of Rome 335, to the Presbyterians 751, to the Methodists 727, to the Baptists 206, to the Congregationalists 52, to the Lutherans 6, to the Quakers 26, to the Universalists 1, to the Unitarians 1, to other persuasions not designated 366 (= 3209).

The school trustees are recommended to appoint to the schools in their district, as far as practicable, teachers whose religious opinions are in unison with those of the majority of the inhabitants. It will therefore commonly happen that the parent can send his child to a school in which the "Catechism or other summary of religious doctrine and duty" of his own persuasion is employed by the teacher.

Should this not be the case, the minority in any particular locality have, to a certain limited extent, a remedy. By the 19th section of 249 the Act it is provided that, "on the application in writing of twelve or more resident families," the school trustees are authorized to establish a separate school in case the teacher of the existing school, being a Protestant or a Roman Catholic, is of a different religious denomination from the applicants.\* The number M 3

\* Sect. XIX. And be it enacted, That it shall be the duty of the Municipal Council of any township, and of the Board of School Trustees of any city, town, or incorporated village, on the application in writing of twelve or more resident heads of families, to authorize the establishment of one or more separate schools for Protestants, Roman Catholics, or coloured people, and, in such case, it shall prescribe the limits of the divisions or sections for such schools, and shall make the same provision for the holding of the first meeting for the election of trustees of each such separate school or schools, as is provided in the fourth section of this Act for holding the first school-meeting in a new school section: Provided always, that each such separate school shall go into operation at the same time with alterations in school sections, and shall be under the same regulations in respect to

## Library of Congress

the persons for whom such school is permitted to be established, as are common schools generally: Provided secondly, that none but coloured people shall be allowed to vote for the election of trustees of the separate school for their children, and none but the parties petitioning for the establishment of, or sending children to a separate Protestant or Roman Catholic school, shall vote at the election of trustees of such school: Provided thirdly, that each such separate Protestant, or Roman Catholic, or coloured school shall be entitled to share in the school fund according to the average attendance of pupils attending each such separate school (the mean attendance of pupils for both summer and winter being taken), as compared with the whole average attendance of pupils attending the common schools in such city, town, village, or township: Provided fourthly, that no Protestant separate school shall be allowed in any school division except when the teacher of the common school is a Roman Catholic, nor shall any Roman Catholic separate school be allowed except when the teacher of the common school is a Protestant. Provided fifthly, that the trustees of the common school sections within the limits of which such separate school section or sections shall have been formed, shall not include the children attending such separate school or schools, in their return of children of school age residing in their school sections.

250 of "Separate Denominational Schools" is stated, at p. 27 of the Report above quoted, at 59, showing an increase of 27 above the previous year, notwithstanding the discouragement given to their being set on foot, by the Act itself. "It is to be observed," says Dr. Ryerson, in his 'Circular addressed to the various Officers concerned in the administration of the School Law' (p. 76), "that a separate school is entitled to no aid beyond a certain portion of the school fund for the salary of the teacher. The school-house must be provided, furnished, warmed, books procured, &c., by the persons petitioning for the separate school. Nor are the patrons or supporters of a separate school exempted from any of the 251 local assessments or rates for common school purposes.

As contrasted with the school laws of the United States, that of Upper Canada is distinguished by two great leading peculiarities. 1st. It admits the principle of daily doctrinal

## Library of Congress

teaching. 2ndly. It affords aid towards the establishment of Denominational Schools. A certain ground of anticipation therefore exists that in the schools of Upper Canada a considerable amount of doctrinal instruction will be given, and that consequently the distinctive principles of the faith and persuasion to which each family may be attached, will be early implanted in the day-school, by teachers of their choice, trained in the art of teaching, and therefore affording some guarantee that they will be competent to teach it. The risk is consequently diminished of a generation growing up, as is apprehended by some and asserted by others in the United States, firmly attached to no religious faith, and therefore already embarked on the downward course to infidelity, and from thence to every phase of moral corruption.

252

To a certain extent, the enactment (sect. 32) by which "all clergymen recognized by law, of whatever denomination," and many of the most distinguished of the laity, are constituted visitors of schools (the former, both where they reside and where they have pastoral charge), has been acted upon by the clergy. The Report of 1849 states, that 2848 visits had been made "by clergymen" in that year; without, however, distinguishing their denominations. The total number of schools in operation was 2871; there had been therefore little more than one visit per school. The increase in the number of visits was, however, 594 above the previous year. The Chief Superintendent informed me that the clergy of the Church of England in general co-operated with the system, and that in many instances they took an active part in superintending the schools in their districts. The rector of Toronto is a member of the Council of Public Instruction. If the existing plan is the only one possible under the circumstances of the colony, it is satisfactory to know that the clergy are inclined to make the best 253 of it, and to improve such opportunities as it affords for definite religious instruction.

The public grammar-schools, established by an amended Act in 1819, afford a higher education for all who desire it, and are an appropriate supplement to the system of elementary schools. The Act contemplates these schools being set on foot in every district

## Library of Congress

of the province, with a salary to the teacher of 100 *l.* per annum. By sect. 6 ten children may be sent to them by the trustees, to be taught gratis, to be selected from the most promising scholars of the common schools.

Above these district schools is the Upper Canada College; and above that, in order, the University of Toronto. The fine building for the latter is in course of being erected. And by a provision in the admirable municipal law of the province, of 1849, power is given to the county councils to defray the expense of sending to the College or to the University as many of the pupils of the different public grammar-schools “as shall be deserving, and in the opinion of the respective masters shall be of competent attainments for entering into 254 competition for any of the scholarships, exhibitions, or other similar prizes offered by such University or College for competition among such pupils,” their parents being unable to incur the expense.

Such is the legislative provision for public education in Upper Canada; and, as far as the means of secular education are concerned, it affords every facility for extending a full measure of it throughout the whole country. To its religious basis—with reference chiefly, I was informed, to the higher institutions—a large number of the members of the Church of England have taken strong exception; and have consequently, with the powerful aid of friends in England, commenced a college near Toronto for the higher branches of study, and as a place of education for young men preparing to enter the Church. The building has already made some progress, is in a very appropriate collegiate style, is well situated, and has several acres of ground attached to it, very capable of representing the “*silvas Academi*,” and adding to the charm of a residence there. And, indeed, long since, and without any such appliances, 255 the education of the Church of England has given to the colony men who are among its most distinguished citizens, and who would have been an ornament to any country. But whether in rivalry (not bitter, it is to be hoped) or in harmonious union, the two agencies together—those of the State and those of the religious bodies that fear the consequences of lax religious teaching—are embarked in a career of energetic action for diffusing the rays of both secular and religious

## Library of Congress

knowledge throughout the whole community, that may be expected to raise the standard of intelligence and of high moral and religious principle to a point satisfactory to the warmest friends of the colony.\*

\* There is a question still pending between the Church and the other religious societies, relative to the disposal of the clergy reserves, which will require much Christian forbearance on both sides. Although a very delicate one for a stranger to meddle with, I would just wish to say to every strong advocate for their secularization, that it is greatly to be desired, before he made up his mind definitely on that subject, that he would come to England, and calmly inquire into the effect produced on the national character; on the strength, permanence, and diffusion of religious belief and religious principle; on the harmonious and friendly, intercourse between rich and poor; on the national taste, manners, and cultivation; on the self-respect, natural dignity, and good breeding of our lower classes (except where they have been subject to most unfavourable circumstances); in a word, on every good element of our social state, by that provision of our fore-fathers, by which it has been secured that there shall be at least one educated gentleman in every parish, and that one the pastor of the flock. Like many of the other "happy accidents," (or rather benevolent dispensations of an overruling Providence,) to which we are indebted for the place we at present fill in the world, the effects of the institution of tithes, under the modern impulse of a higher sense of responsibility, could never have been foreseen. The crude and short-sighted theories of a jealous and mistaken liberalism may intercept such advantages from any given locality or country. In such cases, the generations that are to come will look back on the present with a very different eye from that which we, in this country, turn reverently towards those that have gone before us.

A large majority, in the last Provincial Parliament were in favour of reconsidering the existing settlement of this question. It is anticipated that the disposition of the present Canadian Legislature will not differ from that of the last. The Government of Lord John Russell adopted the opinion that the Act of the Parliament of this country, relating to it, should be repealed. If the Imperial Parliament should follow this course, and therefore

## Library of Congress

refer the matter to the good sense of the Canadian Legislature, the last question of any importance would be removed, on which a Constitutional issue could be raised as to the right of the Colony to manage its own affairs.

