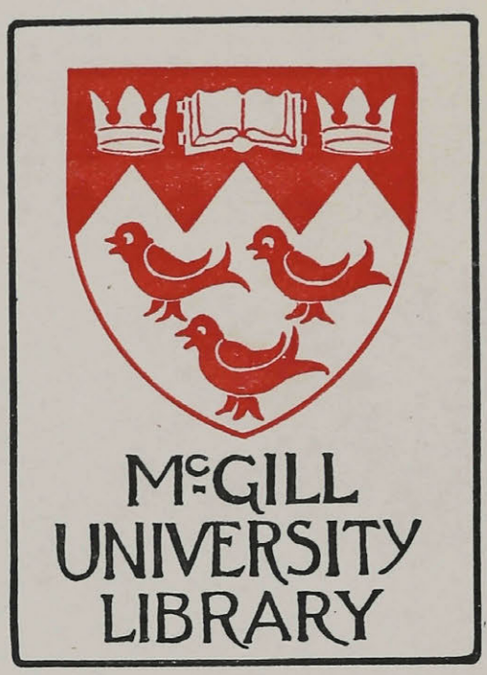
ENGLISH JOURNALISM IN CANADA



AN ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH JOURNALISM IN CANADA FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS BEING GIVEN TO THE PERIODS PRIOR TO CONFEDERATION.

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INTRODUCTION.

To chronicle the annals of Canadian journalism in all its many and varied aspects would be a task requiring many months of labour involving the minutest research. To the average reader this statement might be looked upon as absurd, for Canadian journalism if often regarded as being something extremely recent, something that is more of the present than of the past. Yet when one begins to delve into the records of newspaper activity in Canada's provinces there comes the realization that journalistic endeavour in this country has extended over a period of many years and that the journalistic machinery of present day is only the outcome of a slow and, at times, a painful growth. And the deeper one goes into the subject, the greater this realization becomes, for the enormousness of it is staggering and the opportunities of detailed research are almost without limit.

But, though all this is true, there have been no works of any magnitude, and few sketches of any value written on this subject of Canadian journalism. The activities of investigators have been directed into other channels and the one hundred and seventy-three years of newspaper progress in Canada have been left practically untouched. Moreover the charge of being unworthy of record can never be levelled at the work of Canadian journalists for from 1752 to 1925 there have been unlimited instances of many who, with a spirit of progressiveness, have striven to bring to the communities of the land the news of the world, and to educate, direct, and even amuse their readers through the medium of their journals. Naturally there have been men who have fallen far short of their objectives; but naturally, also, there have been great

figures who have loomed large in this calling of journalism - men skilled in the use of the pen and of the type;learned in politics,statesmanship,and literature; powerful in argumentation and debate;mighty in leadership;and irreproachable in their love of country and of Empire. Yet - and this is strange - their connection with the press has never received complete recognition.

It would be impossible for me in a thesis such as this to do full justice to the subject. The massiveness of the matter is a barrier to completeness of detail. So my intention is to trace on broad and general lines the development of journalism through the first century and a half of its growth on Canadian soil,dwelling chiefly upon the period before Confederation,and giving a brief account of the period from 1867 to 1900. I choose to emphasize the earlier days because it is from them that the present system has grown, and it is in them we find the pitiful struggles for very existence and the dramatic conflicts for freedom from persecution. By 1867 the press of Canada had taken on much of its present shape, with the result that the years since have years of expansion and mechanical development, years of financial conflicts and amalgamations, and years in which personality has been lost in system.

The plan of the thesis is simple. I must of necesity restrict myself to an account of those papers which were established fundamentally as newspapers, not as religious or agricultural journals, literary periodicals, or humourous publications. And of the thousands of newspapers that have come and gone, I must limit myself to those of permanent importance. That is I shall record the activities of the very earliest papers because of their historical importance, and I shall dwell, in the later years, only on those papers that played great roles in the political development of the country or that, through long

life, have been found worthy of mention. This naturally excludes practically all the smal country journals which, so important in their own communities, are not great in national life.

In Quebec, only the English journals will be recorded, for the French press is worthy of a thesis in itself, and still awaits someone to tell the account of its existence.

My material has been gathered from the brief sketches that had been written on the subject;from one or two larger accounts, which unfortunately are of little value; from the occasional mention of newspapers in historical accounts of Canadian life; and from those papers themselves which I have been able to consult. Some of the facts that I gathered were not in accordance one with the other, but I have checked these to the best of my ability, and used the ones which I thought the most accurate.

But leaving introductory remarks and turning to the subject itself, we look first to the far eastern city of Halifax, for there Canadian journalism was born and there it won its greatest battle for freedom from tyrannical oppression.

CHAPTER 1

THE BEGINNINGS OF CANADIAN JOURNALISM

1-In Nova Scotia

For many years there was an impression generally circulated that the first Canadian newspaper appeared in the ancient city of Quebec in the year 1764. But this bit of misinformation no longer exists; new evidence has been brought to light, evidence which gives to the city of Halifax in the province of Nova Scotia the honour of being the birthplace of Canadian journalism. That birth took place "at the Printing-Office in Grafton-Street" when John Bushell published the first number of The Halifax Gazette on Monday, March 23rd, 1752.

But though 1752 was the birth-year of Canadian journalism, we must go back through three-quarters of a century or slightly less if we are to see the true beginnings of that scrawny Halifax sheet from which the papers of to-day descend. It was in 1689 that Samuel Green set up his printing office in the Colony of Massachuesetts Bay, and though Stephen Day had been active in the art of printing ten years before, it was Green to whom the title of "father of American printing" was given. And, as will be seen by the events which followed, he may also be well described as "the grandfather of Canadian journalism" for it was his grandson, Bartholomew Green, jr., who had the enterprise and the ambition to venture into the almost unknown settlement of Halifax, bringing with him the press, types,

and all those things necessary for the printing of words upon paper. It is a well-known fact to those who knew even a little regarding journalistic history that the younger Bartholemew Green's father was the famous Bartholemew Green, who was the first printer of the noted Boston News-Letter and later the editor of the same publication. In consequence, his son, who was born in 1700, four years before the appearance of the News-Letter, was in a position to receive an excellent apprenticeship; and true to the common traditions of the age, he followed in the path of his father. Entering the establishment of his parent, he received a thorough grounding in the art of Caxton and his successors, with the result that he not only printed the Boston publication for a time, but at the age of thirty entered into partnership with John Bushell and Bezoune Allen, this mutual contract continuing till 1751, when it was dissolved. [1]

Two years before the dissolution of this agreement between Green,Jr., and his co-workers, an incident with far-reaching effects had taken place. Governor Cornwallis, with thirteen transports, had arrived to found Halifax, but though in that vast expedition "there was artizans to build the future city;statesmen to govern it; soldiers to protect it; tradesmen to supply its wants; merchants, clergyman, doctors,

1- J.J. Stewart "Early Journalism in Nova Scotia,"Nova Scotia Historical Society, Collection, Vol. VI - p. 92.

lawyers, schoolmasters, and even actors....there was neither printing press nor printer."[1] It was only natural then that this new outpost of the Empire should feel the want of news from the other portions of the world; and it is more than probable that the younger Green realized this longing of the Nova Scotians, His partnership dissolved, he was free from any severe ties holding him to Boston, so he turned his eyes towards the new fields. There he saw opportunity, and being the son of a great printer and the grandson of another, he was not the man to let this chance for success slip past. And gathering together all that equipment needed for a printing plant, he set sail from Boston in August, 1751, on the good sloop "Endeavor", arriving at his destination in the month of September.

However, man's destiny is not in his own hand, and though Green had planned and laboured towards this one end - the firm establishment of a printing plant in Halifax - he was never to realize the joy of fulfilment. Death stepped in; Green was for ever removed from the scene; and the work, which he had been so active in promoting, was delayed. Just how much he had actually accomplished is not known, probably very little, for "within a month after his arrival he took ill, died and was buried in Halifax on the twenty-ninth of October".[2] Mention was made

1- J.J. Stewart,"Early Journalism in Nova Scotia "Nova Scotia Historical Society Collection,Vol. VI-p.91

2-Biggar in McKim's Directory,1892, page 18.

of his death in a short paragraph in his former paper, the Boston News-Letter, and the printing establishment in the new town waited for a successor to set it in operation.

But as the eighteenth century was not an era of rapid movement, three months were to elapse before the vacancy brought about by Green's death was to be filled and before the plant, which had been erected on Grafton Street, was to have a manager. The new printer, who reached Halifax in the latter part of January, 1752, was none other than John Bushell, a former partner of Green's in Boston, and it is very likely that he had some connection with the Nova Scotian venture.[1] Bushell, a Bostonian by birth, mentioned by Thomas in his "History of Printing", left his family in New England and bent all his energies towards the task with which he was confronted. According to Biggar, "an agreement drawn up on the 20th March,1752, between Bushell and Otis Little, the Attorney General of the Province, would seem to show that the latter had advanced the money to set Green up in business, and a member of subscribers who had been obtained for the proposed newspaper had paid their subscriptions before the printer was ready to issue",[2] a practice, by the way, which was not at all uncommon at the time. The value of Bushell's plant was estimated at 100 pounds, half of this sum having been received

1-J.J. Stewart - "Early Journalism in Nova Scotia", N.S. Historical Society, Vol. Vl p. 93

2-Biggar McKim's Directory, 1892, p. 18

NOVA-SCOTIA. No. 1.

THE

Halifax GAZETTE.

MONDAY, *March* 23. 1752.

AS many of the Subſcribers to the Proposals for publiſhing of this PAPER, may be deſirous of knowing the Cauſe why it hath been *ſo long delayed;* the Printer begs Leave to inform them, That the Gentleman who is poſſeſſ'd of the original Subſcriptions, whenever deſired, will give them a ſatisfactory Account. And as the Letter-Preſs is now commodiouſly fixed for the Printing Buſineſs all ſuch Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, as may have Occaſion for any Thing in that Way, may depend upon being ſerved in a reaſonable and expeditious Manner, by their

Moſt Obedient,
Humble Servant,
John Buſhell.

By the laſt Papers, &c. from London, *by the Way of* Boſton, *we have the following Intelligence,* viz.

FOREIGN ADVICES.

ROME, September 24.

A Few Days ago, as the Pope was going in his Coach to the Quirinal, an ordinary man kneeled in the Street upon his Knees as if he wanted to receive a Bleſſing from him, which as he was going to give, the Man threw a Stone at his Holineſs's Head, which narrowly miſſed it. He proved to be a Madman lately eſcaped from the Hoſpital for Lunaticks, to which Place he was remanded, with ſtrict Orders to the Officers, to take more Care for the future of the unhappy People committed to their Charge.

Venice, Octo. 7. They write from Conſtantinople, That the Inhabitants who retired into the Country to avoid the Plague, are far from being ſecure, as the Air is infected for twenty Leagues round.

FROM THE BRITISH PRINTS.

LONDON, *September* 18.

This Day came on the Election for Lord Mayor of this City, when Thomas Winterbottom, Eſq; Alderman of Billingſgate-Ward was elected for the Year enſuing. At the ſame Time, Slingsby Bethel and Marſh Dickenſon, Eſqrs; were choſen into the Office of Sheriffs for the Year ensuing.

On the 13th of May laſt, an Act paſſed for regulating the Commencement of the Year, and for correcting the Kalender now in Uſe; to extend throughout all his Majeſty's Dominions. [The Particulars of which will be publiſhed in our next.]

On the 14th of June, two Bills paſſed the Hon. Houſe of Commons, which have ſince obtain'd the Royal Aſſent, viz., One for continuing the Bounty on the Importation of Maſts, Tar, &c. The other for encouraging the making of Potaſhes and Pearlaſhes in America. And on the 25th of the ſame Month, his Majeſty cloſed his moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, as follows, viz.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

...."*I have nothing to deſire of you, but effectually to conſult your* "*own true Intereſt and Happineſs. Let it be your Care* "*to maintain in your ſeveral Countries, the publick Peace and good Or-* "*der; to encourage and promote a juſt Reverence for Government and* "*Law, and not to ſuffer thoſe good Laws, which are enacted here, to* "*looſe their Effect for want of a due Execution.*"

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to require and command, that all Veſſels arriving from the Levant ſhould perform Quarantine.

November 2. We hear that a Report has been ſent up by his Majeſty's Officers at Portſmouth, to the Hon. the Commiſſioners of the Navy, and by them to the Lords of the Admiralty, of the Succeſs of the Experiment made by Mr. George Bridges, on ſeveral Pieces of Planks, to prevent Worms eating Holes in Ships Bottoms; The Advantages that will accrue to his Majeſty's Dominions, are many: Firſt, it will ſave the Expence of Sheathing, and cauſe the Ship to laſt twice as long. Secondly, Will ſave Numbers of Seamen, as well as preſerve the Cargoes. Thirdly, All ſuch Ships, that make uſe of it, require but little Ballaſt, ſo conſequently, will hold more ſtowage. Fourthly, The Ship will anſwer the Helm much better, and ſail faſter by ſome Knots in an Hour, &c. &c. &c.

Nov. 13. Laſt Saturday Night died, in the 78th Year of his Age, that great Mechanic, Mr. George Graham, F.R.S., Watch-maker in Fleet ſtreet, who may truly be ſaid to have been the Father of the Trade, not only with Regard to the Perfection to which he brought Clocks and Watches, but for his great Encouragement to all Artificers employ'd under him, by keeping up the Spirit of Emulation among them.

Nov. 19. Laſt Week happened a very melancholy Accident which, we hear, is as follows, viz. Mr. Dubuy, Confectioner to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in Norris ſtreet, in the Hay-Market, being on Friday Evening at a Tavern near Pall Mall, with an eminent Chymiſt, who was his intimate Friend and Neighbour, of a ſudden complained of a violent Pain in his Side, which he frequently labour'd under; his Friend endeavoured to perſwade him, that he would ſoon get the better of it, if he would go immediately to Bed, and take in the Morning a Doſe of Phyſick that he would ſend him for that Purpoſe, accordingly the Draught had it's deſired Effect, and on Saturday Morning about Eight o'Clock, he was ſeemingly quite recovered, and at his own Door. His Friend, who was glad to find him ſo much better when he came in the Morning, thought it adviſable to order him a ſecond Doſe, which one of his Servants being left to prepare, (and at the ſame Time ſeveral Cheſts of Medicines being packing in the Shop for Exportation) by ſome unhappy Means, a Phial containing a Liquid of a poiſonous Nature, was ſent inſtead; which on the Patient's ſwallowing, he was immediately taken Speechleſs, and in two Hours after died in great Agony, to the inexpreſſible Grief of all who knew him.

Nov. 19. A few Days ago, as ſome Workmen were digging up a Terrace at Sion Houſe, the Seat of the Right Hon. the Earl of Northumberland, about ten Feet from the Surface under the Walls they found twenty-ſeven human Skulls, one of them of a moſt enormous Size, with the Teeth all fix'd and found in the Jaws of them all; and ſeven Barrels fill'd with humane Bones; which are ſuppoſed to have been there ſome Ages.

Nov. 30. On Thurſday Night, about Ten o'Clock, as a Gentleman, who had been drinking pretty freely with ſome Friends, was going thro' Holborn, and ſeeing a Mob, his Curioſity led him to enquire into the Cauſe of it, which he unfortunately miſtook to be a Treatment too ſeverely inflicted by them upon an Apprentice, for uſing too much Liberty with his Tongue. The Gentleman taking Compaſſion of the young Man, very officiouſly interpoſed his Endeavours to appease the exaſperated Mob, and to rescue the Offender which at length, by preſſing Inſtances and moliſying Speeches, he accompliſhed; and it had been lucky for him if his Generoſity had ended there; but not contented with having reſcued him, he afterwards took him to a publick Houſe to refreſh him, where being in a private Room, and before a great Fire, the Gentleman fell aſleep. In the mean Time, the ſuppoſed Apprentice pick'd his Pocket of Eighteen Shillings, and three new Silk Handkerchiefs, ſtripped him of his Hat and Cane, and made clearly off....As this ungrateful Behaviour verifies the old Proverb, *Save a Thief from the Gallows, and he'll cut your Throat,* it is hoped it will be a Warning to Gentlemen, not to thruſt themſelves rathly into Mobs, where, though their Purſes eſcape, they ſeldom come off without ſome Damage.

Dec. 31. According to private Advices from Paris, the Commiſſaires that have been ſo long conferring together in that City, about a new Regulation of Limits in America, have already made ſo ſurprizing a Progreſs, that the Publick in general begin to be perſwaded the Affair will ere long be brought to a *happy*, tho' not a *ſurprizing* Concluſion.

Jan. 1. Yeſterday was held a Board of Trade, when James Oſwald, Eſq; took his Seat accordingly; at the ſame Time the ſeveral Deſpatches brought by Commodore Pye and Capt. Hutchinſon concerning Nova Scotia were laid before them.

The ſame Day.....Cornwallis, Eſq; was appointed an Agent for that Colony.

Jan. 2. They write from Copenhagen, That, on the Occaſion of the Death of the Queen of Denmark, his Daniſh Majeſty has iſſued an Edict, forbidding for a whole Year all Plays, Balls, Operas, Concertos, &c..... *Heavens preſerve us from ſuch Mourning, which would ſend at leaſt one half o our gay, polite Gentry to the Grave.*

Jan

A photograph of a facsimile of Canada's first newspaper. This, reproduced from McKim's Directory, 1892, is only slightly smaller than the first copy actually was. It shows clearly the date of establishment and the name of the printer. The material is typical of many of the earlier papers.

(To go with page- 8)

in subscriptions at the rate of twenty shillings per year. By the terms of the agreement between the Attorney General and the printer, the latter was to "undertake the said printing business upon the 23rd day of March inst., and then publish a number of newspapers and distribute them among the several subscribers,..... and continue from week to week to publish a newspaper to be delivered as aforesaid until the conditions of their several subscriptions are complied with and shall also prosecute the business of printing in Halifax aforesaid, for the space of one year to come from the said 23rd day of March".[1]

John Bushell carried out the agreement. On the fixed day, a Monday, in the month of March, 1752, the first number of "The Halifax Gazette" and the first Canadian paper appeared before the public.

To-day the newspaper men of the Dominion have at their command a vast heritage resulting from years of experience. But Bushell was a pioneer, with scanty equipment at his command, and with none of the modern advantages under his control. In consequence it was a queer thing, this first Gazette-[2] queer, that is, if judged by modern standards. But it had one excellent quality and that was simplicity, for the opening number consisted merely of one sheet, nine inches by fifteen inches, printed on both sides, with a total of four columns, two on each page. At the top of the front page there were two

1-Biggar, McKim's Directory, 1892, p. 18-19

2-See photograph of facsimile of Number One.

small cuts, one on either side, the left one depicting a three masted sailing ship, the right a hunter and a dog on the edge of a forest. The pictures themselves have nothing whatever to do with the paper, unless it is to give it an air of elegance, and, if we can judge by the subject matter, it is evident that the cuts were not made in Halifax but had been brought by Bushell or Green from parts of the country where printing had reached a much more advance stage. Between the two reproductions of scenes on land and sea there is the title of the news journal, which reads as follows:

Nova-Scotia. No.1

The

Halifax Gazette

Monday, March 23. 1752

while at the extreme bottom of the second and last page there is this inscription: "HALIFAX: Printed by John Bushell, at the Printing-Office in Grafton-Street, where Advertisements are taken in, 1752". Between these two - the name of the paper and the place of the printing - there are four columns of matter, consisting of the publisher's foreword, foreign news, colonial news, the slightest taste of local news, and three advertisements, all printed admirably.

If Green followed the customs of his day regarding the establishment of a newspaper, he certainly must have issued a prospectus before the paper itself appeared. We know at least that a small group of subscribers had promised their

support, either under the influence of the honeyed words of the projectors of the enterprise or as a result of a desire for news. At any rate, Green's successor did not show any inclination to explain at length the policies and purposes of his publication; but, for a foreword, he wrote nothing but a precise business-like statement regarding the delayed appearance of The Gazette.

"As many of the Subscribers to the Proposals for publishing of this Paper, may be desirous of knowing the Cuase why it hath been so long delayed; the Printer begs leave to inform them, That the Gentleman who is possess'd of the original Subscriptions, whenever desired, will give them a satisfactory Account. And as the Letter-Press is now commodiously fixed for the Printing Business all such Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, as may have Occasion for any Thing in that Way, may depend upon being served in a reasonable and expeditious Manner, by their

Most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

John Bushell.

Turning from the foreword to the news, however, we find material which must have been of great interest to the people of the city. Admittedly the news is old, some of it extending back over a period of six months; but then it probably had never been seen before by the readers of the Gazette, a fact which justified the actions of Bushell, when he filled his

paper with what would be looked upon to-day as mouldy matter. Some of it is important, some amusing, and some neither important or amusing, but plainly dull.

Under the caption of "Foreign Advices" the readers of the Gazette were informed that in Rome, a few days before September the twenty-fourth, "as the Pope was going in his Coach to the Quirinal, an ordinary man kneeled in the Street upon his knees as if he wanted to receive a blessing from him, which as he was going to give, the Man threw a Stone at his Holiness's Head, which narrowly missed: He proved to be a Madman lately escaped from the Hospital for Lunaticks, to which Place he was remanded...."And a despatch from Venice, dated October the seventh, has a touch of the Decameron about it, for it says: "They write from Constantinople, That the Inhabitants, who retired into the Country to avoid the Plague, are far from being secure, as the Air is infected for twenty Leagues round. "That was some total of the foreign news and, as is quite evident, the little that Bushell did print was neither of great importance nor of exceptional interest.

Under the heading of "FROM THE BRITISH PRINTS" there is a hodge-podge of news, dating from September the eighteenth to January the third, and filling almost two columns. In quality it varies greatly,some of it being without any value whatever. The following extracts are typical:

LONDON, Spetember 18.

"This Day came on the Election for Lord Mayor of this City,when Thomas Winterbottom, Esq., Alderman of Billingsgate-

Ward was elected for the Year ensuing....."

