

Emigration and Colonization

IN CANADA :

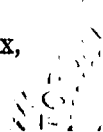
A S P E E C H

DELIVERED IN

THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, QUEBEC, 25TH APRIL, 1862.

BY THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE,
MEMBER FOR MONTREAL (WEST.)

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The annexed report of Mr. McGee's Speech, on Emigration and Colonization, published by desire of several Members of the House of Assembly, is founded upon the report of the *Quebec Morning Chronicle*,—a few omissions being supplied by the honorable gentleman himself, from memory.

THE PUBLISHERS.

EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

IN

CANADA.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
Friday, April 25th, 1862.

The House resumed the adjourned debate on Mr. McGEE's motion of the 8th instant, "That a Select Committee be appointed to take into consideration the subject of Immigration and Colonization, especially with reference to the Spring Immigration of the present year; with power to send for persons and papers, and to report from time to time."

Mr. McGEE, rose and said: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to be obliged to detain the House at such an hour, but as we have not had late sittings, so far, and the subject presses so urgently, I hope the House will grant me its usual indulgence. (Hear, hear.) Before the Easter adjournment, at the request of the honorable gentleman at the head of the Administration, I postponed the annual motion which I have made, since I have had the honor of a seat in this House, in reference to the Emigrant service, and the settlement of our waste lands. I now rise, sir, to discharge that duty, and in doing so must congratulate the country at large, that this subject, so vital for all its interests, seems at length to have assumed its relative importance, in the estimation of the people's representatives. The labors of the Committees of former years have not been without fruit, but more powerful still has been the advocacy devoted to it by the press of the country, which without exception of party—papers which support hon. gentlemen as well as the leading presses of the Opposition—papers so dissimilar as the *Hamilton Spectator* and the *Toronto Globe*, in Upper Canada, and in Lower Canada as the *Quebec Chronicle* and the *Montreal Herald*—have all united on this subject. (Hear, hear.) It is grateful and cheering,

Mr. Speaker, to the advocates of new methods and new efforts in the way of settlement to see that the intense social interest of the discussion has penetrated where mere politics should never reach, even to the pulpits of the land—an evidence of which I have this day received, in the excellent discourse delivered on St. George's day, in the city I have the honor to represent in part, by the Very Rev. Canon Leach, before the St. George's Society—a discourse worthy to be delivered on a great national festival, and deserving to be treasured up by all who have read, as well as by all who heard it. Canon Leach, I am happy to know, does not stand alone among the clergy, in the importance he attaches to this Provincial interest. A leading clergyman of the Scotch Church (I think I may mention his name without impropriety,—the Rev. Mr Kemp) has given a good deal of attention to the prospects of settlement in the Eastern Townships, and I believe the rev. gentlemen of the Seminaries, both of Quebec and Montreal, are encouraging settlement, to a considerable extent, on the lands which formerly comprised their seigniories. (Hear, hear.) With such a hold on the head and heart of the land, with the press and the pulpit so strongly in its favor, it is utterly impossible that we should fail to effect a salutary reform in the emigrant service and the system of settlement; and I will do many hon. gentlemen opposite the justice to say, that I believe that they are as desirous of making such reforms as any members of the Opposition can be. As an evidence of their desire, I take the Commission of Inquiry, issued by His Excellency—his first official act, after landing in this country; and I also take as an additional evidence of that desire, the disposition of the hon. the Premier, to make this committee as complete and satisfactory as possible. (Hear, hear.) In moving for this committee, Mr. Speaker, I might move on the ground, that it is not only called for in itself, but that as the Province expends large sums annually to arrive at a knowledge of its own resources, this Committee is the natural corollary of that expenditure. Turning over the Public Accounts, yesterday placed on the table, I find the following principal items of expenditure for what we may call, in general terms, exploring or exhibiting the resources of the Province:—

Cost of taking the Decennial Census.....	\$118,393 00
Geological Survey (1861).....	20,315 00
Bureau of Agriculture, salaries, &c.	8,091 00
Do. Contingencies	6,805 00

Roads and Bridges (C. E.)	57,845 00
Improvement Fund (C. W.)	17,398 00
Colonization Roads (C. W.)	54,000 00
Do. Do. (C. E.)	52,424 00
Crown Lands Surveys (West)	75,444 00
Do. Do. (East)	41,969 00
Colonization Road Agents (West)	11,892 00
Do. Do. (East*)	
Inspection of Agencies (West)	2,976 00
Do. Do. (East)	3,514 00
Agricultural Societies (West)	53,894 00
Do. Do. (East)	48,725 00
Emigration service, Inland and Foreign Agencies, &c., as per page 112, Public Accounts	45,329 00
Emigration Commission	400 00
Total	<u>\$619,905 00</u>

