



TO
HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

WILLIAM IV.

OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH,

ETC., ETC., ETC., ETC.

SIR,

IN approaching your Majesty, with feelings of the most profound veneration and respect, to depose, for the second time, the result of my humble topographical and statistical colonial labours, at the foot of the throne; I feel deeply penetrated by a sense of gratitude for your Majesty's condescension in graciously permitting that my work should appear under your Majesty's exalted patronage and royal auspices.

The distinguished honour, whilst it sheds lustre upon my humble, but zealous, endeavours, to develop the many natural resources and improvable advantages of your Majesty's flourishing trans-atlantic dominions, must conspicuously mark your Majesty's

DEDICATION.

paternal solicitude for their loyal inhabitants, and add a further incentive to the approved devotion and attachment that have ever characterized your Majesty's loyal subjects in that distant part of the empire, where the recollection of your Majesty's visit, in early life, is still alive in the breasts of the people, and has doubly become the theme of congratulation since your Majesty's happy accession to the throne of these realms.

With sentiments of the deepest respect, attachment, and gratitude,

I am,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's most loyal, and most devoted,

obedient subject and servant,

JOSEPH BOUCHETTE



PREFACE.

ANTECEDENTLY to the year 1759, the dominion of North America was divided almost exclusively between the Kings of England and France; the former possessing the immense Atlantic seaboard of the continent, the latter the territories along the borders of the gigantic "*Fleuve du Canada*," or River St. Lawrence. But the conquest, gallantly achieved by Wolfe on the memorable plains of Abr'am, near Quebec, left, subsequently to that event, but a slender footing to the French crown in America, whilst it at once extended the empire of Great Britain from the Atlantic Ocean to the shores of the Pacific, and rendered it almost co-extensive with the whole northern division of the New World. England continued in the undisputed possession of these her immense dominions for a period of nearly sixteen years, when those revolutionary discontents broke out in the old colonies, which ended in the declaration of their independence, and the acknowledgment of the American confederation as a free and independent state, by the treaty of Paris, 3rd of September, 1783.

Whether the reduction of Canada accelerated the separation of the original British North American Plantations, by removing the check which the relative geographical position of the surrounding French possessions was calculated to produce upon the colonists,

it is difficult to say ; but it is, perhaps, less problematical whether England would this day have had to boast of her valuable transatlantic dominions, had not the victory of the British hero, who fell in the consummation of the conquest of Canada, preceded the birth of the United States of America, as one of the independent nations of the world. Certain it is, however, that the severe consequences of the loss of the British plantations were greatly mitigated by Wolfe's victory and the accession of the French colonies to the British empire, to which, not only from their intrinsic worth, but because of the political power and the commercial advantages incidental to the possession of them, they have since become important appendages.

In the war waged by the colonies against the mother country, the people of Canada, although so recently become British subjects, resisted with fidelity every attempt that was made to seduce them from their new allegiance, and with bravery repulsed every endeavour to subdue them. Such devotedness was highly appreciated ; and England, at the termination of the revolutionary war, directed her attention towards giving increased consequence to her remaining possessions, with the design of drawing from them some of the supplies she had been accustomed to receive from the countries recently dismembered from the empire. It was some time, however, before the efforts of the mother country were attended with any degree of success, and a new order of things established, by which the languor that marked the growth of the colonies, as French plantations, gradually gave place to a system of more vigour

in the agricultural improvement of the country, and a more active developement of its commercial resources. Yet, if the numerous ordinances of the King of France, for the encouragement of agriculture and the regulation of commerce, which are still extant, can be admitted as evidence of the interest with which the colony was then viewed, no solicitude appears to have been wanting on the part of the French government towards promoting the welfare of Canada. The slow advancements may fairly be ascribed to the destructive wars of the aborigines, to the difficulties and embarrassments of incipient colonization, and the remote situation of the country (at that time no inconsiderable obstacle), rather than to any neglect or mis-government of her distant dominions on the part of France.

If the British dominions in North America be viewed merely in relation to their vast superficies, which exceeds 4,000,000 of geographical square miles, their importance will become apparent, more especially when the manifold advantages of their geographical position are properly estimated. Glancing at the map, we see British sovereignty on the shores of the Atlantic, commanding the mouth of the most splendid river on the globe; and, sweeping across the whole continent of America, it is found again on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, thus embracing an immense section of the New World in the northern hemisphere, reaching at some points as far south as 41° of north latitude, and stretching northward thence to the polar regions. But the importance of these possessions should be estimated less by their territorial extent than by the

resources they offer, their capabilities of improvement, the great increase of which their commerce is susceptible, and the extensive field they present for emigration.

The British North American provinces occupy but a comparatively small portion of the aggregate superficies of the whole of the British dominions in the western hemisphere; yet they cover about 500,000 geographical square miles, and contain a population which in round numbers amounts to nearly a million and a half of souls (strictly 1,375,000), and this population, taking the average ratio of increase of all the colonies, doubles itself every sixteen or eighteen years. The colonies viewed in their true light are essentially agricultural, and it is in this point of view that they ought properly to be considered as primarily important to the mother country. Whatever may now be the extent and value of their timber trade, or the weight so deservedly attached to that flourishing branch of the colonial commerce, the agricultural produce of their soil, and the products of their fisheries, must eventually yield the chief part of the exports of the country. That it would be sound policy to check, directly, the progress of an extensive branch of a staple trade, may indeed be doubtful; but measures, calculated gradually to divert commercial capital into other channels besides those of the timber trade, must, on the contrary, have a beneficial tendency, especially if that diversion take place in favour of some other colonial staple of more permanency, such as the commerce of hemp, flax, wheat, &c. Staples are either temporary or permanent, and although, from the vastness of Canadian forests, timber may be considered an

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almost exhaustless fund of the colonial export trade, nevertheless, it, to a certain degree, belongs to the first class of staples, from its necessarily becoming more scarce, as the settlements of the country spread abroad, and the forests recede.

Possessing, indeed, a soil with properties of the highest fertility, and enjoying a climate extremely salubrious, although rigorous in winter, the British provinces in America are, without a doubt, the most flourishing and interesting section of the British Colonial Empire; and, if considered under a political aspect, probably the most important of her trans-marine possessions, since, independently of their intrinsic value to the parent state, they are intimately connected with the preservation of the West Indian plantations, and the control of the invaluable fisheries of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the banks of Newfoundland.

The trade of these provinces now employs annually upwards of 1,800 sail of British shipping, exceeding in aggregate burden 470,000 tons, and requiring more than 20,000 seamen: this tonnage is equal to about 1-5th of the whole of the British shipping; it is nine times greater than the amount of British tons employed in the trade with the United States of America, and about double that used in the West India trade*; and, comparing the ratio of increase from the year 1772 to the present time, we find that the whole increase on the aggregate of British shipping has been about 167 per cent.; the decrease of tonnage with the United States 21

* Moreau's Tables, and Official Returns.

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per cent.; the increase with the West Indies 189 per cent.; and with the North American colonies 2,370 per cent. The value of the exports, from Great Britain to the British provinces, amounts to more than 2,000,000*l.* sterling, which is an increase of about 455 per cent. upon the amount of the exports of 1774; whilst the increase in the value of exports to the United States did not exceed 245 per cent. during that period, and to the West Indies 300 per cent., demonstrating clearly the accelerated ratio in which the commercial prosperity of these provinces is advancing, their vast importance and incalculable resources.

It cannot be doubted that the liberal and enlightened commercial policy of the British government, has given renewed vigour to the commerce of Great Britain, nor can it be denied that the success of that policy much depended upon the wide range of her empire, the magnitude and variety of her colonies. To this increasing prosperity of England, an able statesman* happily alludes, when comparing the commerce of the United States with that of the United Kingdoms. "We had not supposed," says he, "that a young, rising, and naturally commercial country, whose population and agriculture are growing with unequalled rapidity, could, under any policy, be outstripped in a race by a nation, whose navigation was presumed to have reached its maximum, and whose naval power was supposed to be at least stationary in its meridian, if it was not already in its decline. But Great Britain has granted

* Mr. Camberleng, Chairman of the United States' Committee of Commerce and Navigation.

commercial liberty to her vast empire, at home and abroad, and has taken a new start in the race of nations; whilst we, on the other hand, professing to be free, have restricted our own citizens in their intercourse with all the world *."

To the importance of the colonies, in an agricultural and commercial point of view, has been superadded of later years, another consideration of no minor interest, which still further enhances their value to the parent state. The almost exhaustless field offered in the British North American provinces for fresh colonization, points them out as the goal of emigration from the United Kingdoms, and they have in consequence become the favourite resort of the redundant population of the mother country. Thousands of the sons of Britain are, therefore, seen every year leaving their native shores to venture their fortunes in a more remote section of his Majesty's dominions, bearing in their breasts this inspiring consolation, that, although removed from the land of *home*—the protecting ægis of a free, powerful, and happy constitution and government, is extended to the most distant as well as to the metropolitan regions of this vast empire. Indeed so generally and broadly has the tide of emigration flowed towards the Canadas, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, that a considerable portion of their population is composed of the natives of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the interests of those provinces have become proportionately identified with those of the British isles.

* Camberleng's Report to Congress, 1830, p. 26.

These various considerations combined, have incited the author of these volumes to present to his Majesty's government, both at home and abroad, and to the public of the empire, a Topographical and Statistical Description of the British Dominions in North America, together with Topographical Maps of Lower Canada, and a Geographical Map of the British Provinces in America. It is proper, however, to observe that he has far exceeded the plan which he originally contemplated; his design having, in the outset, been confined to the publication of a Topographical and Statistical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Maps. But having, in the prosecution of this design, discovered that, in the course of the long series of years during which he had been occupied in collecting materials for this work, he had amassed and methodized a body of valuable statistical and geographical information, relative to Upper Canada and the sister provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and, deeply impressed with the utility of a work which should embody every possible degree of information as to the British North American colonies collectively, he ventured, though not without sensations of the greatest diffidence, to push his project to a general consideration of the topography and statistics of the continental section of the British empire in the New World.

In the general framework of the maps of Lower Canada, which are upon a large and explanatory scale, the author was materially aided by his previous topographical exhibit of that province, published in 1815, under the exalted patronage of his late Majesty, then

Prince Regent of the kingdom * ; but the details are entirely new and compiled, with the greatest care, from numerous original surveys and documents of indubitable authenticity, that have enabled him to lay down every minutia of topography. In adverting to the period of his former publication, the author feels impelled, alike by a sense of duty and of gratitude, to record, as a very feeble tribute of his respect for the cherished memory of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, the many and deep obligations under which he lies to that much lamented prince and munificent patron, whose characteristic urbanity of manners so much endeared him to all who had the honour of being known to him.

The geographical map of the British provinces, and of a section of the adjacent states of the American union, accompanying the work, will, it is hoped, be found an interesting adjunct, from the scope of the country it embraces, as well as on account of the sources of information whence it was compiled. This map was constructed by the author's eldest son, Joseph Bouchette, Esq., Deputy Surveyor-General of Lower Canada, and must, like the other maps, be left in a

* The following unanimous resolve of the house of assembly of Lower Canada is a testimony of the character of that work, which the author hopes he will be pardoned for inserting here :

“ Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his grace the governor-in-chief, representing the *importance* of the geographical and topographical maps of Joseph Bouchette, Esquire, Surveyor-General, and the *losses* he has sustained in publishing them ; representing also the *importance of those maps, both to his Majesty's government and to the province at large* ; and praying his grace would be pleased to take the whole into consideration, and would also be pleased to *indemnify* him for his *services and losses* by such grant of the lands of the crown as his grace in his wisdom may think fit.”

great measure to speak for itself. It is but justice to the compiler, however, to mention the extreme laboriousness with which, during three years, he attached himself to its construction, in the midst of active professional duties—the close investigation as to the correctness of documents that preceded their application, and the science with which he was capable of graphically applying the information these documents contained. To this gentleman the author is also indebted for his scientific aid in the compilation of several parts of the topographical maps; and it is a source of congratulation to him to have likewise to note the services of his third son, John Francis Bouchette, Lieutenant, 68th Light Infantry, whose able draftsman-ship has so much contributed to the nicety of delineation, and to any degree of elegance the topographical maps of Lower Canada may be deemed to possess.