"On the 13th of May last, an Act passed for regulating the Commencement of the Year, and for correcting the Kalender now in Use; to extend throughout all his Majesty's Dominions. (The Particulars of which will be published in our next.)"

"November 2. We hear that a Report has been sent up by his Majesty's Officers at Portsmouth, to the Hon. the Commissioners of the Navy, and by them to the Lords of the Admiralty, of the Success of the Experiment made by Mr. George Bridges, on several Pieces of Planks, to prevent Worms eating Holes in Ships Bottoms...."

"Jan.1. Yesterday was held a Board of Trade, when James Oswald, Esq., took his Seat accordingly; at the same Time the several Despatches brought by Commodore Pye and Capt. Hutchinson concerning Nova Scotia were laid before them."

"Jan.2. They write from Copenhagen, That, on the Occasion of the Death of the Queen of Denmark, his Danish Majesty has issued an Edict, forbidding for a whole Year all Plays, Balls, Operas, Concertos, &..Heavens preserve us from such Mourning, which would send at least one half of our gay, polite Gentry to the Grave."

There are also a few indications of modern tendencies in the newspaper field, for among these English extracts there is an account of a drunken brawl; a minute bit of description regarding the incidents surrounding the death of Mr. Dubuy, a London confectioner, who accidently swallowed "a liquid

of a poisonous nature"; and the tragic tale of a young bride, who after some warm words with her husband "immediately ran up Stairs, and soon returned with a Glass of Liquid Laudanum in her Hand, and drank if off in the Presence of her Husband, with these Words; Duty and Obedience! And this shall end all Disputes! and died soon after, though all the skilful Applications that possibly could be tho't of were used to preserve her Life."

Bushell, however, turned a portion of his attention to conditions on this side of the Atlantic, devoting short spaces to news from the plantation districts, Boston, and his own locality, Halifax. Most of this, it is true, was in connection with the great business, shipping, but there are a few paragraphs in the Halifax section, especially, which comment upon existing connections. This one, for instance, gives us some idea of early conditions:

"The Rigour of the Season is considerably abated since the Beginning of this Month; but the Scarcity of all Sorts of fresh Provisions is so much increased, that several working Cattle have been lately kill'd, and the Beef sold at 5d. and 6d. per Pound." And this one announces an important death in French Canada:

"We have also an Account from thence of the Death of Mons. Le Jonquier, late Intendant General of New-France in an advanced Age, at Quebec. He was reputed an experienced Sea-Officer, and was an Admiral commanding in the French Fleet, taken by Lord Anson and Sir Peter Warren, in 1747, and

remained some Time a Prisoner in England."

Now it is common, in these days of modern journalism, for a paper to be composed largely of advertisements; but Bushell was not conducting a modern journal, printing as he did only but three advertisements and small ones at that, And of these three, two are uninteresting things, one having been inserted by an attorney, the other by a grocer. But the third deals with education and is a master-piece of early Canadian 'ad. copy. 'Really it is too rich in interest to pass by without notice, and consequemtly I reproduce it in full.

AT THE SIGN OF THE HAND AND PEN

Near the South End of Granville Street are carefully taught.

BY LEIGH AND WRAGG,

SPELLING ,READING, WRITING IN ALL IT'S Different Hands; Arithmetic, in all it's Parts; Merchants Accompts, or, the true Italian Mehtod of Book-keeping in a new and concise Manner; Likewise all Parts of the Mathematics. And, for the Conveniency of grown Persons improving their Learning, any of the above Arts and Sciences will be taught Two Hours every Evening, to begin at 6 o'Clock.

N.B. The above Leigh draws, ingrosses and transcribes Writings of all Kinds, and adjusteth

Accompts if ever so difficult, and will keep them in a methodical Manner by the Year. SOLD at the above Place, Quills,Pens, Ink, Writing-Paper, Writing and Spelling-Books, and Slate-Pencils.

And so it was that Canadian journalism first saw the light of day, and it may be said here, that according to the statements of the higher authorities on the matter, the original Gazette still lives to-day in the Royal Gazette, "a weekly; established 1752."[1] J.J. Stewart, in 1887, also put forward the claim that the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette was then by several years the oldest paper published in America;[2] but Dr. W.E. MacLellan recently said, "The Gazette has survived under one name or another ever since (foundation), and is embodied in the Morning Chronicle of to-day. The present Royal Gazette of Nova Scotia is of comparatively modern origin",[3]

It has also been stated, by Thomas in his History of Printing and by others, that in its earliest days the Gazette was extremely irregular, suffering difficulties in its publication and experiencing opposition in the shape of economic obstacles. There is little doubt that these allegations are purely false, for there is to-day in the archives of the Historical Society of Massachusetts a fyle of the paper for the

1-McKim's,Canadian Newspaper Directory,1892,page 160.
2-J.J. Stewart,Early Journalism in N.S.,N.S. Historical Soc.,Vol.VI,p.93
3-Anniversary number,The Morning Chronicle, Jan.1925, page 11.
Also see note at the end of this section.

first three years and there is no reason to question its regularity up to seventeen hundred and sixty.[1] Bushell, it is evident, lived up to the letter of his promise in that first agreement with Little to "continue from week to week to publish a newspaper to be delivered as aforesaid until the conditions of their several subscriptions are complied with".

Thus at last were the people of Halifax privileged to have a paper published regularly in their city, and though it was not a startling production, it has been described by Arthur J. Wallis, one time editor of the Toronto Mail and Empire, as being "an excellent production from all points of view - for that early period of nearly a century and a half ago."[2] Wallis also places the number of subscribers at seventy-two. During the numbers that followed the initial one of March 23rd, little change in the material was noticed by the readers, for the news was late news and of local information there continued to be practically none. In May, however, there appeared in a forerunner of Canadian editorials, its title being "The Delusions of Earthly Riches", and in that same number there was a contributed "recommending that more attention be paid to agriculture in the province."[3]

It is quite evident though, that the government, precautions and far-sighted, deemed it wise to have at least one finger on the control of the Gazette, and no chances were taken that it should ever get extremely unruly. From almost

1-Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. VI, p. 94
2-Historical Sketch of Canadian Journalism,"in Canada, Hopkins, Vol. V p.183
3-Biggar,McKim's Newspaper Directory,1892,p.19.

the very inception of the paper, government advertising, some of which is of historical interest, appeared in nearly every issue; and with this lofty and paying patronage extended to his enterprise Bushell would not offend, if possible, the source of revenue. Moreover, by 1758, if not before, the officials of the province had obtained a direct, though partial control of the journal. In that year Richard Bukely, provincial secretary, undertook "the supervision and editorship of the Royal Gazette. This paper was not a brilliant journal, but we must remember the limited field at that time. It served its purpose, and Bukeley took great interest in its production."[1] Bushell had lost the full grip on the reins; he had become, once again more of a printer than a journalist; and from 1758 his fortune was on the decline.

Admittedly Canada's first publisher was a good workman; that is seen by even a quick glance at a sample of his art. But he was not a good business man, with the result that he became immersed in a mass of debts. There is plenty of evidence to substantiate this statement: Thomas mentions that "he had not the art of acquiring money nor did he make the most economical use of the little that fell into his hands"[2]; there is official record of his financial embarrassments; and Stewart writes that "he got into arrears to his grocer, and that the proportion of liquid groceries was much larger than it should be in any well ordered household".[3]

1-J.S.M. in N.S. Hist. Soc., Vol.XII, p.69
2-Biggar in McKim's Directory, 1892, p.20
3-N.S. Hist. Soc. Vol.VI p.100

Bushell's day was over, He had seen the beginnings of great things, but he had not achieved financial success. And in the month of January, 1761, he died - a so-called failure.

But out of the ashes of Bushell's collapse there arose a figure that was to play a great role in Nova Scotian journalism for a period of forty years. This was Anthony Henry, soldier, printer and journalist, with an uncertain history prior to his arrival in Halifax, but with no uncertain record after his appearance there. Of his earlier days we know little. He was born of German parentage in Alsace, near Montbeliard, in 1734, but the time of his arrival in America is unknown. He made his first appearance in Halifax in 1758, after having served as a bandsman in one of Amherst's regiments in the Louisburg expedition, and it is thought that his knowledge of the printer's art first became known when the soldiers then stationed in Halifax were put to work at their various trades. Having already served his apprenticeship, Henry commenced work in the plant of the Gazette as an assistant to Bushell, and it is possible that it was through Bukeley's influence that Henry's permanent transfer from the army to the Gazette was obtained. Once again into an accustomed sphere of activity, the ex-bandsman's success was rapid and on September 23rd, 1760, he became Bushell's partner. Four months later Bushell died.

Succeeding to the business to the exclusion of the Bushell family, even as Bushell had succeeded to the exclusion of Green's heirs, Anthony Henry found himself in

possession of the printing plant, on Sackville Street, and faced with the task of producing a weekly paper, which by now had grown to a full foolscap sheet, instead of the original half. But Henry, though he was only twenty-six years of age, was well educated - he could speak German, French and English -, was a good printer, having had an apprenticeship and two year's experience in the Halifax office, and was moreover a man of good habits. Consequently he proceeded with a hearty will, commencing May of the same year a new series of the Gazette.

And for a period of four years the paper, now out of its swaddling clothes, went its way placidly under the guidance of Henry and Bukeley.

But there was an evil genius abroad that directed the footsteps of the young Isaiah Thomas towards Halifax; and when Thomas sauntered into the office of the Gazette, in 1765, trouble entered too. Thomas was only sixteen then, having been born in Boston in 1749, but he had served an apprenticeship, or a portion of one, with Fowle. On his arrival in Nova Scotia, he told Henry of tale of misfortune concerning his ambitions to go abroad to further his studies in printing; but it is generally conceded that Thomas, often a stranger to the strict truth, was in reality a runaway apprentice. He was penniless, however, and Henry was compassionate. Thomas was accepted as a journeyman on the Gazette, being given his "board for his services", and he commenced to bring about the temporary downfall of his master. Within a few months Thomas found himself going

south under compulsion, fate having destined him to become the founder of the Worcester Spy and the author of that pioneer book, "History of Printing", which sells to-day at exceptionally high figures. It is in this History that Thomas, sometimes with exaggeration, tells of the Halifax incidents, painting Bushell and Henry in colours which are not very favourable and which at times are not even true to life.

During those few months that he did stay in Halifax, Thomas created enough trouble to last his master and benefactor a life time. For it so happened that the boy of sixteen came from those portions of the colonies that showed little respect for the Stamp Act, and being inbued with rabid ideas against authority he proceeded to give public expression to his views, much to the displeasure of the officials and to the decided detriment of Henry. Not many weeks had elapsed after this incorrigible youth's arrival, before Henry found himself summoned to give an explanation of an article which smacked of disapproval regarding the Act over which there was so much controversy. The explanation was forthcoming, Henry apologizing for the action of his journeyman during his absence. Within a short time the charge was repeated. This time Henry explained that his absence was due to sickness. Further excitement was caused when Thomas placed the Gazette in mourning, merely for the purpose of illustrating to the subscribers how American journals had protested against the Act. And to cap all the acts which he had already perpetrated, he destroyed all the stamped paper which was in Henry's possession, with the

result that the Gazette appeared unstamped, since there was no other stamped paper to be had in the city. Then it was that Thomas went south to Boston under compulsion. In vain did Henry offer apologies and explanations; the wrath of the authorities had been aroused and they withdrew their patronage, transferring the task of printing the Gazette to another printer, whom they brought from England for the sole purpose, as far as can be seen, of punishing Anthony Henry. Just how this transfer was made is unknown. Bukeley, of course, was influential and might have caused it; or the mere withdrawal of government subscriptions and advertisements might have been enough to cause Henry to cease publication, especially so when we remember the smallness of the subscription list.

Arriving from London in the summer of 1766, with the entire printing plant and a valuable stock of books and stationary, Robert Fletcher, the new printer, proceeded to establish himself. By August all was prepared and on the fourteenth of that month, the journal reappeared under the new title of the Nova Scotia Gazette, with the size changed to a full sheet crown folio, and with new numbering. The opening imprint was as simple as that in the original Gazette of fourteen years before, for it simply stated: "Halifax: Printed by Robert Fletcher, and sold by him at his shop near the Parade where all sorts of printing is executed

neatly, correctly and expeditiously. Subscriptions received at twelve shillings a year or three pence a paper. Advertisements of a moderate length inserted at three shillings each."[1]

Deprived of his paper, but keeping his printing establishment, Anthony Henry was not idle yet he was restless; the scope of his business was not sufficiently large; he wished for a greater arena. For two years and a half nothing happened; but at the end of that time Henry's thoughts and desires culminated in action, with the result that on January 3rd, 1769, Halifax witnessed the opening of its first newspaper war, for on that day the first number of the Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser appeared. It was a small eight page paper, "printed by Anthony Henry, at his printing shop in George Street", and though it was inferior in appearance to the rival Gazette, it was a better newspaper, being the first real attempt in the province. The difficulties were many, but Henry seems to have been an honest workman, with the interests of the public at heart, saying in his salutatory in his new paper, "As the winter already set in will deprive him (the publisher) for some time of the benefit of his British and Foreign Intelligence,- in this situation he will endeavour, by a variety of entertaining and instructive pieces, to please his Subscribers."[2]

1-McKim's Directory,1892 page 21
2-N.S. Historical Society, Vol.Vl,p.108

Not only did Henry appeal to the intelligence of his subscribers; he appealed to something much closer and dearer to some people - their pocketbooks. This he did by rate cutting, making his own yearly subscription eight shillings, thus underselling Fletcher by four shillings. And four shillings meant a good deal of money to many people in the young city. The inevitable, consequently, was bound to happen, and victorious in the rate war, Henry in August 1770, once again found himself in the possession of the Gazette. Fletcher, having disposed of his paper, sold the types and the presses to John Boyle, of Boston, and gave his entire attention to the selling of books, stationery and among other things, groceries. The result was financial disaster, from which he recovered, partially at least for his advertisements continued to appear for some years in Henry's amalgamated journal.

The title by which these incorporated papers were now known, was the Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle, the initial number leaving the office on Sackville Street on Tuesday, September 4th, 1770. The subscription rate had been raised to ten shillings, but the form taken was that of Fletcher's Gazette, and the paper from all angles, compared very favourably with its contemporaries. True there appeared scarcely any local news, an average being

about twenty lines per week; birth and marriage notices were permitted, while death notices were limited to persons of distinction; and there was column after column of clippings from old journals and magazines, and of official proclamations in all their verbosity. But the poets were given spacious allotments for their attempts; and if the reader did not like these he could turn to shipping news and advertisements. From 1772 on, however, the local news department underwent an improvement, while about the same time, the first attempt at country correspondence was made, consisting of a letter from Falmouth, in which the writer described the Feast of St. Aspinquid.[1]

Being energetic and honest and possessing intelligence and common sense, Anthony Henry prospered, as did his paper, and when he died in the year 1800 it was said that he had been King's printer for forty years.[2]

OFFSPRINGS OF THE REVOLUTION

There are many angles at which we may look at the American Revolution- military, political, social, economic. And I, in this thesis, can look upon the Revolution as being, in some ways at least, a fortunate thing for Canadian journalism, because with the collapse of British rule in the Thirteen Colonies there were many people who found their positions intolerable and fled to Canada for

1-N.S. Historical Sodiety, Vol. Vl p.116
2-McKim's Directory, 1892, p.22

security and happiness. It is only natural that this wave of immigration should bring printers and journalists, whose arrival stimulated and vitalized the newspaper life of the non-rebellious colonies. This was not only true of Nova Scotia and what was later to be New Brunswick, but also to a lesser degree of Upper and Lower Canada.

The effects of the Revolution were quickly felt in the Nova Scotian field, for even before the bitter argument had been settled, printers from Boston, had arrived in Halifax. Foremost among these were Mrs. Margaret Draper and her junior partner John Howe, who although a prominent figure himself was to be eclipsed by the gigantic role which his son, the Hon. Joseph Howe, journalist, statesman and man of letters, was to play. Peculiarly enough we turn once again to the Boston News-Letter, when we dip into the life of Mrs. Draper, for that historic sheet had been the property of her husband and had become hers at his death in 1774. That was a fatal year, however, for it was then that the flame of rebellion began to burn brightly - not a good time for a woman, with strong loyalist tendencies to find herself in charge of an outstanding paper in Boston. But Mrs. Draper was a person of stern principles and throughout the next two years, until the evacuation of Boston on March 17th, 1776, she did not allow anti-British sentiments to creep into her publication. When the cause was totally lost, however, and when she found herself in the centre of a spirit of animosity, Mrs. Draper packed together her presses and types and setting out for

kindlier lands, eventually found her way to Halifax, in company with Howe, his brother-in-law William Minns, McKinistry, and others. Stewart places their arrival in Halifax in the year 1776, but states that Mrs. Draper, after staying for but a short time in Nova Scotia, sold her News-Letter plant to Howe and left for England, where shee died in 1800.[1]

Stewart in referring to John Howe's parentage, describes his father, Joseph Howe, as a "tradesman" of Boston;[2] but Wallis lends a tinge of romance in this matter of ancestry by writing that John Howe, the printer of Halifax, came of a "celebrated English family that had given Britain seamen, soldier, and peers."[3] And it is sufficient here, by the way of contrast, to state concisely that the loyalist, Howe, was born in Boston on October 14th, 1754, son of Joseph Howe; and that after a brief partnership with the printer Royle, he became junior partner with Mrs. Draper of the News-Letter. Thus leaving the hostile city in 1776, he a young man of twenty-two had already received a solid training in the business of his life. Within a few months of his departure from Boston, he had married Miss Martha Minns, then a girl of sixteen or seventeen. The wedding ceremony was performed at Newport. William Minns, the bride's brother was only a

1-N.S. Hist. Soc., Vol. VI, p.118
2-" " " " " " p.118
3-Canada-Hopkins, Vol V, p.184

youngster then, but before the eighteenth century had passed away, he too had made his mark on Nova Scotian journalism.

The Howes lived in comparative obscurity for a short time in Halifax, but by 1880 Howe was in possession of a printing plant at the corner of Sackville and Barrington Streets. And in this office there was brought into existence on January 5th, 1781, a journalistic institution that was to live for nearly ninety-years - the Halifax Journal.[1] Howe had been responsible for another big advance in the newspaper business of the province and once again from out of Boston had come the new life for the building up of the still toddling journalism of Nova Scotia.

For twelve years Howe was the sole publisher of the Journal, and after a break of two years - from 1793 on - during which McKinistry was in partnership, he resumed lone control, until the year 1801, when upon the death of the venerable Anthony Henry, the office of King's Printer and the time-tested Gazette became Howe's.[2] At that time his son John was taken into the enterprise, and later Joseph was to receive his early training as an apprentice to his half brother. But these things are of a later day, coming within the limits of the nineteenth century. They must be dealt with in another chapter.

Before leaving Halifax and its eighteenth century journalism there is one more figure which attracts our attention: William

1-N.S. Historical Soc. Vol. VI, p.119
2-N.S. " " " ", p.119

Minns, the young lad who came to Nova Scotia after the evacuation of Boston. As has been said already, Minns was a brother-in-law of Howe's and it was on the Journal that he learned his trade, setting types for four years. Then upon coming of age and with the restlessness of youth, he branched out for himself, publishing the first number of his Weekly Chronicle on May 28th, 1786. True to the traditions of the Fourth Estate he remained faithful to this enterprise of his youth, and for forty years or more he published with careful regularity this journal,[1] leaving aside the type only when death stopped his hand at the beginning of 1827.

Three papers, then - the Gazette, the Journal, and the Chronicle - took the important roles in Halifax during the last quarter of the eighteenth century; but the new century was still young when fresh forces were felt and scarcely had the first quarter ended before Halifax journalism began to experience a mighty and influential expansion.

There is little to be said about the papers in the smaller towns during this first period, and the little that can be said must be confined to the activities in Shelburne. It is something of an anomaly to find journalism very active in a town as small as Shelburne then was, but it was once again due almost solely to the Revolution that this condition existed. Three papers came to life with a mushroom like rapidity; and three papers died early deaths as their progenitors

1-N.S. Historical Society, Vol. VI, p-120

left the Nova Scotian settlement and went to other lands.

Casting their lot with their mother land, James and Alexander Robertson and Nathaniel Mills continued the publication of their Royal American Gazette in New York during the time of revolt; and upon the declaration of peace this paper appeared in Shelburne, its destinies being in the hands of the same three men. Long life on Nova Scotian soil was not its lot. Alexander Robertson died soon after his arrival in Shelburne; Mills returned to the United States; and by 1810 James Ross, with his brother's son, was in Scotland, the paper having ceased to appear some years before.

The same fate befell the Shelburne Advertiser, which first appeared in October, 1784, being printed by James Robertson,Jr., for T. and J. Swords. After appearing regularly until 1787, it ceased its activities and by 1796 T. and J. Swords were doing business in New York as printers and booksellers.[1]

And peculiarly enough the third Shelburne publisher was also a Loyalist who returned to the States after an absence of several years. Cast into prison and finally driven from the state because of his sympathies towards Great Britain, James Humphreys, Philadelphia printer and publisher of the Pennsylvania Ledger, also made his way to this centre of the Loyalists, the first number of his Nova Scotia Packet and General Advertiser appearing in April,1785, This paper lived until about 1796, when it breathed its last, and Humphreys,old

1-N.S. Historical Soc. Vol. VI,- 122

in years and troubles, turned his face once again toward Philadelphia where he died in 1810.[1]

And with the dawning of the nineteenth century there was not a single paper left in Shelburne.

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Note regarding the Gazette and the foundation of the journal: It is of interest to take a critical look at the statements published by Dr. W.E. MacLellan, in the centenary number of the Halifax Morning Chronicle, issued on New Year's Day, 1925. "The present Royal Gazette of Nova Scotia," says MacLellan,"is of comparatively modern origin. In 1789,John howe father of the Hon. Joseph Howe, reached Halifax with the plant of his newspaper, the News Letter, which had been published in Boston up to 1776. The Gazette was united with and became merged in the News Letter."