256

When this result takes place, the shallow opinions and dogmatical style of writing to which reference has been made above, and which now find so much favour, will yield to sounder views and a better tone in expressing them. It is impossible for any one who at present, in passing through Canada, puts himself at all in the way of hearing the floating opinions among 257 persons he may casually converse with—in the log-hut, in the recent “clearing,” in the frame-house which indicates the growing prosperity of its owner, in the road-side inn with the yet untouched forest close by, enveloping the small openings of cultivation—without being struck with the many superficial views propounded on public questions, very much after the manner of the democratic papers in the United States. Again, among other classes in the colony, there is visible a dislocation of opinion, and a consequent tendency to a subdivision and breaking up of parties, religious and political, which may, and very probably does, arise from the prevalence of a superficial education, taking up its ideas and principles at hazard, and holding nothing firmly. The more manifest therefore is the need of all the supports, that the institutions for education of all kinds in the colony can give to the cause of true enlightenment, practical good sense, and right feeling.\*

\* Amongst the means resorted to by some of the democratic papers in the United States to encourage a feeling of sympathy with their opinions among the small but active ultra-Radical party in Canada, is that of a “Canadian Correspondence,” consisting of letters representing the Canadian people as living under a contemptible form of government; as oppressed by the mother country; as treated like children having no will or power of their own; as being of no weight or estimation in the world; as poor, and without enterprise, in comparison with the people of the United States; as having little influence in directing their own affairs, and as in reality anxious to emancipate themselves from

## Library of Congress

all ties with England, and to become one of the “great and independent States of the Union.” Though the “annexation cry” is believed to be extinguished in the minds of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of Canada, these continued suggestions that they would be better off under a pure Democracy, cannot but make some impression on the less-informed minds, and produce a feeling of doubt and distrust as to the real merits of our own social and political arrangements, and the substantial blessings they confer upon a people capable of receiving them. To some of those worthy and warm-hearted persons from the “Old Country,” whom I found pondering over those papers and those ideas, in the solitude of the “backwoods,” or in the thriving village, I would wish to say, in the words of a philosophic poet—

“Love thou thy land, with love far-brought  
From out the storied Past, and used  
Within the Present, but transfused  
Through future time by power of thought.

“A land of settled government, A land of just and old renown,  
Where Freedom broadens slowly down  
From precedent to precedent.” Tennyson.

If they would take those words into their minds and hearts they would distrust

“the braggart shout For some blind glimpse of freedom,”

and learn to beware of

“The falsehood of extremes.”

258

*Elementary Education in Lower Canada.* —

The subject of elementary education in the 259 Lower Province has for many years past engaged the attention of the most enlightened persons in it. In 1842 Dr. Meilleur, the present Superintendent of Education, presented a Report to the Governor-General (Sir Charles Bagot), proposing several amendments in the existing law. Many of them were

## Library of Congress

adopted in the Act of 1846, which was, however, further improved by the Act of 1849, the one now in force.

If education has not yet spread more widely among the French population, it is “not for want of public advocates; for various patriotic individuals, besides the clergy of all denominations, appear to have from time to time devoted themselves to the duty of zealous pioneers in the noble work; and among these Dr. Meilleur, as already alluded to.”\* Again the same publication speaks of “the continued untiring exertions of the clergy of all denominations, but more particularly those of the Catholic Church, and of the benevolent religious ladies

\* Extract from ‘Remarks on the State of Education in the Province of Canada,’ Montreal, 1848.

260 of the various charitable Orders, in behalf of the extension of general education in all its branches” (p. 54); such as, elementary schools, philanthropic asylums, and “the higher seminaries and colleges.”

Nevertheless that it is now making a more satisfactory progress is shown by the Report of Dr. Meilleur for 1850 (Toronto, 1851), in p. 5 of which he states that, in the year ending July 1850, “the number of schools had increased by 166, and that of the children attending them by 5221” above the previous year. In the same period also “there had been established more than sixty new school municipalities;” and “the advancement of the scholars in learning” is affirmed to be as satisfactory as the increase in the means of obtaining it. There are also “64 model schools in operation, and 44 superior girls' schools.” There are no statistics for Lower Canada showing the proportion which the children attending school bears to the whole number of school age. It is acknowledged, however, to be still very low, as compared with 261 other countries, and with the Upper Province. Dr. Meilleur urges further improvements in the law in the following particulars:—

## Library of Congress

1. A literary qualification for School Commissioners. 2. The establishment of a Normal School. 3. Deputy Superintendents. 4. Public Libraries. 5. A Journal of Education.

The provisions for “Dissentient” or Denominational Schools are peculiar and deserve attentive consideration.

The School Acts of Lower Canada (of 1846 and 1849) throw no obstacles in the way of Denominational, there called Dissentient Schools. They do not, like the Act of Upper Canada, limit the aid to the cases only where the differences are between Protestant and Roman Catholic, but they enable every denomination, if it pleases, to have its own school, and to receive its proportion of aid both towards the building and the support of the school. By sect. 26 of the Act of 1846 (9 Vict. c. 27), it is provided that, when “any number whatever of the inhabitants professing a religious faith different from that of the 262 majority” wish for a separate school, they may have one, and if it is attended by fifteen children they will be entitled to an allowance out of both the general and local school fund; and the trustees of that school are empowered (by sect. 18 of the Act of 1849, 12 Vict. c. 50) to collect both the Assessment and the School fees from the “inhabitants so dissentient,” and at whose instance the school was established.

The clauses of those Acts given below will, I feel assured, be read with interest by all persons who are desirous of informing themselves on this difficult question; and no one, I apprehend, after the above statement, will be disposed to say that the French Canadians are not making vigorous exertions to remedy the results of past reluctance and backwardness in the matter of elementary education.\*

\* Act of the Provincial Parliament of Canada, 9 Vict., c. 27, s. 21. Among the duties of the School Commissioners of each municipality are the following:—“ *Tenthly*.—To cause to be levied by assessment and rate, in the manner hereinafter provided by this Act, in each municipality, a sum equal to that allowed out of the Common School-fund for each municipality, and to report their proceedings in this respect to the superintendent; and

## Library of Congress

to enable the School Commissioners to receive from the Superintendent of Education their share of the Common School-fund, they shall furnish him with a declaration from the secretary-treasurer that he has actually and *bonâ fide* received, or that he has placed in the hands of the School Commissioners for the purposes of this Act, a sum equal to the said share accruing to such Commissioners.

“ *Twelfthly*.—They shall fix the fees per month to be paid during the eight school months for each child of age to attend school, by each father or mother of a family, tutor, or curator, to the secretary-treasurer above and over the rate levied, and for the use of the school district ( *arrondissement*) paying the same; such fees not to exceed in any case two shillings per month, nor less than three pence per month, at the discretion of the Commissioners, according to the means of the parents,” &c.

With respect to “Dissentient Schools,” it is provided by “Section XXVI., that when in any municipality the regulations and arrangements made by the School Commissioners for the conduct of any school shall not be agreeable to any number whatever of the inhabitants professing a religious faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants of such municipality, the inhabitants so dissentient may collectively signify such dissent in writing to the chairman of the said Commissioners, and give in the names of three trustees, chosen by them for the purposes of this Act; and such trustees shall have the same powers and be subject to the same duties as School Commissioners, but for the management of those schools only which shall be under their control; and such dissentient inhabitants may, by the intervention of such trustees, establish in the manner provided with regard to other schools, one or more schools, which shall be subject to the same provisions, duties, and supervision, and they shall be entitled to receive from the superintendent or from the School Commissioners such sum out of the general or local school fund as shall be proportionate to the dissentient population they represent: Provided always, that whenever the majority of the children attending any school now in operation, and the school-house, shall belong to or be occupied by such dissentients, the said school-house shall continue to be occupied by them so long as the number of children

## Library of Congress

taught in such, school shall amount to the number required by this Act to form a school district, and the entire amount of monies raised by assessment on such dissentients shall be paid to the trustees of such school, together with a due proportion of the building-fund.

“XXVII.—And be it enacted, that to entitle any school to its allowance out of the general or local school-fund it shall be requisite and sufficient that such school has been under the management of School Commissioners or Trustees appointed in the manner provided by the next preceding section; that it has been in actual operation during at least eight calendar months; that it has been attended by at least *fifteen* children (periods of epidemic or contagious diseases excepted); that the returns have been certified to the School Commissioners or Trustees by the master, mistress, or teacher, and at least two of the Commissioners or Trustees; that a public examination of the schools has taken place; that a report signed by the majority of the School Commissioners or Trustees and by the master has been transmitted to the Superintendent of Schools, according to the form prescribed by him for that purpose, every six months, that is to say, before the first day of July, and the first day of January, in each year; and, finally, that a sum equal to the allowance made by the legislature for the municipality has been raised as herein before provided.