Having said thus much in regard to the graphical part of the work now presented to the public, it may not be inexpedient to say something of the following volumes, and to give some account of the plan and division of the subject-matter they embrace, and the sources whence the information is derived. Upon the latter point the author may perhaps be pardoned for indulging in a little self-gratulation, from the confidence he must necessarily have in the correctness of the materials he had to work upon (especially as respects the local and statistical circumstances of the Canadas), as well from his constant residence in the country, as from the facilities afforded by the department over which he has, for thirty years, had the honour to preside. The valuable documents and

official records of the surveyor-general's office, which constituted the principal portion of the materials used in the composition of his former work, and the free use of which he was permitted by his Majesty's colonial government, have been again consulted, together with such new matter, arising from surveys since 1815, as has been superadded to the topographical information already recorded. These documents, however, were chiefly useful in the graphical part of the work, and furnished the means of a correct delineation of the townships of the province. The feudal lands of Lower Canada, a large and important section of the colony, are delineated and described from original plans and documents in the possession of the seigneurs of the province, and to which the author has had free access. To these valuable materials were added the results of three official tours in 1820, 1824, and 1827, the last of which embraced the extremities of the settled parts of the country, and enabled him to enter minutely into an investigation of the statistics, and to collect important subject-matter for the topography of the province*. The replies of the gentlemen of the Roman catholic clergy to queries proposed to them on the state and resources of their respective parishes, and the explanatory answers of

* The following extract may not probably be deemed inadmissible, as a testimonial of the mode in which this branch of the author's public duties was discharged:—

Castle of St. Lewis, Quebec, 8th July, 1828.

SIR,

I have not failed to lay before his excellency the governor-in-chief your letter of the 3d instant, transmitting the report of your proceedings, and the statistical returns prepared by you in consequence of his excellency's instructions conveyed to you by my

the seigneurs, to circulars transmitted to them, relative to the settlements and statistics of their several seigneurial properties, have also proved of invaluable assistance in the completion of the statistical department of the book.

These sources of information have furnished the General Description of the province of Lower Canada as well as the Topographical Dictionary. There are many minute points connected with the topography of the country of perhaps less interest to the general reader, but of the first importance to those seeking for complete information as to the resources of the province, for the arrangement of which, as well as for the facility of reference, the alphabetical form affords distinguished advantages; and this has induced the author to adopt the somewhat unusual plan of a dictionary, but which he confidently presumes will be found to combine many and important advantages, no less in comprising under one view all the particulars that can be required on any one point, than as leaving the general description unencumbered by matter, which to some might seem tediously minute, whilst the body of the work presents a summary account of the province, its resources,

letter of the 10th August last. And I am directed by his excellency to convey to you his approbation of the zeal and laborious diligence exhibited by you in collecting and condensing the multifarious, interesting, and useful information contained in the report and tables which you have now submitted.

* * * * *

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

A. W. COCHRANE, *Secretary.*

*To Joseph Bouchette, Esq
Surveyor-General.*

and all that general information desirable to the more cursory class of readers.

The description of the province of Upper Canada is derived from the substance of notes and memoranda made in that country during the late war, and from the knowledge obtained of it during an anterior service of six years, as an officer of the provincial Navy upon the lakes. To the information arising from these sources considerable additions have been made from documents that may be relied upon, both published and manuscript. The latter are chiefly of an official character, the former are to be found in Gourlay's Statistics of Upper Canada, the reports of commissioners of roads and canals, public statistical returns, &c.

The extensive field operations performed by the author on the frontier of New Brunswick in 1817, as his Majesty's surveyor-general, under the 4th and 5th articles of the Treaty of Ghent, and several excursions into the colony connected therewith, supplied the bulk of the materials for the account of that province, though some obligations must be acknowledged to the author of a pamphlet, descriptive of the province, and published there, as well as to the intelligent sketches of Mr. McGregor. The statistical branch of the description is principally derived from the public returns and statistical statements, framed under the direction of his Majesty's government, and subsequently published. The statistics of Nova Scotia are partly taken from the same source, and also from Halliburton's history of that province, from which, in the historical sketch and general description of that country, considerable aid has

been derived. The notes made by the author upon the soil, surface, and climate of the province in 1816, and memoranda collected anteriorly to that period, while at Halifax on military service, have further enabled the author, from a personal knowledge of that part of our colonial dominions, to enter more satisfactorily upon its description. He has also great pleasure in acknowledging the valuable information he has obtained, on the subject of the settlements both of New Brunswick and of Nova Scotia, from the printed report of Colonel Cockburn to his Majesty's government, which contains documents of great interest and high authority, relative to the lands, settlements, and resources of those provinces.

The Island of Newfoundland is the only part of the colonized British possessions in America of which the author has it not in his power to give any personal account, and he therefore is thrown upon public records and official papers for the means of describing the local, agricultural, and statistical state of that insular section of the British North American Dominions, so important when viewed in conjunction with the extensive fisheries of the Great Banks and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the description of the Island of Prince Edward or St. John, he derived considerable information from the official plan, with abundant notes and remarks, of his relation and predecessor, the late Major Holland, recorded in his office, as well as from several private documents and plans acquired when in the island, at which time he had an opportunity of visiting the most interesting parts of it, and of recording notes descriptive of its geography and topography.

Such are the sources of information, and such the means and the materials which have furnished the subject-matter of the following volumes, and however the author may feel conscious of the imperfect manner in which the task has been executed, he cannot repress the hope, that the defects of the performance will stand excused by the utility of the matter and the motive which involved him in so arduous an undertaking. The prospect of literary fame, so powerful an incentive to many writers, yet so often illusory, even when founded upon great erudition and classical attainments, has had no share in bringing the author before the tribunal of public opinion. His sole object is to be useful, by communicating to the world the substance of long and variously accumulated information, relative to the British trans-atlantic dominions, which he would have conceived it a dereliction of duty and of patriotism to withhold from the press; feeling as he does an additional incentive and encouragement from that liberal and enlightened system of colonial policy that has conspicuously distinguished the British cabinet, and struck an impulse from the very centre of national prosperity to its remotest branches.

He has to lament, however, that the scope of his abilities, even when aided by the pen of another of his sons, Robert S. M. Bouchette, Esq., a member of the Canadian bar, whose able assistance in the composition of the general work, he feels it alike a duty and a pleasure candidly and cordially to acknowledge, should have been insufficient to enable him to send forth the work clothed with all those advantages of arrangement, style, and illustration which might

be expected from those whose time and talents have been devoted to literary pursuits. Forty years of his life have been passed in the service of his Majesty's government, in the naval, military, and civil departments, the duties of which, though affording him opportunities of collecting abundant materials for a work of this nature, have yet allowed him but little leisure for cultivating those graces of composition by which a writer most readily recommends himself to the reader's favourable opinion. Abandoning then all hopes which might be founded on such advantages, he relies on his honest though humble zeal to lay open, as far as his capabilities permitted, the vast, natural, and improvable resources of a flourishing section of the British empire; and should his feeble endeavours have the good fortune to obtain approbation, for the design if not for the execution, his highest ambition will be attained, and his dearest wishes amply gratified.

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Page ~~11~~, in note, *for* 1814, *read* 1824.

- 116, third line from the bottom, *for* perennial, *read* annual.
- 117, *for* Godrich, *read* Goderich, wherever the name occurs.
- 277, head-line, *for* county, *read* country.
- 351, column of remarks in the Statistical Statement, *for* L'Joachim, *read* St. Joachim
The **p**opulation of Quebec, six lines lower down, should be 28,000, instead of 38,000.
- 352, last line of the table, *for* city, *read* county.
- 353, column of remarks, the blank in the second line to be filled with 5,000, as the population of Three Rivers

THE
BRITISH DOMINIONS
IN
NORTH AMERICA

TOPOGRAPHICALLY DESCRIBED.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery of America.—Historical Sketch and Boundaries of the British Possessions.

To Christopher Columbus assuredly appertains the honour of the memorable discovery of the New World in 1492; but that the American continent was altogether *terra incognita* up to the period at which he traversed the Western Ocean, seems not quite so certain, at least as regards the northern countries of Europe.

The histories of Denmark, Norway, and Iceland attest the fact, that nearly five centuries* before the existence of the great western continent was made known in the south of Europe, through the bold discovery achieved by Columbus, not only the coasts of Greenland, but the north-eastern shores of America, had been partially explored by adventurous northern voyagers, who formed a colony in the land of their new discoveries, of which records were preserved down to the beginning of the twelfth century †. What has since become of this ancient settlement, and what was the precise geographical situation of Vinland (for thus the country they settled in was by them called), are things that will most probably remain for ever unknown, although, from the general analogy of description, its locality is supposed to have been the island of Newfoundland, or the southern coast of Labrador.

* Mackenzie's Travels in Iceland, 1810, and authorities there cited.

† Ibid.

Any discovery, however, which had thus fallen into almost utter oblivion, could not be considered as in any degree detracting from the fame of the celebrated Genoese discoverer, whose enterprising voyages westward mark the epoch at which America * became first known to the civilized world.

Columbus having taken possession of a great portion of the new continent in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Sebastian Cabot subsequently explored the southern section of North America, on behalf of Henry VII., and thus secured it to the crown of England. Viewing with a jealous eye the valuable and then recently acquired possessions of England and Spain, Francis I., King of France, aspiring to a participation in these advantages, equipped Verazani, a Florentine, then residing in France, who, after a fruitless attempt to cross the ocean in 1524, succeeded, the following year, in reaching Florida, whence he coasted northward to the 50° of latitude, taking nominal possession of the country, which he called "New France †." Having, in a subsequent voyage, returned to America, he was, soon after his landing on the continent, barbarously put to death by the natives ‡, without having previously effected the establishment of a colony §.

The further discovery of the northern parts of America was reserved for the enterprising Jacques Cartier, a Frenchman, who, bearing a commission from the King of France, sailed from St. Maloes on the 19th May, 1535, and explored the river St. Lawrence, so called from his first entering it on St. Lawrence's day, and ascended the river as far as *Hochelaga*, the Indian village then occupying the spot on which the city of Montreal now stands. Cartier had visited the gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, but did not attempt any discoveries beyond its shores, although he most probably, at that time, conceived a design and sketched a plan of operations, which were put into execution the year following.

* The new continent was thus called after *Americus Vespucius*, a navigator in the service of Ferdinand of Arragon, and the first who made graphical delineations of the new discoveries.

† History of Canada from its Discovery Smith, vol. i. p. 2.

‡ Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 8.

§ It is worthy of remark, that the pretensions and disputes of the three great naval powers of Europe—England, France, and Spain—for territorial sovereignty in America, arose from the discoveries of three Italians, Columbus, Cabot, and Verazani, who were equally strangers to the countries whose renown they extended and whose commerce they enlarged.

Thus stood the discoveries of the New World, when the efforts of the French to colonize Canada became at length so far successful, that, in 1604, a French settlement was formed; and, in 1608, Champlain, at the head of a small colony, laid the foundation of the city of Quebec *, a little above the junction of the river St. Charles with the St. Lawrence, and thus commenced the first permanent † European settlement in North America, on record ‡.

The precise line of boundary which divided the territories formerly belonging to the crowns of England and France in America seems never to have been distinctly defined. The voyages of discovery by the English and the French to the coast of North America, and their endeavours to form settlements on the new continent, had been nearly contemporaneous; and as both nations indefinitely claimed extensive dominions of which neither had the power of taking actual possession, it was soon discovered that the claims of the different parties were incompatible §.

In 1603, the tract of country lying between the parallels of the 40th and 46th degrees of north latitude, and then known under the name of Acadia, was granted by Henry IV. of France to Monsieur De Monts ||, with a commission of lieutenant-general; and in 1606, *three years after*, a large section of the same territory was included in a grant, under the letters-patent of James I., to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, granting to them the country comprehended between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude, "*that belonged to Great Britain, or was not then possessed by any other Christian prince or people ¶.*"

Under the French grant of 1603, settlements were formed on the

* Quebec, in Algonquin, signifies *strait*.