Thus, we see, that \$500,000 per annum (the Census item being omitted as exceptional,) may be said to be the annual expenditure of the Province on the various branches of the administration, which fall directly within the scope of this Committee's inquiry. This sum, \$500,000 is about 4 per cent. on the total revenues of the Province, and whether 4 per cent. be a sufficient proportion for these branches of the public service, I am not now going to discuss; in my own opinion, 10 per cent. of the revenue would not be an excessive expenditure on the work of increasing the population and decreasing the wilderness; but I content myself with pointing out that we spend \$500,000 a year, on Geologists, Surveyors, Agents, inland and foreign, Roads and Bridges, Agricultural Societies and an Agricultural Bureau, and that we ought to have something handsome to show at the end of each year for such expenditure. (Hear, hear.) On a point of most immediate importance—the Spring Emigration and the arrangements made to meet it,—I must entreat the House to extend to me its indulgence, in the next place. I need hardly say that I did not take up this inquiry in the beginning with any view, either to serve or to injure particular individuals, and that I do not intend—so far as I can help it,—to let the reform demanded assume any vindictive aspect. (Hear, hear.) But justice must be done, fearlessly

* Included in the item of "Roads and Bridges," C. E.

done, in the port of Quebec, the coming season, or the loud cry of disappointed hope, going home from this side, will disgrace us all, from the highest to the humblest person connected with this Government. Having originally recommended the appointment of Provincial Agents abroad, in my report of 1860, I was of course happy to see that that suggestion had been acted upon, as far as Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, France and Belgium were concerned. There may be some doubts as to whether the persons appointed *pro tem.* to fill those offices have been always the fittest persons for their work—there may be some doubts whether they have been stationed at the best points for their work, but there can be no doubt that a few able agents, on the other side of the Atlantic, must be of benefit to this Province. But they ought to be men well qualified, and likely to command confidence, whose sense of responsibility to their own Government would lead them to ask help, if they were not able to prepare a grammatical placard, as to the objects of their appointment. (Hear, hear.) [Mr. McGee here exhibited a placard published in Belfast, Ireland, which he regretted to see, so incorrectly was it worded, bearing the signature of Mr. Donaldson, one of the Agents of this Province in Ireland.] He continued,—The French agency has been objected to in some quarters as useless and unprofitable, but when we see from the statistics of New York that during the last few years, from 10 to 12 per cent. of all the arrivals at that port were from Havre—some 8,000 last year out of 68,000,—when we see that Havre ranks as a North American port next to Liverpool and Hamburg in this trade, I cannot concur that the appointment of Mr. Verret, was a needless or improper one. If Mr. Verret should not succeed in doing much in France, he may make better progress in Belgium and Switzerland—at least let us hope so, for the sake of the undertaking. (Hear, hear.) Whether Berlin is the proper station for the German Agent, Mr. Wagner, despatched by the Crown Lands Department, I cannot pretend to say, but my impression is that one of the great Northern shipping ports—Bremen or Hamburg—ought to be his head quarters. (Hear, hear.) But another appointment equally important, which was suggested in 1860, has not yet been made,—I mean a Canadian agency at New York. By the New York booking system, we know that in 1859, 2,000 emigrants were landed at that port, whose destination was Canada; that in 1860, there were 1880, and in 1861, 1554, similarly bound for Canada—or in three years, 5,434 settlers. Now this is a contingent well worth looking

after; and supposing such an agent appointed at New York, it might be made part of his business, during other seasons of the year, to visit those neighborhoods in which there are native Canadians, willing and anxious to return to this country, to report the facts, and to arrange for their return. (Hear, hear.) He would also meet with other British subjects—with some of those hundreds of natives of the British Isles, who have besieged the Consulates in the great cities, anxious to be sent back again to their old homes, where they will find themselves on their return strangers indeed, and from which they may be forced, in all probability, to a second emigration. (Hear, hear.) I am not an advocate for the creation of new offices, Mr. Speaker, unless when they are shown to be really required, but I would not be doing my duty to the Province, if I did not once more point out the importance of a proper agent at New York, as well as at Liverpool, Havre, and Hamburgh. As to the new arrangement of the inland agents, within this Province, I am not prepared to speak in detail at this moment; besides so much depends on the personal habits and character of the men and so much on the head of the department, that I shrink from discussing particular reforms, until we have examined them in Committee; and I hope we may have the united sanction of the Committee for recommendations, which, as an individual and a member in Opposition, I fear would have little chance of adoption—coming from me. I will not, therefore, dwell on that point; for it must rest in the end with the Minister of Agriculture whether any of these offices are to continue sinecures, or to be made realities. Mr. Speaker, the mention of New York reminds me of the truly paternal, sagacious, and politic care which that state and city has of late years exercised over the Emigrants arriving in their waters. Formerly it was not so; but for the past 10 or 12 years, no department of the public service has been more steadily improving than the department committed to the Commissioners of Emigration. I have here their last annual report, and it is highly instructive to see how they handled the 68,000 aliens landed in their port during 1861. I have thrown their results into a tabular form of my own, for greater convenience, and I find that,

The arrivals at New York in 1861, were.....	68,311
Of these, arrived in steamers	21,110
In sailing ships	37,201

Total number of vessels	453
Average of passengers to ship	150

Destination of New York arrivals in 1861.

New York City and State	32,783
Pennsylvania and New Jersey	7,006
New England States	5,779
Western States	16,595
Southern States	3,755
Canada West	1,544
Canada East	8
Balance to California, &c	

Aid and Employment Afforded.