“XXIX.—And be it enacted, that the trustees of dissentient minorities, shall also be elected for three years, except that at the end of each of the two first years one of the trustees shall retire and be replaced or re-elected by such dissentients; children from other school districts, of the same faith as the dissentients for whom the school was established, may attend the same whenever such dissentients shall not be sufficiently numerous in any district to support a school alone: Provided that the individuals of the dissentient minority shall not be elected nor serve as School Commissioners, nor vote at the election of the School Commissioners; and that in like manner the individuals of the majority shall not be elected nor serve as school trustees, nor vote at their election.”

Provisions as to the cities of Quebec and Montreal:—

## Library of Congress

“XLIII.—And be it enacted, that in the said cities no rate shall be levied for the schools, but the treasurer of each city shall pay out of the funds thereof to the said Boards of Commissioners, and in *proportion to the population of the religious persuasion represented by them*, a sum equal to that coming to such city out of the Common School-fund, to be employed by them for the purposes of this Act; and if such payment be refused, the School Commissioners or their Secretary may apply by petition to the Court of Queen's Bench sitting in Superior Term, who, upon proof of the service of such petition upon the treasurer, shall take cognizance of the matter, and shall determine the same in a summary manner, and may, if right shall require it, compel payment by all legal means and process”

The Act 12 Vict., c. 50, makes the following additional provision for “Dissentient Schools:”—

“XVIII.—And be it enacted, that anything in the twenty-sixth section of the above-cited Act, or in any other part of the said Act contained to the contrary notwithstanding, whenever the trustees of Dissentient Schools shall have been chosen and shall have established one or more Dissentient Schools in any school municipality, and the said trustees shall not be satisfied with the arrangements antecedently made by the School Commissioners of the said municipality relative to the recovery and the distribution of the assessment, they may by a written declaration to that effect, addressed to the president of the School Commissioners, at least one month before the first day of January or July, in any year, acquire the right of receiving themselves for the following and all future years during which they shall continue to be such trustees of dissentient schools, according to law, *the assessment* levied on the inhabitants so dissentient, who shall have signified their dissent in writing, conformably to the said above-cited Act, or who shall hereafter signify the same at the times and in the manner hereinbefore provided, and the said trustees shall in such case be entitled to obtain a copy of the assessment in force, of the list of children capable of attending school, and of other documents in the hands of the School Commissioners or of the secretary-treasurer, and connected with the future government

## Library of Congress

of the Dissentient Schools; the said trustees may and *shall also receive the amount of the monthly fees* payable in respect of the children of such dissentient parent or masters, and may institute all suits or prosecutions, and do all other things necessary for the recovery of the said assessments and monthly fees; and they, the said trustees, shall be a corporation for the purposes of their own Dissentient Schools and school district, and shall be entitled to receive from the superintendent shares of the General School-fund bearing the same proportion to the whole sums allotted from time to time to such municipality as the number of children attending such Dissentient Schools bears to the entire number of children attending school in such municipality at the same time, and a similar share of the building fund; and the said trustees shall have the right to constitute their own school districts independently of the school districts established by the Commissioners aforesaid, and shall have the same rights and shall be subject to the same duties and penalties as the said School Commissioners, in respect of the collection and application of the monies by them received, of the rendering and examination of their accounts, and of all other matters whatever in reference thereto, and may be removed and others appointed by the Governor in council, or by the Superintendent of Schools in all those cases in which School Commissioners are liable to be dealt with: Provided always, that if after such declaration of separate management, there should be no subsisting assessment, or if the assessment should not appear to them a proper one, the said trustees may, in the months of July and August in each year, proceed to make such assessment for the future conformably to the said Act upon the inhabitants so dissentient as aforesaid; and provided also, that the said trustees shall be, and they are hereby held to furnish to the superintendent a written statement, under the oath of at least two of them, of the number of children attending such Dissentient Schools at least one month previous to the said first days of January and July, to enable the said superintendent to make the proper apportionment of the said general and building funds.”

263

*Inducements for Persons of the Upper Class of Society in this Country to Settle in Canada.*

## Library of Congress

—The consideration of the subjects last touched 264 upon was suggested by the inquiry as to whether there were not increasing attractions 265 in Canada for the safe and satisfactory employment of British capital and labour; meaning N 266 by those terms commercial and farming capital and ordinary agricultural labour. But from 267 what I observed in the colony I was strongly impressed with the opinion, that there was also a fine field of occupation and ambition open to settlers of a different class—namely, to young men of education and moderate independence who are now crowding the professions in England, or to gentlemen of small fortunes and large families, and with no very definite prospects of providing for them.

The mistakes that have been made by several N 2 268 persons of the above description, in selecting their place of settlement too hastily, in investing nearly the whole of their capital in wild land with bad roads or none to it, and at a long distance from markets, and also in building largely, and employing at first too much labour, have had some effect in discouraging others of the same class. Many gentlemen, eminent as men of business in the colony, expressed to me their regrets at those failures, and stated that the safe course to take in such cases on arriving was to purchase stock in the different banks of the colony, which are considered perfectly safe investments, and which yield six per cent., and to wait patiently for a year or two. This would afford opportunities for studying the different localities, for making acquaintance with the society to be found in each, and for deciding on the district which promised to afford most prospective advantages in accordance with the particular views and objects of the individual. It would probably not be long before some property would be for sale in that district, which would offer a very 269 good investment either for a part or the whole of the capital at command.

Persons of the above class are now frequently leaving England as emigrants, for our colonies on the other side of the globe. Without in the least degree undervaluing the advantages possessed by those magnificent dependencies, there are several points in favour of Canada in addition to those that have been already described, which ought to be

## Library of Congress

well weighed by any one intending to emigrate, and which have not, as far as I am aware, been yet placed before the public as distinctly as they deserve.

The points which I have hitherto touched upon have been soil, climate, institutions (as similar to our own as circumstances admit), the strong and all but universal loyalty of the people and their attachment to this country, the splendid commercial and agricultural prospects now opening, the hopes of a higher tone of intelligence, and the provisions, such as they are, for the maintenance and diffusion of religious truth.

But, in supposing the case of young men, or others, accustomed more or less to country life 270 in England (and such are those most likely to be disposed to embark in the country life of the colonies), there are other considerations besides the above, which would operate very forcibly in determining their choice of a colony, namely, points having reference to habits and modes of life such as they have been familiar with at home.

In the first place, a new settler of the class supposed would find in the large towns and in the several comparatively thickly-inhabited country neighbourhoods above mentioned, a nucleus of cultivated and highly intelligent society, with whom it would give him the greatest satisfaction to associate. Secondly, these towns and neighbourhoods will, within a few years from the present, be brought into almost close juxtaposition by the grand system of railway communication, which has been determined upon and in part commenced; multiplying thus, as in the old country, his resources of society, occupation, and pecuniary profit; while that same great railway system will, by itself and by its results, shorten materially the already 271 little-regarded time and distance between him and England. Thirdly, in regard to all the details of county and parochial business, he may hold precisely the same position, and find precisely the same occupation that he would in England, and indeed more; for the admirable new municipal law Upper Canada, of 1849, (12 Vict., c. 81,) gives more extensive powers than are possessed by vestries, Poor Law Boards, or magistrates in this country. It is worth while to enumerate some of its provisions. It is an Act for "the erection of municipal corporations, and the establishment of regulations of

## Library of Congress

police, in and for the several counties, cities, towns, townships, and villages\* of Upper Canada." Boards of "councillors" are elected in each, and constituted a corporation for, among various other and more usual purposes, purchasing land and building school-houses, making drains and watercourses for general drainage, including that of land, making roads, granting powers to joint-stock

\* Villages of 1000 inhabitants may be incorporated under this Act.