Just where Dr. MacLellan gets his historical information I am not sure. But Lee, in his history of American Journalism says that the last number of the News Letter appeared in 1776 (p.27); W.M. Brown, in his Recollections of Old Halifax,(N.S. Historical Society, Vol.XIII, p.80, states that "Mr. Howe was a Bostonian and came here with several others about the year 1776;" J.E.B. McCready, Biggar, Wallis, Stewart, and others credit Howe with the foundation of the Journal in 1781, seven years before his arrival in Halifax, if we are to believe MacLellan; Howe did not take over the Gazette until 1801,

1-N.S. Historical Soc. Vol. VI - 122

after Henry's death; and Stewart has shown careful investigation in every portion of his brief history. This final statement is borne out by the fact that in the British Museum Periodical Catalogue, under Halifax, there are copies of the Nova Scotia Gazette, the Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle, and the Nova Scotia Royal Gazette, the numbering of which causes the dates of their foundations to agree with the statements brought forward by Stewart: that is Fletcher's control begins in 1766, Henry's in 1770, and Howe's in 1801. In reality, it is the original Gazette of 1752, living under different titles and in different hands.

The only contrary bit of evidence is found in Desbarate Newspaper Directory, which dates the Halifax Royal Gazette from 1871. This would seem to agree with MacLellan. But McKim's Directory 1892, dates the Gazette from 1752, its original year of foundation, while Wood and Company's Directory, 1876 dates the Royal Gazette from 1801, the year in which Howe became King's Printer.

In the face of this evidence, I consider myself justified in taking the account as told by Stewart and refusing to accept the more recent statements of MacLellan. Personally I believe that MacLellan was trying to prove, for the purposes of an anniversary issue, that the Chronicle was one of the oldest living papers in existence, saying as he does, "The Morning Chronicle is therefore able to

reckon up, this year, 1925, an active and unbroken newspaper life of 173 years. "As a matter of fact the Chronicle was founded as a tri-weekly in 1844 by Annand, though it absorbed the Nova Scotian, a weekly, founded in 1820. The latter part of this note will be dealt with more fully under the Nova Scotia section in chapter two.[1]

1-See appendix E. giving Sydenham Howe's version of John Howe's arrival in Halifax.

THE LOYALISTS AND THE NEW BRUNSWICK PRESS-1783-1800.

It was while New Brunswick was still known as Nova Scotia that journalism first became active in that province. That was when the forces of civilization had but barely penetrated into the regions around the St.John - a fact which once again helps to prove that the forces of journalists follow quickly on the heels of the leading pioneers, bringing into the barren regions the printed word, whether in the bound book or the epheneral sheet of the newspaper.

The year was 1783, and it was spring. But once again honest and staunch settlers were being borne toward Canada on the ill wind of the Revolution, the first Royalists reaching Parr-town, later to be as St. John, in May of that year. A little over six months later, "on the eighteenth of December... the first regular newspaper ever issued in New Brunswick made its appearance."[1] This was the Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer, promoted by William Lewis and John Ryan, "Loyalists of Parr-town." Of the paper itself much need not be said, except that it was a three column weekly, eight inches by thirteen inches. The news was of the standard variety-old matter clipped from European journals - offset by a mingling of orthodox advertising. In other words it was a typidal sheet, not worth a great deal in itself, but having a great value as being the beginning of better things to

1-Acadiensis, Vol.VIII, p. 252

come.

William Lewis, one of the partners in the enterprise, has been described by David Russell Jack, who wrote a short sketch entitled "Early Journalism in New Brunswick," as a "grantee of Parr-town," who upon the incorporation of the city of St. John in 1785 was "among those who took out his papers as a Freeman."[1]

But the history of John Ryan is different to that of his partner. Although the complete records of his life have by no means been given to the world, he is not surrounded by that cloak of mystery which shrowds Lewis. For instance we know that he was born at Newport, Rhode Island, on October 7, 1761, and if we can take Jack's statements as being historically accurate, that he was apprenticed to John Howe, who had come to Newport after the evacuation of Boston; and that he followed Howe to Halifax, when the latter left the States for Nova Scotia.[2] Ryan,it is said, married Amelia,daughter of John Mott, of long Island, New York. The name of Mott, was also to be associated with New Brunswick at a later date.

With all the restlessness of his kind,Ryan was not content to remain in Halifax with Howe and so pushed on to Parr-town, where he was to take a prominent place in the journalistic life of the city. As I have said before, Lewis and Ryan proceeded rapidly with their enterprise. When the land was being divided between the settlers, these two men drew "lot No.59

1-Acadieusis, Vol VIII,p.253
2- " " " " 254

on the east side of Prince William Street and on this spot..... they issued the first number of their paper," the Royal St. John's Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer.[1] This publication underwent a rapid change of names within the next few years, for with the creation of New Brunswick as a province it became known as the Royal New Brunswick Gazette and General Advertiser; and with the appointment of a King's Printer it appeared as the St. John Gazette and General Advertiser.

The eighteenth day of May 1785, witnessed the incorporation of Parr-town and Carleton into the city of St. John. And in the autumn of the same year, Christopher Sower, a Loyalist, became the first King's Printer in the province, Sower, being born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, on January 22, 1754, came from a state rich in journalistic traditions, but because of his firm opinions contrary to the Revolution, his property was confiscated and future life in Germantown rendered impossible. Going to London after the war was over, Sower was well rewarded for his loyality, for after his case had been investigated, he was given "the double office of deputy postmaster and King's printer, and was also given the commission of a Colonel."[2] He then recrossed the ocean;arrived in the new province in 1784; and on Tuesday,October 11, 1785, the first number of the Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser appeared.

1-Acadiensis Vol.VIII,p.254
2-McKim's Directory,1892,p.24

It was issued from humble quarters, Sower building a two storey log house for dwelling purposes and for his printing plant, and the paper itself was typical of the times. According to obtainable evidence, this first office of Sower's was on Dock Street, but "later both printing and post offices appear to have been removed to King Street; for we learn that in May, 1787, they were located in the first building above the Mallard House, now the Royal Hotel, one of St. John's noted inns of early days."[1]

Of course Sower's work in connection with the publication of the Gazette was of the utmost importance to the community in which he lived; but he also carried on miscellaneous printing, issuing in 1786 the almanac in the province if not in the Dominion. During the latter part of his life he did not live in the city of St. John itself, moving in 1792 to French Village, located in King's County at a distance of about fifteen miles from the chief settlement of the province. Here he continued to publish the Gazette until the last year of the century, when he died of apoplexy while on a business trip to Baltimore, Maryland.

And having dealt with the activities of Lewis, Ryan and Sower, there is nothing more to be said about the newspaper in New Brunswick prior to the last century. Upon the death of the printer from Germantown, Ryan succeeding to the

1-Acadiensis, Vol.VIII, p. 256

office of King's Printer, continued the publication of the Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser, and in St.John and throughout the other portions of the Province a number of papers sprang up in quick succession. But those things belong to another chapter.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND PRIOR TO 1800.

In Prince Edward Island too, prior to 1800, there was little journalistic activity of any account. At the end of the eighteenth century, Charlottetown was not a city of great size its total population being about four thousand. In 1791,however, the Royal Gazette was published for the first time but thirty-two years were to elapse before James D. Hazard was to instil some real vigour into the journalistic veins of the Island. This eighteenth century sheet was only an official organ, with a circulation of about fifty.[1]

1-McKim's Directory, 1892, page 26

CHAPTER - 1

SECTION - 2

THE BEGINNINGS OF CANADIAN JOURNALISM IN LOWER CANADA,1764-1800

Although there were a number of attempts in the latter part of the eighteenth century to establish papers in the Province of Quebec only **two** successful journals lived to see the light of the nineteenth century. These were the Quebec Gazette and the Montreal Gazette - papers, on account of their historical importance and enviable records of life and service, worthy of the closest consideration and the minutest investigation.

The older of the two newspapers, the Quebec Gazette, appeared on June 21st,1764, and no evidence has appeared to question its position of first paper in the province. N.E. Dionne, in his "Inventaires de Livres, etc.," sums up the life of the Gazette as follows: "Fondee le 21 juin 1764, paraît moitie en anglais **et** moitie en francais. Hebdomadaire de 1764 a 1818; bi-hebdomadaire de 1818 a 1832; tri-hebdomadaire jusqu'en 1842; alors la langue francaise disparait completement de sa redaction. La Gazette de Quebec cessa de paraitre le 30 octobre 1874, apres cent dix ans et quelques mois d'existence. C'est le journal si bien connu, de tout temps, sous le nom plus familier de Gazette des Neilson,"[1]

Though the paper, as Dionne says, was known as Neilson's

1-Time 111, p. 169

Gazette for many years, the credit for its foundation must be given to Brown and Gilmore, described as Philadelphia printers. Concerning the latter, little apparently is known; but concerning the former this fortunately is not the case. Of the various accounts about Brown, the one given by John Reade, F.R.S.L.,F.R.S.C., at one time an associate editor on the Montreal Gazette, appears to be the soundest and the most thorough. Reade claims that "according to Dr. H. Neilson, who possesses the papers of the Brown and Neilson families, William Brown was born,about 1737 or 1738, in Scotland, of well-to-do parents," and that when he was fifteen years old, he was sent to America to seek his fortune,going to relatives of his mother in Virginia. According to the same account, Brown was then apprenticed to a "brother-in-law of Benjamin Franklin's," by the name of Dunlop, who in 1760 sent him to Bridgetown, Barbadoes, and who, three years later, furnished Brown with the means to buy, in England, the printing plant which was to be used in the Quebec venture.[1]

Dunlop is not mentioned in the genealogical table of the Franklin family, nor does the name appear in Franklin's will and codicil, but Franklin himself followed the practice of establishing apprentices in the different colonies, so it is not improbable that this Dunlop did the same thing. Franklin in his autobiography, says of these colonial enterprises: "The partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encouraged to

1-Canada (Hopkins) Vol. V, page 147

engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen, who have behaved well, by establishing them in printing-houses in different colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina. Most of them did well,being enabled at the end of our term, six years, to purchase the types of me and go on working for themselves, by which means several families were raised."[1]

At any rate, the time was ripe for Brown and Gilmore to enter the Quebec arena,for the British conquest was still a recent affair and as yet there were no competitors to oppose the enterprises and to split the financial proceeds. So it is that in the autumn of 1763, Brown at least was on the field, not as a printer, but as a prospector looking for subscribers to the proposed newspaper. And with him he brought a prospectus in the approved manner of the time, and in this prospectus, a facsimile of which I have examined in the centenary number of the Quebec Gazette, June 21, 1864, I find expressed the hopes, the promises and the conditions, placed before the public by the first real printers of the province.[2]

This prospectus was printer both in French and English and was a strong appeal to the citizens of the Ancient Capital.

1-Works of Franklin (Sparks,1844) Vol. 1 p.142-143

2-According to a History of Canadian Journalism (Canadian Press Association) p.148,the Bishop of Pontbriand had a press for printing his mandements,before the arrival of Brown and Gilmore.This statement was made by Phileas Gagnon,in his "Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne," and has been substantiated by other evidence.

The opening portion stresses the desire found "in every breast" to know something of the doings of the world, while the conclusion stipulates the conditions under which the printers will open a plant in the city, On account of the importance of the prospectus,especially in that it sheds a good deal of light upon the situation as it existed in connection with journalism at that time,I am reproducing its major portions as issued by Brown and Gilmore.

> "As every considerate Mind is solicitous to know the state of the World about him, and the circumstances of the several Nations,joint Inhabitants of the Universe with him,so it must be an additional satisfaction to be acquainted from time to time with the Events and the Important Transactions in the different quarters of the Globe; and tho' the Ferment into which all Europe was lately thrown by this Calamities of the general War,is now happily subsided,yet there is an inherent Propensity lodged in every Breast,to pry into the daily Events that happen in the World, and even into Futurity itself. This principle can only be gratified in its most extensive Latitude by Means of the Press."

"The Knowledge of Letters, says a late celebrated writer,is one of the greatest Blessings that ever God bestowed on the Children of Men...'Tis this, which brings all the past Ages of Men at once upon the Stage, and makes the most distant Nations and Ages converse together, and grow into Acquaintance.' Where fore a well regulated Printing Office has always been considered

as a publick Benefit, insomuch that no Place of Note in the English Dominions is at this day destitute of the Advantages arising therefrom....."

"Our Design is, in Case we are fortunate enough to succeed early in the Spring to settle in the City,in the Capacity of Printers, and forthwith to publish a Weekly News-Paper;which as the present Condition of the Country renders it in a great Measure necessary, we purpose to publish in French and English: This Method will afford a Weekly Lesson for Improvement, to every Inhabitant willing to attain to a thorough Knowledge in the Language of the Place, different from that of his Mother Tongue, whether French or English. And as in a Paper design'd for general Perusal, it will be necessary to add some Things of general Entertainment, therefore, as we have Opportunity, shall present our readers with such Originals, both in Prose and Verse, as may at once please the Fancy and instruct the Judgment....."

"But as our coming hither and setting up a compleat Printing Office, will be attended with a much greater Expense than our present circumstances will admit,of, we offer the following Proposals to the Inhabitants of this Place, their encouragement of which will determine our settling among them:

"FIRST,That as three Hundred Subscriptions for the News-Paper above proposed, can be procur'd, we will engage to set up a genteel Printing-Office, in some convenient part of Quebec....

"SECONDLY,That the Price of Subscribers shall be....per year current Money of Canada.

"THIRDLY,Such of the Subscribers as may chuse,are at full

Liberty to withdraw their Subscriptions at the end of the first Year, and at the End of every succeeding Half Year, as they may chuse.

"FOURTHLY,No Money will be required, till such Time as the Paper is actually set on Foot, when it is expected, that each subscriber will advance one Half of the first Year's Subscription Money,the better to enable the Printers to prosecute the Work.

"FIFTHLY,Our best Endeavours shall be used to convey our Papers to such Subscribers as may reside in Montreal, and even in the remotest Part of the Country, till such Time as ther can be regular Messengers procured for these Places."

BROWN AND GILMORE

.....

Although John George Bourinot places the total on the subscription list at one hundred and fifty names,[1] Biggar and other writers take the attitude that somewhere in the vicinity of three hundred subscribers were obtained. At any rate the partners in the enterprise were apparently satisfied with the results of the prospectus, for they arrived in Quebec with a press and type and prepared for business. But how they came and when they came are things unrecorded in the annals of Canadian journalism. It is only natural, considering the date of the first issue, that Brown and Gilmore reached Quebec with their plant in the spring of 1764, for it was on June 21st in the same year that the first number of the Quebec Gazette appeared.

1-Intellectual Development of the Canadian People - p. - 53

NOMB. I.

THE QUEBEC GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1764.

LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC.

JEUDY, le 21 JUIN, 1764.

The PRINTERS to the PUBLICK.

AS every kind of knowledge is not only entertaining and inſtructive to individuals, but a benefit to the community, there is great reaſon to hope, that a NEWS-PAPER, *properly conducted, and written with* ACCURACY, FREEDOM, *and* IMPARTIALITY, *cannot fail of meeting with univerſal encouragement; eſpecially as it is allowed by all, that* ſuch *a paper is at preſent much wanted in this colony.*

Every one expects, and expects with reaſon, that when the attention of the publick is ſollicited, the principles ſhould be laid down, on which the claim to publick favour is founded.

Our deſign therefore is to publiſh in Engliſh *and* French, *under the title of THE QUEBEC GAZETTE, a view of foreign affairs, and political tranſactions; from which a judgment may be formed of the intereſts and connections of the ſeveral powers of* Europe: *We ſhall alſo take particular care to collect the tranſactions, and occurrences of our mother-country, and to introduce every remarkable event, uncommon debates, extraordinary performance, and intereſting turn of affairs, that ſhall be thought to merit the notice of the reader as matter of entertainment, or that can be of ſervice to the publick as inhabitants of an* Engliſh *colony.*

With regard to the MATERIAL OCCURRENCES *of the* American Colonies, *and* Weſt-Indian Iſlands, *we may venture to affirm, that from the extenſive correſpondence eſtabliſhed for this purpoſe in each of them, many intereſting* TRUTHS *will be laid before the publick, with all becoming impartiality and candour.*

The rigour of winter preventing the arrival of ſhips from Europe, *and in a great meaſure interrupting the ordinary intercourſe with the ſouthern provinces, during that ſeaſon, it will be neceſſary, in a paper deſigned for general peruſal, and publick utility, to provide ſome things of general entertainment, independent of foreign intelligence; we ſhall, therefore, on ſuch occaſions, preſent our readers with ſuch* Originals, *both in* Proſe *and* Verſe, *as will pleaſe the* FANCY, *and inſtruct the* JUDGMENT. *And here we beg leave to obſerve, that we ſhall have nothing ſo much at heart, as the ſupport of* VIRTUE *and* MORALITY, *and the noble cauſe of* LIBERTY: *The refined amuſements of* LITERATURE, *and the pleaſing veins of well pointed* WIT, *ſhall alſo be conſidered as neceſſary to the collection; interſperſed with other choſen pieces, and curious eſſays, extracted from the moſt celebrated authors: So that blending* PHILOSOPHY, *with* POLITICKS, HISTORY, &c. *the youth of both ſexes will be improved, and perſons of all ranks agreeably and uſefully entertained.——Upon the whole, we will labour to attain to all the exactneſs that ſo much variety will permit; and give as much variety as will conſiſt with a reaſonable exactneſs. And as this part of our project cannot be carried into execution without the correſpondence of the* INGENIOUS, *we ſhall take all opportunities of acknowledging our obligations, to thoſe who ſhall take the trouble of furniſhing any matter which ſhall tend to entertainment, or inſtruction.*

As many diſappointments may accrue to ſuch ſubſcribers as reſide in the remote parts of the country, by want of care in thoſe to be employed in diſtributing our papers; we pray ſuch gentlemen ae may hereafter ſubſcribe, as alſo thoſe who have already ſubſcribed to this undertaking, to point out to us (in writing) their proper addreſs, and the particular conveyances by which they would chuſe to have their papers ſent.

Advertiſements, the uſe of which is ſo well known to every body, by their effects on the ſale of lands, and goods, will be inſerted with particular care, and at reaſonable prices. And as our papers will not only circulate through the ſeveral capitals, and other cities and towns of the Britiſh *colonies in* America, *and through the Iſlands in the* Weſt-Indies, *but alſo through the trading ports of* Great-Britain, *and* Ireland, *by which means, thoſe who advertiſe therein, cannot fail of a very extenſive correſpondence.*

This is a ſketch of the plan on which we propoſe to eſtabliſh this paper, and as ſuch an undertaking muſt in its infancy be attended with a heavy expence, we flatter ourſelves that it will meet ſuch farther encouragement as the execution thereof may deſerve.

We take this earlieſt opportunity of acknowledging the favours we have received from the GENTLEMEN *of this city, who have generouſly ſubſcribed to our paper, and whoſe example will, we hope, influence a number ſufficient to enable us to carry on our undertaking with a proſpect of ſucceſs.*

Our intentions to please the Whole, *without offence to any* Individual, *will be better evinced by our practice, than by writing volumes on this ſubject. This one thing we beg may be believed, That* PARTY PREJUDICE, *or* PRIVATE SCANDAL, *will never find a place in this* PAPER.

Les IMPRIMEURS *au PUBLIC.*

COMME tout genre de ſcience ne ſert pas ſeulment à inſtruire, et à amuſer le lecteur particulier, mais doit auſſy conduire au bien du Public, il y a lieu d'eſpérer, qu'une Gazette ſoigneuſement compilée, ecrite avec choix des matiéres, ſans partialité, et avec une liberté convenable, ne manquera pas d'etre encouragée, comme tout le monde ſent combien un imprimé de cette nature eſt néceſſaire dans cette colonie.

Chaqu' un s'attend, et ce avec raiſon, que celuy qui ſollicite l'attention du Public, expoſera les raiſons ſur leſquelles il fonde ſes prétentions à ſon ſuffrage.

Notre deſſein eſt donc, de publier en *Anglois*, et en *Francois*, ſous le titre de LA GAZETTE DE QUEBEC, un recueil d'affaires étrangeres, et de tranſactions politiques, à fin qu'on puiſſe ſe former un idée des differens intérets, et des connexions réciproques, des puiſſances de l'*Europe*. Nous aurons auſſy un ſoin particulier, de cueillir les tranſactions, et les occurrences de la mere patrie, faiſans attention à chaqu' évenement rémarquable, à chaque débat intereſſant, et à tout ouvrage

A facsimile of the first page of the first Quebec Gazette, reproduced from the Centenary issue. This photograph gives some idea of the excellent quality of the printing, as well as indicating the policies which the editors, Brown and Gilmore, hoped to pursue. The Quebec Gazette was the first newspaper to be printed in the province. (To go with page - 44)

In comparison with the first number of Bushell's Halifax Gazett, the paper of Brown and Gilmore is a fine achievement, if the reproduction in the centenary number is accurate.[1] It was printed in French and English, as was promised in the prospectus, with two columns on a folio page, eighteen by twelve inches, there being four pages in all. The first number, though it contained no editorial according to modern ideas, included a salutatory from the printers to the public, and it is from this that we learn on what lines Brown and Gilmore intended to conduct their paper. This introductory statement was printed on the front page in double column form and, as the best type was used, it presents an expremely attractive example of the printer's art. Naturally enough advertisements were a matter for discussion in this self-introduction, and the hopes of Brown and Gilmore ran along the crests, for they said that advertisements "will be inserted with particular care, and at reasonable prices. And as our paper will not only circulate through the several capitals and other cities and towns of the British colonies in America, and through the Islands in the West Indies, but also through the trading ports of Great-Britain and Ireland, by which means those who advertise therein, cannot fail of a very extensive correspondence."