† In 1541, Jacques Cartier, as captain-general, built a fort at Cape Breton.

‡ The pilgrims landed at Plymouth, in New England, in 1620. Chalmers's Political Annals, 4to. p. 82.

§ L'Escarbot thus describes the boundaries of New France: "Ainsi notre Nouvelle France a pour limites du côté d'ouest les terres jusqu'à la mer dite Pacifique au-deçà du tropique de Cancer; au midi les îles de la Mer Atlantique du côté de Cuba et l'île Hespagnole; au levant la Mer du Nord, qui baigne la Nouvelle France; et au septentrion cette terre, qui est dite inconnue, vers la mer glacée jusqu'au Pôle Arctique."—Vol. i p. 31, ed. 1611.

|| L'Escarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. i. p. 92.

¶ Chalmers's Political Annals, 4to. edition, p. 13.

coast, near the St. Croix and at Port Royal, in the course of the two following years; and De Monts, who was accompanied by Champlain and Petrincourt, retained quiet possession of Acadia until their settlements were broken up, in 1614, by the successful but unwarrantable attack of Sir Samuel Argal*.

The country, afterwards called New England, comprised in the original charter to Sir Thomas Gates, was not settled till 1620, the period at which the pilgrims landed at Plymouth.

In September, 1621, James I. granted, under the great seal of Scotland, to Sir William Alexander, the country bounded towards the north, the east, and the south, by the St. Lawrence and the ocean, and on the west, by the river St. Croix. It was called Nova Scotia, and erected into a palatinate to be holden as a fief of the crown of Scotland. In 1625, Charles I. confirmed the grant to Sir William Alexander, who, five years afterwards, sold almost the whole interest he had in it to Sieur St. Etienne, a French hugonot, reserving the allegiance of the inhabitants, who were to continue subjects of the Scottish crown; but this stipulation seems to have been ineffectual, and the French retained absolute possession of the country†.

The attack on Quebec by Kirk in 1628, and its surrender to British arms the following year, were unknown in Europe when peace was re-established in April, 1629; and Charles I., by the treaty of St. Germain-en-laye, concluded in March, 1632, resigned to Louis the XIII. of France the sovereignty of "Acadia, New France, and Canada" generally and without limits; and, particularly, Port Royal, Quebec, and Cape Breton‡.

Three years after the peace of St. Germain, the province of Maine, originally known in New England under the name of Somersetshire, was granted to Sir Fernando Gorges, and was bounded eastward by the Kennebec river: and as Acadia extended southward along the coast to the 40° of north latitude§, and therefore beyond the Kennebec||, that

* Chalmers's Political Annals, 4to edition, p. 82.

† Ibid. p. 92.

§ Ibid. p. 188.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid. p. 73-4.

river must then have been considered the easternmost limits of the New England plantations, and the boundary between the English and French territories in that part of America. However, it appears that the whole country west of the St. Croix was subsequently claimed by the English as being within the colony of Massachusetts, while France manifested a determination to exclude them from the possession of the country east of the Kennebec. Acadia having been thus restored to the French, their sovereign granted to De Razilly the lands around the bay and river St. Croix; and in 1635 the company of New France conveyed the territory on the banks of the river St. John to St. Etienne, whom we have already mentioned, and De la Tour, the lieutenant-general of the colony*.

The New Englanders, meanwhile, viewed the progress of the French in their neighbourhood with jealous apprehension. Sedgewick, commander in chief of Cromwell's forces in New England, apparently actuated in a great measure by national antipathy, directed the arms destined for Manhattans against the French, who surrendered Port Royal in August, 1654, and, finally, the whole of Acadia, in consequence of the liberality of the terms of capitulation, yielded to his arms†. Attempts were subsequently made by the French, in negotiating the treaty of Westphalia, to recover Pentagoet (or Penobscot), Saint John, and Port Royal: but Cromwell, instead of restoring the conquered country, granted it to St. Etienne, Crown, and Temple, under the designation of Acadia, and *part of the country commonly called Nova Scotia*, extending south-westward to the river St. George; at the same time erecting that territory into a province distinct from New England, and appointing them hereditary governors of the country‡. The confusion which here occurs in the appellations of the territories granted created some perplexity afterwards; Nova Scotia being in fact but a section of Acadia, and comprehended within its limits§. In 1668, Charles II., in consideration of the cession of St. Christopher and other islands in the West Indies, restored to France, by the treaty of Breda, Acadia, specifying the Penobscot river as its boundary

* Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 186.

† Smith's History of Canada, vol. i. p. 59.

‡ Ibid.

§ Chalmers's Political Annals, p. 188.

on the west*; Pentagoet, Saint John, Port Royal, La Have, and Cape Sable lying within it†. The French had not possessed the country many years before the proximity and advancement of their settlements again aroused their New England neighbours to acts of hostility; and in 1690 Sir William Phipps, with eight small vessels and 800 men, reduced Port Royal and the whole coast between that place and the New England settlements. The French inhabitants took the oaths of allegiance to the crown of England, but did not long remain under British sovereignty, the treaty of Ryswick having restored them to the dominion of France. Port Royal, however, seemed doomed to be the seat of perpetual warfare. In 1710 the fort was bombarded by Colonel Nicholson at the head of the New England forces, and after a few days' resistance capitulated; when, together with the whole country, it was surrendered to British dominion‡, and the treaty of Utrecht, concluded March and April, 1713, confirmed to Great Britain, Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia or Acadia *with its ancient limits*§.

The treaty of Utrecht having thus operated a new partition of America, and the value of those transatlantic possessions becoming daily more evident, the boundaries to which they were henceforward to be restricted became proportionably important. Count de la Galissonnière, who succeeded Admiral de la Jonquière in the government of Canada, fully sensible of the expediency of assigning limits to the respective territories of the two powers, detached an officer, with 300 men, to the frontier of Canada. M. de Celeron de Bienville, who was intrusted with the execution of this service¶, proceeded to Detroit; and thence traversed the country to the Apalachian Mountains, where he deposited under ground, at different stations, leaden plates, on which were engraved the arms of France, recording the fact in formal acts or *procès-verbaux*, which he submitted to La Galissonnière, who afterwards transmitted them to France.

The adoption of these decisive acts of possession was duly communicated to Mr. Hamilton, the governor of Pennsylvania. He was

* Tracts relating to America, 1770.

† *Ibid.* p. 393.

‡ Smith's History of Canada, vol. i. p. 60, 61.

§ Twelfth article of the treaty.

requested by La Galissonière's letter, of which De Celeron was the bearer, to prohibit the inhabitants of his province from trading beyond the bounds which had been thus asserted and established, the French court having commanded him to seize the merchants, and confiscate the goods of those who might be discovered carrying on trade in the countries beyond the Apalachian or Allegany Mountains, incontestably belonging to the crown of France*.

In the course of the momentous and protracted negotiations, which brought about the famous treaty of 1763, we find that the French territorial pretensions in that quarter, as understood and traced by the Marquis de Vaudreuil at the surrender of Quebec in 1759, were tacitly relinquished, as previously assumed by La Galissonière, and that they were then described as comprehending, on one side, the Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior; and the "said" line drawn to the Red Lake, taking in a serpentine progress the river Ouabachi as far as its junction with the Ohio, then extended itself along the latter river as far as its influx into the Mississippi†. This demarcation, not exempt from the common fault of obscurity that generally pervades the description of original boundaries, recedes therefore from the Apalachian and Allegany Mountains westward to the Ouabachi or Wabache, leaving the intermediate country to Great Britain; and the treaty of 1763, finally determined the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and the King of France to be a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source as far as the river Iberville, and thence by a line drawn through the middle of the Lakes Mârepas and Pontchartrain to the sea.

With regard to the northern limits of Louisiana, claimed by the French as extending to the southern bounds of Canada, it appears to have been especially a subject of negotiation in the spirited diplomatic correspondence between the courts of England and France in 1761, how far such a claim could be recognised. Mr. Pitt denied the admissibility of the pretensions advanced by the Duc de Choiseul on behalf

* Smith's History of Canada, vol. i. p. 209-10.

† Answer of England to the ultimatum of France, 1761. Collection of Treaties, vol. iii.

of France, and asserted the neutrality of the country lying between Canada and Louisiana, which was occupied by numerous independent Indian tribes, over which neither crown should exercise the right of sovereignty*.

Such were the boundaries of the English and French possessions in America, previous to the peace of 1783, by which we find that the New England plantations, of which Maine was the easternmost, were bounded on the east by the Kennebec, and on the west by the Mississippi. It was not until the treaty of Paris in 1783 that the northern limits of the country, recently under the dominion of Great Britain, and which had now become an independent state, were ever defined. Nor does it appear to have been necessary in a national point of view up to that period, the whole of the continent from Louisiana, northward and eastward, to the Arctic sea and the borders of the Atlantic, having been exclusively under the sovereignty of the crown of England, during the interval between the conquest of Canada in 1759 and the recognition of American independence in 1783.

By the treaty of 1783 the United States were divided from the British and French dominions in America, on the west, by the river Mississippi from its source to the 31° of north latitude, thence, by a line drawn due east on that latitude to the river Apalachicola or Catahouche, up the middle thereof to its junction with Flint river, thence by a straight line to the head of St. Mary's river and down the middle of that river to the Atlantic Ocean: on the east, by the river St. Croix to its source, and a line due north from thence to the highlands: towards the north, first, by such intersected highlands which divide the waters of the ocean from those of the gulfs, rivers, and bays in that part of the continent, as far as the north-westernmost head of the Connecticut river; secondly, down that river centrally to the 45° of latitude; thirdly, by that parallel until it strikes the river Iroquois, Cataraqui or St. Lawrence; and, fourthly, by a line continuing westward through that river and the great lakes to the north-westernmost point of the Lake of the Woods; and thence, on a line due west, to the Mississippi. But it was afterwards found that such

* Negotiations for the Peace of 1763. *

a line would never strike the river, as its highest waters did not extend beyond lat. $47^{\circ} 36'$ north, whilst the point of the Lake of the Woods, whence the line was to depart, stood in lat. $49^{\circ} 20'$ north, and therefore 104 geographical miles further north than the source of the Mississippi. The fourth article of the treaty of London in 1794 provided for the amicable adjustment of this anomaly, but its intentions were never carried into effect; and the subject came under the consideration of Lord Holland and the late Lord Auckland, on one side, and Mr. Munroe and Mr. Pickering on the other, during the negotiations of 1806. The British negotiators contended that the nearest line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi was the boundary, according to the true intent of the treaty of 1783; the Americans insisted that the line was to run *due west*, and, since it never could intersect the Mississippi, that it must run due west across the whole continent*!

This untenable interpretation of the treaty and the extravagance of the American claims must appear manifest; as all pretensions they started at that time to any portion of the country west of the Mississippi must have been perfectly gratuitous and unsupported, their acknowledged boundaries westward then being the Mississippi itself. But the subsequent acquisition of Louisiana by the United States checked all decisive measures relative to boundaries, which might have compromised their territorial claims, or, to use the words of an American publication, attributed to an eminent statesman†, in assigning a reason for the non-ratification of the convention, "lest it should be supposed that something was thereby surrendered of what they had purchased under the name of Louisiana."

It will be recollected, that in negotiating the treaty of 1763, the British minister asserted the neutrality of a section of country situate between Canada and Louisiana, although no boundary had yet been definitively assigned to the former, nor had any then been clearly established for the latter. The convention between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, signed at London in October, 1818, seems, however, to have set at rest any question that might arise relative

* Notice respecting the boundary line, 1813.

† Governor Morris.

to the existence of such an intervening section of country, and distinctly fixes the boundary between the dominions of Great Britain and the United States in this part of America to be "a line drawn from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or if the said point shall not be in the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then by a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, to the said parallel, and from the point of intersection, due west, along and with the said parallel, to the Stony Mountains *."