Amount received at Castle Garden and its agencies, from friends of emigrants in interior, to assist emigrants on arrival	\$17,591.00
Advances made to emigrants on deposits of baggage	1,299.00
Of which was repaid during the year	1,267.00

Number who received treatment or relief in Emi- grant Refuge and Hospital	5,079
Number of emigrants sent back to Europe at their own request	413
Number provided with temporary lodging in New York, Albany, Buffalo, &c.....	6,177
Temporarily supplied with food in Castle Garden..	1,389
Number of persons of both sexes provided with situations by Commissioners and their agents in New York City and State	6,023

Emigrant Correspondence.

Letters written at Castle Garden for emigrants...	1,682
Letters received for ditto.....	641

It will be seen by a glance at these figures how thoroughly the Americans have, to use their own expression, "realized the idea" that emigration is one source of national wealth. For some they have nursed and tended—for some they have found prompt employment—for others they have made themselves clerks and correspondents—to others they have advanced cash, on deposits of baggage, always repaid. (Hear, hear.) We may deprecate as we please, some traits of

American life, but in working up the raw material of a country into populous and prosperous communities, it would be well for us to imitate their sagacity and their system. (Hear, hear.) I refer to the New York arrangements to point out the absolute necessity of an enclosed landing place for emigrants arriving in our own port. Is it not a reproach that we here in Quebec have less care for our fellow subjects, present or prospective, than the Americans have at New York, (hear, hear,) that the newly arrived strangers on our docks, male and female, may be exposed and tempted to their ruin—as they have been too often tempted and seduced, both male and female, for want of a properly provided landing depot? I do not pretend that we could set up anything on the scale of the New York buildings,—there is no need for so costly an establishment,—but there is need for a safe and ordinary means of accommodating over night 200 or 300 persons, who are anxious to draw breath, before continuing their pilgrimage to the interior. In the name of humanity—in the name of common decency,—I appeal to the gentlemen opposite to see that some temporary landing place and Emigrant Refuge is provided before the spring fleet pours its passengers in upon us. It was mainly to effect this one point that I was so anxious to obtain my Committee before the Easter recess,—but it is not yet too late, if the hon. gentlemen opposite will order it to be done. (Loud cries of hear.) The value of every suggestion of this kind, must depend, Mr. Speaker, not only on its fitness, but also on the character of the Minister entrusted with its execution, if it should be adopted—I allude to the Minister of Agriculture. Now, it seems to me, sir, and I believe the opinion to be a growing one, that that portfolio ought to be estimated as one of the most important, requiring as good abilities, as any other in the Administration. Every one admits that the legal offices of those who may be called our Ministers of Justice, that the Finances, the Crown Lands, and the Public Works, require able men to fill them well; but, hitherto, it seems to have been considered that the Ministry of Agriculture—including, as it ought to do, Emigration,—might be given to any second or third rate man. (Hear, hear.) Now, what should be fairly required as a standard of ability in such a department? Should the Minister appointed know as much as a clerk under the Civil Service Act? Should he know what the Provincial Examiners insist upon as the standard for every Land Surveyor? Should he know all parts of his own country well, and something of other countries, from which we

draw so much of our labor, and to which we export so much of our produce? I will not be guilty of the arrogance of defining such an office by any description of my own, but I will seek for an example of what such a Minister ought to be, and happily I can find an illustrious example in the History of this Province, in the person of one of its old French Governors, whose name is too little heard among us in these days. The Swedish Naturalist, Peter Kalm, a disciple of *Linnæus*, who visited Canada, and stayed some time in this city in the year 1749, has left us, in his *Travels*, the following account of the Marquis de la Gallissonniere, then Governor General of this country:—

“ He, [the Marquis de la Gallissonniere] has a surprising knowledge in all branches of science, and especially in natural history; in which he is so well versed, that when he began to speak with me about it, I imagined I saw our great *Linnæus* under a new form. When he spoke of the use of natural history, of the method of learning, and employing it to raise the state of a country, I was astonished to see him take his reasons from politics, as well as natural philosophy, mathematics, and other sciences. I own, that my conversation with this nobleman was very instructive to me; and I always drew a deal of useful knowledge from it. He told me several ways of employing natural history to the purposes of politics, and to make a country *powerful, in order to depress its envious neighbors*. Never has natural history had a greater promoter in this country; and it is very doubtful whether he will ever have his equal here. As soon as he got the place of Governor-General, he began to take those measures for getting information in natural history, which I have mentioned before. When he saw people who had been in a settled part of the country, especially in the more remote parts, or had travelled in those parts, he always questioned them about the trees, plants, earths, stones, ores, animals, &c., of the place. He likewise enquired what use the inhabitants made of those things; in what state their husbandry was; what lakes, rivers, and passages there are; and a number of other particulars. Those who seemed to have clearer notions than the rest, were obliged to give him circumstantial descriptions of what they had seen. He himself wrote down all the accounts he received; and by this great application, so uncommon among persons of his rank, he soon acquired a knowledge of the most distant parts of America. The priests, commandants of forts, and of several distant places, are often surprised by his questions, and wonder at his knowledge, when they come to Quebec to

pay their visits to him; for he often tells them that near such a mountain, or on such a shore, &c., where they often went a hunting, there are some particular plants, trees, earth, ores, &c., for he had got a knowledge of those things before. From whence it happened that some of the inhabitants believed that he had a preternatural knowledge of things, as he was able to mention all the curiosities of places, sometimes near two hundred Swedish miles from Quebec, though he never was there himself. Never was there a better statesman than he; and nobody can take better measures, and choose more proper means for improving a *country, and increasing its welfare.*" (Hear, hear.)