272 companies to make them, "destroying and suppressing the growth of weeds detrimental to good husbandry," regulating fences, "endowing fellowships in the University of Toronto," &c., "making a provision for the expenses of pupils attending the University of Toronto, &c., whose parents are unable to incur such expenses," taking precautions against fire, exercising many of the powers of a Board of Health, abating nuisances, establishing public fountains, laying out public cemeteries, purchasing land for an industrial farm for the employment of the poor, or persons under sentence of the law, &c. &c. Fourthly, if he gives his attention to the public business of his neighbourhood, and displays a capacity for public life and a desire to enter into it, it would probably not be long before his services would be sought for by some constituency to represent them in the Legislative Assembly, or (according to the practice of this country, in not confining constituents, in the choice of their representatives, to persons resident among them) he might offer himself to 273 the electors in any city or county in the province. A gentleman, therefore, whose pecuniary means in this country would be insufficient to enable him to exert his talents in the noble arena of political life, might, instead of wasting his energies in a subordinate position here, find in that country a fitting sphere of useful and honourable exertion. Fifthly, if rightly used, the power placed in the hands of the Governor-General to nominate members to the Legislative Council or Upper House of the Provincial Parliament, is capable of giving dignity and political weight to that body, and making it an object of ambition and a just reward of meritorious services. The high position and character of every Governor-General will be a guarantee that no unworthy motives will influence such appointments; and if mistakes are made, they will not escape the censure of a vigilant

## Library of Congress

public opinion. In placing these appointments, as well as those of justices of the peace, in the hands of the Governor-General, not only is there a better security for their being made with an exclusive regard to N 3 274 the public interests, but the principle is important, as maintaining the analogy with that of the British Constitution. In a new country every such principle is of the greatest practical value, as a support of the whole system of government on its existing basis. Sixthly, the settler whom I have supposed, would find, in the different country districts I have already enumerated, many of the resources, in the way of amusement, of English country life. Of the ordinary field-sports there are some by no means to be despised. Whoever likes hard work and a rough life, may take two or three Indians as guides and follow the moose and reindeer through the forest as long as he pleases, "camping out" and living by his rifle. For common shooting, there is plenty of quail, woodcocks, snipes, wild-fowl, \*c., also prairie grouse in abundance within three days' travelling. Fishing is to be had in the lakes and streams; but the best sport of that kind is the salmon-fishing in some of the tributaries of the Ottawa, and amidst the wild and magnificent scenery of the Saguenay, wherever the sawmills 275 have not destroyed the fish. A small pack of fox-hounds is kept at Montreal (twelve couple), and they afford some sport for about two months in the year—enough to keep that of the "old country" in remembrance. They have occasionally some sharp runs of thirty minutes, over a country of "posts and rails," and "snake-fences,"\* the latter rather awkward. Another pack was also kept at Coburg. I heard also of a third small pack. There is no doubt that as the country gets more cleared fox-hunting will flourish; as well at least as those almost universal "snake-fences," and the quantity of cover, will allow. Races also figure in the list of the annual amusements of all the principal places in the colony. Some of the best English blood has been imported, of which I saw specimens, out of winners of the Derby and St. Leger. In these, as in all other matters of graver import, it appeared that English

\* The fence common to Canada and the States, made of rough slips of timber twelve to fourteen feet long piled upon each other, each length making an obtuse angle with the

## Library of Congress

other, and the upper bar (often five or six feet above the ground) resting on cross pieces, which project like choux de frise.

276 usages, manners, habits, and feelings, had taken deep root and were widely diffused among the mass of the people; and that where the contrary was visible, in the remoter localities, it seemed to arise from accident and ignorance, and not from any settled preference for anything else. Indeed it may be safely said that in no country out of Great Britain would the younger sons of her nobility and gentry find themselves so much “at home,” or have a nobler field of usefulness before them, or a finer scope for all the active and manly enjoyments of country life, than in Canada. Seventhly, The financial credit of the colony is in so sound and satisfactory a state, and the prospects of increasing wealth and revenue so great, that they may well inspire confidence in the future, in any one disposed to go there. According to the Return of the Public Accounts of the colony for the year 1850 (Toronto, 1851), it appears (p. 66) that the total amount of the public debt was 4,512,468 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* , and that there had been applied to its redemption, since the union of 277 the provinces in 1841, 518,483 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* (being the excess of revenue over expenditure), including 62,366 *l.* 10 *s.* 7 *d.* invested in England on account of the sinking fund for the guaranteed loans. All future investments are to be on account of the latter. There was, as far back as last summer, as I was informed, a sum of nearly a quarter of a million, either invested or ready to be so, on account of the last three years, for the same purpose. The annual interest of the debt is at present (p. 89) 197,029 *l.* 3 *s.* 5 *d.* ; and it appears by the same “Abstract of Revenue and Expenditure,” that in the improbable case of any serious falling off of revenue, or any unwillingness to increase taxation to meet it if it occurred, the sums now voluntarily applied to two heads of expenditure only—those of Education and Agricultural Societies, amounting together to upwards of 66,800 *l.* —might be applied to the payment of one-third of the annual interest of the debt. But as the revenue for the year 1851 was upwards of 800,000 *l.* , and as the interest of the debt is about 200,000 *l.* , there can be no doubt of 278 the completeness of the security for its payment. Since the great commercial changes which were effected in 1846 and subsequently, the Imports into Canada have risen as follows:—In 1848 they

## Library of Congress

Were 2,058,798 *l.* , in 1849, 3,002,599 *l.* , in 1850, 4,245, 517 *l.* \* The value of Exports of domestic products for the year 1849 was 2,327,564 *l.* , and for 1850, 2,669,998 *l.* The growing inland trade with the United States in all the most important staples of the colony (timber, wheat, flour, oats, ashes, &c.), is one of the most encouraging features. Great however as has been the recent increase of that trade (32½ per cent. during the last year), it is exceeded by that with Great Britain, which, during the same time, "notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary, had increased at the rate of 44 per cent., and with the Sister Provinces of British North America, under the operation of reciprocal Free Trade, about 100 per cent." (Speech† of the Inspector-General,

\* Montreal Banker's Circular, quoted in Scobie's Canadian Almanac, p. 58 (Toronto, 1852), which contains an excellent summary of all the statistics of the colony.

† I add a further and very instructive extract from the same speech in the Appendix (G), p. 313.

279 the Hon. Francis Hincks, to the Legislative Assembly, July 16, 1851, Toronto, 1851.) Although therefore the sudden and rapid changes in our commercial legislation in those and previous years, occasioned great losses in the colony, and much very natural irritation at the want of due consideration for the circumstances and the interests of Canada, shown at the time by some of our public men then in power, a new career of prosperity has commenced; and as no further changes, except beneficial ones in the shape of further relaxations of commercial tariffs, are to be anticipated, trade and commerce are now upon a firm basis. And by none are the future prospects of Canada, and indeed of the British Provinces generally, considered brighter than by the best-informed of their enterprising neighbours; as will be seen by the following passage which I extract from a very remarkable document lately issued at Washington. (A Report of the Trade and Commerce of the British North American Colonies with the United States and with other Countries, embracing 280 full, and complete Tabular Statements from 1829 to 1850. Presented to the United States Senate by Thomas Corwin, Secretary to the Treasury, Washington, 1851.) The facts brought out in this document will greatly

## Library of Congress

strengthen the conviction of the mutual advantages to be derived from the proposed measure of reciprocal free-trade between those colonies and the United States. The Report is drawn up by Mr. J. D. Andrews, United States Consul at St. John's, New Brunswick. At p. 34 there is the following passage:—

“A cursory glance at the resources of Canada will impress the most casual observer with a profound sense of the influence she must soon exert over the general commerce of this continent. To her unsurpassed physical capabilities are added majestic internal improvements, reflecting credit on a government and people who projected and completed such admirable auxiliary pathways from the ocean to the interior, to facilitate the transport of the products of the industry of her population from that interior to the markets of the world. If the sanguine anticipations of the Canadian government and people are realised, by the St. Lawrence becoming one of the great channels through which the vast supplies of merchandise required for the consumption of the population of the interior and far west will be carried, the revenue derivable from these canals, the tolls upon which it is in contemplation to reduce, will form a large item to the credit of the colonial exchequer.”

“Occupying a most extensive country, of an area of nearly 55,000 square miles, stretching from the 42nd to the 50th degree of north latitude, abounding in forests of the finest timber and minerals of great value, and with a soil fitted to afford exhaustless supplies of food to man; a country, moreover, blessed with a healthy and invigorating climate, favoured with unparalleled facilities for sea, river, and lake navigation, watered throughout by streams which furnish an unlimited amount of water-power, and are stocked with the most valuable descriptions of fish: bordered by a sea-coast indented with bays and admirable harbours, which are open to the most valuable sea-fisheries in the world; possessing such superabundant resources, and sustained and stimulated by an energy of character which they have inherited with us from a common source, these colonists are destined to become a great and flourishing people, and to exercise no mean influence on the interests of our northern continent.”

## Library of Congress

Neither is the protective duty now so much complained of, amounting to 20 per cent., against Canadian wheat imported into the United States, likely, according to the best opinions, to last long; nor if it did, could it do much harm to the Canadian grower. The above able Report shows (p. 48) that nearly 282 the whole amount of the wheat imported from Canada to New York and Boston was balanced by exports of wheat of their own growth to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, and that under the recent arrangements between Canada and those provinces, the latter were expected for the future to derive their supplies direct from Canada.