At that time Quebec was not a large city, having a population

1-See photograph of facsimile.

of under seven thousand, and Brown and Gilmore realized that under such circumstances their undertaking "must in its infancy be attended with heavy expense" but, at the same time they flatter themselves " that it will meet such further encouragement as the execution thereof may deserve." And, although in this introductory editorial, if so it may be called, they did not define and definite policy, they painted a gorgeous picture of what the paper would be and what it would do. They realized, even in the sunny month of June, that the coming of winter would cut them off from the sources of their European information, but even in the face of this they promised that they would provide their customers with interesting material " so that blending Philosophy with Politicks, History, &., the youth of both sexes will be improved and persons of all ranks agreably and usefully entertained...."

Moreover, they stated with sagacious cautiousness that their "intentions to please the whole, without offense to any Individual, will be better evinced by our practice, than by writing volumes on this subject." And they concluded their argument with a statement which might be copied with a great deal of profit by some of the offsprings of the Quebec enterprise:" This one thing we beg may be believed,That Party Prejudice, or Private Scandal, will never find a place in this Paper."

Besides the printers' salutatory, there was the usual foreign news, clipped from other papers, dating as far back as March. Included in the news from London, there was a report of a "scheme of taxation of our American Colonies" - a scheme which led to

the Revolution a few years later. There were also some reports from Philadelphia and New York, the latter bearing the date of May 7th., but there was no local news of any importance.

What little we do learn about activities in the city, is obtained in the few advertisements printed in the first number. We are told, for instance, that "on Sunday the 24th being the festival of St. John, such strange brethern who may have a desire of joining the Merchant's Lodge No.1,Quebec, may obtain liberty by applying to Miles Prentiss at the Sun, in St. John's Street, who has tickets price five shillings for that day." The only commercial advertisement stated that John Baird had "just imported from London and to be sold at the lowest prices in the upper part of Mr. Henry Morin's house at the entry of the Cul de Sac, an assortment of goods....suitable for this market."

Personally I have not seen the earlier copies of the Gazette except for this facsimile of the first number, but the Centenary number of the Gazette and Biggar's Sketch of Canadian Journalism carefully describe the material which was printed by Brown and Gilmore. It is only natural that we do not find the promised blending of "Philosophy with Politicks, History,&," but we do find new advertisements and announcements, which are important from a point of view of economic and society history, and increased interest in local affairs, both on the part of the printers and their correspondents. For instance, there appeared in an early number an announcement by Germain Langlois,"who notified the public that he had opened a circulating library

of several hundred volumes in French and English, the terms of membership being six pence a week, Halifax currency."[1] This is now one of the first Canadian public libraries became known to the citizens of Quebec.

Then too, I find a great deal of interest in a letter, such as the following, which appeared as correspondence and which is one of the forefathers of that type of material, which fills the "Margaret Currie" columns of the day, only in this case the writer seems to have been more serious than some who pen the stories of their aches and ills merely for the sake of filling space. Here it is:

"To the Printers of the Quebec Gazette.

Gentlemen,

By giving the following a place in your paper you will oblige several of your customers. It is a prevailing custom in this Garrison of inviting one another to Balls,Dances Housewarmings and so forth. I am one of these unhappy men that is often favoured (as they please to call it) with a card, and as I am a married man it occasions a great many disputes between me and my wife; she blames me as sullen dull and insipid, having no taste for gaiety. On the other hand I remonstrate on her extravagance,finding that I spend two or three dollars once or twice a week,this being but a small reckoning at such, it does not tally with my income. I am not the least of opinion that those gentlemen

1-McKim's Directory,1892, p.30

that honour me with such cards regard my welfare, therefore, I caution them as they love my peace, prosperity and welfare of my family, that they would desist so as I may not be brought be brought to dismal want through such practices which no doubt would be very disagreeable to those who out of good nautrehad invited me to my ruin."[1]

The location of the plant is given at the bottom of the last page in every issue, the following, found in the first issue, being typical:"QUEBEC:Printed by Brown and Gilmore, at the Printing-Office in St. Lewis's Street, in the Upper-Town, two Doors above the Secretary's Office; where Subscriptions for this Paper are taken in. Advertisements of a moderate Length (in one Language) inserted for Five Shillings the first Week, and One Shilling each Week after; if in both languages, Eight Shillings the first Week, and Two Shillings each Week after; and all Kinds of Printing done in the neatest Manner, with Care and Expedition."

But this partnership between Brown and Gilmore, though it apparently had a satisfactory beginning, did not last for a long time. Symptoms of disagreement....are apparent in some of the earlier volumes and in 1772 they separated."[2] The Gazette continued to thrive under the sole direction of Brown, the partner who remained with the paper, but what became of Gilmore I have not been able to ascertain.

There are not many old Canadian papers in the Redpath

1-McKim's Directory,1892,p.30-31
2-Centenary Number, Quebec Gazette, p.6

Library, but fortunately there are copies of the Quebec Gazette for the years 1781 and 1782, starting with number eight hundred. This shows that the publication had been issued with fair regularity since its inception. The paper, by this time, was printed "by William Brown, in Mountain-Street," who also sold books and stationery. In the winter numbers there was scarcely any news, foreign or local, but there were a good many articles under such titles as "The Character of Gustavus Adolphus," "The Influence of Taste Upon Manners", and "On Gaming". Occasionally there were brief items referring to local conditions; and the advertising, which included many officials proclamations by Frederic Haldimand, the Governor, and by Edward William Gray, Montreal sheriff, had taken a much more important position. The advertisements show, among other things, that slavery was still in existence in the colony, for I come across an announcement of sale as:

> "TO BE SOLD-A Likely,Robust,Active,Healthy Negro Lad, about twenty-one years of age; he speaks English and French both remarkably well, and has had the Small-pox.
>
> "For further particulars apply to the Printer.

There are also many cases of people applying for lost articles, varying from a red cow with a white face to runaway apprentices.

With the arrival of spring, however, the paper took on a different aspect and from May till the coming of winter Brown printed a great deal of foreign news in preference to lengthy articles on abstract subjects. In the number of September

12th, 1782, there is a despatch, dated London, July 8th, which states that "Colonel John Parr is appointed to the governement of Nova Scotia, and has kissed hands on this occasion."

Even an "extra" was not known to the Quebec citizens, for when Rodney, at Quadaloupe, "by a manoevre which he was the first to introduce broke his opponent's line and drove the French fleet, shattered, from the sea,"[1] Brown, upon receiving the news, quickly realized its value and interest, issuing a special number immediately. It was on the morning of the eleventh of June 1782, that ships, sailing into Quebec, brought accounts of the British successes, and on the same day, the Gazette, in a one page number, reprinted the account of the engagement as it was given in the Antigua Gazette of April 17th.

The article describing the encounter presents a striking contrast to the modern newspaper story and I am reproducing the major portions on account of their value and interest:

> "On Friday last, the 12th instant, at seven in the morning the British Fleet under the command of the Admirals Sir George Brydges Rodney and Sir Samuel Hood, came to an engagement with the French fleet...in the channel between the Islands of Dominique and Guadaloupe.
>
> "This glorious action was fought with unbating fury on both sides..with strength nearly equal;but fortune gave the victory complete...to the British fleet,whose thunder had dealt such perdition among the French squadron.."

1-Green's "Short History of the English People" (Everyman),p.735.

The details of the engagement are then given and the article ends:

"Admiral Rodney writes, that for want of two hours more Sun-light, very few of the French had much probability of escape from capture or destruction.

O! Great General Joshua,hadst thou been there,
To stay the setting Sun in his career!"

.....

There is some doubt as to how long William Brown continued in control of the Gazette, the various accounts differing slightly upon this point. There is no doubt, however, that for nearly twenty-five years, Brown remained in Quebec, serving the people and having the satisfaction of witnessing his venturesome enterprise prosper steadily. The Centenary Number of the Gazette states that he "continued at the head of the establishment until 1790, when he relinquished it in favour of his nephew, Mr. Samuel Neilson, who had come from Scotland for that purpose,"[1] John Reade, who, as I have already said, seemed to have had a close insight into the history of the Brown and Neilson families, records that William Brown, a bachelor to the end of his life, died on March 22nd, 1789, leaving a fortune of fifteen thousand pounds, and that his remains were interred in the little English Cemetery, St. John Street.[2]

1-Quebec Gazette, June 21, 1864, p.6
2-Canada (Hopkins) Vol. V, p.147

The latter account seems the more probable of the two, for it goes more into detail and shows deeper research.

However, the slight difference in details matters but little for the fact that really was to count from an historical point of view was the arrival of Samuel Neilson and his younger brother John,[1] who was then a boy of about fourteen years of age. Coming from Scotland in 1789 or 1790, the elder Neilson became editor of the Gazette, only to die in 1793. Of course at that time, John was only a minor and was in no position to take charge of the publication. His guardian, the Rev. Dr. Sparks, stepped into the breach and as even journalism is not separated by too wide a gap from theology, he edited the paper for the next three years.

But in the year 1796, John Neilson, coming of age, found himself in control of the now-famous Quebec Gazette. He did not know it then, but for over half a century he was to be the driving force that made the Gazette one of the most powerful journals in the Province and as a legislator and a journalist, he was to be highly honoured among the people. But these things all happened in the nineteenth century.

.....

THE MONTREAL GAZETTE.

The Montreal Gazette, which ranks as one of the highest newspapers in Canada to-day, was a deserted child of the Revolution, for its first printer and publisher, Fleury Mesplet,

1-John Neilson was born at Dornold, parish of Balnaghie, stewartry of Kircudlright, Scotland, 17th of July, 1776 (Morgan Bibliotheca Canadensis-p.291)

was sent to Montreal by Congress only to be forsaken by that august body, and, taking the path of least resistance, he stayed in Canada with the hope of experiencing prosperity. This printer, however, was never to taste of the sweets of fortune. But he founded the Gazette, and for this action, if for no other, his name has been handed down to posperity.

Like many things of the past about which little or nothing is known, the Gazette and its founder were seen as through an early morning haze, with the result that they took on grotesque shapes and were credited with undone acts. But the light of research, in the skilful hands of R.W. McLachlan, has removed the mist, with the result that Mesplet and his accomplishments are seen in their true forms. McLachlan's article, on "Fleury Mesplet,The First Printer at Montreal,"[1] is certainly the most accurate bit of work on the subject which has yet appeared and I accept this author's statements on Mesplet's activities while in Montreal as being final, in preference to any other claims which have been made. And they have been more than a few.

If I had the space to linger on the history of Montreal's first paper, I would be able, with the help of McLachlan's work, to give a detailed account of this fascinating phase in Canadian journalism. But as the first portions of Mesplet's work are devoted almost entirely to French writings, and as this printer from France published a partially English newspaper for the space of less than nine years, I must brush aside the lesser

1-From transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,Second Series,1906-07, Vol XII, section II

details and deal only with those outstanding portions, which remain vivid even after the lapse of a century and a half.

Naturally enough, the first two questions which arise are: Who was this Mesplet, and how did he get to Montreal? Both can be answered.

Son of Jean Baptiste Mesplet and Marie Antoinette Capeau, Fleury Mesplet was born in the Parish of St.Nizier, diocese of Lyons, France, about the year 1735. After receiving a good common school education and having been apprenticed to the printer's trade, he became saturated with ideas, unorthodox at the time, regarding the church and government. He had married Marie Mirabeau in 1765, but eight years later, impelled by the feelings of dissatisfaction of life in France, he migrated to London, where he followed his trade. About a year later, armed with a letter from Benjamin Franklin, who was in England at that time, Mesplet set sail for America, settling in Philadelphia as a master-printer.[1]

A flying visit to Quebec in 1775 was Mesplet's first introduction to Canada but, as McLachlan points out, it is highly improbable that he did any printing in this country at that time, because the very nature of his trip forbade it. But he was to return permanently within a very few months, for the brilliant brain of the first Congress formulated a plan by which Quebec, under the subtle influences of propaganda written by members

1-R.S. of C. series, 1906-7, Vol.XII, Sec.II, p.200

of an invading commission and printed by Mesplet, would leave the home fold and join in the union of the revolting colonies. The plan failed; but Montreal, through the unintentional kindness of Congress, was given its first printer, publisher, and journalist - Fleury Mesplet.

Now this commission was a formidable affair, being composed of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, with a later addition of John Carroll, afterwards Archibishop of Baltimore. About the twentieth of March, 1776, these men left for Montreal; and having received a small sum of money from Congress, and having borrowed a large sum from a friend,Berger, Mesplet, with his wife, a "Homme des Lettres" named Pochard, two journeymen printers, and a servant, departed from Philadelphia at about the same time. Miserable weather and unfavourable travelling conditions did not hasten the progress of either the commissioners or the printers, six weeks slipping past before Montreal was reached. Franklin and his confreres, it is said, reached the city towards the end of April;[1] and Mesplet and his party, in Chambly on April 22nd, did not arrive in the city until May 6th.[2]

Now the setting up of presses and the other necessary preparations for publication are not done within the course of an hour. But the American army had already started to retreat from Quebec. And with the armed force retiring, the forces of diplomacy did not deem it wise to linger in Montreal,propaganda

1-Works of Franklin (Sparks) Vol.1, p.404
2-R.S. of C.1806-07,Vol.XII,sec.II,p.204.

or no propaganda. A fortnight in Montreal was sufficient to convince the venerable Franklin that even the greatest flood of words would not drown the prevailing sentiments among the inhabitants of the city and having experienced for once at least a failure in diplomacy, he retired again in Philadelphia. Sparks, a biographer of Franklin's, disregards this abortive attempt with a shrug of the mental shoulders, and records with traces of bias and bitterness, regarding the people then residing in this portion of the globe, that "intelligence, a knowledge of their rights, love of freedom, liberal sentiments, and a spirit of enterprise, were elements requisite for a political change, which they did not possess,"[1] The other commissioners too did not keenly wish to remain and on May 29th, they also shook the dust of Montreal off their shoes. Twelve days later the Continental Army evacuated the city and Mesplet was left in a friendless land.

It is easy to see that though the press of Mesplet was ready for work by May 18th, not much printing was done at that time. But if you wander through the Chateau de Ramezay to this day, the old curator will tell you how Franklin penned and the Frenchmen printed nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. It is even asserted in the catalogue of the Chateau that in vault, number one, the "first printing press in Montreal was set up, in 1776, by Mesplets, who accompanied Benjamin Franklin and two other envoys sent by Congress in the spring ofthat year."[2]

1-Works of Franklin (Sparks) Vol.1,p,404
2-Catalogue of the Chateau de Ramezay, (1923),p.98

H. Beaugrand also stated that "Mesplet avait monté sa presse dans le vieux Château de Ramezay,"[1] while Benjamin Sulte declared that "Mesplet had procured a press and some types from Philadelphia during the winter of 1775-76, and immediately issued several small volumes from Château Ramezay,Montreal, where he had settled for that purpose."[2] But then Benjamin Sulte does not always show the strictest accuracy or the most careful adherence to historical facts.

It is true that there is at present in the collection at the Chateau a letter written from that place on May 11, 1776, and signed by Franklin, Chase and Carroll, but no traces have been left of Mesplet himself, McLachlan, moreover, after his careful research, makes not mention of the Chateau, stating rather that Mesplet's house, used as a dwelling and a printing establishment, was located on Capital Street, which,"parallel with and between St. Paul Street and the river front, extends from St. Sulpice (St. Joseph) to St. Francois Xavier Streets; crossing in its course the Market Place, now Place Royale."[3] An early imprint gives the address as "près le marché".

But after all, it does not really matter a great deal where Mesplet located his beloved press. The chief facts remain: that Mesplet was sent to Montreal by Congress; that he was left in that city without a great deal of money; that,experiencing financial difficulties, he decided to stay where he found himself chiefly for the reasons that Montreal had no printer, that he

1-"Melanges",Montreal,1888,p.96
2-Historical and Miscellaneous Literature of Quebec,Sulte R.S. of C., 1897,Sec.11,p.270
3-R.S. of C. 1906-07,Vol.XII,Sec.11,p.205

understood the French language perfectly, and that his plant was ready to operate.

His connection with the American commission, however, was not a fortunate thing for Mesplet, for it reflected no glory but rather distrust. In consequence, upon the return of the "loyalists", he " and his whole party were arrested, as sympathizers with the rebels, and detained in prison for twenty-six days, "from the eighteenth of June to the fourteenth of July.[1] Upon their release, M. Pochard, the "Homme de Lettres," not relishing the possibilities of another sojourn in jail, determined to make a rapid departure from the country and demanded from Mesplet compensation for time lost, as well as passage money home to his native France. This once again upset the plans of the master-printer, but from the latter half of 1776 on we find occasional works being produced at Mesplet's printing establishment.

However, the things in which I find interest in this thesis are not the books and the pamphlets printed by Mesplet, but rather the two Gazette's which he published, the first - "La Gazette du Commerce et Litteraire" - from 1778 to 1779; and the second - The Montreal Gazette - from 1785 to 1794.

The present Montreal Gazette dates its foundation, according to the top of its editorial column, from the year 1778. In reality this is I think, an unjust claim, for this first Gazette of Mesplet's was killed by authority after it had lived for just a year. There was a forerunner to this paper in the shape

1-R.S. of C. 1906-07, Vol.XII, Sec.11, p. 205

of a prospectus, printed in both French and English, and if the publisher had followed the conditions which he himself laid down he would not have experienced the difficulties he did. After the conventional opening, Mesplet went on to say in his notice of proposed publication:

> "I propose to fill a sheet with Publick Advertisements and other affairs, immediately concerning Trade and Commerce; to which will be added some diversified pieces of litterature (sic) I dare flater (sic) myself, as I hope, Gentlemen, you will encourage this, my feeble Beginning, that you will in a short time see with satisfaction not only a great variety of Notices and Advertisements, but also a collection of facts both entertaining and instructive....."

> "I will insert in the above Paper or Gazette every thing that one or more Gentlemen will be pleased to communicate to me, provided always no mention be made of Religion,Government or News concerning the present affairs, unless I was authoris'd from Government for so Doing....."

And he concluded by asking for advice and laying down the following conditions, which remind us very strongly of the prospectus issued in Quebec over fourteen years before:

> "If the Title of Board of Intelligence or Commercial and Litterary Gazette...be not found convenient, I will be glad to receive any Gentlemen's advice on the subject, as also any objections which might be made against the

following Conditions.

CONDITIONS

The Subscription money will be two and a half Spanish Dollars per Annum.

The Subscribers will pay a Spanish Dollar for every Advertisement inserted in the said Papers, during three Weeks successively.

Those who are not Subscribers will pay one and a half Spanish Dollar for every Advertisement printed thrice as above.

Every one that is not a Subscriber may have the Paper at 10 Coppers.

The said Paper will be printed in a quarto Sheet of Paper, and will be delivered every Wednesday, to begin in June 3th, 1778.

All Persons who chuses (sic) to Subscribe are desired to let me know their Name, and their place of abode.....

Your most Obedient

And Humble Servant,

F. Mesplet, Printer. [1]

In this prospectus, as can be noticed, the printer said nothing about the language that the paper would be printed in, but as a matter of fact, this first Gazette was printed entirely in French. That is one of the reasons why I must deal with it hastily.

1-Bound with the files of the Gazette,1778-79, in Redpath Library.

Two things stated in the prospectus never were to be realized; and because of their non-realization the paper was to die a very sudden death. I refer to Mesplet's hopes that his sheet would soon contain "a great variety of Notices and Advertisements", and his condition that no mention would be made of "Religion,Government or News concerning the present affairs."It is quite evident that during the first part of his life in Montreal, Mesplet was looked upon with decided distrust - a sufficiently large factor to ruin his chance of securing advertisements. It is equally evident that his choice of Valentin Jautard, an unprincipled French advocate, was equally detrimental, for he wrote with an air lacking in responsibility and contravened many orders of governement.

Scarcely a month had passed, before Mesplet and his editor received orders to leave the Province before the middle of September. The enemies of the printer were at work; the commands came from the governor, Guy Carleton, affairs were reaching a crisis and in the twelfth issue, a one page sheet, I find the following dispairing cry from the printer.

AU PUBLIC

"Depuis peu j'ai eu un nouveau sujet qui m'oblige`a cesser de donner ma Gazette..Je n'ai déja que trop d'ennemis la moindre démarche, quoiqu'innocent, en augmenteroit le nombre, & je me dois tous les soins pour me mettre a l'abri de la persécution.

"Cependant je continuerai si je autorisé du Gouvernement, & encouragé par un plus grand nombre de Souscripteurs.

J'aime mieux sacrifier mes interets que de m'exposer a plus de disgraces; et j'ose me flatter que les mêmes Personnes qui ont applaudi a mon enterprise, sur l'Etablisement du Papier Periodique,loueront mon desistement."[1]

The cry of Mesplet was heard. Carleton had been replaced by Haldimand as Governor, and persuaded by a petition in favour of the Montreal printer, he revoked the order on the conditions that Mesplet and Jautard should "take the oath of allegiance within two days and submit all their articles to an inspector, to be appointed by the governor before publication. The first censor appointed to this duty was a Mr. Gordon, but, as he left for England shortly afterwards, the office was allowed to fall into abeyance, and the paper being left to itself returned to its old course and again came under the displeasure of the authorities."[2]

With the thirteenth number - one after the appeal of Mesplet's to the public - the name of Berger was dropped from the imprint, but as Berger seems to have been little more than a silent partner in the enterprise, the change signifies little.

On examining the paper itself it is not difficult to see that matters were not improving, for advertisements - the life of the newspaper - were few and irregular, while the writings of the vituperative and unprincipled Jautard were many and regular. The rumblings of protests were now almost continuous; and they burst in all their fury when Jautard, in a series of four articles in the one Gazette, attacked the judges of Montreal for passing "an order interdicting him from appearing

1-No.XII, August 19, 1778
2-R.S. of C. 1906-07,Vol.XII,sect.II,p.208

before the court, as the result of a scathing criticism which he had published concerning a judgment handed down in the same court. Now Jautard, clever and effusive though he was, was not clever enough to escape the force of the law, and these four articles, printed in May precipitated a catastrophe which involved not only himself, but also Mesplet, over whom he had a strong influence," and the Gazette itself. The warrant for the arrest of the two journalists of the city was issued by Haldimand at Quebec on June 1st, and addressed to Major Nairn, of Montreal. It stated in part:

> "Whereas I have received sundry information of the traterous practices of Valentin Jautard formerly attorney and of Francis Mesplet,Printer at Montreal,This is to authorize and impower you to seize and secure the said Jautard and Mesplet for the said traterous practices to confine them separately...."[1]

The last number of the Gazette appeared on the next day - that is June 2,1779 - and it included an article by Jautard, of a valedictory nature, written around the words, "Tant pis tant mieux. "It was to due to this there arose a popular conception that a periodical, known as "Tant pis, tant mieux," had been printed in Montreal at this time. And for many years afterwards this mythical paper existed in history, though it never existed in reality.