This is the portrait of a Franco-Canadian statesman of the 18th century, who considered "natural history," which was then used so as to include geology and metallurgy, an essential study for a statesman in a country like Canada. Now I will not, under cloak of the Marquis de la Gallissonniere's great name, stoop to draw any satirical contrasts between the present holder of the portfolio of Agriculture and the Marquis de la Gallissonniere. (Laughter.) But I would be false to a great public interest, which I have zealously espoused, if I did not renew the protest I made against the appointment of that gentleman to his present position. I only know him by the testimony of others, and by his own recorded public acts, and I must say that to put a man of mean abilities in such a position, at such a time as the present, is something worse than a defiance of public opinion, it is a wilful and deliberate surrender of a golden opportunity for this country. I say this in no spirit of party—give us an able man, let him be ever such a partizan! Give us a man able to originate—to direct—to check—to control—to command the entire field of settlement—the whole staff of agents and employees—give us a man to inspire respect, and to effect salutary changes,—and let him be, I repeat, as staunch a partizan as you please. (Hear, hear.) But do not amuse us with granting committees and receiving reports, when after all, the execution or suppression of everything we may mature, must depend upon the will or whim of an accidental knight, who is at best but a provisional minister. (Hear, hear.) Now, Mr. Speaker, supposing the organization of the department to be all that it ought to be, in its head and its members, let us consider the attractions we can offer in Canada to intending settlers. It is true that this Province has neither the golden rivers of California nor the luxurious climate of Australia, but it has two things which free born

men value higher; complete civil and religious liberty, and land to be acquired by any man's industry. Our chief moral attraction must ever lie in our institutions; our chief material attraction must lie in cheap or free land. The institutions of this Province, whatever defects may exist are, take them all in all, the most desirable in the world, and if we can only succeed in keeping down the wrathful spirit of religious bigotry—bigotry on all sides—that despotic temper which makes a bigot in religion and a tyrant in politics out of the self same stuff—if we only succeed in keeping down that spirit, the institutions of Canada, ought naturally attract valuable accessions to our population from abroad. As to our material advantages, the land resources of this Province are not so well understood, even by Canadians themselves, as they should be. Which of us familiarly thinks of the 100 million acres in Lower, and 50 million acres in Upper Canada, so ably and fully described in that *Vade Mecum* of such information, the Crown Land Commissioner's Report of 1857, for which the honorable gentleman (Mr. Cauchon) and those who assisted him in its preparation, deserve the highest credit; a report that ought to be familiar to every member of this House. (Hear, hear.) But confining ourselves to the public land actually in the market in this Province, we find that we commence the year with over 7,600,000 acres of Crown Lands in the two sections; over 500,000 of Clergy Lands, not to mention the School Lands, the Indian Lands, and the Ordnance Lands, withheld, and I think very properly withheld, for the present. I will trouble the House with a tabular view of these lands, taken from the new Emigration pamphlet, giving the acreage in round numbers only:—

CANADA EAST.

	Acres.
Counties on the north side of the Ottawa.....	1,093,000
Counties on the north side of St. Lawrence.....	1,378,000
Counties south side of St. Lawrence.....	1,544,000
	<hr/>
Total disposable in Canada East.....	4,010,000

CANADA WEST.

In the Ottawa and Huron country	600,000
Continuations of Lennox, Frontenac, Addington and District of Nipissing.....	660,000
Continuations of Hastings and Peterborough, Victoria, Simcoe and part of Nipissing.....	1,170,000

District of Algoma	200,000
Fort William (Lake Superior).....	64,000

Total disposable in Canada West..... 2,694,000

These are the figures according to the new emigration pamphlet, while according to the Crown Land Commissioner's Report for the year ending December 31st, 1861, the Crown Lands actually in the market at that date were:—

	Acres.
Canada West.....	2,021,229½
Canada East	5,593,833

Total Crown Lands in market..... 7,615,063½

This domain might be diminished at the rate of a million acres a year,—by 10,000 or 20,000 one hundred acre farms, and the decrease would not be felt,—the want would be supplied by the new surveys, on which the Province keeps constantly employed from two to three hundred land surveyors. As the House is aware, Mr. Speaker, a per centage of this immense domain is very liberally given away in “free grants;” to what extent that per centage may be actually in demand I am not now going to discuss, but the average price at which the lands of the Crown, disposed of by sale, are sold, cannot be considered exorbitant. In Upper Canada the average price obtained in the sales of last year was, for the Crown Lands \$1.25, the School Lands \$1.50, and the Clergy Lands \$2.50; in Lower Canada the average prices were, for the Crown Lands less than 50 cents, and for the Clergy Lands less than \$1 per acre. Considering that on these purchases five years time is usually given, and that a first instalment of ten per cent. is all that is usually required, it is evident that the first cost of our public lands cannot be any great obstacle to the more general settlement of our waste territory. Are there, then, defects in the machinery by which the lands are to be settled?—are the formalities expensive?—are the surveys inaccessible?—are there hostile combinations? These are all considerations of the utmost importance for this House, and especially for the committee which I have proposed. Before passing altogether from this point, I cannot but remark on the existence among us of certain landed monopolies, which, I fear, have given Canada a bad name, for a poor man's country to get. I allude to such corporations as the British American Land Company and the Canada Company; and speaking of these great com-