“Within the last year arrangements have been made by Canada with three of the lower provinces for a free interchange of their natural productions. The experience of the last season has induced persons fully competent to judge in commercial matters to express the opinion, that a very large trade will be diverted to these provinces from New York, unless the present restrictions are removed, for the vessels which can advantageously take flour from Canada to the lower provinces, under the present free-trade arrangement, will carry back sugar, molasses, and the heavy foreign commodities, which they have for the last few years purchased in New York and Boston.”—(p. 47.).

Again (p. 46) the following reason is given why the protective duty is in fact of very little advantage to the American grower:—

“It is urged as an objection to the proposed reciprocal free-trade, that the American wheat-grower, who is taxed heavily to pay the expenses of our government, will have to contend on unequal terms with the Canadian, who has 283 comparatively light taxes to pay; in other words, that for this reason the American needs protection against the Canadian farmer.

“But when we produce more than we consume, there is no need of protection. The surplus production thrown upon the markets of the world establishes the price of all consumed.

## Library of Congress

Canada and the United States export a surplus of wheat to the same foreign markets. The prices at Mark Lane, to a great extent, fix the prices of the American market.”

It is an acknowledged wish in the colony that more settlers of the class of English gentry might be induced to go there, in addition to those who have already adopted it as their second home. And as long as the sentiments and habits of “the old country” find a response, and a fair field of growth and action in the new, there will be that very powerful motive, in addition to the fine material prospects of the colony, to lead such persons towards it. That class of men, conjoined in political and social sympathies and interests with the great middle class of this country, has never yet learnt to submit to the dictation of mere numbers. It is convinced that the social and political institutions of England conduce 284 more than any others to the formation and maintenance of a system of rational and temperate freedom; that they lay the foundation of that national character which alone makes such a system possible; that they encourage a strong sense of religion, and a firm attachment to the doctrines that are the bulwarks of its existence; that they lead to a high degree of intellectual cultivation, a high standard of social refinement, and an elevated sense of personal honour; that they dictate those common Christian courtesies which smooth the path of social life and cause its ordinary tenor to be even and unruffled; and that they thus produce upon the whole a greater amount of happiness, national and individual, than can be found elsewhere. For under them, the domestic virtues, founded on domestic discipline, are most common; and, in public matters, “the great councils of the nation” are directed in a spirit of moderation, and can be enforced, when the call arises, with strength proportioned to the need.

The laws, the public policy, and the social 285 habits of the people of Canada are, to as great an extent, probably, as difference of circumstances permits, in harmony with these ruling sentiments of this country, and I believe that there is nothing more important to the future prospects and to the well-founded happiness of that noble colony, not only that no violence should be done to those sentiments by the course of legislation there, but that they should be fully recognised, respected, and cherished, by every legitimate

## Library of Congress

and available means. For be it observed that it possesses a mode of government, as analogous as under the circumstances is possible to that of the British Constitution. But let it also be borne in mind by every well-wisher to the colony, that without the institutions, or the nearest practicable approaches to them, which form the national character that makes the British Constitution practicable at all, it will be the hardest of all problems to preserve it.\*

\* Having used above the expression "Christian courtesies," it may be added that even the infidel confessed that, "at all events, St. Paul was a perfect gentleman." The ultra-democratic theory of social and political life, which so unduly exalts the individual, is at variance with every precept of Christian humility. "In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves." "In honour preferring one another." "Put on humbleness of mind, meekness." "Be courteous." I must admit that I was occasionally reminded of these passages during my stay in the United States, and sometimes also in remote corners of Canada. The ultra-democratic theory, as represented in the expression of one of the preachers of that doctrine, "I am equal to everybody, and nobody is better than me," when carried into effect in manners, can hardly, one would imagine, be less disagreeable to those who hold it, than it is to those who, not holding it, unfortunately come into close contact with it. Self-exaltation in theory can do no otherwise than lead to intense selfishness in practice, and an entire and a very repulsive disregard for the feelings, thoughts, wants, and wishes of others.

One of the phenomena in the condition of society in the United States, is the relaxation of parental control. The fact is admitted; its causes and effects afford a very wide subject of speculation.

In addition to ultra-democracy, socialism is very prevalent in the western States. One of the most widely circulated of the New York papers is, in its principles, ultra-democratic and socialist, and is the one of greatest influence in the west. Socialism has also its special organs among the large German population of the remoter States. Canada also is

## Library of Congress

favoured by inspirations from the same source, not improved in spirit or sense by passing through the medium of some of the worst specimens of our own people, "friends of every country but their own." The doctrines which those persons are endeavouring to impress upon the small body of their followers in Canada, would, if reduced to practice, very soon complete the usual round from tyranny to slavery. "Hæc natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbè dominatur." These words of 1800 years ago are receiving ample illustration in the present day, in the New World as well as in the Old.

286

In the Canadian Constitution the aristocratic element is recognised. The Governor-General 287 is appointed by the Crown. In him, as the representative of the Crown, rest the appointments to the Legislative Council, the appointment of Judges and Justices of the Peace, and the nomination to several administrative offices of dignity and importance. On the Governor-General's recommendation also, titles of honour are conferred by the Crown on individuals in the colony, for distinguished services. The Companionship of the Bath has, I am informed, been so conferred in a few instances of late years. Such acts are spoken of in the colony with the greatest satisfaction. They contribute to make the colonists feel, what they are so desirous of feeling, that they are in fact and in truth "part and parcel of the British empire;" and they aid in removing one of the greatest causes of the reluctance which men of ability or ambition have to emigrate—namely, that by so doing they cut themselves off from all chances of sharing in the honours emanating from the British Crown. I could not, without 288 impropriety, dilate upon this subject, but it is one which I heard frequently discussed in all its bearings, both in its political aspect and in reference to the increasing wealth of the colony and the consequent increase in the number of those capable of sustaining an elevated social position.\*

\* The recent Act relating to intestacies was not regarded as likely to have any effect in opposition to those sentiments.

## Library of Congress

In close connexion with this branch of the subject was another, which at this particular juncture, when the state of our own representation is about to be reviewed, deserves to be again brought under discussion.

It is felt in Canada as a great and serious grievance, that there is no person in the House of Commons capable, by the possession of intimate personal knowledge and of direct personal interests, of adequately representing the wants and feelings of the colony. They attribute to this, the abrupt and entire sacrifice of an immense amount of the capital of the colony, which many among them allege to have been made by the acts of the Imperial Legislature 289 in the process of the changes from a protective to a free-trade policy. Questions also are still continually arising, in which they assert that their interests are misunderstood, and their claims to attention undervalued. They affirm, and I believe with very great truth, that their character as a people, that their country, their resources, their position as an element of strength to Great Britain, are not appreciated as they ought to be by the people of this country. Judging from what I heard in various quarters, I should say that if, on due consideration, it should be found possible to open the doors of the House of Commons to a couple of representatives from this great and flourishing community, it would be a boon which they are worthy to receive, and which it would be advantageous to this country to grant. Or if this should be inconsistent with theory, or likely to lead to inconvenient consequences, it would not, one should imagine, be a matter of any great difficulty to assign to a "Representative of the colony at the seat of Government," in the capacity, as it were, of a colonial 290 "Chargé d'Affaires," a recognised position of dignity, beyond that of the "Colonial Agent" of former times. The position might be a new one, and out of the common course of diplomatic representation; but so is the fact new, that Great Britain possesses, on the other side of the Atlantic, a dependency growing up rapidly into a great and noble, a wealthy and powerful community, whom it is her duty and interest to attach to herself by every available tie of sympathy and affection.

## Library of Congress

As an additional reason for taking this step, it is urged that, when a man of capacity and independence leaves this country in early life for the colonies, he feels, as matters now stand, that he cuts himself off, to a great degree, from the hope of being thought much of, or perhaps even known, in the most distinguished society in the world. He attains eminence, probably, in the colony to which he devotes his life and services. In the mean time a generation has grown up, his own contemporaries, occupying the foremost places as statesmen, lawyers, men of science and literature, stirring politicians, merchants, and 291 men of note in the various other careers of public service or private enterprise. If the leading men of the colonies knew that a way was open to them which would enable them to make their appearance, of right, and in a recognised and defined position, on this wider and much-coveted stage at home, it would doubtless be a great gain to all parties. It would encourage men of the upper classes of this country to embark in the stirring and expanding field of colonial life, and it would go a great way towards extinguishing the sense of contrast between colonial life and that of England.