By the third article, the country on the north-west coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, is left free and open for the term of ten years, from the date of the convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers, *without, nevertheless, affecting thereby the claims which either of the contracting parties might have to any portion of such country.* In 1828 the term thus limited expired, without any settlement having been previously made to determine what should thereafter be considered the partition of the territory on the shores of the north Pacific, and Great Britain and the United States now rest their respective claims on that section of the continent upon the sanction and authority of first discovery and occupation. Nor does the question depend upon these two governments alone, as may be seen by the correspondence that took place in 1822 between the Chevalier de Politica, the Russian minister, at Washington, and the American secretary of state, by which the imperial crown of Russia distinctly claims the north-west coast of America, from Bhering's Strait to the 55° of north latitude. It would even push its pretensions as far south as the 49° of north latitude, but finally adopts the 51°, upon the principle of a fair compromise, and the circumstance that this point is equi-distant from the Russian settlement of Novo Archangelsk, on the one side, and the United States' settlement, at Columbia river, on the other. Thus it would appear, that, disregarding the undeniable rights of the British government on the North American shores of the Pacific, founded upon the anterior and well-known discoveries of Cook, Vancouver, and Mac-

kenzie, Russia and the United States* would proceed to the discussion of their exclusive *jus dominii*, and deliberately apportion to themselves an extensive territory, which, on the face of every geographical delineation of America, bears evidence of its being a British discovery, surveyed and explored by British officers and subjects, and whose bays, rivers, islands, and hills are universally known by English names, several of which were distinguished by the discoverers with the names of the then royal family of Great Britain.

In referring to the history of Russian discoveries between Asia and America, as well as to the geographical delineation of them under the direction and authority of the imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, we find that they were chiefly confined to the exploration of the archipelago of islands, by which the sea of Kamtschatka is bounded to the southward, and that when Captain Bhering discovered Mount Elias in latitude $58^{\circ} 28' \dagger$ north, and Tscherikoff discovered what he supposed to be the American coast in latitude $56^{\circ} \ddagger$ north, it was then very doubtful whether these points were insular or continental \dagger . Subsequent voyages of British explorers, it is true, have removed these doubts, and proved that Bhering's Mount St. Elias was really on the continent; but they also established, that Tscherikoff's discovery in latitude 56° must have been an island. At Mount St. Elias should, therefore, terminate the pretensions of Russia on the north-west coast of America; south of this point no ostensible grounds can be advanced in support of its claims on the continent; nor, indeed, could they well be sustained, even to the island touched at by Tscherikoff, as it is very doubtful how far so naked and superficial a recognition of land could be considered sufficient to bear out a claim to territories or constitute any species of possession.

But if the claims of Russia appear to go beyond what their substantial discoveries and possession warrant, those of the United States are

* The boundary between these two powers was settled by convention, dated April 5, 1814, and is fixed at the 54th degree of latitude. Was Great Britain a party to this convention?

\dagger Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries, p. 277. Vide Nouvelle Carte des Decouvertes faites par des Vaisseaux Russes aux Côtes inconnues de l'Amerique, dressée sur des Mémoires authentiques de ceux qui ont assistés à ces Decouvertes, &c. à l'Academie de Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1758.

\ddagger Ibid. p. 282.

extravagant in the extreme, and wholly without foundation. In 1783, when that vast and flourishing republic first became a free and independent state, its dominions, as defined by the treaty of peace, were bounded to the westward by the Mississippi. Until their acquisition of Louisiana, in 1803, they could not legitimately start any pretensions to the country beyond that river, founded upon the faith of treaties. It is only since the date of the recent exploring surveys of Captains Clarke and Lewis, in 1804, 1805, and 1806, that they can claim any portion of the north-west coast of America under colour of discovery or occupancy. It is believed, however, that they also rely upon the trading voyage performed by Mr. Gray, in the American vessel that gave its name to the Columbia, also known by the name of Oregon river, some time antecedently to the surveys of Vancouver in 1792; but the total inaccuracy of his sketch of the mouth of that river induced a belief, not only that he never saw, but never was within five leagues of it*. Lieutenant Broughton, who had been left by Vancouver, to explore this part of the coast, whilst he proceeded to another, did not hesitate, therefore, previous to his departure, to take formal possession of the river and the country in its vicinity, in his Britannic majesty's name, having, as he states, "every reason to believe, that the subjects of no other civilized nation had ever entered that river before†." But if it be insisted, that this bare recognition of land, merely, perhaps, from a ship's deck, be an adequate claim to discovery, it will not be denied that the voyages of Captain Cook, in 1778, along the American shores of the Pacific, abundantly establish the priority of the British claims to those of the United States upon that coast; his discoveries having extended as far south as Cape Gregory, in latitude 43° 30' north, and much further north than the entrance of Columbia river: and, in 1793, Sir Alexander Mackenzie traversed the western section of the continent to the shores of the Pacific, where he inscribed his name on a rock, with the date of his discovery, latitude 52° 20' 48" north‡.

* Vancouver, vol. ii. p. 66.

† Ibid.

‡ This spot he found to be the check of Vancouver's cascade canal. *Mackenzie's Voyages*, p. 349.

A thriving settlement was soon afterwards formed at Columbia river, under the direction and auspices of the Canadian north-west company, in direct communication with their settlements in Canada, and their inland trade extended southward, to the Spanish settlements of California, and northward, to those of the Russians at New Archangel. Up to the period at which the north-west company became merged in the Hudson's Bay company, they had upwards of three hundred Canadians employed in the fur trade between the Rocky Mountains and the sea, and, in fact, carried on an extensive export trade by the Pacific, from territories that appeared to them undeniably to be, as they really were, a part of the British dominions*.

The rights of Great Britain were, moreover, distinctly acknowledged by Spain in the convention agreed to between the courts of London and Madrid shortly before Vancouver left the shores of England for America. Depredations had been committed by Spaniards in 1789 upon British settlements at Nootka, and the Spanish government, by the convention, restored to the subjects of the British crown the country in the vicinity of Nootka Sound, of which they had been thus unlawfully dispossessed †.

The instructions from the Board of Admiralty to Vancouver limited his discoveries and operations to that part of the coast lying between the 30° and 60° ‡ of north latitude, and contained positive injunctions not to explore the country south of the lowest latitude mentioned, which might then be considered the ultimate bounds of the Spanish claims. They have since extended their pretensions, and not without just grounds, to Cape Blanco, in latitude 42° 50' north, at which point it appears they have themselves stopped as their northern boundary on the shores of the Pacific §.

THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA are, therefore, divided from the adjoining territories of foreign states, whether under the authority of treaties or the right of first discovery and occupancy, by the following line of boundary, more particularly defined on the geo-

* Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries, 1818, p. 124.

† Vancouver—Introduction, vol. i. p. xviii.

‡ Ibid.

§ Correspondence between the Russian minister and the American secretary of state, 1822.

graphical map accompanying this work, viz. from the mouth of the river St. Croix, in Passamaquoddy Bay, to its source *; thence by a north meridional line forty-one miles to the highlands; along those highlands westward to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; down the

* What should be deemed the source of the St. Croix was determined by commissioners in 1798, under the treaty of 1794; and the point whence the due north line should be started, the latitude being $45^{\circ} 48' 8''$ north, was denoted by a cedar stake or picket, marked ST. XVIII. ST., found at the head of a small stream. Five feet two inches south of it a yellow birch, about five feet eight inches in diameter, leaning to the east, was hooped with iron. A cedar log, at the foot of the birch, lying north-east and south-west, bears on the south-east side "1797. SILVANUS SAWYER." In examining the rind of the *blazed* or marked trees, the layers of bark were found to correspond exactly with the date deciphered. In 1817 the United States' surveyor and his Britannic Majesty's surveyor-general, under the treaty of Ghent, opened their operations under the 5th article by erecting a new monument a few feet north of the former, consisting of a cedar post, twelve feet long and eight inches square, with large rocks on the east and west sides. The following inscription is carved on the monument:—

North face.

"Var. $13^{\circ} 51' 2''$ west.

"COL. JOS. BOUCHETTE, H. B. M. surveyor-general."

South face.

"JOHN JOHNSON, U. S. surveyor and S. G. V. S."

East face.

"NEW BRUNSWICK, July 31, 1817."

West face.

"UNITED STATES, 31st July, 1817."

The rocks are marked with the initials thus:

Eastern rock.

"N. B. July 31, 1817. I. B."

Western rock.

"U. S. July 31, 1817. J. J."

From this monument the boundary was departed due north by the surveyors jointly, and the *exploring* line prolonged, on a true meridional bearing, to the Great Wagansis, or head waters of the Ristigouche, a distance of ninety-nine miles, four chains; and mile-posts were planted along its whole extent. The *permanent* line was not, however, opened beyond the twentieth mile, and terminated at the Maduxnekeag river.

At seventy-seven miles, twenty-five chains, ten links, the exploring line intersected the river St. John, passing two miles and a half west of the British military post, at the Great Falls.

In 1818 the line was explored, from the Wagansis, forty-seven miles further north, forming altogether an extended line of one hundred and forty-six miles of actual measurement, admirably adapted as the base of a series of triangulations, by which the whole of the territory in dispute might have been trigonometrically surveyed, and a more perfect knowledge of its surface acquired, than could be expected from partial, unconnected, and desultory operations, whatever might be the ability with which they may have been severally performed.



An Stone by L. Haghe.

etched by Col. Bourin the 31 July 1817.

INSCRIPTION on the NEW MONUMENT erected at the SOURCE of the S^T CROIX on the 31ST JULY, 1817.

N Face. COL. JOS BOUCHETTE HBM SURV^T GEN^L Var 13° 31' 2" West E Face. New Brunswick, July 31 1817 printed in same manner.
S Face. JOHN JOHNSON US SURVEYOR & S^G V^T N Face. United States, 31 July 1817. At the bottom of the Monument on the East and West Faces are two stones: inscribed marked respectively with the initials of the surveyors the date & also the initials of the different Territories viz on the West side N E (New Brunswick) 31 July 1817. J B (Joseph Bouchette) on the East side U S (United States) 31 July 1817. J J (John Johnson) the whole printed in capital letters. A an Iron Ring in a Beech Tree old Monument fixed in 1707.

Connecticut to the 45° of north latitude; thence by that parallel of latitude till it strikes the St. Lawrence at St. Regis; thence up the middle of the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and through the middle of the great lakes and their communicating waters, to the head of Lake Superior; thence to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, in latitude $49^{\circ} 20'$ north; thence by a line due south till it intersect the 49° parallel of latitude, and along that parallel to the Rocky Mountains; thence along that elevated range of mountains to the latitude $42^{\circ} 50'$; and finally upon that parallel of latitude to the Pacific Ocean. On the west they may be considered as separated from the dominions of Russia, in America, by a line from Mount St. Elias, due north to the Frozen Ocean.

By the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, concluded at Ghent in 1814, it was provided that commissioners should be appointed by both governments to ascertain and establish, by actual surveys and operations, the line of boundary between the territories of both states in America, from the source of the river St. Croix to the Lake of the Woods, in conformity to, and in accordance with, the spirit of the treaty of 1783. Commissioners were in consequence severally appointed by the two countries, to carry into effect the provisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the treaty of Ghent; that part of the boundary from St. Regis westward being allotted to one set of commissioners, under the 6th and 7th articles, and the other part, from St. Regis eastward, to another set, under the 4th and 5th articles.

Under the 4th article, the commissioners agreed to the following distribution of the islands in the Bay of Fundy and Passamaquoddy Bay:—Grand Manan and the isles east thereof in the Bay of Fundy, together with Campo Bello, Deer and Indian islands, in Passamaquoddy Bay, and the minor isles east thereof, were left to Great Britain; Moose Island and the minor isles south and north-west of it remaining within the limits of the United States.