panies of land jobbers, I was sorry to see, sir, by the Crown Lands Report for this year, that Mr. Vankoughnet had disposed "of ten townships *en bloc*" in the Ottawa and Lake Huron tract to another of these companies. I know that the late Commissioner, to whose great administrative abilities I have always cheerfully paid homage, intended and stipulated that settlement duties should be rigorously exacted of this new company. (Hear, hear.) But who is to answer that his successors will be equally resolute? Who is to guarantee the Province that a corporation rich enough to purchase will not be influential enough to hold up these ten townships at an excessive figure, and so keep back the surrounding settlements? What has been our experience of these large landed companies? They all came into existence with the fairest possible professions towards this Province. The Canada Company and the British American Company were created by Royal Charter before the days of Responsible Government, so we are not fairly answerable for them, as we shall be for others, if others are to be created by our own action. The Canada Company's report for the present year is now in my possession, and shows how they have used their chartered privileges to speculate upon Canadian lands during the past few years. The directors congratulate the proprietors on the constant progressive rise of prices in their sales of wild lands. They say:

"The Directors again draw the attention of the proprietors to the steady annual increase in the market value of the Company's lands as a most satisfactory and important feature in their affairs; the ultimate success of their operations depending, as it does in some degree, upon the progressive increase in the price to be obtained from the sale of the remainder of their estate. The subjoined table of land disposed of since the year 1829, arranged in decennial periods, furnishes an interesting illustration on this head:—

1829 to 1840.....	736,608 acres,	at 11s. 1d. per acre,
1841 to 1850.....	989,117	" 15s. 4d. "
1851 to 1861.....	493,873	" 32s. 4d. "

"It will be seen from these figures that, although the quantity of land disposed of during the last ten years has been less by one-half than in the preceding period, it realized more than double the amount."

No doubt this is a most satisfactory state of things to the Canada Company, to the Directors of the Canada Company, and to the proprietors of the Canada Company, but if the

growth of the western section of the Province is in some degree retarded, if its increasing population is obstructed by this, for the American world, exorbitant price of wild land, (32s. sterling per acre), it is not quite so satisfactory a state of things for Canada as for the Company. The transactions of the Company during the first two months of the present year, are figured up in the same report, as follows :—

“ From the 1st January to the 28th February, 1862 :

424 acres have been sold at 32s. 11d. per acre.

6,221 acres have been leased at 56s. 11d. per acre.

24,522 acres converted to freeholds.

The collections of money for the same period amount to £36,800 currency, viz :—

“ On account of purchase money.....	£26,875
“ rent and interest.....	9,581
“ sundries	314

“ The sum of £31,000 sterling,” adds the Report, “ has been remitted home by the Commissioners since the 31st December.”

I have no disposition, Mr. Speaker, to exaggerate the evil in our state of society, of these great land companies, but I think it my duty to state to this House that, both in the Eastern Townships, where the British American Land Company still retains *en bloc* many thousands of acres, and in those counties in Upper Canada in which the Canada Company retains its vast reserves, that they are generally looked upon as lets rather than as aids to settlement. They allow their lands to lie waste, unless they can get their own exorbitant prices, or if they lease them it is often to take them back again from the disheartened leasees ; for, in any event, the value is certain to increase by the mere increase of the neighboring settlements on the lands of the Crown. The whole surrounding country is tugging to lift that dead weight of corporate lands held *en bloc*, and if a more liberal policy is not adopted by them—if a policy less hostile to Canadian interests is not adopted—this Province may be compelled, in self-defence, to inquire by what means it may best mitigate this evil, and enfranchise the large scopes of country now held in worse than mortmain clutch. The Clergy Reserves and the Seigniorial Tenure, strong as they were, had to give way to the requirements of a growing society ; and those companies, if they are wise for themselves, will not overdo the opportunities which they unfortunately possess, to retard, in many sections, the

growth of population. (Cheers.) It might seem to be a sufficient cure for this evil, that the millions of acres of public lands in the market were to be had, in Upper Canada, on an average at \$2 per acre, and in Lower Canada, from \$1 to 50 cents per acre; but, unfortunately, the great companies have got into the very heart of the land,—they have got prime soil centrally situated—which gives them the opportunity they so usuriously employ, to monopolize and overcharge—according to all existing American standards of the value of wild lands. (Hear, hear.) Another topic in connection with our land policy relates to what are called the Colonization or “Free Grant” roads, east and west. (Hear, hear.) From the Crown Land Commissioner’s Report, just laid on the table of the House, we may see at a glance with what unequal strides the work of free colonization went on, last year, in Upper as compared with Lower Canada. In this section of the Province all the free grants fell a fraction short of 10,000 acres; while in Upper Canada the free grants somewhat exceeded 30,000 acres. Now, as to the quantity of “free grant” land reduced to cultivation during the year, the number of settlers actually established on the colonization roads, and the reported value of the annual production on those new lines of road, I have taken the Commissioner’s figures, and I find that the result in each section of the Province, for last year, stands thus:—