Again, when a citizen of the United States, of no great mark perhaps in his own country, comes to this, he naturally feels a desire to see, if he has the slightest pretensions to be admitted into it, something of the remarkable society congregated at a certain season of the year in the metropolis. He has the minister of his own country to apply to; and, accordingly, the inhabitant of the smallest state of the Union, or of the most distant city in the great valley of the Mississippi, has a ready mode of access, if it be O 2 292 meet that he should have it, to some portion at least of that distinguished society. I heard it frequently asked in Canada, "Why should the inhabitant of Maine, Vermont, or New Hampshire, be better off in that respect, when he visits England, than an inhabitant of Canada and a subject of the British Crown? Why should not the rising men of the colonies, on temporary visits to England, have opportunities of being properly introduced at the house of the representative of their colony in London?" One of the most painful results of a separation from this country would then be obviated—that of cutting off, to so great an

## Library of Congress

extent, the opportunities of social acquaintance and intercourse with the best men of the day.

Were the option given to Canada—the first in importance of our colonies—there would be little doubt, I apprehend, of her soon finding fit men to represent her; and as little, it may fairly be expected, that her legislature would consult its own dignity in assigning to him an income befitting his station among the leading persons of this country.

293

The former ties which used to be deemed of value in binding our colonies to us—those of trade, in an exclusive sense, have been greatly loosened, if not almost entirely put an end to. Our market is now not much more to them than any other. Among the great remaining ties—those of relationship and affection, of security under the British sceptre, and a participation in British commercial credit—is that of honour.

The honours emanating from the British Crown, and the honour of representing in England a new and vigorous nation of our own bone and blood, are ties stronger than gold, as they are loftier than anything that gold could purchase.

*Emigration.* —If the facts that I have brought together in the first portion of this volume, relating to the great prospective demand for more capital and labour in the United States, consequent upon the opening of the vast system of railway communication now in progress towards the west, together with the additional facts just given to the same point respecting 294 Canada, should be in any measure new to any one interested in the agricultural districts of this country, I apprehend they cannot fail to excite in his mind some very serious considerations, especially if he should be connected with any of those southern counties where wages are lowest, or with a neighbourhood where strong competition for farms has hitherto kept up rent above what the tenant can meet in the present state of his agricultural skill, without encroaching upon his capital. The increasing demand for labour in the United States will, in all probability, enable the Irish emigrant

## Library of Congress

to obtain, for many years to come, the high rate of wages he can now command, either on the railways or in the far West, notwithstanding the great stream of emigration that is still setting towards that country from Ireland. The agricultural capabilities of Ireland and the low price of land are already operating as a strong attraction to many enterprising farmers of capital in this country, who are taking their labourers with them. Canada—not now more distant in point of time from 295 England than York was from London in the early part of the last century—is drawing many of the same class to her exuberantly fertile soil. In Canada the English farmer and the English agricultural labourer find themselves in the midst of their own countrymen (for many coming from the same counties have settled near each other), surrounded by associations similar to those they have left behind them—the same manners, the same habits, the same kind of farming, the same form of government, the same or even a more direct system of control over the local affairs of the neighbourhood. Every farmer, therefore, and every agricultural labourer with whom I conversed in Canada expressed himself pleased and contented with the change, as far as the increased means of living were concerned; for it would be unjust to them and to this country were I not to add, that the almost universal sequel to these expressions of content on that score was, “But, after all, there's nothing like ‘the old country,’ for those that can live in it.” The English farmers and labourers whom I met 296 with in the United States were but few. They had been successful, and they spoke in cordial terms of the kindness and general civility of the people among whom they had settled; but there was much in manners and habits which, to use the expression of one of them, “went against the grain;” and they generally complained of the climate. The insulation also in which they lived—so far from neighbours whom they had known before, and kindred—seemed to weigh upon them.

While the Irish emigrant, therefore, will chiefly be attracted towards the United States, the English or Scotch emigrant will probably continue to prefer setting up his new resting-place in Canada. And there is in that country, in truth, a great and enticing field for every element of British character. By what means a still further encouragement can be given to the best

## Library of Congress

settlers of all classes to go there, is a subject occupying the attention of all the men of business in the colony. A direct communication between Liverpool and Quebec, by large screw-steamers, is projected, and will, I believe, very soon be carried into effect. The great line of railway from Halifax to Quebec, and thence through the entire length of the two provinces, will, when completed, lead at once to a much higher appreciation in this country of the value and attractiveness of that. It is devoutly to be hoped, in the interest of that suffering and most deserving class of men, the agricultural labourers in our southern counties, who are existing on the low rate of wages there prevalent, that they may have intelligence enough to see the prospects held out to them in that new society of English habits, English sympathies, and English principles, and that they may be enabled to join it. One of the leading wants in America is cheaper labour; and capitalists are taking the means to facilitate its introduction. It is possible that, before many years are over, it may be leaving our own shores even more freely than would accord with the present interests of some among us. There is no need to follow up the reflections which these facts open. They will suggest themselves, in all probability, to those who have been hitherto wasting in a useless struggle the energies that are wanted for the full development of the agricultural resources of this country.

*Society in Canada.* —I cannot omit to recount the very agreeable impressions I received of the society I had the good fortune to meet with, both in the great towns of Canada and in the country. It adds greatly to the charm of travelling in a new country, to find at every halting-place so much that recalls the mode of life, and is in, harmony with the ideas, manners, and habits of England. I feel impelled to express in the very warmest terms the gratification I experienced in the many opportunities I enjoyed of cordial and friendly intercourse with persons of both the leading political parties in the colony, and with others who live apart from public life. The presence also of even the few British regiments in the different parts of the colony cannot do otherwise than contribute to keep up an English standard in many things. There is much in Canada to reconcile the emigrant, to a certain

## Library of Congress

extent, to 299 what nothing can altogether compensate him for—his separation from the society of England.\*

\* In reference to the number of British troops in Canada, I would beg the gentlemen of the “Peace Party” in this country, who are so anxious for the reduction of all our means of maintaining it, to go and study, even for a short time, the present temper of the democracy of the United States. They will find abundant evidence to convince them that there is no people, even among the military nations of Europe, so penetrated with a warlike spirit, and so inclined to aggression. To weaken our means of defence in Canada, is to prompt and invite another demonstration of “sympathy” from the other side of a long and exposed frontier. The aristocracy of the United States (let no one start at the name—the feeling exists in as great strength as in Europe), as represented by the professional, commercial, and the wealthier of the trading classes, is far too enlightened, and too generally impressed with a high sense of right and wrong, to partake of this spirit; but they are yet numerically and socially weak, and consequently liable to be overborne by the mass of the people.

*The French Canadians.* —There is no more interesting circumstance throughout the wide range of our Colonial or our Indian Empire, than that of the existence, under British rule, of the 700,000 French in Lower Canada. Side by side with them, and under the same form of government, are rather more than the same number of individuals of our own kindred and language, principally in Upper Canada. 300 Christian charity and political wisdom will have achieved no greater triumph than that of harmonizing under one sceptre these hitherto discordant elements.

The entire extinction, in the breast of every well-disposed Englishman of the present generation, of that bitter spirit of hostility towards our French neighbours, which was engendered by the long and deadly strife of the last war, has been brought about partly by better acquaintance, partly by the Christian temper happily prevalent in this country.

## Library of Congress

It would be strange indeed if the old feelings of alienation and disrespect which have well nigh totally expired here, should be designedly kept alive by the people of our own stock in Canada, against those of the French race who are so closely allied to them by the ties of citizenship and of mutual interest.

I was extremely glad to hear from the lips of many persons who had the best right to speak upon the subject, that the idea of governing the country with reference to English ideas and feelings alone (or, to use an old phrase, of 301 “swamping the French Canadians”), had been practically abandoned, and that there was every disposition to give them a fair share of, and their due weight in, the administration of public affairs. The consequence has been political peace, and an increasing degree of social harmony. “Maintenant,” said a French gentleman to me, in conversing on this subject, “tout est calme, et nous sommes tous contents. Nous avons un Gouverneur que nous prions beaucoup, et que nous aimons tous; et ce qui est encore beaucoup, qui est honoré de la confiance de sa Majesté.” Public demonstrations of late have clearly proved this. And if the English part of the Canadian people have cause to regret the slowness which the French portion display in making up their minds to the adoption of changes in their old laws and usages (such as the Feudal tenure and other matters now under discussion—if, indeed, they are not obstructed in regard to changes in the former by some English interests), they may find encouragement in several things that have been already effected, and in the many indications 302 given both by the French representatives in the Legislative Assembly, and by other individuals, of a considerable movement of mind in the way of solid and progressive improvement.