Two days later the orders for their arrest were put into execution, and, as Nairn wrote to Haldimand, "They made no resistance but submitted quietly."[2] Without trial,Jautard

1-R.S. of C.1906-07,Vol.XII,Sect.II,p.-244
2-R.S. of C. " " " " " " p.-246

and Mesplet were sent immediately to Quebec, where they were detained in prison for over three years, finally escaping, "apparently with the connivance of the authorities, who were thus satisfied to have been relieved of responsibility."[1]

In a petition to Congress, in which Mesplet asked the American government to reimburse him because of the financial losses he had experienced in the American cause, he himself described the incident in the following words:

> "Cette meme canaille et meme protecteurs continuerent de me persecuter,et solliciterent si fort aupres de Mr. Haldimand qu'ils parvinrent a me faire arreter,le 4 de juin 1779, et je suis conduit dans les prisons militaires de Quebec, ou j'ai reste jusqu'au ler septembre 1782, encore suis-je sorti fugitivement, sans quoi j'y serais peutetre encore."[2]

This petition of Mesplet's, which by the way was unsuccessful, Congress giving him very little consideration, was dated at Montréal on August 1st, 1783.

THE SECOND GAZETTE.

With his ardour dampened as the result of his first journalistic venture, and with his finances in a bad way, Mesplet refrained from publishing another paper until nearly three years after his departure from the Quebec prison. Always active, but not always sober, the French printer published occasional works, until towards the end of the summer of 1785, he issued his second paper under the title of the Montreal Gazette. It consisted of four pages, with two columns - one French and one English - to the page, and in size it was

1-R.S. of C.,1906-07,Vol.XII,Sect. II,p. -213
2-" " " " " " " " " " p. -252

a considerable advancement upon the Gazette Litteraire. In subject matter it was like its contemporary, the Quebec Gazette, printing, as it did, the usual foreign despatches, clipped articles, and miscellaneous verse. Stinging under the lash of experience, Mesplet, moreover, made sure to avoid controversial matters, which were liable to bring him into disrepute, although we occasionally find him slipping something in, which shows his longings for free expression. We find an example of this in the issue of April 9,1789. It is merely five verses of doggerel, under the title, "The Freedom of the Press," - hollow mockery at that time - but one can well imagine the feeling of sympathy, mingled with probably a little trepidation, with which Mesplet printed the lines. The author is unknown and two verses are sufficient to shoe the lack of style and the value of the subject matter.

"Where dwells the man who dare suppress
The noble freedom of the press;
Sure he who dare attempt the thing,
On Hannan's gallows ought to swing.

The freedom of the press,
O how shall I express
This grand important theme,
Which unto me doth seem
To be of great and mighty weight
Towards the freedom of the state?

.....

O liberty thou darling thing!
For thee I'd write from fall to spring:
For thee my warmest zeal express.
May thou forever rule the press,
The freedom of the press,&c.

An early copy of Mesplet's Montreal Gazette, showing a back page and a front page of different numbers. The date of the establishment of the Gazette is given by the Volume Number, III. The numbers shown are interesting because of a reprint of a poem by Burns, and a reprint from the Quebec Gazette of Brown's, which includes the name of James McGill. See the right hand lower corner. (To go with page-66)

Parnassian Flowers.

WINTER.

A DIRGE.

By ROBERT BURNS.

I.

THE wint'ry West extents his blast,
And hail and rain does blaw;
Or, the stormy North, sends driving forth
The blinding sleet and snaw:
While tumbling brown, the burn * comes down,
And roars from bank to brae;†
And bird and beast in covert rest,
And pass the heartless day.

II.

"The sweeping blast the sky o'ercast;"‡
The joyless Winter-day,
Let others fear, to me more dear
Than all the pride of May:
The Tempest's howl, it soothes my soul,
My griefs it seems to join;
The leafless trees my fancy please,
Their fate resembles mine!

III.

Thou *Pow'r Supreme*, whose mighty scheme
These woes of mine fu fil,
Here, firm, I rest, they *must* be blest,
Because they are *Thy* Will!
Then all I want (Oh, do thou grant
This one request of mine!)
Since to *enjoy* Thou dost deny,
Assist me to *resign!*

* Water. † A precipice.
‡ Dr. Young

FIVE GUINEAS REWARD.

ESCAPED from the common Goal of this district, MATTHEW FORREST, a Debtor, about six feet high, slender made, fair complexion, dark brown hair loose behind, had on a drab coloured coat and waistcoat, and green overalls; the Sentry at the gate went off with him, and it is supposed they are together; Whoever will apprehend the said MATTHEW FORREST, and deliver him into the custody of the Keeper of the said Goal, shall be paid the above Reward of FIVE GUINEAS, and all reasonable charges, by

EDW. Wm. GRAY, Sheriff.

Montreal, 12th November, 1788.

PARLIAMENT having voted a considerable Sum for those Loyalists whose Claims have been liquidated to the 5th of April last, to be paid by order of the Exchequer, so that all former Powers of Attorney are now void and of none effect, the Exchequer requiring a very particular and especial Form.

LEWIS WOLFE, of his Majesty's Treasury, and CHARLES STEDMAN, Esquire, } *Agents,*

Have embraced the earliest opportunity, to send proper Forms of such Powers, without which the Money cannot be received (the former Powers being insufficient for any Person to receive the Money now granted) to Messrs. JUNCKEN & REES, Merchants at Quebec, where they may be seen, for the government of such Loyalists as are intitled to a Compensation to the 5th of April last,—Humbly offering their services to them, as well as to the Officers of the Army and Navy, assuring those who may please to favor them with their commands, that the utmost Care and Attention will be paid to their different Concerns, as they make the Interest of their Employers their particular Study; so that they hope to give general satisfaction, and flatter themselves to merit the continuance of their favors.

Pimlico, London, 10th June, 1788.

N. B. Those Gentlemen, residing in or near the District of Montreal, who may be pleased to intrust Messrs. Wolfe & Stedman with their favors; on application at the Counting House of Mr. J. A. Gray, Saint Paul's Street, shall receive such further information as they may require, where a Form of the Power of Attorney necessary on this occasion is to be seen.

Montreal, 22d October, 1788.

BUREAU DE LA POSTE, MONTREAL,
Le 20 Novembre, 1788.

UNE MALLE pour ANGLETERRE sera close à ce Bureau Jeudi le 11 Décembre à 4 heures après midi, pour être mise à bord du Paquebot de sa Majesté qui partira de la Nouvelle-York pour Falmouth Mecredi le 7 de Janvier prochain.

Le Postage du Paquebot ne peut être reçu en Amérique; mais celui d'ici à la Nouvelle-York doit être payé au Bureau où les Lettres sont mises.

*** Les Lettres pour aucune partie du Continent d'Europe doivent être envoyées sous envelope à un Correspondant à Londres, sans quoi elles ne seront point acheminées.

E. EDWARDS, *Maitre de la Poste.*

Cinq Guinées de Récompense.

IL s'est enfui de la Prison de ce District, Mathew Forrest, Prisonnier pour dettes, d'environ Six pieds de haut, la taille mince, le Teint Blanc, les Cheveux Bruns sans être attachés; a sur lui un Habit & une Veste Brunâtres, & une grande Culotte Verte. La Sentinelle de la porte s'est enfui avec lui, & l'on suppose qu'ils sont ensemble. Quiconque l'arrêtera & le livrera entre les mains du Geolier de ladite Prison, recevra la susdite Récompense de CINQ GUINEES ainsi que tous les Frais raisonables, de —

Edw. Wm. GRAY, Sheriff.

Montréal, 12 Nov. 1788.

A VENDRE de Gré à Gré.

UNE Terre de 4 arpens de front, sur 34 & trois perches de profondeur, site au Sault des Recolets, appartenante ci devant au Sieur Joseph Sicard, pere Meunier, sur laquelle Terre sont construites deux Maisons, une en pierres très-spacieuse, & commode pour un Commerçant, étant près d'une riviere, dans le Village & près des Moulins, avec un jardin clos en pieux de cédre, & complanté d'arbres fruitiers. L'autre Maison en bois, avec Granges, Etables, & autres bâtimens, propre à loger un fermier.

Si le tout n'est pas vendu au 8 de Mars prochain, alors le même qui sera le Dimanche, la Vente se fera à la porte de l'Eglise Paroissiale du Sault des Recolets, à l'issue de la Messe, au plus offrant & dernier Enchérisseur.

N. B. Si quelqu'un a quelques droits sur ladite Terre, soit par hypotheque ou autrement, il est prié d'en donner avis au Soussigné, & il on pourra s'adresser pour les conditions de la Vente.

Gab. FRANCHERE.

Montréal, 25 Nov. 1788.

FOR SALE,

A Lot of LAND at Sault des Recollets, four arpents in front by thirty-four arpents and three perches in depth, on which is a large convenient STONE HOUSE, advantageously situated for a Merchant being in the Village and near the River and Mills, a Garden fenced with cedar posts and planted with Fruit Trees. Also a WOODEN HOUSE fit for a Farmer, with Barns, Stables and other buildings; the whole now occupied by Joseph Sicard, Miller. If the above land is not disposed of by private sale before Sunday the 8th of March next, it will that day be sold to the highest bidder at the Church Door of the said parish immediately after Divine Service in the forenoon.

All persons having claims on the above land by obligation or otherwise are requested to inform the subscriber, who likewise, on application, will make known the conditions of sale.

Montreal, November 25, 1788. GABRIEL FRANCHERE.

A VENDRE en gros & en détail, chez JACOB SCHIEFFELIN, *vis-à-vis les R. R. P. P. Jésuites.*

DU bon Vin de Madere en Pipes & en quarts, à £. 40 la Pipe.
7 Chelins le Gallon.
VIN de Teneriffe, à 5 Chelins le Gallon.
VIN d'Espagne de cette année, à £. 5 10s. la Barrique.
CHANDELLES en Caisses, à 11d. la Livre.
SAVONS, à 7d.
Bon FROMAGE d'Angleterre, de cette année, à 8d. la Livre, par Meule.
THE' VERD, à 5 Chelins la Livre.
CHOCOLAT, à 1s. 8d.
CASSONADE, en Quarts, 40s. par Quintal.
SEL BLANC, à 2s par Minot.
Du CIDRE en Barrique.
Et plusieurs autres ARTICLES au plus bas prix, pour Argent comptant.

Montréal, 26 Octobre 1788.

MONTREAL, by F. Mesplet, Notre-Dame street. —— *MONTREAL*, chez F. Mesplet, rue Notre-Dame.

1788. THE

MONTREAL GAZETTE.

THURSDAY, December 18.

QUEBEC,

DE LA GAZETTE DE BROWN, *du* 11 *Déc.* 1788.

A SON EXCELLENCE LE TRES-HONORABLE

GUY LORD DORCHESTER,

Capitaine-Général & Gouverneur en Chef des Colonies de Quebec, Nouvelle Ecosse & Nouveau Brunswick, *& leurs dépendances, Vice-Amiral d'icelles, Général & Commandant en Chef de toutes les Forces de S. M. dans lesdites Colonies, & dans l'Isle de* Terreneuve, *&c. &c. &c.*

MEMOIRE ET REQUETE

Des Soussignés Marchands & Citoyens des villes de Quebec & Montréal, *tant en leurs Noms qu'aux Noms de leurs Constituants.*

REPRESENTENT HUMBLEMENT.

QU'A une Assemblée publique de Citoyens, tenue tant à Quebec qu'à Montreal, dans l'automne de 1782. Des Comités composés de différens Membres de ces Assemblées, furent choisis pour former & diriger des Requêtes à Sa Majesté & aux deux Chambres du Parlement, lesquelles Requêtes furent datées en Novembre de la même année, & signées par plus de Deux mille Trois cens Anciens & Nouveaux sujets.

Que plusieurs vacances ayant eu successivement lieu dans ces Comités, par mort ou autrement, de nouveaux Membres avoient été nécessairement nommés. Que les Membres dudit Comité ainsi élus & continués, l'honneur de s'adresser à Votre Seigneurie, pour eux-mêmes & leurs Constituans qui ont signé ladite Requête en 1784, & de démontrer,

Que par la condescendance de Votre Seigneurie, les habitans de cette Province ont été favorisés d'une publication dans la Gazette de Quebec, des Requêtes à Sa Majesté & à Votre Seigneurie, récemment présentées aux noms des Canadiens, datées du treizieme jour d'Octobre dernier, & signées par un nombre considérable de Propriétaires de biens fonds, & autres Nouveaux sujets de Sa Majesté, au nombre de Sept cens Quarante Quatre en opposition aux objets de reforme proposés dans la Requête de 1784 ci-dessus mentionée, & aux moyens pris pour la soutenir.

Que vos Supplians, en cherchant les intérêts de leurs constituans & les leurs, ont jugé qu'il étoit de leur devoir indispensable de prendre en considération les différentes matieres & assertions contenues dans la susdite Requête du 13 Octobre, & en réponse à icelle, faire humblement remarquer à Votre Seigneurie; que les Anciens & Nouveaux sujets de S. M., par leur Requête de 1784, supplient pour une Chambre d'Assemblée, & l'introduction des loix d'Angleterre relatives au Commerce, sont bien éloignés de désirer ni de procurer l'abolition des anciennes loix & coutumes du Canada, comme il est avancé par leurs opposans; au contraire, une continuation desdites loix & coutumes est expressément & particulierement demandée dans ladite Requête de 1784, Art. 4me, comme il apparoîtra plus au long à Votre Excellence, par une Copie imprimée d'icelle annexée à celle ci. Que contrairement à la conduite & aux assertions de leurs opposans, les Supplians de 1784 ont agi d'une maniere sincere, publique & impartiale en faisant leur Requête, qui fut imprimée en langue Française, & fut rependue dans toutes les parties de la campagne, accompagnée d'observations claires & de raisonnements auxquels il n'a pas encore été répondu.

Que les sujets Canadiens de Sa Majesté qui se sont joints à ladite Requête de 1784, au nombre de Mille Cinq cens & Dix huit, & dont les sentimens & désirs sont encore les mêmes, sont plus que le double du nombre, & ne sont pas moins respectables que les Supplians du 13 Octobre dernier, en supposant qu'ils soient considerés en point de loyauté, de richesses, de caractere, ou de savoir pour le vrai intérêt de la Province.

Que l'Agent desdits Supplians de 1784, en présentant leur Requête à l'attention & à la discussion du Parlement, n'a été coupable ni de témérité ni d'injustice, en se présentant aux noms, & comme Agent des Supplians, ayant été unanimement élu & authorisé à cet effet, par les Comités Anglois & Canadiens représentant tout le corps des Supplians, tant Anciens que Nouveaux sujets.

Vos Supplians prient humblement Votre Excellence d'observer que beaucoup de Supplians du 13 Octobre dernier, dans une Requête au Trône, dans l'année 1783, se sont plaints de la Législation présente d'une maniere plus hardie que dans notre Requête de 1784: cependant aujourd'hui ils ne demandent aucune reforme dans le système du présent gouvernement, mais préferent une distinction entre les sujets de Sa Majesté, nonobstant que dans la Requête susdite de 1783, ils supplient, "Que tel que soit la forme du gouvernement qu'il plaira à Sa "Majesté d'établir en cette Province, ils soient admis librement & sans "distinction à participer aux précieux droits & privilèges dont les sujets "de Sa Majesté jouissent, dans quelle partie de l'Empire qu'ils soient "situés." Votre Seigneurie étant pleinement persuadée que des sujets Britanniques considerent comme un des privilèges les plus précieux, le droit d'être représenté dans la Législation. Vos Supplians conçoivent humblement, que c'est à eux qu'il appartient le droit de remarquer, que de leur refuser un privilège si distingué, implique une incertitude de cette loyauté & de cet attachement, qu'ils n'ont jamais cessé de démontrer.

Vos Supplians cédent malgré eux à une partie nécessaire de leur devoir, en faisant remarquer à Votre Seigneurie, avec tout le respect dû, que dans la liste de leurs Opposans, paroissent les noms de Juges, Conseillers & Autres, qui jouissent de pensions & places lucratives sous le présent système de gouvernement, montant à *Deux mille sept cens quarante-cinq Livres*, sur quoi ils ne se permettront aucune réflexion. Que dans ladite liste, particulierement parmi les Seigneurs, paroissent les noms de plusieurs qui ne sont point Seigneurs, & d'autres qui se font appropriés des titres sans aucuns droits, nous soumettons à Votre Seigneurie le poids que des personnes d'une pareille description doivent avoir en pareil cas.

Les Supplians du 13 Octobre dernier, s'étant représentés à Sa Majesté & à Votre Seigneurie, comme les Grands Propriétaires, ou les Principaux Seigneurs de la Province, vos Supplians croyent qu'ils ne peuvent se dispenser de présenter à Votre Excellence, d'après les meilleures informations qu'ils aient pu se procurer, un état de toutes les Seigneuries en Canada (celles de Sa Majesté & des Communautés Religieuses exceptées) avec une estimation de leur valeur annuelle, qui est ici annexée, & humblement soumise à la connoissance & à l'information supérieure de Votre Seigneurie.

Par l'estimation susdite, Votre Seigneurie observera, que le revenu annuel des Seigneuries en possession des Anciens sujets de Sa Majesté, excède la somme de Dix mille Louis; que les Seigneuries possedées par les Nouveaux sujets de S. M., qui ne le sont pas joints à la Requête du 13 Octobre dernier, sont calculées à la somme annuelle de Huit mille huit cens quatre-vingt-quinze louis, quoique les Seigneuries appartenantes aux Supplians de cette Requête ne se montent pas à Six mille louis de revenus annuels. De cette comparaison, que vos Supplians ont pour raison de croire, aussi exempt d'erreur que la nature de l'enquête peut le permettre; Votre Excellence pourra décider combien les Supplians du 13 Octobre dernier, ont droit à la prééminence qu'ils réclament: & si les propriétés réelles & personelles des Supplians de 1784, pouvoient être mises en comparaison avec celles de leurs Opposans, la grande supériorité des premiers, seroit encore plus évidente & plus frappante, vu que la propriété du commerce dans cette Province, tout qu'elle appartienne aux Marchands de la Grande Bretagne ou du Canada, est presque entièrement représentée par les Supplians de 1784; dont l'estimation fut soumise à l'honorable Conseil Législatif à leur séance de 1787, laquelle se montoit à la somme d'Un million Deux cens quarante-six mille & vingt-trois louis six chelins & huit pence. Vos Suppliens vous prient de plus, d'observer que la grande étendue des riches possessions des nombreux Loyalistes, & autres, dernièrement établis dans cette Province, & qui augmentent tous les jours, n'est point comprise dans les estimations précédentes.

Que l'opposition faite par la Requête du 13 Octobre dernier, à celle du mois de Novembre 1784, étant ainsi fondée sur des principes erronés, & sur des faits supposés qui n'existent point, doit nécessairement perdre le poids qu'elle auroit pu avoir, par la sanction de quelques signatures respectables.

Les Supplians s'unissent avec leurs Opposans, en priant, qu'il plaise à Votre Seigneurie, rapporter & caractériser les deux partis d'une maniere à démontrer à notre Très-Gracieux Souverain, & au Parlement Britannique, la vraie importance, possessions & intérêts de l'un & de l'autre.

Et vos Supplians, par devoir, pririront toujours, &c.

Montreal, le 1 *Decembre* 1788.		*Quebec, 5 Decemb.* 1788.
(Signés) James M'Gill, John M'Kindlay, Richard Dobie, Simon M'Tavish, James Walker, Alex. Auldjo, Nicholas Bayard, James Findlay, Thomas M'Cord.		(Signés) James Johnston, George Allsopp, Robert Lester, Mathew Lymburner, John Young, John Painter, William Goodall, Louis Dunière, John Blackwood.
Valeur des Seigneuries en Rentes annuelles ou Revenus de Trente six Anciens sujets, qui sont Seigneurs, Propriétaires des Fiefs & Seigneuries dans la Province de Quebec.	£ 10345 0 0	Courant.
Montant des Salaires & Pensions, payés par la Couronne, à des personnes qui sont dans ladite Liste, en Canada.	2316 0 0	Sterling.
Valeur totale des Rentes Seigneuriales, Revenus, Pensions & Salaires, & autres Biens Fonds.	£ 16070 0 0	Courant.

There were also other poems, of a much higher order, for the popularity of Burns was at a peak, and more than one of his works was reprinted. We find for instance, his poem "Winter" in the issue of December 11,1788,[1] and throughout a number of issues, there are lists of subscribers for a translation of Burn's "Justice." It is interesting to note that on these lists, as well as on several petitions, the name of James McGill is found. Evidently the influential people of the city were favourable towards the journal and, a recipient of fairly strong support, it continued to live in spite of the fluctuations of Mesplet's career.

This second Gazette has been accused of being flat and somewhat lifeless but it contained in the numbers for 1788 and 1789 at least, a very fair amount of valuable material, both from the point of view of its first readers and from the point of view of the readers of to-day. Besides being able to obtain a good deal of information from the columns of advertisements, one can find some delightful bits of early Montreal history in the occasional items of local news which were published. These vary from news of the theatre to details of the arrival of "The Right Reverend Father in God,Charles of Nova-Scotia," to whom the citizens presented a signed address upon the occasion of his visit here (the name of McGill is on this list also) in which they claimed that " the smiling prospect before us, gives us the joyful hope of feeling the Protestant Church in Canada, emerge from obscurity and acquire under your auspices the full enjoyment of her rights."[2]

1-See photograph of Redpath copy
2-Montreal Gazette,July 8,1789.