Roads in Upper Canada.	Acres.	Settlers.	Total Value of Pro- ducts in 1861.
Addington	796	27	\$38,562.20
Bobcaygeon	—	—	30,007.10
Hastings	960	88	44,418.15
Muskoka	300	62	4,900.23
Opeongo	416	40	36,716.32
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Total Upper Canada.....	2,472	217	\$154,584.00*
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Roads in Lower Canada.	Arpents.	Settlers.	Value of Pro- ducts in 1861.
Elgin road.....	731	29	\$15,000.72
Matane “	705	—	4,443.15
Kempt “	305	14	1,317.70
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	1,741	43	\$20,762.57

* This figure must be taken, not for the year 1861, but for all “free grant” reclamations on those roads to that date.

The colonization road expenditure last year in Lower Canada was over \$52,000, and for that very considerable sum and the donation of 10,000 acres, we have 43 new "free grant" settlers added to the pioneer population. Those 10,000 acres, according to the statutory limitation of 100 acres the grant, ought to give the Province at least 100 such settlers. It may be that on some of these free grants, settlement duties will be commenced the present spring, but it is evident that taking 1861 by itself, the acres granted are not represented by the required number of grantees. (Hear, hear.) In Upper Canada, (exclusive of the Bobcaygeon road, not returned), we have only 217, instead of 300 new settlers for 30,000 acres—but this is a nearer approximation to the requirements of the law, than has been made in Lower Canada. It would be instructive to know what proportion of these "free grants," so freely advertised abroad, were taken up by Emigrants and what portion by Canadians; but I believe there is, at present, no official information of that kind—unless it may be supplied in the Report of the Minister of Agriculture, not yet in our hands. (Hear, hear.) Another important consideration for us, at this moment, remains to be taken up. We were invited as you will remember, Mr. Speaker, in His Excellency's speech, at the opening of the session, to consider the highly important subject of our military defences, and we have assured his Excellency that we will give our best attention to that subject. I have full confidence that this House will keep good faith with His Excellency; but Mr. Speaker, I deny that we can wisely consider the subject of our defences apart from the subject of our population. (Hear, hear.) Nay, more; we must consider it in connexion with the growth of that American population who alone could ever cross in anger our interior border. Our boundary is theirs, but while on our side there are about 2,500,000 inhabitants, in the Northern States that face our frontier there are nearly 20,000,000. Does any one believe that we could hold our own, with the odds against us eight to one? Allow everything you please for a people defending their own soil—allow everything you please for Imperial assistance—the disproportion between the two populations is so enormous as to inspire many with the apprehension that it is a mere question of time, when it must come to our turn to be devoured by our gigantic neighbor. I feel, sir, that these fears are neither weak nor fanciful—but I still hold that if we use our present opportunities as we ought—if we fill in our frontiers with a sturdy yeomanry—if we create and establish a peasant proprietary, trained from youth to the use of arms, that Canada may fairly

pretend to an independent existence on this continent. I have no knowledge of military affairs, Mr. Speaker, but I would beg the attention of the House in considering our defences, as well as the present subject, to a glance at the map of the country, both the populated and unsettled parts of it, and to the inquiry which arises from even such a glance, what connexion exists between the distribution of our people, and their resources for self-defence? It seems probable that we shall all be obliged to study the map of the country hereafter, more than we ever did before; and it is impossible, it seems to me, to cast even a cursory glance at it without feeling that we occupy one of the most peculiar positions—that our population, so far, is the most peculiarly distributed—of any to be found anywhere else on this side of the world. Our great central valley from Cornwall to the Saguenay is banked on both sides with settlements, facing to the front and not extending, on an average, except up the lateral valley of the Ottawa, and in the direction of the Eastern Townships, 50 miles from the St. Lawrence; we have thus a long narrow riband of population, one-seventh the breadth of its own length, as singularly shaped a country as eye ever beheld. East of the junction of the Saguenay with the St. Lawrence, our population is carried down to the gulf by the south shore alone, while west of Cornwall, it is found only to the north of the upper St. Lawrence and the great Lakes. The peopled part of the Province thus presents the shape of a long fantastic letter “S”—a waving Lesbian line, which to my eye, is neither a line of beauty nor of grace, nor of defensive strength. At and above Cornwall, this twist of population is determined by the 45th line of latitude, but there is no necessity for any such peculiarity in Lower Canada. From the Ottawa to the St. Maurice, and from the St. Maurice to the Saguenay on the one shore; from the Chateaugay to River du Loup on the other shore, there is the strongest testimony of the best authorities, surveyors, geologists, lumberers, practical men of all origins, that three, four, sevenfold the present population may find ample space and remuneration for their industry. (Hear, hear) Fortunately for us who advocate the recruiting of a productive rather than of a destructive army, science with its hammer and its theodolite, has been for twenty years, at work in those wildernesses. Our living geologists have exploded one fallacy—that the granite country between the Ottawa and Lake Huron could never sustain a numerous population—and this is precisely the same country, geologically, which we find open to settlement in Lower Canada. (Hear, hear.) This is precisely the cha-