Physically, the French Canadians struck me as being far superior to any of the peasantry of France, except the Normans, from whom they are descended. They seemed to me as a race athletic and robust, and with florid and healthy complexions. They have the same charm of manner that is still found among their European brethren, wherever the lowering and in reality anti-social spirit of republicanism has not trodden it out. The

## Library of Congress

graceful courtesy of address, the respect for the feelings of others, the warm and cordial interchange of little kindnesses, the genial flow of animal spirits, the frank and fearless joke and the keen play of “badinage,” remind you of how much they have derived from those past generations which cherished and diffused all these smaller elements of the happiness of life, as the healthy accessories and the indispensable garniture 303 of the greater. A gross, unimaginative, and selfish philosophy was unable to distinguish between the abuse and the use of those ingredients of cultivation; between the hollowness and servility of the mere courtier, and that dignified self-respect of the gentleman, that “proud submission, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom.” The civilization of the New World owes something, I think, to the French Canadians, for keeping alive a reflection of the best manners of the old.

But on what grounds of policy or justice it could ever have been proposed to “swamp” the French Canadians, I am at a loss, after seeing themselves and their country, to conceive. You cannot resist saying to yourself, Do they not number half the population? Have they not a history of which they have a right to be proud? Are they not strongly and sincerely attached to their own peculiar institutions, which have descended to them through many generations, which they enjoy under the solemn guarantee of England, and from which 304 nothing but slow conviction could ever induce them to swerve in the minutest tittle? Have they not to the full, and in a manner no less remarkable than gratifying, transferred to the British Crown those warm feelings of loyalty which with them are a part of their religion? Do they not speak of our Queen with as much deep homage of the heart as any one of ourselves? Have they not wealthy, well-supported, and energetic establishments of charity, education, and religion, which are calculated in many instances to put our own lukewarm efforts to shame? Are they not a people so singularly well-conducted and free from crime that there is no such thing as even a parish constable from one end of the French Canadian territory to the other?\* Now that they are treated with consideration and justice, are they not among the most devoted of all her Majesty's subjects? And can there be any closer bond of union among themselves, or firmer basis of

## Library of Congress

\* When any one is taken into custody, he is handed on from county to county by the "Capitaine de Milice," until he is deposited at one of the towns.

305 attachment to the British Crown, than that strong nationality which they preserve intact, and in fearless security, under its protection, and in defence of which they would pour out their last drop of blood?\*

\* See Appendix (F), p. 312.

*Concluding Remarks.* —The respect and admiration I conceived for that splendid colony, on seeing it from one end nearly to the other, were in nowise diminished by what I witnessed or heard of the French Canadian portion of it; nor were the anticipations of its future progress in any degree lessened. And should any one in this country be disposed to undervalue it, either in itself or as "part and parcel" of the British dominions, I would beg of him to go and pass through the length and breadth of that favoured and magnificent land. Let him picture to himself its thirty millions of acres of soil, than which finer and richer never came from the beneficent hand of Nature; let him survey that splendid river, bearing to the ocean vessels that have navigated its parent waters for 306 two thousand miles; let him examine its canals—those noble works of skill and science that have as it were smoothed the rapid, and made a stepping-stone of the rocky ridge that throws Niagara over its brow; let him walk through those towns on the margin of those lakes and of that river—towns which wealth has already decorated, and which a sober and correct taste, and solid comfort and convenience, have already stamped with a thoroughly English character. Let him then look at the varied and in some parts picturesque scenery, either glowing in the hot summer's sun, or arrayed in the gorgeous tints of an American autumn, or reposing under the bright and silent winter's sky. Let him see the many and various fruits of the earth pouring into those towns daily, as from the very lap of Plenty. Let him think of the genuine English feeling, grounded on the participation of British freedom and the pride of British origin, which pervades that land; and the no less deep and elevated sentiments of French nationality, with which, in singular and beautiful union, a chivalrous

## Library of Congress

307 loyalty to our Queen is mingled as the colours in a prism, distinct yet united. Let him see and consider these things, and then ask himself if that is a country of which to speak lightly, as one that may possibly be torn, or may one day fall away, from the British Crown?

I should have deemed the trifling inconveniences of a long tour amply repaid by one scene alone. On the north bank of the St. Lawrence, six miles below Quebec, the rushing mountain-stream, the Montmorenci, upwards of 100 feet broad and 250 feet high, leaps over a wooded cliff into the bed of the mighty river. Standing on a bold promontory, with this beautiful fall on your right, you have before you and on your left the broad expanse of the St. Lawrence, flowing majestically between a framework of rising ground, here abrupt with escarpments of varied outline and hung with foliage, there undulating away to a distance until it meets an amphitheatre of mountain. Receding bays and jutting eminences break the line of water and of land. Numerous neat 308 cottages of the "habitants" dot the course of the main roads. Projecting full into the middle of the river, about six miles off, rise the town and the citadel of Quebec; the latter, in form not unlike Ehrenbreitstein, and worthy of the comparison and the name. Upon its lofty brow waves the British flag. The equal heroism of Wolfe and Montcalm has invested that spot with an undying interest. The chivalry of the latter makes his memory as dear to the descendants of the defeated, as the youth and genius of the former can exalt him in our eyes. It is a spot where the glory of both nations has an enduring record, and to which both must ever look with an equal pride. Gazing upon it in the distance, I could not but remember also our own reverses on that wide continent, and those men, no less brave but less fortunate, who fought without success in their country's cause.\* In the city of Montcalm and of Wolfe now sits the Parliament of the United Canadian Provinces, under a Constitution

\* 'o[???]# [???]##### 'oμo### [???] #o### #[???]# #[???]#[???]# [???]#####  
##μ[???]# [???]###e#, o[???]## #o[???]# ###o##### #####.

## Library of Congress

309 essentially British; and the singular and gratifying spectacle is now being given, of the French and English combining their intelligence and their public spirit towards the useful, just, and harmonious working of a common government.

The whole scene, under the mild rays of an autumn evening, was one which, for a union of the beauties and sublimities of nature with associations equally touching to every French as to every English heart, has not its equal in the world.

### **APPENDIX.**

#### **(E.) Report of Select Committee on Crown, Clergy, and School Lands (surveyed), 1845.**

Acres.

Upper Canada 18,153,219

Lower Canada 17,655,942

35,839,161

**How disposed of:—**

**Upper Canada:**

For support of Protestant Clergy 2,407,687

**For education—**

King's College, Toronto 225,944

Upper Canada College 68,642

## Library of Congress

Grammar schools 258,330

547,916

Indian reservations not disposed of 808,560

To Canada Company 2,485,413

" United Empire Loyalists 10,404,663

Land remaining on hand 1,500,000

18,153,219

311

Lower Canada:

Jesuits' estates not appropriated 664,080

Indian reserves, near St. Maurice 87,000

Seignorial tenures, granted to individuals 7,496,000

Free and common soccage 3,847,629

Included in the above 1,687,233

On hand 3,907,000

16,934,862

17,685,942

## Library of Congress

From the Census of 1848 it appears that, of the 18,358,800 there given as the total surveyed acreage of Upper Canada, only 521,130 acres were returned as unfit for cultivation.—( *Scobie's Almanac for 1850*, p. 50.) I have found no return for Lower Canada.

It may not be uninteresting, as a means of comparison, especially with reference to the statement which follows at p. 315, relating to the extent and resources of the Ottawa region, to add here the area of the United Kingdom expressed in square miles and acres, on the authority of the Population Returns.

Area of the United Kingdom.

Square Miles.	Acres.	England	50,387	32,247,680	Wales	7,425	4,752,000	Scotland	32,167	20,586,880	Great Britain	89,979	57,586,560	Ireland	32,512	20,808,271	Total	122,491	78,394,831	312
---------------	--------	---------	--------	------------	-------	-------	-----------	----------	--------	------------	---------------	--------	------------	---------	--------	------------	-------	---------	------------	-----

(F.) *Vide* p. 305.

On the Custom of the Subdivision of Property in Pennsylvania, &c.

It is instructive to remark the different effect which the custom of the equal division of property has produced among the French Canadians and the Pennsylvanian Germans, as compared with the law of compulsory division in France and in the Rhenish and other provinces in Germany, where the Code Napoleon was introduced at the time of the French conquest.

The French Canadians and the Pennsylvanian “Dutch,” as they are called (from the word *Deutsch*), having the opportunity of “going West” and getting as much land as they like for a dollar and a quarter per acre, or, if they go to the frontier of the States, for nothing at all, will not subdivide their inheritances below that which they find they can live upon in what they deem sufficient comfort. I was informed in Pennsylvania that, on the death of a proprietor, a jury of his neighbours is usually summoned to assess the value of his land, and to give their opinion whether it ought to be divided. If the division would bring

## Library of Congress

each property below about one hundred acres, they generally decide that it should not be divided, but be offered to each 313 son in succession, until one consents to take it, and to pay off the portions of the other children. The value put upon the land by the “Jury” was, it was said, generally such as to make it pretty easy to the occupant to save or raise the sums needed to clear off the incumbrance. Among the French Canadians the habit has been, according to the “Report on the State of Agriculture in Lower Canada” quoted in the text, to hold “too much land considering their means,” renting or purchasing the portions of those who have emigrated; and they are recommended, in a sensible communication at p. 79 of that document, to “confine their attention industriously to the cultivation of fifty acres.”