This news of the theatre for example, was printed in the number of February 26th,1789. It is interesting both to the student of literature and the student of history:

MONTREAL THEATRICAL INTELLIGENCE

"We hear that Otway's much admired Tragedy of the Orphan, or the Unhappy Marriage, at present in rehearsal at the Theatre, and will be performed some evening next week. The parts by particular desire are filled by gentlemen of this city, for their amusement, whose theatrical abilities are unquestionable, assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Allen,&c....We are also informed that the Pantomime of the Frolicks of Harlequin, which was exhibited last Friday evening with such repeated bursts of applause, will be again performed with additions and improvements."

There is no reason to doubt the value of this second Gazette of Mesplet's for it was of great use to the community,a regular news sheet and containing abundance of information which the citizens would not have obtained otherwise. It continued to appear regularly until the death of its publisher on January 24, 1794. Mesplet was then only fifty-nine or sixty years old, but the troubles which he had encountered during his life time had undoubtedly hastened his end.

In summing up his character at the conclusion of his article, McLachlan describes Mesplet as possessing one besetting sin - drunkenness; as being well educated and a intelligent workman, but lacking, at the same time,refinement and culture.[1] But though all this is true,Mesplet must be

1-R.S. of C.1906-07,Vol.XII,sec.II,p.-222

lauded for the fact that, in the face of financial difficulties and surrounded by race prejudice and hostility he gave to Montreal its first journal.

OTHER PAPERS OF THE CENTURY.

Little attention has been paid to the eighteenth century papers of the province, with the exception of those two which have been dealt with fully - the Quebec Gazette and the Montreal Gazette. And as a natural result, there is a good deal of confusion regarding those papers which sprang up, lived for a short time, and disappeared. Even the reliable Dionne has gone astray on the subject, his statements only leading to more confusion than ever. Dionne could not have known that Mesplet had died in 1794, for he makes at least two statements which would lead us to believe that Mesplet was living after that time. The chief trouble arises from the fact that Louis Roy and E. Edwards published Gazettes in Montreal at about the same period. Dionne says, in connection with Edwards Gazette, first published in 1795, that it was printed "dans les deux langues, et porte le caractère officiel. Ce journal existait encore en 1801. Vécut-il beaucoup longtemps? Nous n'avons pu le constater de visu,mais il est assey probable qu'il disparut vers cette époque."[1] Then, in réference to the Gazette of Roy's, he writes: "Fondée le 17 août 1796, par Louis Roy qui la publia seul jusqu'au 17 aout 1797. Alors J.M.Roy et John Bennett en prennent la direction. A partir du 20 octobre 1797,J.M.Roy la publie seul, mais elle cesse bientôt de paraître." And then he adds, in brackets: "Il y eut donc a Montreal, dans le meme temps trois Gazette de Montreal. C'est un état de choses assez curieux à constater."[2]

1-N.E.Dionne "Inventoire des Livres",Tome 111,p.169
2-" " " " " " " " p.170

With Mesplet dead three years before, the inaccuracy of Dionne's statements is evident; but Dionne in no more inaccurate than other writers who credit Roy with taking over Mesplet's Gazette. From statements which I have received from M. Fauteux, of the Library of St. Sulpice, and from evidence which I have gathered myself, I deem it fairly safe to say that the following was the true order of affairs: Mesplet died on January 24,1794; from then until August 3,1795, there was no paper published, and on that date E. Edwards succeeded Mesplet, publishing his Gazette until about 1810, when he died; and Louis Roy, having been aided by Neilson, published a Gazette in Montreal from 1796 into 1797, but that he eventually failed, owing, I imagine, to Edwards' success and to his own hard drinking. Roy is said to have been the same printer who published the first paper in Upper Canada.

The evidence upon which I base these statements is quite sound, In the first place I have seen copies of the Gazette of Edwards, either in St. Sulpice or in the Redpath Library from August 10,1795, to December 29,1806. These were printed at three different places; first 10 St. Vincent Street, then, commencing on October 17,1796, at 135 St. Paul Street, and finally in January of 1806, at 29 St. Paul. Moreover, in 1807, Miles, a journalist wrote, "At that time there was only one printing establishment in Montreal, under the management of Mr. Edward Edwards, who was also the Postmaster there; the paper printed was the Montreal Gazette, of small demy-size two columns on a page, one in French the other in English."[1]

1-The Settlement of Upper Canada,Canniff (1869),p.352

And finally, I believe that L. Fauteux's order of succession, which I have given above, is accurate, for L. Fauteux is well-versed in the period, and has carried on a close investigation of Canadian publications of the earlier days. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the Gazette of Edwards was the only paper in Montreal to enter the nineteenth century. It was not a brilliant journalistic achievement, but it was fairly representative of the period and undoubtedly helped to fill partially the want for news.

There was some activity in Quebec, also, LeMoine states that in 1788 there were three papers, other than the Gazette published.[1] The most important was the Herald,1788, printed by William Moore. In 1794 the Times appeared. Dionne says of the Times: "Fondee a Quebec le 24 juin. Hebdomodaire... La partie francaise, car ce journal etait publie dans les deux langues, porte pour titre: Le Cours de Temps. Imprime par W. Vondenvelden. Dure environ un an."[2] I have seen only one copy of this paper - it is in the St. Sulpice Library and it is not an important sheet. The one in question, number fourteen, is interesting in that it contains the news of the fall of Robespierre. It was at one time in possession of L.J.Papineau.

1-See Appendix
2-Dionne "Inventoire des Livres," Tome V11,p.169

CHAPTER-1. SECTION-111

JOURNALISM IN UPPER CANADA BEFORE 1800

Unlike the Maritimes and Quebec, or Lower Canada, there was no journalistic activity in Upper Canada before the openings of the nineteenth century, with the exception of a few slight, though important endeavours in the Niagara district. This is quickly explained if a look is taken at the historical background of the time. From a journalistic point of view the land was barren, there being few thickly populated districts in which a newspaper could be developed. With the termination of the American Revolution, however, there was a decided influx of immigrants, who were to become serious, energetic, and sound-minded citizens. Many of them had resided formerly in the colonies which had broken away from Great Britain and, on account of their spirit of loyality, they had sought new homes in the virgin country of what is now Ontario. In 1791 - an important year in Canada's history - the Constitutional Act was passed, dividing the country into Upper and Lower Canada, and in September, 1792, the first parliament was held in Upper Canada at Newark, or Niagara. York, also underwent a period of growth, especially after the seat of government had been changed to there from Newark, and throughout the entire province there was coming into being a strong spirit of development and enterprise. In the midst of a wilderness a new portion of civilization was being shaped and moulded and by the first years of the nineteenth century Upper Canada had commenced to take on a definite form, out of which the present Province of Ontario has grown.

As the rumblings of growth were heard through the land, printers and journalists began to realize the possibilities of these new fields; and being certain at last that a new area for the press was being opened up, they commenced to settle in Upper Canada even before the close of the century.

Although Toronto is the greatest city of Ontario to-day and consequently the greatest newspaper centre, it is only natural that the first paper of the province should have appeared in Niagara, for it was there that the government was located. This first journal, known as the Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle, was issued in 1793 by Louis Roy, who later appeared as a printer and publisher in Montreal. Roy, it is quite evident, thought that he saw great possibilities in this newly formed Province, for he early stated his belief that the Gazette would become "the vehicle of intelligence in this growing province of whatever may tend to its interest, benefit, and common advantage."[1] and his intention of "combining with a record of the act of the new government an account of the principal events on the Continent and in the world generally."[2] Even in his salutatory he exhibited a spirit of optimism, announcing that the "flattering prospect he had of an extensive sale of his new undertaking had enabled him to augment the size originally proposed, from a demi-quarto to a folio."[3] He also made public the precautionary measure, which still rules in newspapers that "all transactions of a domestic nature such as marriages,births,

1-History of Canadian Journalism (Press Assoc) p.161
2-McKim's Directory (1892), p.37
3- " " " p.37

deaths,&c., be communicated under real signatures."[1]

The opening numbers of this paper, which dates from April 13,1793, were printed on rough, substantial paper, but the typographical work was of a superior order for Roy, though he was forced to carry on his work under adverse conditions, wanted to print a good journal in spite of the meagreness of its circulation. The single sheet upon which the news was printed was fifteen by nineteen and a half inches. Considered high by some the subscription price was three dollars per annum and "all advertisements inserted in it, not exceeding twelve lines, will pay (sic) four shillings, Quebec currency, and for every additional line a proportionable price."[2]

But the expectations of Roy never reached the full growth of realization, and after less than a year as publisher of the Upper Canada Gazette, he turned his attention to the Montreal field, where he later took charge of a Montreal Gazette.

Gideon Tiffany was Roy's successor and carrying on the Gazette he experienced better results than those that fell to the lot of the founder of Ontario journalism. There is not much to be said about Tiffany's work on the Gazette, for it extended only over a period of five years. By 1798 the paper had assumed quarto form, and in that year it was dated at West Niagara;but being a publication of the official species, it was removed to York in the year 1799, when the village on the north shore of

1-McKim's Directory (1892), p. 38
2-McKim's Directory (1892), p.38

the lake became the seat of government.[1] There the Gazette was published by Waters and Simons.

Tiffany,however, continued his journalistic experiments in Niagara, and aided by his brother published the first number of Canada Constellation on July 20, 1799. The proprietors of the new paper in the introductory article dwelt upon the usefulness and the influence of the press and "as independent proprietors they contended that they could contribute to the unity and the prosperity of the community.[2] The policy of the Canada Constellation was purely a local one, dwelling mainly upon the importance of Niagara, except in those portions dedicated to deprecatory remarks concerning the new capital across the lake. But a paper cannot be nourished on localized prejudices - especially if the environment is not favorable to even the best publications - and the Canada Constellation of the Tiffanys slipped into the discard pile of journalistic endeavor before the passing of a year.

And with the end of the Constellation, the journalistic annals of the eighteenth century Ontario are complete.

1-Lundy's Lane Hist.Soc.Publications,Vol.IV,p.26.
2-History of Canadian Journalism,(Press Assoc.)
P.162

CHAPTER - 11

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND THE PERIOD OF GROWTH

With the eighteenth century and its pioneer days in the realm of the past, Canada entering upon the nineteenth century entered upon an era of wide-spread development. In all departments of national life this was true and by the time that Confederation was a reality and not only a dream, the businesses of the nation had become settled, generally speaking, upon firm foundations on which the yet greater structures could be safely built. This is as true of journalism as of anything else, and in this, the second chapter, I propose to trace the growth of the newspaper to the time of the union of the provinces into the Dominion. But it must be remembered that in the first half of the century the peoples in Upper Canada, Lower Canada and the Maritimes were struggling for freedom from irresponsibility in government and that the press, coming out of a state of dormancy, awoke in time to play its part in the formative period of national life. The new vitality in the papers, the vigorous writings of sturdy minds, the unflinching attitude of editors in the face of persecution by ruling factions - these all reflect the tendencies of the age, and the age must be remembered if the newspapers are to be viewed in a proper light. It is an interesting period, probably the most interesting of all, and though I cannot go fully into the details of all the fascinating incidents that occurred in Canada's newspaper world from 1800 to 1867, I shall attempt to deal with the most important ones fully and to draw attention to the lesser,

though no less stirring events.

Even as I turned east to Halifax to discuss the first newspapers in Canada, so again I shall turn first to Halifax, for it was there that Joseph Howe won against the combined forces of the magistrates the most glorious victory for the press. The second section of the chapter will be devoted to the journalistic troubles of Quebec, with their bitterness and hatred, and the final section will trace the Ontario growth with special emphasis being laid on the gargantuan figures of William Lyon Mackenzie and George Brown.

THE BATTLE FOR LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN NOVA SCOTIA- JOSEPH HOWE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

Although the nineteenth century was to see remarkable and foretold advances in Canadian journalism, there is little in the Nova Scotian field during the first two decades to indicate the changes which were to take place. That veteran printer and publisher, Anthony Henry had died in 1800, and John Howe,who had been working in Halifax as a printer for at least twenty years, succeeded to the office of King's Printer, publishing as far as can be ascertained both the Journal, which he had founded many years before, and the Gazette, a journalistic heritage which had been handed down by Green to Bushell, by Bushell to Henry and by Henry to Howe. The elder Howe, that is the father of Joseph, also held the offices of Postmaster of Halifax and Deputy Postmaster-General of the Province, and his oldest son, John,succeeded him in these various offices upon his death in 1835. The Journal,mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, remained in the Howe family only until the year 1819 when it was sold to John Munro, who published it until 1850 and then, in his turn, sold to William Penny.[1]

There is only one other incident of any importance during the first quarter of the century. This was the establishment of the Acadian Recorder in 1813, the founder being Anthony Henry Holland, godson of the King's Printer, who had in the century preceding so firmly established himself in the journalistic

1-Historical Society of U.S.,Vol.VI,p.119

life of the Province. The Recorder was founded firmly as upon a rock, for down to this day it has had a fine record of service, being described in 1843 as a neutral paper[1] and in 1892 as a liberal one.[2] According to McKim's Directory, the Acadian Recorder was started as a tri-weekly, being issued on Monday, Wednesday and Friday of each week.[3]

The establishment of the Free Press, in 1816, by Edmund Ward also helped to swell the ranks of the newspaper of the province. The FreePress was a Tory sheet.

And for a time - from outward appearances at least - there was every reason to believe that nineteenth century journalism in Nova Scotia would go the same quiet way taken by the papers of the previous years. But though the journals from 1752 to 1800 had been humble, unassuming and really uninfluential sheets, those which were about to spring up in the Halifax arena were to be different sorts of things. Stout opinions, carefully written editorials, articles which shone with a literary finish, and statements influential in their force, were to be joined with the news of the day, making the papers factors of community importance, political hammers that were to destroy an irresponsible government and raise a responsible government in its stead. The era of quietness and placidity had gone.

The first scene of the coming drama was enacted in the closing days of 1824, when on December 29th, George R. Young, of the famous Young family issued the first copy of the Novascotian,[4] a renowned journal of the Maritimes, which lives

1-Canada (Buckingham), p.340
2-McKim's Directory (1892), p.159
3- " " " p.159
4-Later Spelled "Nova Scotian"

to-day in the Halifax Chronicle. In its beginnings it was a weekly paper, appearing on Saturdays, and selling at the subscription price of twenty shillings a year. Bearing the motto, "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas," The Novascotian or Colonial Herald to give it the full title - quickly established a place for itself among the reading public of Halifax. And justly so, for this paper was not of the old type; in it was a force bearing on public matters; behind it was a man, clever well educated, and following his father, John Young, the writer of the letters of "Agricola", keenly interested in the affairs of the community and of the province.

The paper was not large in actual size, measuring eighteen inches by twelve inches, and consisting of eight pages. But it had large ideas. The principles of the Novascotian, which had been given already in a prospectus, were restated in the first number. "A firm attachment equally to the dignity of the throne and to the rights of the points, and a just respect to those great and unalterable rules of morality which form the basis of all good conduct,"[1] were outstanding constituents of the policy proposed by the editor, who further stated his abhorence of the Sunday paper, and asked for contributions of "belles-lettres, criticism, and above all on matters of local interest,"[2] in order that his own paper might take its proper place in Halifax. Early sensing the modern tendency towards an attractive variety in the columns of the paper, Young mingled his news and his literary articles well together, in the hope of

1-Halifax Chronicle, Centenary Edition, Jan.1,1925,p.5
2- " " " " " " " "

attracting the interest of all his readers. "Scenes from Real Life," an article of considerable length, filled the front page of the opening number while the material on the remaining pages included the news of the funeral of King Louis XVIII, of France; comment on the marriage of a British nobleman with an actress; a reproduction of the game laws in Hants County; an announcement of "Theodoric and Other Poems," by T.Campbell; some poetry from Blackwood's Magazine; a statement of the prizes offered by the Provincial Agricultural Society for the curing of salt beef and pork; one or two humourous articles; a column of jokes; and the first of a series of papers on "the character and treatment of domestic servants."[1]

Reviewing even this hasty comment on the contents of the first Novascotian it is not difficult to see that Young had the highest aspirations regarding the purposes of his journal and to him and to his co-workers great credit is due for the part they played in elevating the standards of the profession which they followed. Unfortunately for Canadian journalism, Young, after editing this journal for slightly over three years saw fit to enter the ranks of the legal profession, and that which the bar gained the press lost. But in those three brief years, the Novascotian had gained the "attention of the reading public on account of its high literary tone....and its prophetic insight into the future," and had developed into a paper with a "respectable circulation."[2]

Although George Young was the editor of the Novascotian, he was helped in his enterprise by his father, John Young, and by his brother William. John Young, not a newspaper man in the

1-Halifax Chronicle, Centenary Edition, Janl, 1925, p.5
2-Halifax " " Number " " "

strict sense of the word, was a contributor of the highest order, who achieved a name for himself be a series of articles appearing in the Recorder under the pseudonym of "Agricola." Born in Scotland and educated at the University of Glasgow, the eldest Young, with his wife and four sons, came to Nova Scotia about 1815, and three years later, by the anonymous writings already mentioned, he succeeded in awakening the hitherto dormant state of agriculture in the province. These letters, moreover, "were the means of procuring the establishment by the Legislature of Nova Scotia of the Board of Agriculture, of which Mr. Young eventually became secretary."[1] Even under the garb of anonymity, "Agricola" became famous throughout the length and breadth of the l and, so much so that in 1818, the Governor, the Earl of Dalhousie "rose to propose the health of the gentleman who, though unknown to him, he was certain, from his writings deserved the appelation of a scholar and a patriot; and whose exertions inthe cause of prosperity of the country called forth the esteem of every friend to its welfare. After many other remarks, he gave the health of Agricola and success to his labors. The toast was received with eclat."[2]

From then on, John Young's career was a series of brilliant successes and having devoted his days to bettering the conditions of the fellowmen by his pen, by his voice, and by his actions, he died at Halifax on October 26,1837. He was the great father of great sons, and if the Youngs had

1-Bibliotheca Canadinsis,Morgan,p.404
2- " " " " "-taken from Murdoch,History of N.S.

thrown themselves completely into journalism they would have left an indelible impression upon the pages of its history, which would not have been removed, even by the passage of innumerable years. As it was, John Young and his son George played brilliant but brief roles as men connected with the press; and their names deserve a permanent though lesser place among the newspaper workers of the Dominion.

JOSEPH HOWE- CANADA'S GREATEST JOURNALIST.

Though founded by Young in 1824 and left by Young in 1827, the Novascotian was not to disappear; rather it was to grow in size and influence, under the guidance of Joseph Howe, journalist, statesman, man of letters, and a fighter without equal in the causes of Nova Scotia and imperial relations. But to start at the beginnings I must turn back two decades.

In the quietness of a cottage on the banks of the North-West Arm Joseph Howe was born on December 13th, 1804, son of John Howe and his second wife, the daughter of Captain Edes. His early life was fortunate. True, he did not receive what can be termed a regular education, as the school facilities were not of the best, but he roamed the woods, developing a sound constitution and an appreciation of nature; indulged in desultory reading, under the direction of an able father; and early allowed his poetic impulses to break into verse. The result, seen later, was certainly favorable, and when Joseph Howe plunged into the vortex of public life, he was better equipped than many a man who has received all the advantages of a fuller education.

Son of a printer and born into a family of printers, the young Joseph was not allowed to remain on the outer side of the trade for many years. At the age of thirteen he was officially

introduced as an apprentice into the office of the Royal Gazette, a historic training ground for a man who was to become a historic figure. Here he helped his brother and his father, and accumulated for himself a thorough knowledge of the various branches of printing.

Ten years passed and Joseph Howe had grown from boyhood into manhood and, having served a faithful apprenticeship, he was ready to leave the protection of his father and to step out on the path of life for himself. Already he had written a few minor pieces of prose and poetry; and already he had exhibited - though in a lesser degree - that power over language, which, combined with keen sense and a constant interest in the people, was to take him into the highest offices of the province. Howe setting out upon his first adventure, chose for a partner James Spike, the two men purchasing in December 1827, the Weekly Chronicle, founded forty-one years before by William Minns. Minns, who was a brother-in-law of John Howe, had died on January 17,1827, at the age of sixty-five,[1] and as he left but one daughter, an excellent opportunity was given to Joseph Howe and Spike to acquire a firmly established paper. This, as is seen, they consequently did, and Howe appeared before the public for the first time as an editor. Young, untried and still in the formative period, he moved carefully at first, but with the passing of each day he gained in confidence, and by unceasing attention, steadily acquired knowledge of the political conditions of the time. In the earliest files of the Acadian, "there are no attempts at political writing, and the volume discloses no evidence that,

1-N.S. Historical Soc.,Vol.VI,p.120

at this period, the editor had formed any clear or definite notions of the condition or requirements of his country."[1] There are, however, "some lively sketches of natural scenery, some passable poetry, and some juvenile attempts at editorial writing, jejune and commonplace enough."[2]

This first experiment was not a lengthy one. Hampered by the somewhat narrow scope, Howe was eager for a larger field where he could excerise greater independence. And opportunity gave him his chance within a year of the time when the Acadian had first appeared. George Young, owner and founder of the Novascotian, desirous of entering law, wished to dispose of his paper. Howe was offered the right of purchase, for the sum of £1050, and seeing great possibilities in the journal, he accepted and the deal was closed. On January 3rd, 1828, Joseph Howe issued his first number of the Novascotian, and an event of the utmost importance had taken place in Canadian journalistic activities.

I state that the event was important only after due consideration of the future development of the paper - a development which I must sketch but briefly, although there are many details which might be enlarged upon. From the very beginning, Howe gave himself body and soul to the work with which he was faced. He was forced to this by necessity, if by nothing else, for the reading public, justly sceptical, looked upon the enterprise dubiously. Was not the new editor only a little more than a boy? Was not the venture surrounded with possibilities of failure? And some withdrew their sub-

1-The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe (Chisholm - 1809),Vol.1,p.3
2-The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe (Chisholm - 1809),Vol.1,p.3

scriptions, while others pursued the policy of "wait and see."