On the 18th of June, 1822, the commissioners for the settlement of the boundary west from St. Regis made their joint report to their respective governments, and thereby amicably adjusted and determined so

much of the frontier limits of both territories as fall under the 6th article of the treaty. Beginning at a stone monument erected by Andrew Ellicott, Esq., in the year 1817, on the south bank or shore of the river St. Lawrence*, to indicate the point at which the 45th parallel of north latitude strikes that river; the line runs north $35^{\circ} 00' 45''$ west into the river, at right angles to the southern shore, to a point 100 yards south of the opposite island, called Cornwall Island; from which point it turns westerly, and is carried, as near as circumstances could admit, through the middle of the rivers, lakes, and water communications to the head of Lake Huron†. The immense multitude of islands dispersed, not only in the St. Lawrence, but at the discharge of the straits or rivers that connect the great lakes, must have rendered the adjustment of this section of the boundary excessively intricate and embarrassing, especially as many of the islands were no doubt important as points of military defence or commercial protection on the frontier, that either party would naturally be anxious to retain‡. The relinquishment of Barnhart's Island by the British commissioners, from its throwing the navigable channel of that section of the St. Lawrence exclusively within the American dominions,

* This monument bears south $74^{\circ} 45'$ west, and is 1840 yards distant from the stone church in the Indian village of St. Regis.

† See the report of the commissioners, Appendix (No. 1.)

‡ The islands most worthy of note from their magnitude or importance, that fall within the British dominions, are Cornwall and Sheik's Island; the Nut Islands; Cusson, Duck, Drummond, and Sheep Islands; Rowe's, Grenadier, and Hickory Islands, and Grand or Long Island, all in the St. Lawrence; the Duck Islands in Lake Ontario; Navy Island in Niagara river; in Lake Erie, Middle Island, the Hen and Chickens, the Eastern and Middle Sisters; in Detroit river, Isle au Bois Blanc, Fighting or Great Turkey Island, and Isle à la Pêche; Squirrel Island in Lake St. Clair; Belle Rivière Isle and Isle aux Cerfs in river St. Clair; and St. Joseph's Island in Lake Huron.

Within the limits of the United States are included Barnhart's Island, Lower and Upper Long Sault Islands, Chrystler's, Goose-neck, and Smuggler's Islands, Isle au Rapide Plat; most of the Gallop Islands; Tick, Tibbet, Chimney, Gull, and Bluff Islands; Wells, Grindstone, and Carleton Islands, all in the St. Lawrence; Grenadier, Fox, Stony, and Gollop Islands in Lake Ontario; Goat, Grand, and Beaver Islands, and Strawberry, Squaw, and Bird Islands in Niagara river; Cunningham Island, the three Bass Islands, and the Western Sister, in Lake Erie; Sugar, Fox, and Stony Islands, and Hog Island, in the Detroit river; Herson's Island in river St. Clair; and in Lake Huron, Drummond's Island and Isle à la Crosse

was considered an important sacrifice; but the exclusive possession of Grand Isle, which was left to Great Britain, was esteemed an adequate equivalent for its surrender.

The operations in virtue of the seventh article do not appear to have yet terminated, and the precise boundary from the head of Lake Huron to the north-west extremity of the Lake of the Woods remains still undefined, beyond the description of it contained in the general terms of the treaty.

In determining the geographical boundary between St. Regis and the Connecticut river, it was soon discovered that the original demarcation of the 45th parallel of north latitude widely deviated from the true course of that parallel, the position of which was carefully ascertained by the joint observations of the British and American astronomers employed on that service in 1818*. It was found that the pre-existing line was drawn almost wholly north of the true geographical bearing of that circle of latitude. The astronomical observations taken at different stations have yielded the following results: They proved that at St. Regis the old line was actually 1375 feet, statute measure, north of the 45° of north latitude, and that Ellicott's line was 30 feet too far north of the true parallel. At French Mills the aberration of the old from the new line was found to be 154 feet, the former lying north of the latter; two miles and a half farther east from thence the new line intersected the old, and traversed to the south, until it reached Chateauguay river, where its greatest southing measured 975 feet. At Rouse's Point, on the shores of Lake Champlain, a considerable difference was discovered; the new boundary passing 4576 feet south

* It is highly desirable and important, for the peace and welfare of the frontier inhabitants of both countries, that the boundary, thus determined and fixed at various points by astronomical observations, should be actually traced and conspicuously marked in the field, and mile-posts planted throughout its extent. Substantial stone monuments should also be erected at different stations: at St. Regis; Salmon river; the Chateauguay; the road at Odell Town; on the borders of the Richelieu and Missisqui Bay; at Stanstead; and on the Connecticut river; that no doubt might thereafter arise as to the limits of both territories. It is presumed that such a mere demarcation of the boundary could be sanctioned by the local legislatures of the states of New York and Vermont and the provincial government of Lower Canada; the chief stations being already astronomically established under the authority of the treaty of Ghent.

of the former, and involving in the relinquishment of the triangular tract of territory thus formed, an American fort, which has been neglected since, and is now in ruins. From the shores of Mississqui bay to the Connecticut river, the old line lies universally to the north of the true boundary, forming an elongated gore of land, stretching along the whole extent of the frontier townships, from St. Armand to Hereford*.

Thus far the interpretation of the 5th article of the treaty suffered no difficulty, and its provisions were substantially carried into effect; but in the execution of the remaining part of the service, from the head of Connecticut river to the source of the St. Croix, momentous differences have arisen between both governments, involving the adverse possession of upwards of 10,000 square miles of territory, which the concurring weight of the spirit of the treaty of 1783, the broad principles of public justice that govern the construction of international compacts, superadded to the weight of satisfactorily proved possession, establish as the undeniable and indefeasible right of the crown of Great Britain. In stating that the spirit of the treaty of 1783 is favourable to the British claims, it is by no means intended to concede the point that its *letter* is the reverse; but, as any person acquainted with the geography of the country in dispute must know, the utter impossibility, from physical causes, of drawing a line of boundary such as described by the wording of the treaty, throws the parties exclusively upon its intent and meaning, which avowedly contemplated "*reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience*," and proceeded "*upon principles of liberal equity and reciprocity*, to the exclusion of all *partial advantages*," and the promotion of "*perpetual peace*" between both countries.

These adverse claims have become the subject of foreign umpirage, and have been laid before his majesty the King of the Netherlands, together with the arguments urged on behalf of both governments in support of their respective assumptions. To enter here at length into the discussion of the question would, therefore, appear a task of super-

* These aberrations of the boundary on the 45th parallel of north latitude were known to the author in 1815, and partially stated by him in his former work on the *Topography of Lower Canada*, p. 278.

rogation, since such a reference, the negotiations of which have closed, has rendered any ulterior investigation unnecessary. But it cannot, however, be deemed either digressive, or an officious anticipation of the decision of so important a matter, as connected with the strength and preservation of the British American provinces, if, in professedly describing the boundaries between the territories of distinct powers, the merits of these repugnant claims should be succinctly considered, whatever may be the award of the crowned head to whose wisdom and equity the settlement of the momentous difficulty has been amicably referred.

To compass at one glance the leading points, out of which have grown the arguments relied upon by the United States, it may be stated, that the whole weight of their claim rests upon three grounds: first, the letter of the treaty of 1783, which, they assert, supports their claim; secondly, the circumstance of Mitchell's map having been, as is presumed, before the commissioners who negotiated that treaty; and, thirdly, the existence of highlands, where they place the north-west angle of Nova Scotia and their north-eastern boundary.

To these grounds of support, or the inferences that would be drawn from them, a direct denial is given by the supporters of the British claim, and the question distinctly stands at issue. Let us, therefore, take up the points in their order, and briefly consider their merits and their refutation.

The words of the treaty are the following: "From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north, from the source of the river St. Croix to the highlands; along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river," &c. This description, it is contended by the agents of the American government, bears out their assumption of a boundary, which, crossing the St. John, is pushed northward from the source of the St. Croix to a point in or near the 48° of north latitude, within forty-one miles of the St. Lawrence, and upwards of eighty miles north of the latitude of Quebec, and therefore traversing the whole extent of the vast peninsula formed by the ocean, the river St. Lawrence, and the gulf. From this point

turning westward, after having divided, by their meridional line, the waters of the *gulf* from those of the *river St. Lawrence*—(what here becomes of the *letter* of the treaty?)—they proceed along the table land, where the sources are found, not of rivers “falling into the Atlantic Ocean on one side and the *St. Lawrence* on the other,” but of rivers discharging themselves southward into the *St. John*, and northward into the *St. Lawrence*. Here, again, what becomes of the mere *letter* of the treaty?

That the British boundary from Mars Hill westward is, in a measure, open to the same objection, and equally irreconcilable with the express language of the treaty, in respect to the division of waters, it is not intended fully to deny; but it is abundantly sufficient to prove, by facts beyond the power of contradiction, that the *letter* of the treaty of 1783 has described a boundary, which the physical and hydrographical divisions of the country to be divided, rendered it utterly impossible substantially to establish. Thus are the parties necessarily thrown, for a fair and honest interpretation of the treaty, upon its avowed motives, its principle, and its spirit. That these should all concur in yielding their whole weight to sustain the British claims to their fullest extent, will appear evident to an impartial umpire, from the introductory language of the treaty, and an inspection of the map of the disputed territory.

“Liberal equity and reciprocity,” and “mutual convenience and advantages,” are terms that adequately explain the nature of the motives which dictated the treaty, and point out, at the same time, quite as emphatically, the spirit in which its provisions, in cases of ambiguity, were to be afterwards interpreted. Its obvious meaning and intention, in dividing waters at their heads, were to give exclusively to each country the whole extent of rivers flowing within their respective dominions, from their sources to their mouths. This was important, first, because, in a commercial point of view, such an undivided use of rivers by the inhabitants of the respective states was of the greatest moment to their welfare, peace, and tranquillity, and well calculated to avoid all “seeds of discord;” and secondly, under a military aspect, such an exclusive possession of water-courses by either power, rendered each, less open to invasion, by the arms of the other; and hence has it been truly said:

* Considerations on the north-east boundary line.

that an *arcifinius* boundary was contemplated, which might serve both countries for mutual defence, without giving to either party the advantages for attack, and "especially of that whose dominions were most likely, as distant possessions, to be invaded." Will it then be boldly asserted, that a line bisecting the St. John river nearly into two equal parts, leaving the upper half to the United States and the lower half to Great Britain, is in unison with the true spirit of the treaty? Will it be contended, that a line running within a few (at some points only nine) statute miles along the shores of the St. Lawrence, and embracing within its limits by far the greater portion of the vast peninsula already described, lying west of the meridian line, from the source of the St. Croix, is consonant with its obvious sense and principle? Such a boundary must, on the contrary, appear decidedly repugnant to the spirit of the treaty, and wholly inconsistent with its declared object, the convenience and advantage of both governments.

To maintain their unjustifiable construction of the treaty, the advocates of the American side of the question attach much adventitious importance to the circumstance of Mitchell's map, published in 1755, having been before the negotiators of the peace in 1783, and hence they gratuitously infer that the boundaries, as thereupon delineated, must have governed the verbal description contained in the treaty. But no evidence of the fact is adduced; nor is it to be presumed that Mitchell's was the only map under the consideration of the plenipotentiaries. If on this subject it were allowed at all to speculate on probabilities, it would, on the contrary, be very presumable that maps of the later conquests of Great Britain in America, were before them at the time, and that it was in endeavouring to reconcile the discrepancies that existed on the face of those several maps in the delineation of the original boundaries of Canada or Nouvelle France, Acadia, and Nova Scotia, that such ambiguity crept into the second article of the treaty.

But there is one fact which impugns the whole weight that has been so studiously attached to Mitchell's map. Upon it, the western boundary of Nova Scotia is carried to the very shores of the St. Lawrence: here ~~there would be the north-west angle of Nova Scotia~~ under its authority.

So absurd an assumption would be altogether untenable in the face of the treaty of 1783; and the fact clearly proves that the NORTH-EAST angle of New England, as marked on that map, was never intended, at *that point* to adjoin the NORTH-WEST angle of Nova Scotia, for the new formation of which the treaty expressly provides, when it says, *viz.* "That angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands." Hence we may fairly infer that the boundaries contemplated by the commissioners at the framing of the treaty were different to those laid down on the map in question.

It is also a circumstance worthy of remark, which throws some light on the character of Mitchell's map as influencing the determination of such a controversy, that Governor Pownall, whose name is to be seen upon it, had been captain-general and governor in chief over the four New England colonies, and very naturally extended the line that was to separate his government from the French possessions in North America, to the nearest point he could with any tolerable plausibility; whilst the French government were not wanting in setting up claims equally extravagant in the other direction.