racter of the North Shore Counties between Montreal and Quebec, where, if ever Canada stands at bay, in defence of her separate nationality, it must be with her back to that great Laurentian chain of highlands, which trends away from the Saguenay to the Ottawa and from the Ottawa to Lake Huron. (Cheers.) I have not a particle of desire, Mr. Speaker, to underrate or overrate the untouched resources either of Upper or Lower Canada; it is as truly gratifying to me to read the testimony of Mr. Symmes, Superintendent of the St. Maurice Works, to the excellent soil in portions of that valley, as it is to read the testimony of Mr. P. L. S. Salter, that there is abundant room for "sixty five townships of thirty-six square miles each," on the north south of Lake Huron. (Hear, hear.) I rejoice to find the country widening before us, as we advance both east and west; I rejoice to know that we have no limit to our growth, but the line of perpetual frost, beyond the Laurentian mountains. (Cheers.) Another subject inseparably interwoven with the object of my committee, is the representation question. We cannot be blind to the fact that at the Union, Lower Canada contained some 225,000 more inhabitants than Upper Canada, and that now she contains 290,000 less. This is an actual decrease of above 500,000, in twenty years. Now, does any rational man believe that this disparity can continue, and yet that strict equality of representation can be upheld? If not, what then is the obvious remedy? Have the limits of population in Lower Canada, been reached? Are her cultivable lands all taken up? So far from it, that I am well satisfied, Mr. Speaker, from all the evidence taken before the several committees over which I presided—from all the reports of men of science and men of business, that even below Quebec, the soil and the climate will not be found materially different from the soil and climate of the still unsettled parts of Upper Canada, between Lake Huron and the Ottawa. There are with us two regions to the North and South of the St. Lawrence—what are commonly called "the St. Maurice country" and the "Eastern Townships;" we have abundant evidence, obtained at great expense to the Province, of the extent and resources of both these regions. Popularly, the Eastern Townships are tolerably well known; much has been done for them, and much more ought to be done. (Hear, hear.) That instead of a quarter of a million they are capable of sustaining three to four million souls, is generally admitted,—but the St. Maurice is a complete *terra incognita*. The summer traveller who hears steam blown off at night at Three Rivers, seldom

dreams, that he has just passed a great river which two hundred miles from its outlet, is still a great river; which drains a country larger than all Scotland,—and as capable as Scotland of bearing its three millions of inhabitants. (Hear, hear.) Why it is this great valley shut up from the native and the immigrant settler alike? Why does the native Canadian turn disheartened away from its pathless woods? Why does the crowded passenger ship and the laden steamer pass by its port, Three Rivers, year by year, and day by day? When I last spoke on this subject in this place, I quoted a statement which had appeared in a local paper that opposition to its settlement came chiefly from an hon. member of this house, (Hon. Mr. Turcotte). The paper referred to has since withdrawn that statement, and I am happy to repeat, unsolicited, the correction, for I could not believe that any Canadian statesman would be capable of entering into a conspiracy against any class of Her Majesty's subjects seeking a home in this country. (Hear, hear.) We are here, Mr. Speaker, within 100 miles direct of the middle waters of that great river on which there are as yet but two or three townships organized—Polette, Turcotte and Shawinigan. Quebec wants a back country—and 30 or 40 miles of a road, continued from Gosford would tap the St. Maurice at the Tuque, the centre of its lumber operations, and give Quebec a back country. A lateral road again from the St. Maurice to the waters of the La Lievre and the Gatineau would not be so heavy an undertaking as the Opeongo Road, which from Renfrew to Parry's Sound, is to be 186 miles in length. Such roads might serve to give immediate employment to a number of emigrant laborers, under skilled leaders, to familiarize them to the use of the axe—and to prepare them in one season for dealing with "the bush" in the next. (Hear, hear.) My hon. friend, the member for Napierville (Mr. Bureau) who has given great attention to this subject, has a notice on the paper, for an increase of the Colonization road grant, and under certain conditions, I think such an increase desirable; but everything depends—everything—on the spirit and system in which the service is hereafter to be administered. If that department was in the hands of a Marquis de la Gallissionere—if such a man lived in these degenerate days—he would soon, without favoritism or injustice, or conspiracy, redress the balance of population between the east and west, he would give us internal peace on just principles, and external security, on the guarantee of our united numbers. (Cheers.) I cannot but think, Mr. Speaker, that, under a proper adminis-