But the youthful owner went ahead bravely. He kept in close touch with all foreign news. He reported the debates in the House of Assembly, acquiring many friends in the political world, as well as an inside knowledge of the workings of government. He established agencies for his paper in many of the smaller towns and villages throughout the province and, riding from country to country he became familiar with the people, getting to know and to understand them - their wants, their necessities, their desires, their political hopes, their idiosyncracies and their whimsicalities. And, what is equally important, the people got to know Joseph Howe. Then it was that the public's doubts vanished, but it was only "by dint of unwearied industry, a sanguine spirit, and great cheerfulness and good humour, all the difficulties which beset Mr. Howe's early career as a public journalist were met and overcome, and The Novascotian was established on a solid foundation."[1]

In the first volume - that is for the year 1828 - there are practically no political articles; but there was a great deal of material of literary value, including the "Western Rambles" and "Eastern Rambles," as well as a series of articles entitled "The Club" to which 'Sam Slick', Doctor Grigor, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and Captain Kinclad all of whom subsequently distinguished themselves in other fields, are said to have contributed.....There is also in the earlier files some beautiful poetry by Henry Clinch, then a student at King's College, and later rector of South Boston."[2]

1-The Speeches,etc. of Joseph Howe(Chisholm)Vol.1,p.3
2- " " " " " " " " " p.4

That is enough to show the early tendencies of the paper; but it is interesting to remember that in the next year,1829, Howe published Haliburton's exhaustive, though not brilliant "History of Nova Scotia", and lost heavily on the speculation, as the demand did not equal the size of the edition.

A riot of opinion regarding the censuring of John A. Barry, during the session of the House in 1829, drew Howe into his first public controversy. Remonstrances from his friends and from the supporters of Barry resulted, but Howe unflinchingly "reviewed the whole case in a seried of articles, and had the satisfaction to find that the stand he had taken was very generally approved."[1]

From then on Howe was continually in the political field. Economic principles drew his attention; he helped to condemn the methods of currency then in existence and along with others drove out of circulation irredeemable notes, and compelled the banks to pay gold and silver on demand. He wrote a lenghty editorial advocating the establishment of a Mechanic's Institute, and three years later he read the inaugural address at the opening of the institution which he had helped bring into being. But as yet the great crisis of his life had not come.

The seven years following the day on which Howe had taken over the Novascotian from Young, had been quiet years. They had been years of development, of solid training, and of ever-growing confidence. And it was well that this was so. Already throughout the province there was being expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction regarding the system of governement.

1-The Speeches of Joseph Howe (Chisholm)Vol.1,p.5

The "Family Compact" ruled in Upper Canada; an oligarchy held sway in Lower Canada; and the Council of Twelve - that is the legislative and executive council - served itself in Nova Scotia. All were perfect examples of irresponsible government. But forcible criticisms were becoming very apparent. In the province of the far east, these had taken the form, in part, of articles in newspapers. Conditions were so unsatisfactory that they were openly discussed, with the result that the magistrates and the people were not on the best terms. Naturally a crisis must come; and when it did, the burden of the battle fell upon the shoulders of Joseph Howe. He was only thirty years old then, but he won what I consider to be one of the most brilliant vistories in the history of all journalism.

THE LIBEL SUIT AGAINST JOSEPH HOWE.....

Writing under the pseudonym of "The People", George Thompson, a friend of Howe's addressed himself to the public, through the medium of the Novascotian. On January 1st,1835, a stir was created among the citizens of Halifax. "The People" had attacked the magistrates in no uncertain terms. "Does there, Mr. Editor, exist in any free state, save Nova Scotia, a responsible magistracy, who would for thirty years brave and brook the repeated censures of the press, without even attempting a justification of their conduct, or giving to the public some explanations that might refute those unjust and licentious libels, which have repeatedly been a disgrace to them or to the press of the country?" wrote Thompson. "Are the journals of our land exclusive? do they admit only the wild and reckless portion of the people, and shut their columns against

the sober and discreet supporters of the men in power? I cannot think this, Mr. Howe; and yet weeks have elapsed since charges too grave to be slighted, and too plain to be misunderstood, have been placed through the medium of the press, before the eye of the public, and yet no champion of the sacred band has taken the field to deny or to explain. I candidly and willingly admit that there are in the ranks of the magistracy, individuals justly entitled to the esteem and respect of their fellow-townsmen, but they have mostly left the arena, disgusted with the scenes that were enacted by their more active,energetic brethern. I will venture to affirm,without the possibility of being contradicted by proof, that during the lapse of the last thirty years, the magistracy and police have, by one stratagem or other, taken from the pockets of the people, in over exactions, fines, &c.&c., a sum that would exceed in the gross amount £30,000; and I am prepared to prove my assertions whenever there are men enough to come forward and justify their conduct to the people. Can it not be proved, and is it not notorious, that one of the present active magistrates has contrived for years to filch from one establishment, and that dedicated to the comfort of the poor and destitute, at least £300 per annum? Can it not be proved, that the fines exacted in the name and on the behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King have annually for the last thirty years exceeded £200; and of this sum His most Gracious Majesty has received about as much as would go into the royal coffers, if the long dormant claim of the Quit Rents was revived imprudently? Is it not known to every reflecting and observant man, whose business or curiosity has led him to take a view of the municipal bustle of our Court of Sessions, that from the pockets of the poor and distressed at

least £1000 is drawn annually, and pocketed by the men whose services the country might well spare?..... In fine, Mr.Howe, the affairs of the country have been for years conducted in a slovenly, extravagant, and unpopular manner,and the people have been entirely in the dark as regards the collection and appropriation of their moneys, but they have now amongst them a Chief Magistrate who has pledged himself to be candid, and I trust we will find him impartial also. I am neither a flatterer nor a physiognomist, but I cannot help observing in the martial tread and manly mien of our present Governor, some of the outward features of the late Sir John Sherbrooke, and if the inward man be corresponding, there is yet some hope for THE PEOPLE".[1]

The natural reaction to such a letter followed; the attorney-general submitted an indictment for criminal libel, and, a true bill being found, Howe was called to appear before the court. "The magistrates believed, undoubtedly,at this moment that Howe, whose newspaper was becoming very troublesome to the governing class, was about to be destroyed.....He would be tried by a chief justice appointed by the governor, and a member of the council of twelve. He would be prosecuted by an attorney-general identified with the government and interested in maintining the privileges of the chosen few. Once convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, as they hoped, his paper would be destroyed,he himself discredited and ruined, and a blow thereby struck

1. The Speeches, etc., of Joseph Howe (Chisholm), Vol.1 p.29-30

which would have its due moral effect upon any other incipient reformer who might essay to follow in his footsteps."[1]

Such was the situation; but Howe attacked it boldly and with optimism. He was facing tremendous opposition, and according to the legal advice which he received there was little room for escape. As he later wrote himself:"I went to two or three lawyers in succession, showed them the Attorney-General's notice of trial, and asked them if the case could be successfully defended? The answer was, No; there was no doubt that the letter was a libel; that I must make my peace, or submit to fine and imprisonment. I asked them to lend me their books, gathered an armful, threw myself on a sofa and read libel law for a week. By that time I had convinced myself that they were wrong, and that there was a good defence, if the case were properly presented to the court and jury. Another week was spent in selecting and arranging the facts and public documents on which I relied. I did not get through before a late hour of the evening before the trial, having only had time to write out and commit to memory the two opening paragraphs of the speech."[2]

The trial itself began on Monday, March 1st, 1835, with Chief Justice Halliburton presiding, with S.G.W. Archibald the Attorney-General, and with the following jury:

1. Joseph Howe (Longley-The Makers of Canada) 1904 p.21.
2. The Speeches,etc.,of Joseph Howe (Chisholm) Vol.1 p.23.

Charles J. Hill, John Welner, Robert Story, Robert Lawson, Edward Pryor,jun., Archibald M'Donald, James H. Reynolds, Samuel Mitchell, David Hall, Thomas A. Bauer, Edward Greenwood, and Duncan M'Queen. The accused appeared for himself. It is well to remember that he was still a young man; that he had had no great experience in public speaking; that the great forces of Halifax were arraigned against him and that he, a layman, was arguing his case against skilled lawyers, and before a judge, whose summing up of the case was to be distinctly hostile. But Howe stood there on that day for the liberty of the press, and for the cause of the people. And convinced of the justice of his position, he argued his case with such skill and with such boldness that he obtained a complete and decisive victory.

After the preliminary portions of the trial had taken place, Howe turned to the jury to make his defence, in a speech lasting for six hours and a quarter, not only because of its length but because of delays caused by outbursts of enthusiasm from the spectators. He quickly proceeded from a warm comment upon the excellence of the jury system to certain general remarks upon the law of libel, and then turned directly for his enemies, the magistrates, who, by bringing forward an indictment for libel, and not a direct claim for damages caused by libel, had refused Howe the privilege of proving that those things which

his paper had stated were true. "Why have they (the magistrates) not afforded the means indispensable to a calm and enlightened review of their public conduct?" he asked. And in his reply the magistrates became kings of shreds and tatters.

> "Gentlemen, they dared not do it. Yes, my lords, I tell them in your presence, and in the presence of the community whose confidence they have abused, that they dated not do it. They knew that "discretion was the better part of valour", and that it might be safer to punish me than to justify themselves. There is a certain part of a ship through which when a seaman crawls he subjects himself to the derision of the deck, because it is taken as an admission of cowardice and incompetence; and had not these jobbing justices crawled in here through this legal lubber hole of indictment, I would have sent them out of court in a worse condition than Falstaff's ragged regiment - they would not have dared to march, even through Coventry, in a body..... They have taken six weeks to determine on this prosecution, leaving their adversary but a few days to prepare; and finally, they have brought their action by indictment, well knowing that the court could not admit evidence but on the

> side of the Crown. Does this look like innocence?- is it candid?- is it fair?- Can a body against whom grave charges have been preferred, present this mockery of an investigation as a full and sufficient answer to the public?"[1]

Having added further forcible and unfavourable remarks regarding the method in which the magistrates were attempting to bring about his downfall, Howe turned to his reasons for publishing the letter from "The People" and once again he went directly to the sources of evil - those in high places.

"As magistrates, having the guardianship of morals and the public peace; as the legislators of the country; the collectors and dispensers of its revenues; the trustees of its property; the auditors of its accounts; the almoners of its establishments! I knew them, as you know them-as almost every man in the community knows them to be the most negligent and imbecile, if not the most reprehensible body, that ever mismanaged a people's affairs. Had I not believed this to be the fact - had not the concurrent testimony of thousands in the community impressed it strongly on my mind - had not the just complaints of those who were daily injured by the gross neglect of duty on the part of some, and the still grosser malversations of others, continually resounded in my ears - had not my own experience and observation, and the

1. This and the following quotation from the trial are from "Speeches, etc., of Joseph Howe" (Chisholm), Vol 1 p. 33-82

reasoning and calculations of much shrewder minds, furnished abundant proofs - had not grand jury after grand jury arraigned the system which they upheld - nay, had not my own labours as a grand juror abundantly convinced me that these charges were true, I should not have been standing here to-day to speak in my own defence, for I would not have dared to publish the letter in which their conduct was censured and exposed. And can they be so blind and weak as to suppose, that by punishing a printer, even if that were possible in such a case, the public,for whose benefit their doings were unveiled, can be hoodwinked and deceived? Can their characters, like the religion of Mahomet, be propagated by persecution? They may expect much from the result of this trial; but before I have done with them, I hope to convince them that they, and not I,are the real criminals here; and I shall be mistaken if it does not prove the downfall of their imbecility - the grave of their corruption."

Howe then delivered the more detailed portions of his speech, which, on account of their temporal aspects, need not be reproduced here. Suffice it is to say that he thoroughly flayed the magistrates for their abuse of power summing up his charges in one brief but forceful paragraph.

> "Now gentlemen," he said, in addressing the jury, "upon a close survey of this case, as I have put it before you, can you, under the indictment,

find me guilty of malicious libel? When you have examined the hardships, inequality, and oppression of the assessments, the disposition of the fire taxes, the miserable but costly corruptions of the Bridewell and Poorhouse, the inefficiency of the police, the malpractices of the brick building, the delay of justice in the commissioners' court, and the confusion of the accounts, instead of punishing me for what I have done, what would you have said if I had refused to do it? Would I not have betrayed your interests and the interests of the community and forfeited the character of my paper, if I had suppressed this letter? I have not attempted to prove to a line the charges which the letter contains - that would be no defence; but I trust I have shown you, that not only had I no wicked or improper motive in this matter, but that there existed a great and overwhelming public necessity, that rendered my act one of virtue, not of malice; or at all events, which proves that there was a good ground for my belief that I was doing a duty, not committing a crime. So satisfied am I of the justice of my case, that I believe I might rest it here, and confide myself fearlessly to your firmness and discretion."

But that was not to be all; Howe continued, for a short time dealing with further local corruptions, and quoting from cases of libel parallel to his own. And then in the gloom of the late afternoon, and with a body tired from a six hours' battle before the jury, he concluded his defence in an outburst of pent up emotions expressed in brilliant oratory.

> "Will you" he said "permit the sacred fire of liberty, brought by your fathers from the venerable temples of Britain, to be quenched and trodden out on the simple altars they have raised? Your verdict will be the most important and in its consequences ever delivered before this tribunal; and I conjure you to judge me by the principles of English law, and to leave an unshackled press as a legacy to your children. You remember the press in your hours of conviviality and mirth - oh! do not desert it in this its day of trial.
>
> "If for a moment I could fancy that your verdict would stain me with crime, cramp my resources by fines, and cast my body into prison, even then I would endeavour to seek elsewhere for consolation and support. Even then I would not desert my principles, nor abandon the path that the generous impulses of youth selected, and

which my riper judgment sanctions and approves.....Nor is there a living thing beneath my roof that would not aid me in this struggle; the wife who sits by my fireside; the children who play around my hearth; the orphan boys in my office, whom it is my pride and pleasure to instruct from day to day in the obligations they owe to their profession and their country, would never suffer the press to be wounded through my side. We would wear the coarsest raiment; we would eat the poorest food; and crawl at night into the veriest hovel in the land to rest our weary limbs, but cheerful and undaunted hearts; and these jobbing justices should feel, that one frugal and united family could not withstand their persecution, defy their power, and maintain the freedom of the press. Yes, gentlemen, come what will, while I live, Nova Scotia shall have the blessing of an open and unshackled press. But you will not put me to such straits as these; you will send me home to the bosom of my family, with my conduct sanctioned and approved; your verdict will engraft upon our soil those invaluable principles that are our best security and defence.

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"Gentlemen, I must apologize for the time which I have occupied, and for the errors and imperfections of this defence. But I now leave it in your hands, confident that you will discharge your duty and to me justice. I have never shrunk from responsibility, and I would again remind you that I would rather be cast into a prison for years than meet you in after life to reproach me with having misled you this day by false statements of fact or law. I have not done so, and I feel that I am entitled to your verdict. The press has constantly vindicated and maintained the independence of juries; English juries have been the steadfast friends and protectors of the press; and I now commit myself and the press of Nova Scotia to your keeping, asking only for justice sanctioned by English law."

Howe had delivered his defence and had placed his case in the hands of the jury.

The hour was late, however, and though those in attendance wished the trial to proceed immediately, the Chief-Justice postponed it until the following morning.

S.G.W. Archibald, Attorney-General, then delivered his address against the defendant, which, dealing in generalities rather than in particularities, was not a lengthy nor a forceful affair. Rather it makes one realize the truth of Howe's statement, when he said concerning Archibald, "As an officer of the Crown he is bound to perform this public duty, but I well know that persecutions of the press are little to his taste."

The press and the Chief-Justice did not agree so well. In summing up the case, he said: "For this paper the grand jury have allowed the party to be indicted; they must have believed it to be a mischievous tendency, else their duty was not to have found a bill. In my opinion, the paper charged is a libel, and your duty is, to state by your verdict that it is libellous. You are not bound by my opinion. You are not to be influenced by feelings, but to pronounce on the case before you according to the sober convictions of your own minds. If you think that this is not a libel, as a consequence, you think that it bears no reflections injurious to the complaining parties. If this is your opinion say so; I leave the case in your hands."

Ten minutes later the twelve jurors returned to the court room, and in the tenseness of a crucial moment, the foreman announced, "Not Guilty." Howe had won liberty for himself and for the press.

The verdict was a popular one, and for two days the people of the Reform party kept holiday. Immediately after the trial, Howe was borne to his house upon the shoulders of his supporters, and later in the evening he addressed the crowds which had gathered before his house, enjoining them to keep the peace; to appreciate the triumph which had been gained; and "to teach their children the names of the twelve men who had established the freedom of the press."[1] The news of the outcome of the trial spread even as far as New York, for a few months after the verdict had been rendered, Howe received a presentation of a silver pitcher from the Nova Scotians living in that city.

Naturally enough, the conflict between the magistrates and the people did not cease immediately after the trial of Howe, but though it staggered on for several more years, the system of irresponsibility had in reality been broken. Howe, whose name rapidly became known through every section of the province, and whose popularity increased steadily, continued to demand representative government. In the general elections of 1836, Howe and Annand - the future editor of the Nova Scotian - had both been elected on Liberal platforms, and in their official capacities as representatives of the people they continued to work for the establishment of those principles in which they so firmly believed. Seeing political disease around him, Howe realized the need of reform. What he wished to achieve was this: "that all

1. Speeches, etc., of Joseph Hose, (Chisholm), Vol. 1 p. 82.

persons holding office and helping to carry on the business of the country should be appointed by an executive which had the confidence of the majority of the members of the House of Assembly; that no executive could hold office a day longer than it could command the confidence of the people's representatives, and that the governor himself should be reduced to the position of a respectable figurehead, acting according to the advice of ministers who were responsible for every act done in his name and liable to be called to account for it in the popular house."[1] To-day such things are taken as a matter of course, but then they were looked upon as "palpable absurdity."

With the coming of the elections of 1847, Howe had the satisfaction of seeing his principles endorsed, when his party was sustained at the polls. Skilfully wielding his most potent weapon of attach - the Novascotian -; debating brilliantly upon the questions of the hour; and keeping his party free from the paths of bloodshed which had marred the reform movements in the Canadas, he "achieved within the compass of a few years everything the most advanced colonial statesman could desire by perfectly constitutional means and without causing a single drop of blood to be shed."[2] Responsible government had been achieved and the "Ten Years Conflict" was at an end.

1. Joseph Howe (Longley-Makers of Canada,1904), p 59.
2. " " " " " " 1904 p 51.

Apart from the political aspect, the Novascotian should be remembered for its literary qualities, and for its stand on educational questions. Circulating not only in the United States and the Canadas, but also to some extent in Great Britain, the "Nova Scotian was regarded as a newspaper of genuine literary quality and power," for it printed, at various times, a series known as "Rambles," which "have a grace of quiet humor of the sort which is distinctly 'Howeian'; the famous "Clockmaker" series, by Haliburton, who is looked upon to-day as the originator of American humor and whose books are now being republished; and special articles, from which have descended the 'feature articles' of the present age.[1] The Novascotian stood for an undenominational school system, even as it favoured a central and undenominational university. "The people must have one college, as they have one supreme court; one Province building; one penetentiary; and if others want more, let them maintain them at their own expense," said Howe in 1843. "But, it is said, if a college is not sectarian it must be infidel. Is infidelity taught in our academies and schools? No; and yet not one of them is sectarian. A college would be under strict discipline, established by its governors; clergymen would occupy some of its chairs; moral philosphy, which, to be sound, must be based on Christianity, would be conspicuously taught; and yet the religious men who know all this raise the cry of infidelity to frighten the farmers in the country."[2]

1. J.D. Logan, Halifax Chronicle, Jan.1, 1925, p. 7.
2. Speeches, etc., of Joseph Howe (Chisholm) p 435

Continuing to exert a powerful influence over the community, Howe remained in the editorial chair of the Novascotian until 1841, when, owing to the extreme pressure of his political duties, he sold to Nugent at the end of the year. Nugent did not remain in control for any lengthy period of time, Annand purchasing the paper in 1843. The new owner, elected with Howe to parliament some years before, was a clever and convincing political writer, who now found that opposition was closing in from all sides. In the province there were a dozen or more weeklies and already several tri-weeklies, and not all of these were on the side of the reform party. One paper, moreover, had become the organ of Lord Falkland, Howe's foremost opponent, and besides teeming with "personalities and abuse," it helped to flood the country with "defamatory matter and the hope was indulged that Mr. Howe and his friends would be broken down and that Lord Falkland would ride rough-shod over the constitution so recently won."[1] Under these circumstances, it was generally felt that the reforming Liberals were in need of a tri-weekly publication, and on January 24, 1844, the first issue of the Morning Chronicle was issued by William Annand. The Chronicle, in one sense, absorbed the Novascotian, though the latter paper continued to appear as a weekly, but under the same management that directed the Chronicle. Howe returned to the Chronicle as the editorial champion of the popular cause

1. Speeches, etc., of Joseph Howe (Chisholm) Vol.1 p.471.

in the spring of 1844 and though he was responsible for the editorials of the paper, Annand retained the general management of the publication. This arrangement definitely lasted until 1846, but Howe kept in touch with the paper which he had made so famous until 1856 or even later.

Returning to the joys and worries of an editor, Howe lent the full weight of his ability to the reorganization of his party, and in the first editorial which he composed upon his return, he plainly showed the attitude which he was about to adopt. In reference to his opponents he wrote: "They might have had peace; let them prepare for war. They refused to share power upon honourable terms; let them have a care that it does not pass out of their hands. They returned 'the magnanimity' which they were wont to acknowledge with treachery and intrigue and defamation the most foul; let them be assured that a day of reckoning is at hand. At least let them be assured of this, that we resume the editorial chair with very different feelings from those with which it was abandoned and with a full determination to give to the country the benefit of our experience of the real character of the jugglery by which our public affairs have become so disastrously involved. Thank Providence that we are once more unfettered, and free to call things by their right names and exhibit men in their true characters, independent of the trammels of honorary or official station and utterly regardless of those considerations which weigh upon the free thought

and ingenuous expression in the varied phases of public life through which we have lately passed."