The bare fact of the existence of highlands at the point at which the American commissioners would place the north-west angle of Nova Scotia and their north-eastern boundary can avail them nothing, either under the letter or the spirit of the treaty. To avail them under its *letter*, upon which alone they seem so confidently to have hinged all their reliance, such highlands must be shown to divide the waters of the *sea* from those of the *St. Lawrence*; but, far from doing this, they *separate*, or rather are found about the sources of rivers falling, first, into the opposite direction of the *Bay of Chaleurs* and the *St. Lawrence*, and, secondly, into the *St. Lawrence* and the *St. John*.

That such a fact could sustain their claim under the *spirit* of the treaty has, it is believed, been shown to be impossible from the direct violation it would evidently carry with it of those principles of mutual "convenience," "advantage," and "reciprocity" by which it was professedly dictated.

It is also contended that the line of boundary assumed by the

United States is justified by the physical elation of the country ; and it has been the peculiar study of an able American writer and topographer*, in a work entitled "*A Survey of Maine*," accompanied by an excellent map of that state, and a volume of geological profiles and elevations, published in 1829,—to prove that such was the case.

Up to 1817, when the field operations under the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent were commenced, the knowledge of the tract of territory in dispute was but very imperfect, and chiefly restricted to those parts which lie in the immediate vicinity of the mail route of communication by Lake Temiscouata, between Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia ; the rest being a dense forest, which had hitherto been traversed only by savage tribes in the prosecution of their hunting pursuits. Since that period, explorations and surveys were performed under the authority of both governments, which have in a great measure supplied the deficiency ; although the contradictory delineations of the face of the country, that have resulted from the operations, subsequently to 1817, have materially affected the weight to be attached to their authenticity.

It is not intended in this place, to enter upon the description of the tract thus claimed by a foreign state, as it will come under the general account of the province of Lower Canada ; but merely to examine its locality, in so far as it affects the pretensions of the adverse claimants.

Taking then the geological aspect of this territory from the elaborate topographical description of it by Mr. Greenleaf, decidedly the best extant, we find, that if the greatest "mass"† of elevated land between the St. Lawrence and the ocean, be found to the northward of the St. John ; yet the most PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE HIGHEST POINTS, are to the south of that river‡, and almost equi-distant from the shores of the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence. That the land lying between the St. Lawrence and the St. John forms an elevated table plain, it is not attempted to deny. We wish here to get at truth through the medium of *positive* information. But, assuming that the division of the waters of the rivers St. Lawrence and St. John could

* Messrs Greenleaf, Esq.

† Survey of Maine, p. 55.

‡ Ibid. p. 56.

operate favourably in support of the American pretensions, this high table-land *does not, in point of fact*, divide the streams flowing in opposite directions. It is the *seat* (if such an expression may be used) of their sources; and the eminences that are found about these head-waters generally rise *along the banks* of the rivers, and seldom or never separate their springs; which circumstance imparts to this tract of country a peculiarity of character that can find no analogy in the terms of the treaty of 1783, and cannot, certainly, be successfully insisted upon as the boundary contemplated by it.

The river St. John is described as “exhibiting in a striking light the singular fact of the passage of a large river in an elevated canal, *along the back*, and *nearly at the summit-level*, of the lofty table-land, of which, in this part of its course, the main ridge, or height of land, between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence consists*.” This is admitted, and it is equally well known, that the largest rivers that discharge themselves into the St. John, above the forks at Madawaska, flow from the south-west, and must necessarily descend from a higher to a lower level, from their sources to their junctions with it. It must, therefore, appear evident, that the country, at the heads of the Allegash and other streams that fall into the St. John from the southward, must be higher than the bed of the St. John itself, at least below the junction of the west branch with the Walloostook, or main St. John, which flows from thence in a gentle current. This general superiority of local elevation, superadded to the acknowledged pre-eminence of the mountains of that section of the tract, above the summit of any other hills between the ocean and the St. Lawrence,—and in which highlands alone the sources of the rivers descending to the Atlantic are to be found,—must be conclusive against the American pretensions, and strongly support the substantial right and claims of Great Britain to the boundary it assumes.

With respect to the rights of Great Britain, founded upon acts of possession and sovereignty, it is notorious, that, for years, the British mail was uninterruptedly carried through the territory now claimed by the United States, and that through it, a constant, open, and public com-

* Survey of Maine, p. 78.

munication was kept up between Canada and the gulf and sea-board provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. British veteran pensioners, after the war of 1775, were located by the government of Canada to lands on the Madawaska river, and on the portage of Temiscouata, which was opened at public expense by the British government. As far back as 1683 *, the French government granted the fiefs Madawaska and Temiscouata, as being within the limits of Canada, to Sieur Antoine Aubert and David Lachenaye, the original proprietors; and those seigniories are now in the occupancy of British subjects, governed by British laws, and under British protection.

The vigorous but nugatory attempts made by the local government of Massachusetts, in 1828 and 1829, to warp Great Britain out of the possession of the tract of country occupied by the Madawaska settlement, are well known, and merely served to establish, in the course of a legal investigation in the courts of justice of New Brunswick, the irrefragable rights of the British crown, to exercise sovereignty over that section of country and its inhabitants, under, at least, the authority of actual possession and occupancy. It was legally proved, that the inhabitants of that settlement not only recognised British allegiance, conformed to the militia laws, and looked up to the colonial courts of justice for the recovery of debts, and redress of wrongs, but exercised the franchises of British subjects, by voting at elections, and being represented in the local legislatures of the provinces †.

In devoting a few pages to the consideration of so momentous a subject to the interests of the mother country, as the boundaries of her British dominions in America, it has by no means been intended to review at large the numerous arguments urged in behalf of both powers by their respective agents, under the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent; but merely to collect, at one view, the prominent features of the question, and the leading points upon which either government relied, leaving such as are desirous of a more extensive investigation of the merits of the

* *Registre de Foi et Hommage*, 1723, fol. 23.

† See the evidence in the case of *Dom. Rex v. John Baker*, K. B., New Brunswick; also the correspondence between the British minister for foreign affairs and Mr. Lawrence, American chargé d'affaires, 1828.

controversy, to consult the various papers, that have appeared in print upon the subject *.

Should, however, any new argument be here discovered, or any further light have been thrown, by these brief remarks, upon the different views that have already been taken of the question, they have unconsciously flowed from sources of that truth and reciprocal justice that ought to govern the decision of so important a controversy, and which, as they form the basis of social order and happiness, are no less the springs of international peace and prosperity.

* The chief of these are, "Considerations on the North-Eastern Boundary, 1826," John Hatchard and Son, London; "The Letters of Verax," published at St. John's, New Brunswick; the able editorial articles in the Quebec Star, by Andrew Stuart, Esq.; and an article in the North American Review, No. () 1828.

CHAPTER II.

Geographical Situation—Extent—and Divisions of the British North American Possessions.—North West, and Hudson's Bay, Territories.

THE British dominions in North America, as bounded in the foregoing chapter, lie between $41^{\circ} 47'$ and 78° north latitude, or the extreme point to which the discoveries have hitherto extended, towards the arctic pole; and between the meridians of the 52d and 141st degrees of longitude, west from Greenwich.

They may be computed, in round numbers, to comprise upwards of four millions of geographical square miles of territory; extending across the whole continent, from the Atlantic on the east, to the shores of the North Pacific Ocean on the west. On the parallel of the 49° of north latitude, their extreme breadth is about 3066 geographical miles; and their greatest depth, from the most southern point of Upper Canada in Lake Erie to Smith's Sound in the polar regions, rather more than 2150; thus embracing a large portion of the shores of the arctic seas, those of the Atlantic as far south as Cape Sable in Nova Scotia, and of the North Pacific, from latitude $42^{\circ} 50'$ north, to Mount St. Elias in latitude $58^{\circ} 28'$ north, according to Bhering, and latitude $60^{\circ} 20'$ north by subsequent observations.

Of this immense superficies it may be said, upon an average computation, that about 700,000 square miles* are covered by water, including the great lakes of the St. Lawrence, which are equally divided between Great Britain and the United States, by an imaginary line, drawn longitudinally through their respective centres. The waters of this vast region, expanding into lakes of prodigious magnitude, or precipitating themselves with awful violence from stupendous heights, are

* Geographical miles are understood when not otherwise expressed.

admitted to abound in more extraordinary natural phenomena than those of any other known portion of the globe.

It would be impossible, by a general description, to convey to the reader, a clear and comprehensive idea of these extensive dominions as a whole, diversified as is their surface; rising to bold highland ridges or solitary mountains, sloping into broad or diminutive valleys, exhibiting abrupt cliffs, or undulating in gentle swells; here covered with impervious forests, or opening into natural meads; there presenting the most absolute barrenness, or the most exuberant fertility. All these are varieties of aspect, that may naturally be expected to prevail over so extended a territory, and are eminently applicable to the region under consideration; but their mere enumeration, can only impart to the mind, a very imperfect conception of the face of the country. Yet it may be safely asserted, that in no given section of the world, has Nature more conspicuously displayed her powerful hand, in forming objects of sublimity and grandeur, or in endowing the earth with properties calculated to subserve the wants, and promote the happiness, and well-being of mankind.

Antecedent to the year 1791, these vast possessions were divided into three provincial governments—Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland—independently of the territory granted by charter in 1670, to the merchant adventurers trading to Hudson's Bay. Subsequently the province of Quebec, was divided into the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada*, and the government of New Brunswick, created out of the province of Nova Scotia, whilst a separate legislature was given to St. John or Prince Edward's Island, lying in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

An obvious division of these extensive dominions presents itself, in that part of them, which is colonized under established local governments, and that which is not, or which is at least out of the pale of present civilization. Referring, therefore, the consideration of the settled parts of the British dominions to ulterior chapters, we will now proceed to give of the Indian countries, as correct an idea as may be formed, from the collective information arising out of the laborious surveys performed under the direction of the Canadian North-west Company, in their trading

* By act of the parliament of Great Britain, 31 Geo. III. chap. 81.

territories, the explorations of the interior by some of its members, and the several expeditions that at different times, have penetrated over the continent, to the shores of the Hyperborean seas, and the borders of the Pacific Ocean.

By the NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES, is generally understood all that portion of country extending from the head of Lake Superior, westward to the western shores of America, northward to the Frozen Ocean, and north-westward to the *limits* of the territory granted under the Hudson's Bay charter. What these limits actually are, has long been a subject of doubt and difficulty; and created not many years ago, the most inveterate and alarming feuds between the rival traders of the north-west and Hudson's Bay, which led to consequences the most disastrous and lamentable.

The treaty of Utrecht provided for the settlement of the boundaries of Hudson's Bay territory; but the measures adopted by the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the 10th article, appear to have very little contributed to the removal of the doubts then subsisting on the subject. Referring to Mitchell's map, where the boundary purports to be laid down agreeably to that treaty, we find that the line commences at Cape Grimington on the coasts of Labrador; whence running south-westwardly it passes to the southward of Lake Mistassin, and follows the height of land dividing the waters of the St. Lawrence from those flowing into James's Bay. This map, including no part of the country west of Lake of the Woods, leaves the principle it has established of the division of waters, to be followed up, on more recent and comprehensive delineations of the country.

Tracing the boundary upon the author's geographical map of the British North American provinces, published in 1815, and upon Arrow-smith's map of North America, which embraces the whole of the Indian territories, the dividing highlands are found to pass at the sources of East Main, Rupert, Harricanaw, Abitibbi, and Moose Rivers, and the various branches of Albany, Severn, and Hill Rivers; all of which disembogue into Hudson's, or James's Bay, leaving the rivers on the opposite side, to descend to the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. Reaching the banks of Nelson's River, the ridge ceases to divide streams at their

heads, and is traversed by the outlet of Lake Winnepeg, which receives from the southward the waters of the Red river, and discharges itself through Play Green Lake and Nelson's river, into Hudson's Bay. West of this river, the highlands resume their former characteristic, and rise at the sources of Burntwood, Churchill, and Beaver rivers. In longitude 112° west, another range of highlands, lying generally north-east and south-west, intercepts the former, and divides the waters of Buffalo Lake, from Clear Water and Red Willow rivers, and then subsides on the southern shore of Lake Wollaston. This lake is the summit level of the waters flowing from this point into Hudson's Bay on one side, and the Arctic sea on the other, and is one of the few known instances of a lake with two distinct outlets. Rising on its northern shore, the highlands take a northerly direction, and skirt the sources of Doobaunt river, which, passing through a series of lakes, falls into Chesterfield Inlet. Very little is known of them beyond this latitude; but it is probable they will hereafter be found, to merge into the range of hills that lie nearly east and west, and separate the head waters of Copper Mine from those of Yellow Knife river.