trative system, the county agricultural societies, and the municipalities might also be made important agencies in the settlement of our waste lands. By the new emigration pamphlets just published, we learn that certain Municipalities have informed the Bureau of a demand for upwards of 13,500 farm laborers, servants, and mechanics. It strikes me that these little local parliaments might do something more, if they were not afraid of being flooded with a pauper immigration. But that fear, in view of the present social state of Great Britain and Ireland, is quite chimerical. The pauper class is no longer there; they have been cut out of the basis of society; we shall, fortunately, never see again the scenes Canada saw, in 1832 and 1847. The municipalities, then, ought to be enlisted with the government in operations in common, to feel a direct interest in the common object—to make Canada a powerful and populous country. (Hear, hear.) There is yet another impediment in our way to which I must allude before I close. It is, the impression which seems to prevail in some quarters, that there is an inevitable conflict of interests between the lumberer and the actual settler. But this conflict the spread of intelligence will postpone indefinitely. To the experienced eye of the surveyor or the geologist, the character of the timber indicates the character of the soil. Such men need not look below the surface; if they find large hemlocks and basswoods mixed with white pine, maples, beech and birch, they immediately infer a warm productive soil beneath. “Mixed timber generally,” says Mr. Duncan Sinclair, (a good authority,—in his reply to my committee in 1860) “indicates good land,” “Oak and black walnut,” he adds, “always bespeak themselves good soil to grow upon.” There is no necessity for the lumberer’s interest and the settlers’ coming into collision, but valuable as the timber trade is, agriculture is more valuable still, and those charged with the supervision of the public domain should see that the greater interest is not sacrificed to the less (Hear, hear.) The woods and forests and the agricultural settlements are necessary and useful to each other, and it ought not to be a matter of difficulty for a firm and intelligent Minister to ensure each its own field, and to guarantee all fair advantages to both. (Hear, hear.) I have thus, Mr. Speaker, endeavored to sketch hastily and very imperfectly, in consequence of the lateness of the night, the outlines of a reform which I believe to be essential to the best interests, to the largest increase, and fullest security of this Province. The Committee which the house is, I am rejoiced

to know, well disposed to grant, will, I trust, be as much more effectual as it will be more numerous, than any of its predecessors. In alluding to the Committees of the last Parliament, I will only say of them, that any one who will take the trouble to consult the journals of this House for 1860 (vol. XVIII) and 1861, (vol. XIX) may see in detail the reforms we formerly projected and advocated. I cannot but again express my gratification that some of those reforms have been adopted—such as the agencies abroad, and districting the inland agencies, to some extent. I confess, Mr. Speaker, I am deeply, nervously anxious about the emigration of the coming spring. If it is botched, we shall be all disgraced, and the fair fame of the Province will be deeply compromised; but I trust we will be able to handle this difficult interest firmly and wisely, as well as tenderly. The subject should enlist all our sympathies, for in one sense, and that no secondary one, all men are emigrants or sons of emigrants. The history of our species is a history of emigration since the first sad pair departed out of Eden, when,

“The World was all before them, where to choose
A place of rest, and Providence their guide.”

In these latter days, the sons of Adam, and daughters of Eve, renew the ancestral experience—obeying the Divine ordinance—“go forth and fill the earth and subdue it.” (Cheers.) In the eyes of the frivolous and the vain, such wanderers may be adventurers, and the term adventurer may be made to mean anything that is base and disreputable. But all the civilization of the world has been the handiwork of just such adventurers. Heroic adventurers gave Greece her civilization; sainted adventurers gave Rome her christianity; the glorified adventurers celebrated in history, established in western Europe those laws and liberties which we are all endeavoring to perpetuate in America. (Cheers.) Let us rather, then, as adventurer has lost its true meaning, let us rather look upon the emigrant wherever born and bred as a founder, as a greater than kings and nobles, because he is destined to conquer for himself, and not by the hired hands of other men, his sovereign dominion over some share of the earth's surface. (Cheers.) He is the true founder who plants his genealogical tree deep in the soil of the earth, whose escutcheon bears, what Cowley so happily called the best shield of nations—“a plough proper in a field arable.” (Cheers.) Mr. Speaker, in the spirit of a broad, uncircumscribed Canadian patriotism, which knows in this House, in

any legislative light, neither race, nor religion, nor language, but only Canada and her advancement, I beg to move for the fourth time for a Committee on Emigration and settlement. When I see these interests adopted as their own by hon. gentlemen opposite who have the power, if they have the will, to establish a new system, I certainly feel some degree of exultation, at the favorable prospects which are before this great project. I can say for myself most truly, though not at all insensible either to the favor of my constituents or my colleagues in this House, that if I were quitting public life, or personal life to-morrow, I would feel a far higher satisfaction in remembering that some honest man's sheltering roof-tree had been raised by my advocacy, than if I had been made Premier or Governor General of the Province. (Cheers.) Let it be the mad desire of others in Europe and America to lay waste populous places; let it be our better ambition to populate waste places. In this we shall approach nearest to the Divine original whose image, however defaced, we bear within us; in this we shall become makers and creators of new communities and a new order of things; it is to further in some degree this good work, during the present session, that I have now the honor, Mr. Speaker, to move for a Select Committee, to take into consideration the subject of Emigration and the settlement of the country. [The hon. gentlemen sat down amid loud cheers from all parts of the House.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Monday, April 28, 1862.

The following committee, were on motion of Mr. McGee, seconded by Mr. Bell of Lanark, appointed by the House:—Mr. McGee, Honorable Messieurs Alleyne, Robinson, Foley, Loranger, Drummond and Portman, and Messrs Jackson, McDougall, Robitaille, Joseph Dufresne, De Cazes, Desaulniers, Pope, O'Halloran, Jobin, Bell (Lanark), Dawson, Scott, Abbott, Benjamin, Hooper, Dickson, Haultain and McKellar.