What would the French or German peasant, starving upon his few patches of mortgaged land, give, if it were possible, and not a bitter mockery, to recommend him not to reduce his holding below 100 or even 50 acres; and what an amount of misery does he not owe to that rash and presumptuous generation, which committed errors under the guise of philosophy and philanthropy, that the experience of the present age is at its wit's end to repair?

(G.) See p. 278.

Extract from a Speech of the Honourable Francis Hincks, Inspector General (Chancellor of the Exchequer), on the Financial Condition of the Province, P 314 delivered before the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 16th July, 1851 (Toronto, 1851).

Speaking of the larger proportionate consumption of imported articles by Canada, in consequence of her low tariff, Mr. Hincks states:—“In order to show the effect of this policy, I shall refer to some of the leading articles of manufactures imported into the United States and Canada. The most important of these are cottons, woollens, iron and hardware, silk and linen. With regard to silks and linens, the protective duties may be considered as inoperative, there being no extensive manufactures in either country. Of these articles the importation into the United States is from 40 to 60 per cent. greater, having reference

## Library of Congress

to population, than into Canada, which is not surprising, considering the greater wealth of the inhabitants, and the fact that these articles are consumed by the higher classes. Perhaps the proportionate increase ought not to be so great on cottons, woollens, iron, and hardware. Still, we may fairly assume that the consumption of these articles would be greater than in Canada, and that under a similar tariff the imports would be 10 to 20 per cent. higher. But, sir, what is the fact? The imports of cotton goods are, in proportion to population, nearly four times as great as into the United States, woollens nearly three times as great, and iron and hardware nearly double. These, Mr. Chairman, are instructive facts,—instructive as proving to the Mother Country the value of the colonies as a market 315 for British manufactures, and instructive to ourselves as showing the cost to the consumers of a protective tariff.”

(H.) See p. 216.

On the Extent and Resources of the Great Basin of the Ottawa.

Having mentioned with some degree of particularity several of the regions of Canada most abounding in agricultural and other resources—such as the splendid peninsula of Upper Canada, the rich territory north of Lake Ontario, the fine country of the eastern townships, and others—it would be an act of injustice not to notice the great basin of the Ottawa, the chief seat of the lumber trade, a region hitherto very little known, but nevertheless one of the most surprising in the variety and extent of its resources, in that teeming land of undeveloped wealth and power.

I find an account of it in a volume entitled ‘Proceedings of the Standing Committee (of the Provincial Parliament) on Railroads and Telegraph Lines, together with the Minutes of Evidence. Ordered by the Committee to be printed, July 14th, 1851.—Toronto.’ From this I shall take the liberty of abridging some of the interesting statements there given.

The great basin or region of the Ottawa occupies an area of 80,000 square miles. One-eighth only has P 2 316 been surveyed and organized into townships or seignories;

## Library of Congress

another eighth would include all the extent over which lumbering operations are carried on, leaving three-fourths wholly unoccupied, except by a few hundred families of the aboriginal inhabitants, and of this there is an extent equal to all England quite unknown except to the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The length of the course of the Ottawa is about 780 miles, or 50 miles shorter than the Rhine.

Many of its tributaries, falling into large lakes towards its upper waters, have not yet been traced, but fourteen, which have, possess an aggregate length of 2153 miles; some of them are as large as the Hudson, the Shannon, the Thames, the Tweed, the Spey, and the Clyde; one, the Gatineau, larger: and after receiving all these tributaries “when at the highest and the north waters are passing, the volume of the Ottawa, by calculated approximation, is fully equal to that passing Niagara—that is, double the common volume of the Ganges.”

Many of these rivers, as well as the Ottawa itself, “present long uninterrupted reaches of navigable water,” with “unlimited water-power” at their falls and rapids. One of the former, the Chaudière, six miles above Bytown, “is arrayed in every imaginable variety of form,” and not the least interesting feature it presents is the “Lost Chaudière,” where a body of water, greater in volume than the Thames at London, is quietly sucked down and disappears underground.

317

The extent of this grand region, its geological character, the fine soil and climate, and the attractive features of a large portion of it, its vast forests of valuable timber, and its great mineral resources, are more particularly described in the following extract:—

“Taking a bird's-eye view of the valley of the Ottawa, we see spread out before us a country equal to eight times the extent of the state of Vermont, or ten times that of

## Library of Congress

Massachusetts; with its great artery the Ottawa curving through it, resembling the Rhine in length of course, and the Danube in magnitude.

“This immense region includes a variety of geological formations, and presents all their characteristic features, from the level uniform surface of the silurian system, which prevails along a great extent of the south shore of the Ottawa, to the rugged and romantic ridges in the metamorphic and primitive formations, which stretch far away to the north and north-west.

“As far as our knowledge of the country extends, we find the greater part of it covered with a luxuriant growth of red and white pine timber, making the most valuable timber-forests in the world, abundantly intersected with large rivers, fitted to convey the timber to market when manufactured.

“The remaining portion of it, if not so valuably wooded, presents a very extensive and advantageous field for settlement. Apart from the numerous townships already surveyed, and partly settled, and the large tracts of good land interspersed throughout the 318 timber country, the great region on the upper course of the western tributaries of the Ottawa, behind the red pine country, exceeds the state of New Hampshire in extent, with an equal climate and superior soil. It is generally a beautiful undulating country, wooded with a rich growth of maple, beech, birch, elm, &c., and watered with a lake and stream, affording numerous mill-sites, and abounding in fish. Flanking the lumbering country on the one side, which presents an excellent market for produce, and adjoining Lake Huron on the other, the situation, though comparatively inland, is highly advantageous.

“In the diversity of resources, the Ottawa country presents unusual inducements alike to agricultural industry and commercial enterprise. The operations of the lumberers give an unusual value to the produce of the most distant settlers by the great demand they create on the spot, while the profits of lumbering yield those engaged in it a command of wealth which otherwise could not be had in the country.

## Library of Congress

“The value of the resources of their forests to the inhabitants of the Ottawa country will be evident on comparing the value of their exports with those of other countries. Take, for instance, the state of Maine (as American enterprise is so much talked of), with all its commercial advantages, and the enterprising character of its people. When their population was upwards of 500,000, the exports amounted in value to 1,078,633 dollars; while the value of the exports of 319 the Ottawa country amounts to double that sum, with less than one-third the population.

“If such be the case now, how much more will it be so when, in addition to the more extensive prosecution of agriculture, the unlimited water-power which the Ottawa and its tributaries afford is even partially applied to general manufactures, as well as to that of deals. It would be impossible to conceive an unlimited power presented in a more available form than that which the Ottawa offers in its many divided falls; while she lavishes invitingly unparalleled power to manufacture them, she offers her broad bosom to bring the cotton of the south and the timber of the north together.

“Nor are the mineral resources of the Ottawa country to be overlooked. And here the Gatineau offers its services, with an unlimited supply of excellent iron, and within a mile of its navigable water, close to its lowest falls, affording unlimited water-power, and abundance of timber for fuel; and there are equal advantages for its working on other parts of the Ottawa. The plumbago, lead, and copper, the marble, and the ochres of the Ottawa country will yet become of commercial importance.

“To judge of the importance of the Ottawa country, we should consider the population which her varied agricultural and commercial resources ultimately support. Taking the present condition of New Hampshire as data, without noticing its great importance in 320 commercial advantages, the Ottawa country, when equally advanced, which is not much to say, should maintain 3,000,000 of inhabitants. But taking Scotland as our data, which the Ottawa country surely equals in soil, and might with its peculiar advantages resemble

## Library of Congress

in commerce and manufactures, the valley of the Ottawa should ultimately maintain a population of 8,000,000 of souls.”

When it is considered that the above is a description of a section only of the British colonial possessions in North America—and a description, as particular, of any of the rest would present facts and circumstances not less calculated to fill the mind—and when it is remembered also that the area of this one region alone—the grand basin of the Ottawa—comprises an extent of 80,000 square miles, or only 9979 square miles less than the area of Great Britain, I would ask whether the Canadian gentleman whom I have referred to at p. 173 had not some reason for his assertion, “That the people of England are by no means aware how fine a country they possess in Canada”?

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.