Returning to the vicinity of Lake St. Ann, in the region of Lake Superior, another ridge of highlands is found, diverging south-westerly from the height of land already mentioned, which, after dividing the waters of Lake Superior from those of Lake Winnepeg, winds round the sources of the Mississippi, that descends southerly to the Mexican Gulf; and the Red river, flowing northerly into Lake Winnepeg. It is along these highlands that the Hudson's Bay Company, pretend to establish their southern boundary, their claim embracing all that tract of country, included within an irregular line, drawn through the sources of the rivers discharging their waters into Hudson's and James's Bay.

None, however, of the maps of this section of America, hitherto published, have extended thus far the boundaries of the Hudson's Bay territory. A map published by Bennet in 1770, contains a distinct delineation of the boundary, along the summit of the first-described height of land, and, in this respect, coincides with Mitchell's map. But, in 1775, another geographical exhibit of the country was published by Eman Bowen, which assigns the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude as

the southern bounds of the Hudson's Bay tract; and this designation purports to be laid down, according to the decision of the commissioners to whom the subject was referred, under the treaty of Utrecht.

Whatever may be the merits of the broad territorial claim of this powerful company *, it is presumed that it cannot be carried beyond the national frontier between the United States and the British possessions, constituted in that part of America, by the parallel of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, which traverses the Red river, leaving its source upwards of one hundred miles to the southward, in about latitude 47° north, and therefore within the limits of an adjacent foreign state.

Having briefly stated the various authorities that have described, in their graphical exhibits of America, the bounds and limits of what might well be termed, from their vast extent, the dominions of the governor and company of Hudson's Bay, the territory itself comprised within these limits naturally comes under consideration, as one of the great divisions that may be assigned, to what is generally known under the appellation of the Indian countries. The peninsula of Labrador will form part of this division; and, for the greater convenience and aptness of description, all that tract of country lying west of the bounds of Hudson's Bay will be divided into four other sections,—the *first* being comprehended between the 49th degree of north latitude and the highlands north of the Saskatchewan and Beaver rivers, in the average latitude of 56° north; the *second* extending from the latter bounds to the 65th degree of north latitude; and the *third* from the 65th degree to the Polar Sea; the limits of these three divisions on the west, being the Rocky Mountains. The *fourth* division will embrace the whole extent of country belonging to Great Britain, lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean.

* The existence of so extensive and absolute a monopoly,—a kind of imperium in imperio,—is pregnant with embarrassments that could not have been foreseen at the time the charter was granted by Charles II. It originated at a period, when the free principles of English trade, were not as well understood as they now are; and it would not be surprising if the royal prerogative should eventually be exercised to recall the charter, after making, to the noble and commercial gentlemen concerned, every just and reasonable compensation for such an abrogation of privileges they now enjoy.

SECTION I.

The magnitude of Hudson's Bay, and its geographical inland situation, impart to it much more the character of a mediterranean sea than that of one of those deep indentations of the ocean called by the subordinate appellation of bays. Its extreme breadth is about five hundred miles, and its length, including James's Bay, upwards of seven hundred and twenty. In surface, it is greater than any of the inland seas of Europe or Asia, the Mediterranean only excepted; and it lies nearly between the same points of latitude as the Baltic. James's Bay itself, is nearly two hundred and forty miles deep, by one hundred and forty wide at its mouth, in latitude 55° north, between Cape Jones on the east, and Cape Henrietta Maria on the west. The coasts are generally high, rocky, and rugged, and sometimes precipitous. To the south-westward they are lower, and frequently exhibit extensive strands. The depth of water in the middle of the bay has been taken at one hundred and forty fathoms, but it is probably greater. Regular soundings have been found from Cape Churchill, towards the south, and, in that direction, the approach to the shore is shoal and flat. Northward, from the same point, soundings are very irregular, the bottom rocky, and, at low water, reefs of rocks are in some parts uncovered.

Southampton Island is situate at the entrance of the bay, and extends about two hundred miles north and south; its breadth being nearly half its length. It is separated from the western shore, by a channel called Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, and from Melville's Peninsula by the Frozen Strait. North-east and east of it, are Fox Channel and the mouth of Hudson's Strait, which connects Hudson's Bay with Davis Strait and the Atlantic Ocean. Mansfield is the next island of note in the bay; and though very inferior to the former in magnitude, its situation, mid-channel between Southampton Island and the shores of East Main, renders it important in a nautical point of view. Along the eastern shores of the bay are scattered a multitude of small islets and rocks; and about one hundred miles west of these, is to be found a dangerous chain, called the West Sleepers, stretching almost in a line with Mansfield Island, and said to extend from 57° to $60^{\circ} 10'$ north

latitude. To the southward of the Sleepers is to be seen a cluster of broken isles, denominated the Belchers; but their exact position is not accurately ascertained. Numerous islands are dispersed in James Bay, the largest of which are Agonisca, Carleton, and the Twins. Long Island lies off Cape Jones, immediately without the entrance of the bay.

The country on the west of both bays has been denominated New South Wales, and that on the east, East Main. The interior of the peninsula of Labrador, or New Britain, of which the latter may be considered to form a part, has been but very superficially explored, except by barbarian tribes of wandering Esquimaux, who are characterized as the inhabitants of wild, bleak, and inhospitable regions. That it is traversed by numerous rivers, diverging from the interior towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Atlantic, the Strait of Hudson, and Hudson's Bay, appears indubitable from the number of outlets that have been discovered along the whole extent of its immense coasts. Its north-eastern and south-eastern shores are indented by frequent bays and inlets, some of which are esteemed of considerable depth. Along the coasts are scattered a multitude of small islands, which sometimes afford shelter to the bays, whilst they render their access intricate, if not perilous. The chief bays are St. Michael's, Hawke, and Rocky bays, at its eastern extremity, and Sandwich, Byron's, and Unity, and the Bay of Hope's Advance, on its north-eastern coast. Musquito Bay, Hopewell Channel, and Gulf Hazard, are the most conspicuous indentations on the shores of East Main.

At Nain, near Unity Bay, a Moravian settlement is established, where missionaries reside, under the direction of the Moravian Missionary Society in London, and the most laudable efforts appear to be made by that institution to reclaim the Esquimaux from the most savage barbarism, and inculcate the doctrine of revealed religion.

Between Albany Fort and East Main Factory, that stand opposite each other, near the bottom of James' Bay, and almost in the same latitude (about $52^{\circ} 30'$ north) several large rivers mingle their fresh streams with the saline waters of the bay, having their sources, at the remote distances of two and three hundred miles from their mouths, generally

in lakes, lying to the northward of the height of land which divides opposite waters. The principal rivers are six in number, but their branches are numerous and of considerable magnitude. Taking them in their order, from east to west, they are East Main, or Slade, Rupert's, Harricanaw, West, Moose, and Albany rivers. At the mouth of the first is situated East Main Factory, whence a broken communication is kept up by the river, small lakes, and creeks, with Lake Misstassin, in $50^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude, and about two hundred and fifty miles E.S.E. of the factory.

Lake Misstassin is worthy of particular notice, as well on account of its extent, as for the singularity of its shape, forming almost three distinct lakes, by the prominent projection, from its extremities towards its centre, of elongated points, that approach within twenty or thirty miles of each other. Its extreme length is upwards of seventy-five miles, and its central breadth about thirty. It receives many streams that spring from the high lands to the southward, and may itself be considered the source of Rupert's river, which is its outlet and communication with James' Bay.

The mouths of Harricanaw and West rivers are not far asunder, and discharge their streams in Hannah Bay, an inferior indent of the shore. The former descends in a general course from south-east to north-west, and has on its east bank, near the bay, a small establishment, which, like all the others, is a mart for the traffic of furs and peltries. The latter river flows out of Musugama Lake, distant about one hundred miles south of its discharge, and communicates by portages, lakes, and streams with Abbitibbi Lake, on the south-eastern shores of which stands another trading post. This lake is about sixty miles in length, by something less than one-third in breadth, and is diversified by numerous islands. Its outlet is Abbitibbi river, which descends upwards of two hundred miles to its afflux with Moose river. A little below it, is the confluence of French creek, and about fifty miles above, the South branch blends its waters with the Main river. Upon Lake Waratowaha, near the source of a branch of Abbitibbi river, is Frederick House, on the direct water communication between the city of Montreal and the Hudson's Bay establishments, by the Ottawa river, Lake Temiscaming,

and Montreal river, whose source is found in the vicinity of the waters of Lake Patquashgama, which opens into Waratowaha Lake.

Moose river issues out of Lake Misinabe, and flows north-easterly about two hundred and thirty miles to its discharge into James' Bay, receiving from the south and east, the South branch, Abbitibbi river and French creek. At its mouth is built Moose Fort; nearly one hundred miles higher up is Brunswick, and, on the borders of the lake, Misinabe House. The lake is divided from Lake Superior by the highlands, and is not more than sixty miles to the north-east of it.

Albany is the largest of the six above enumerated rivers. About one hundred and twenty miles from its estuary, it spreads into numerous branches, extending far to the westward and southward, and forming a complete chain of communication with the waters of Lake Superior, Lake Winnipeg, and Severn river; Lake St. Joseph, in latitude 51° north, and longitude $90^{\circ} 30'$ west, may be considered its source. This lake is upwards of thirty miles long, by fourteen broad, in shape something like an oblong parallelogram, and its scenery is varied by frequent islands. It lies west by south from the mouth of Albany river; distance about three hundred and twenty miles. There are four trading houses upon the river: Osna-burg, on the shores of the lake; Gloucester, about one hundred and thirty miles below it, by the bends of the river; Henley, at the forks formed by the junction of the South branch with the main stream; and Albany Fort, on an island, below the great falls, at its embouchure.

The navigation of all these rivers is in many places interrupted by impetuous rapids, occasioning frequent portages; but, nevertheless, the long interstices of gentle current that are found between the impracticable cascades, render them extremely important as the highways of a wilderness.

Of the susceptibility of the soil, these rivers and their several branches seem to fertilise, to yield agricultural produce, little is known, or can be collected from the information of the traders, whose whole attention appears to have hitherto been confined to the beaver, the buffalo, and the other savage inhabitants of those wilds; but, considering the geographical situation of this country, between 49° and 53° north

latitude, and its vast extent, it is natural to presume, and the accounts of the natives, as far as they go, justify the presumption, that a considerable portion of it must be more or less arable, and will eventually be submitted to the plough.

New South Wales, or the western section of Hudson's Bay territory, extending from Severn river inclusive to the north-eastern head of the bay, has been, in some parts, tolerably well explored. It abounds with lakes, rivers, and creeks, which, like those already mentioned, offer to the traveller and the trader the most convenient means of communication in a wilderness, however hazardous, in general, from the frequency and violence of the rapids. The chief rivers are the Severn, Hill (of which Hayes river is a continuation), Port Nelson, Pauk-a-thaukus-Kaw, Churchill, and Seal rivers, which fall into Hudson's Bay, between 56° and 59° north latitude and 88° and 95° west longitude.

The Severn flows out of Favourable Lake, a small body of water, nearly at the summit level of the streams descending in opposite directions to Lake Winnepeg and James' Bay. The general course of the river is north-east, and its direct length two hundred and fifty miles. About twenty miles below its source, its volume is increased by Cat Lake river, flowing from the southward, and passing through Cat Lake into the Severn, at the mouth of which is Severn Factory.

Hill river issues out of Swampy Lake, and retains its name to its confluence with Fox's river, flowing into it from the westward; it is then called Steel river, until it receives the waters of Shamatawa river from the eastward, below which it goes by the name of Hayes river, and finally disembogues into James' Bay, to the southward of Port Nelson or Nelson river, from which it is separated at its mouth by a marshy peninsula. Five miles above the mouth of Hayes river, on its west bank, stands York Factory, the head quarters of the Hudson's Bay Company within their territories, and the principal dépôt of their trade. Its geographical position, by the observations of Sir John Franklin, is 57° 00' 03" *.

* About the latitude of Aberdeen in Scotland, and three degrees south of the latitude of St. Petersburg.

north latitude, and $92^{\circ} 26'$ west longitude, the variation of the compass being $6^{\circ} 00' 21''$ east.

"The surrounding country is flat and swampy, and covered with willows, poplars, larch, spruce, and birch trees; but the requisition for fuel has expended all the wood in the vicinity of the fort, and the residents have now to send a considerable distance for this necessary material. The soil is alluvial clay, and contains imbedded rolled stones. Though the bank of the river is elevated about twenty feet, it is frequently overflowed by the spring floods, and large portions of it are annually carried away by the disruption of the ice. By these portions grounding in the stream, several muddy islands have been formed. These interruptions, together with the various collections of stones that are hid at high water, render the navigation of the river difficult; but vessels of two hundred tons burden may be brought through the proper channels as high as the factory.

"The principal buildings are placed in the form of a square, having an octagonal court in the centre; they are two stories in height, and have flat roofs covered with lead. The officers dwell in one portion of this square, and in the other parts the articles of merchandise are kept: the workshops, storehouses for the furs, and the servants' houses are ranged on the outside of the square, and the whole is surrounded by a stockade twenty feet high. A platform is laid from the house to the pier on the bank for the convenience of transporting the stores and furs, which is the only promenade the residents have on this marshy spot during the summer season. The few Indians who now frequent this establishment belong to the *Swampy Crees**."

The breadth of Hayes river, some distance above the factory, is about half a mile, its depth from three to nine feet, and its length forty-eight miles and a half. Steel river at its junction with Hayes river is three hundred yards wide; its banks are elevated; and its scenery, in many instances, beautiful, as it winds through a narrow and well wooded valley. Hill river, about the size of the former, is far more rapid than it, its

* Franklin's Journey to Coppermine River, vol. i. p. 37.

waters are shoaler, and its banks higher, but equally well clad with the willow, spruce, birch, and poplar. The soil on both sides of these rivers is alluvial, and sustains large quantities of pine, poplar, and larch.

Swampy Lake, upon the borders of which is Swampy Lake House, opens into Knee Lake, whose shape is very irregular, its shores low, but woody, and its surface variegated by islands. It communicates with Holey Lake by Trout river, a short but rapid strait, upon which is a fall sixteen feet high. Oxford House, formerly a trading post of consequence, stands near the mouth of the river, at the east end of the lake. From the west extremity of Holey Lake the ascent lies through river Wepinapanis to Windy Lake; thence through a singular chasm in the rock, called Hill Gates, into White Water Lake, to the division of waters. Painted Stone Portage, fifty yards long, divides the source of the Echiamamis from White Water Lake, the waters of which descend to the north-east, whilst those of Echiamamis flow westerly, discharging themselves, however, through Blackwater Creek into Nelson's river, and finally, therefore, into Hudson's Bay.

This communication from York Factory to Painted Stone portage, a direct distance of about two hundred and twenty miles, is remarkable as the route adopted by the polar expedition under Captain Franklin, R. N., to whose published narrative we are indebted for these particulars relative to the country traversed by him, in the prosecution of his laborious, enterprising, and perilous discoveries in the arctic regions*.

Nelson river flows out of Play-Green Lake,—an arm of Lake Winnipeg,—and winds in a north-easterly direction, to its influx into Hudson's Bay, a short distance above the mouth of Hayes river. Its waters are confluent with Burntwood river, which rises to the westward, and flows through several irregular lakes into Split Lake, a broad expansion of Nelson river, checkered with islands, and lying about half-way between

* To the account of his "Journey to Coppermine River" frequent reference will probably be made in the further description of the north-west territories; and we are aware that the same scientific zeal that prompted the undertaking, for the advantage of his country and of mankind, will forgive the free use, and still more general dissemination, of the valuable geographical knowledge it has already been the means of communicating to the world.

its head and its estuary. Numerous other lakes and rivers discharge themselves into it, particularly to the southward of Burntwood lake and river, and form a chain of water communication as far as Cranberry carrying-place, that passes over the height of land between Rood and Goose Lakes.

Missinnippi, Churchill, or English river, is of considerable magnitude and importance. Its highest waters are Methye Lake, in a direct line west from the mouth of the river about five hundred miles, but probably more than six hundred by water, following the innumerable meanderings of the river, and the devious sinuosities of the chain of lakes intervening between the sections of the river. The largest of these lakes is Southern Indian or Big Lake, which is upwards of sixty miles long by an average breadth of twenty-five.

Methye Lake is divided from Clear Water river, by a portage of twelve miles, carried over a range of hills, varying in height from sixty to one thousand feet, and chiefly consisting of clay and sand; the soil at their base, on both sides of Methye, Buffalo, and Clear Lakes, being a sandy alluvion. The country traversed by the Churchill river, between Isle à la Crosse and Frog portage (which is three hundred and eighty yards long, and forms the division of the waters of the Churchill from those of the Saskathawan) is generally flat, and exhibits all the appearances of primitive formation.

Trading posts are established at the Lakes Methye, Buffalo, and Isle à la Crosse; and at the latter is also found a North-West fort. These posts are stated to be frequented by Crees and Chipewyans, who supply them but inadequately with peltries, owing to the actual paucity of furred animals in those parts. The discouraging results of the chase have turned the attention of the Indians from the forests to the waters, which supply them with several varieties of fish, the chief means of their subsistence.

Deer Lake is the largest as yet known within the limits of the Hudson's Bay territories. It lies between $56^{\circ} 30'$ and 58° north latitude, and in longitude 102° west; its position being north and south; its length about ninety miles, and its width about five and twenty. A serpentine strait connects it towards the north with Lake Wollaston, and

to the south it has an outlet into Churchill river. Pauk-a-thaukua-Kaw and Seal rivers are inferior in size to the Churchill, but of no less consequence as internal communications. The sources of both rivers approach the waters of the Churchill, and their beds are frequently lost in broad and beautiful lakes, that considerably facilitate their ascent.

North of Seal river, between 60° and 65° of north latitude, a succession of lakes have been discovered, some of which are represented as equal in extent to Deer Lake; but, occupying a section of country not so much frequented, even by the Indians, as that just described, very little is known of them beyond what may be derived from the observations of Captain Hearne, who traversed that region in 1772, on his journey to the Polar Sea. The chief of these have been named Northline, Doobaunt, Yath Kyed, and Whelde-ahad; several other large lakes are also delineated on the maps, to which names have not yet been appropriated.

SECTION II.

The second section of the Indian territory comprises the country between 49° and 56° of north latitude, or the southern boundary of British America, in that part of the continent, on one side, and the highlands constituting the boundary of Hudson's Bay, according to Bennet's and Mitchell's maps, on the other; the Stony Mountains on the west, and the height of land dividing the waters of Lake Superior from Lake Winnipeg, on the east. Lake Winnipeg, though considerably to the east of the centre, may still be considered the focus of this tract, and the most striking object within it, whether from its magnitude, or the fact of its being the reservoir of the waters of numerous large streams flowing into it, from most of the cardinal points of the compass. Its position is about N.N.W. and S.S.E.; between latitude $50^{\circ} 30'$ and $53^{\circ} 50'$ north, and longitude 96° and $99^{\circ} 25'$ west; its direct length being two hundred and forty miles, or about the same as Lake Michigan, and its breadth varying irregularly from five miles to fifty. Its shores to the northward present high clay cliffs, at the base of which a narrow sandy beach is disclosed, when the waters of the lake are low and the wind blows off

the land. In Hudson's Bay Company's post, in $53^{\circ} 41' 38''$ north latitude and $98^{\circ} 1' 24''$ west longitude, is situated on Norway Point, a projecting tongue of land between Lakes Play-Green and Winnipeg. Thither did a party of Norwegians repair, when driven from their settlement at the Red river, by the petty though sanguinary warfare, which in 1814 and 1815 distracted those territories.

Lake Winnepegos, or Little Winnipeg, lies to the westward of the great lake of that name, with which it communicates through Lakes Manitoo-boh and St. Martin's; the latter having for its outlet Dauphin river, flowing into Lake Winnipeg, and the former being connected with Winnepegos by Waterhen river, neither of which exceeds twenty miles. Cedar Lake is a few miles to the north-east of Lake Winnepegos, and is very inferior to it in extent; it receives the waters of the Saskatchewan, which it discharges through Cross Lake into Lake Winnipeg.

The Saskatchewan is the largest river traversing this part of the country; and its many ramifications, taking their sources in the Rocky Mountains, blend their tributary waters to form two principal branches, one called the north and the other the south, which meandering in a general easterly direction, with a northern tendency, form a junction in longitude about $105^{\circ} 10'$ west, at the remote distance of four hundred and twenty miles below their highest source, in a straight line, and two hundred and ten miles above its mouth. Upon both branches are established several trading posts; those on the north branch, commencing from its head, being Acton House, at the conflux of Clear river; Nelson, at the foot of Beaver Hills; Edmonton, at the mouth of Tea river; all of which are frequented by the Blood Indians and the Blackfoot tribe, as are also Buckingham, Manchester, and Carlton, and a north-west post stationed opposite to the latter. On the south branch traders reside at two stations, the one is Chesterfield House, near the discharge of Red Deer river, and the other, South Branch House, nearly opposite to Carlton.

From the shores of Lake Winnipeg to Pine Island Lake, on the borders of which are trading posts belonging to the respective companies, the banks of the Saskatchewan consist of floetz limestone; they are low

and marshy, and covered with reeds and willows, amidst which very few large forest trees are to be seen. Above Cumberland House *, the station on Pine Island, up to Tobin's Falls, the banks of the river exhibit an alluvial mud, and beyond it, laterally, are poplar forests, swamps, and extensive plains. Above Tobin's rapids, the width of the river increases from 350 to 500 yards, and its banks are clothed with pine, poplar, birch, and willows. Some distance below the forks, the shores become more elevated, but often barren in aspect, the north side presenting a light sandy soil, broken into insulated hillocks, and the south, broad and expansive buffalo plains. Frog Portage communicates with Cumberland House by a series of lakes, and Great and Ridge rivers, which traverse a generally flat country of primitive formation.

Fifty or sixty miles to the southward of Pine Island are the Basquiau Hills, a short range of considerable elevation, the white faces of which are occasionally contrasted with tufts of dense stunted pinery. They are distinctly visible from Cumberland House, notwithstanding their remote distance; and have, therefore, been estimated by Mr. Hord to be 4000 feet above the common level, and supposed to be the highest points between the Atlantic Ocean and the Rocky Mountains.

The Assiniboine and Red rivers are next in magnitude to the Saskatchewan and its branches. The former, sometimes called the Red river, rises in the average latitude 52° , longitude 103° ; and after flowing southerly about 130 miles, winds to the east, and discharges itself into the Red river, thirty or forty miles above its mouth, in Lake Winnipeg. The Red river itself has its source in Ottetail Lake, which is divided from the waters of the Mississippi by the height of land. In its course northerly from its head to its embouchure, the Red river receives numerous tributaries, the largest of which are the Assiniboine just mentioned, Reed, and Red Lake or Bloody rivers. The last issues out of Red Lake, by some considered the proper source of the Red river, which, above the confluence of Bloody river with it, goes also by the name of Ottetail. On the Assiniboine, and not very remote from its

* Latitude $53^{\circ} 56' 40''$ north, longitude $102^{\circ} 16' 41''$ west; var. $17^{\circ} 17' 28''$ east, about the latitudes of Hamburg and Dublin.