Towards the close of the article, he wrote: "'Welcome,' says Charles Lamb to his desk; 'welcome, thou dead wood by which I live'. And we may Welcome, thou old chair, in which and by which we lived in comfort and independence for years, caring for no lordling's smile or frown, and conscious that our daily bread was not eaten on the frail tenure of any man's caprice; but dependent upon our daily labour and bount of that good Providence in which we have been taught religiously to trust!" [1]

And with the aid of the old Novascotian and the new Chronicle, the Liberal party swept into power in 1847. Once more the press had played a prominent part in Nova Scotia history.

Despite the fact that he was offered the editorship of the New York Albion in 1866, after his resignation from the Chronicle, Howe was outside of the scope of strict journalistic activity. Consequently I must not follow his career further. He had, by perserverance and intelligence, raised the Novascotian to the highest standard and in this paper we have seen the increasing importance of news; the early development of the 'feature article'; the value and interest of material purely literary; and the possibilities of the editorial column, when it is conducted by a man, with the power over language, with the vast political knowledge, and with the keen appreciation of the rights and wishes of

1. Speeches, etc., of Joseph Howe (Chisholm) Vol.1. p. 473, 474, 475.

the people, which Joseph Howe possessed. In surveying the Canadian field, I certainly see no rival to oppose the veteran editor of Halifax, unless it be George Brown. But then I do not believe that Brown was the newspaper man Howe was. That is why I have dealt so extensively with the Novascotian and with Howe.

Appointed to the office of governor of Nova Scotia in May, 1873, the Hon. Joseph Howe died in June of the same year. He had lived to see a representative government in his province; to see Confederation, which he had at first feared and then supported, come into being; and to witness the growth of the journalism, of which he was so fond. But, on the very threshold of the highest office in his province, fate had stepped in, robbing him of the fulness of his success.

OTHER JOURNALISTS IN THE PROVINCE.

It is almost unnecessary to say that during this period from the first of the nineteenth century to Confederation, there was no paper in Nova Scotia which ranked equally with the Novascotian. That does not mean that there was a lack of useful and to some extent influentian journals. In Halifax, and in the towns and villages of the province, papers did spring into being, only to die with the passing of a few months or years. Only a few, such as the Acadian Recorder, which was edited by Hugh W. Blackader from 1837 to his death, 1865, survived until the end of the century. The Halifax

Journal, established by John Howe in the eighteenth century, lived until shortly after Confederation, while the Free Press, one of Joseph Howe's bitterest opponents in his earlier days, also passed out of existence.

In Halifax, the growth was not startling after the first half of the century, for by that time there had been established on solid foundations a sufficient number of papers to supply amply the wants of the community. The Colonist, Conservative, and the Chronicle, Liberal, were popular tri-weeklies for many years.

The first daily paper in the province, was the Morning Post, first issued in 1845. Its publisher was John H. Croskill, who was originally a carpenter by trade. He had founded the Post in 1840 but issued it as a daily for a short period five years later. Croskill was also King's Printer from 1845 to 1848, and in 1851 he established another paper, the British North American, which also had but a brief existence. Croskill died in 1855.[1]

The Chronicle turned daily in 1864, and continues to be published as a morning paper to this day, bearing at the top of its editorial column the motto, "The Free Constitution Which Guards the British Press." The Chronicle remained in the Annand family for many years, but, unfortunately, during the Confederation trouble in Nova Scotia, when "Howe gave indications of an intention to hesitate

1. Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.86

respecting further measures looking to repeal, Mr. (William) Annand, his life-long friend and associate, parted company with him, and opened the columns of the Morning Chronicle to an unceasing tirade of abuse of his old leader and hero."[1] The paper, which Howe had founded and developed, had at last turned on him in the latter days of his life. The Acadian Recorded, that ancient journal founded by Holland, was also a repeal organ, even going so far as to suggest violence to Sir John A. Macdonald, when his proposed trip to Nova Scotia was mentioned in 1868. The attitude taken by the Recorder called forth a forcible reply by Howe, in which he advocated nothing but the strictest courtesy towards Canada's great statesman.

But these things do not mean that all the journalists in Nova Scotia were opposed to the scheme of Confederation. Born in Cumberland in 1809, and admitted to the bar in 1837, Jonathan McCully had successfully practised his profession in Amherst until 1849, when he moved to Halifax. Already he had received some notice as an occasional contributor to the Acadian Recorder, and had filled a vacant seat in the Legislative Council in 1847. After serving for some years as Judge of Probate in Halifax, he went into opposition with his party in 1857 and at the same time transferred his journalistic services to the Morning Chronicle. Here he continued for some years in various capacities, including that of editor in chief. In 1864 he was delegated to the two important conferences at Charlottetown and Quebec in connection with

1. Joseph Howe (Longley-Makers of Canada,1904) p.208-209.

Confederation, and up to the next year he continued to use the weight of the Chronicle in favour of the scheme of the union of the provinces. But Annand was opposed to union. McCully retired and became editor of the Morning Journal, the name of which he changed to the Unionist. The paper extended its circulation and during the intervening years rendered invaluable aid towards the realization of Confederation.[1]

In the smaller towns of the province there were also some signs of localized journalism prior to Confederation, though it must be admitted that with one or two exceptions, there were no papers of any lasting importance. The most influential paper in the counties almost without a doubt was the Colonial Patriot, founded in the year 1827 at Pictou, due chiefly to the efforts of Jotham Blanchard, who was to prove a successful journalist and a prominent Liberal. Blanchard was born in Peterboro, New Hampshire, on March 15, 1800, but he was removed to Truro within the first fifteen months of his existence. Educated at the Pictou Academy, he became versed in law under the tutelage of Thomas Dickson, of Pictou, and was admitted to the bar when he was twenty-one years of age. Anonymously, at first, he edited the Colonial Patriot, under the motto, "Pro rege, pro patria," and through that publication advocated the most liberal principles; it has been claimed, as a matter of fact, that

1. Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.262.

Blanchard's journal was the first in the Lower Colonies to take a definite stand on things of public importance. There probably is a good deal of justification for this claim, because Howe did not become owner of the Novascotian until 1828 and did not become politically active until some years after that. Howe, it is said, even denounced Blanchard's views at first but finally approved of those very principles which he had branded as being undesirable. The Patriot strongly supported the movements towards reform, even at times becoming vituperative, for Blanchard was a quick and telling writer. This paper took a firm stand from the earliest portions of its career and a brief glance at the expository article in the first number shows the policy of the paper. A few extracts will suffice:

> "We reverence the British Constitution and honour the King as its head, but we feel assured, that the best way of showing true regard to the King is by advancing the interests of his subjects. All governments are designed for the general good of the people, and that government deserves most praise which most effectually succeeds in this object; and we boldly assert that he who pretends to support the dignity of the government and the honour of the Crown at the expense of the general happiness, alike commits treason against the King and his subjects,- he betrays the people and dishonours their Sovereign."

"In politics we shall side with the most liberal system..... Having witnessed the beneficial effects resulting from an unshackled press in Britain, we shall always advocate the same system here."

"We will discuss the interests of Pictou.... We shall raise our voice on behalf of the whole Province.....And our humble efforts shall always be at the command of our sister colonies, when we think their just rights attacked or disregarded or in danger of being compromised by the negligence or inertness of the great body of the people, or the adroitness or the power of the few."[1]

Blanchard entered the House of Assembly in 1830, but in 1836 he had a complete mental breakdown from which he never recovered.

A Conservative organ was also started in Pictou, but only a few years before Confederation. It was known as the Colonial Standard, and first appeared in 1858. The Hon. Simon Hugh Holmes, one time premier of Nova Scotia, was its proprietor and editor from its foundation until 1878.

1. Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.36

IN NEW BRUNSWICK FROM 1800 TO CONFEDERATION.

Picking up the loose threads left over from the eighteenth centurey, we must remember that in New Brunswick there had been little journalistic activity, except that carried on in St.John by Lewis, Ryan, and Sower between 1783 and 1800. But with the turn of the century there came a period of increased activity, during which St.John became one of the leading newspaper towns in the British Colonies in America.

Sower had died in 1799, and on the very verge of the new era the vacancy brought about by his death had been filled by the veteran printer Ryan, who upon becoming King's Printer, had continued to publish Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser. From then until nearly fifteen years had passed, the changes in the ranks of the newspapers- the names of papers, their publishers, and even their places of publication - were so rapid and so frequent that it is difficult to trace adequately the course of events. It seems that Ryan carried on the Royal Gazette and the New Brunswick Advertiser for a good number of years; but that he finally encountered difficulties which caused him to settle elsewhere. Michael Ryan, his son, also had journalistic ambitions. He had been born on January 23, 1873, at Parr, and, according to custom, served the usual term of

apprenticeship with his father. When he was twenty-one - that is in 1804 - he launched his first private venture, in the form of the New Brunswick Chronicle, the first number appearing on January 7th. At that time, however, the printing business was in the hands of a regular family compact, for the chief contemporaries of Michael's Chronicle were the Royal Gazette, published by his father, and the General Advertiser, published by his uncle, Jacob S. Mott, consequently there could not have been any great concern when the youthful Ryan's first attempt proved but short lived.

Michael Ryan then thought it wise to try new fields and two years later, on May 3, 1806, he published the first number of the Fredericton Journal. His second venture was no richer in results than the first, for in August of the same year the Fredericton Telegraph made its appearance, and in the face of opposition Ryan once again experienced failure. The Ryans, father and son, then moved to St.John, Newfoundland, and passed from the scene of Canadian activities

The elder Ryan, however, continued to have an interest in the New Brunswick business, his affairs being in the hands of William Durant, who proceeded to conduct a paper called the Times or True Briton. This was first issued on January 7, 1808, selling at twelve shillings and six pence per annum, or five pence a copy. This continued for another three

years, when a new title, the City Gazette, came into being, the paper being issued under the same management but with the firm name of William Durant and Company. This arrangement lasted until the "31st of January, 1815, when a dissolution of partnership took place, Mr. Durant becoming the sole proprietor."[1]

The office of King's Printer had been filled in the meantime by Jacob S. Mott, and upon his death in 1814, Ann Mott, his widow, nominally took over the management of the Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser. The real manager, however, was Henry Chubb. Chubb, who was born in St.John in 1787, had served his apprenticeship with Mott, and to-day his name ranks among the foremost nineteenth century printers and journalists in the province. This is chiefly due to his enterprise and perseverence. Founding the New Brunswick Courier on May 2, 1811, he continued as its proprietor for many years, and because of his continued efforts he changed the Courier from an ordinary, insignificant publication into one of the most important journals of his day. It rapidly became a training ground for those ambitious along journalistic or literary lines, and it has been said that "the office of Chubb and Company was a sort of kindergarten from which, in time, graduated many young men who were destined later to take an active part in the literary life of this continent."[2]

1. Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, p.257.
2. Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, p.262.

The Courier was not only an influential paper but it constituted one of the first financial successes in New Brunswick journalism. Unfortunately, during the fire of 1877 in St.John much of historical value was destroyed, but some numbers from the fyles of the Courier were saved, and are now the property of the New Brunswick Historical Society.

The Courier was contemporaneous with the City Gazette, and the Star and Commercial Intelligencer. The latter appeared in the spring of 1818, being issued from the office of William Reynolds and Company, on the corner of Church and Prince William Streets. It was a four page journal, with four columns to a page of ten and a half by seventeen inches, and was under the joint editorship of William Reynolds and George Younghusband.

In the counties there were only a few important contemporaries, the two foremost being the New Brunswick Royal Gazette, and the St.Andrew's Herald. George Kilman Lugrin, a son of Peter Lugrin, a Loyalist, and father-in-law of Henry Chubb, of the Courier, was the establisher of the Gazette, which he published in Fredericton, commencing on March 10, 1815. The St.Andrew's Herald also has a good deal of historical interest attached to it, for though John Cochren was its first editor, it early fell into the hands of David Howe, brother of Joseph Howe, of Halifax. "The Herald continued until about 1831, at which date it was the property of Mr. Peter Stubbs."[1]

1. Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, p.262.

This activity in the smaller towns continued to increase, at least five new papers appearing between 1825 and 1833. These were: The Miramichi Gleaner, afterwards known as the Mercury, established by James A. Pierce in 1825; the British Colonist, issued by John Hooper two years later; The St.Andrew's Courant, founded by Colin Campbell in 1830;and the Fredericton Watchman, with George K. Lugrin, as proprietor, and the St.Andrew's Standard, under the direction of George N. Smith, both papers appearing for the first time in 1833.[1]

In spite of this journalistic progress, Chubb, with his Courier, maintained the place of supremacy until the advent of George E. Fenety. Fenety, trained in the printing busines in Howe's office, Halifax, was energetic and progressive, introducing into the province a new era in journalism. The Commercial News and General Advertiser, as Fenety's journal was first called - it later became known as the Morning News - made its premier public appearance at St.John on September 16, 1839, and to Fenety goes the honour of issuing the first tri-weekly penny paper in the British Colonies, and, as some say, the third in America. Two years later, in 1841, it was published for a time as a daily paper, the first of its kind in the Maritimes.

1. Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, p.263.

Progressive not only from a merely mechanical point of view, Fenety carried the Liberal principles of Howe into the younger province, and as his former employer battled for responsibile government in Nova Scotia, so did Fenety fight for the same cause in New Brunswick. Disdaining any dependence on government advertising, the News was "conducted with such spirit and so gained the confidence of the people that, starting with a capital of a few hundred dollars it became a property worth thousands."[1] And daily gaining in force, it unwaveringly advocated throughout a period of fifteen years that the government should be responsible to the people, so that when the goal was finally reached in 1855 the News had proved to be an important factor in establishing sound rule. Fenety continued to publish the News until 1863, when he was appointed Queen's Printer for the province, a position which he held for many years.

Of course, with the province seething with controversy, an attempt to smother the press was to be expected. The paper picked for attack by the government was the Loyalist, of Fredericton, one of the less important journals of the day. Established in 1844, it was under the management of two men - Hill and Doak - who saw fit to assail certain members of the Legislature, as the Novascotian had assailed the magistrates. The consequence

1. McKim's Directory, 1892, p.26

was that the two proprietors were arrested by the House and quickly lodged in jail. But they felt that their cause was just and Hill boldly entered a suit for damages against the Speaker and recovered.[1]

The period immediately prior to Confederation - that is from the fifties on - witnessed the appearance of several papers, which on account of the high journalistic qualities they maintained, must be considered as being extremely important. The first of this group was the Freeman, founded in 1849 by Timothy Warren Anglin, who later became Speaker of the Dominion House.[2]

Anglin was an Irishman by birth, coming from Ireland to St.John, and his paper, which he conducted until 1877, was highly successful. Anglin was always willing to participate in public discussions, conducting his journal as a Liberal and Catholic organ.

John V. Ellis, chiefly instrumental in starting the St.John Clobe in 1859, is another prominent figure, because he succeeded in establishing a large circulation and in issuing a paper which possessed a permanent appeal to the public. When the question of Confederation was placed before the people, both Anglin and Ellis were opposed to the union.

1. A.J. Wallis, Canada (Hopkins) Vol. V p.187.

2. From Canada, Hopkins, Vol.V p.224. McCready,in History of Canadian Journalism (Press Association) p. 141, gives the date as 'about 1854'.

But the foremost figure of this pre-Confederation period - and also of the eighteen years after Confederation - was a Presbyterian clergyman who became famous as a journalist. The Rev. William Elder, A.M., after having had a distinguished academic career at Belfast College, the University of Glasgow, the University of Edinburgh, and New College, Edinburgh, came to this country. His first attempts at journalism - as far as have been recorded - were along religious lines, for he was editor of the Colonial Presbyterian in the first years of the sixties. The scope of the Presbyterian not being broad enough for Elder, he established the Morning Journal, a tri-weekly. Under the direction of John Livingston, who, coming from Richibucto, had worked for Fenety, another tri-weekly, the Telegraph, was already in the field, and for the time being Elder published his paper on alternate days. Within a few months, however, the two papers were merged into one, the Telegraph, with Elder and Livingston co-operating in its management. Even in his earliest days as a journalistic writer, the former became especially well known throughout Canada, for in 1867 Morgan said that "Mr. Elder is a bold, earnest and logical writer; he possesses a cultivated and refined taste, and is regarded as occupying a first position amongst British American journalists."[1] Both Elder and Livingston continued to be active in the newspaper profession for many years after Confederation.

1. Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.116

With the foundation of the Globe and the Telegraph the period before 1867 is brought to a close, and it is important to note that the two papers mentinned were the only ones out of the group then in existence at St.John to survive into the twentieth century. Though I have not been able to go into the fullest details of the years between the first of the century and Confederation, I think that I have fully shown that this period was one in which the rights of the press were established and in which the newspaper of the province grew in quantity and quality. It is a long cry from Sower to Elder and the differences between the papers which they published are enormous. In 1800 New Brunswick journalism was in a state of embryo;but in 1867 it is in full life, strong, well formed, and taking an important place in the affairs of the province.

JOURNALISM ON PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

1880 to 1867.

As Prince Edward Island is not an expansive province and as its journalistic activities have been centered largely in the capital city, Charlottetown, there has not been a great deal of material written on the subject of this thesis. As a result this section cannot be more than a brief sketch of the development.

As was mentioned in the first chapter, the Royal Gazette commenced to appear in Charlottetown in 1791. Its existence is not significant. But in 1823 James D.Hazard brought out the first regular newspaper on the Island - the Register. Hazard was the "son of a loyalist who had proved his attachment to the Empire by refusing to accept his confiscated property, when offered back to him on condition that he would become an American."[1] and it is evident that the younger Hazard had inherited many of his father's high qualities. Through the medium of his paper and by his own private actions, he did much in the cause of public welfare, especially in connection with the improvement of the condition of settlers. "He not only started the first newspaper, but built the first carding and cloth-dressing mill, and introduced many improvements in the methods of farming."[2]

1. McKim's Directory, 1892, p.26
2. " " " "

He also displayed a fine spirit of generosity during the famine of 1837, when, through his own means, he helped to relieve the stress, which was felt in so many destitute families.

Hazard, like so many of his fellow journalists,was a thorough believer in the freedom of the press and the necessity of honest politics. In the very first issue of the Register he attacked the government, making a "trenchant exposure of some high-handed acts of Governor Smith and some of his near relatives." The inevitable happened, and Hazard found himself before the Court of Chancery," of which the Governor himself was Chancellor. He was permitted to make a brief statement in his own defence, when the Chancellor addressed him: "I compassionate your youth and inexperience. Did I not do so, I would lay you by the heels long enough to remember it. You have delivered your evidence fairly, clearly, and as becomes a man. I caution you when you publish anything again, keep clear, sir, of a Chancellor. Beware, sir, of the Chancellor!"[1]

Hazard later published both the Royal Gazette and Hazard's Gazette.

The other outstanding journalist on the Island prior to Confederation was Edward Whelan. Whelan, at one time a poor Irish boy, was a product of the office of the Novascotian; and it will be remembered that Howe stated in the famous libel case that those most closely associated with

1. History of Canadian Journalism (Press Assoc.) p.137

him would aid him in his struggle - that "the orphan boys in my office, whom it is my pride and pleasure to instruct from day to day in the obligations they owe to their profession and their country, would never suffer the press to be wounded through my side." And I believe that Whelan must have been one of those orphan boys for he left the Novascotian, carrying with him those very principles in which Howe so thoroughly believed. His first attempt was a paper called the Palladium, and some years later, in 1847, he started the Examiner, under the motto from Euripides, "This is True Liberty when Freeborn Men Having to Advise the Public May Speak Free." Whelan eventually sat in the Legislative Council, and his influence, both as a journalist and as a politician was clearly felt. A contemporary issue of the Montreal Gazette said: "Mr.Whelan is said to be one of the best public speakers in the Lower Provinces; he certainly is one of the best writers, as the pages of the Charlottetown Examiner sufficiently testify."[1] During his newspaper career on the Island, he "fought a sturdy battle for equal rights, responsible government, for the rights of the Island tenantry, and for free schools, down to the date when these were gained, and later became the eloquent advocate of the union of the provinces."[2]

1. Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.389

2-History of Canadian Journalism (Can.Press Assoc.) p.139.

Whelan died during the year of Confederation, when four provinces had been united, but when his own province had not as yet become part of the Dominion.

There is little else of importance, except that some mention should be made of two other papers of the period. The Islander, established by John Ings, in 1842, continued for thirty years as an active paper, while Ross's weekly was in circulation from 1859 to 1866.

CHAPTER II. SECTION II.

IN THE BILINGUAL PROVINCE, 1800 - 1867.

The Period Before 1837.

With thirty-four years of active journalism completed, Lower Canada reached the nineteenth century with only two papers of any importance being published - the Quebec Gazette, under John Neilson, and the Montreal Gazette, under E. Edwards. The next thirty-four years, however, were to witness a rapid growth and during the period of revolution numerous papers participated in the struggle with violence of words that did much to foster hate between the contending parties.

The first indication of the new development is found in the establishment of the now-famous Mercury, at Quebec in 1805 by Thomas Cary. Cary was born near Bristol, England, in 1751, and after a varied career he was admitted to the bar of Nova Scotia. Law was not to his taste, however, and he moved to Quebec where, in January of 1805, he published the first number of his paper, At that time, it will be remembered, Neilson's Gazette, was a semi-official publication, printed both in French and English, and run under the policy of leaving politics alone, trying to please all, to displease none. Cary, a high Tory and an Episcopalian and a brilliant but satirical writer, would have nothing to do with this middle course policy, and when he founded the Mercury, he

founded it with the distinct purpose of expressing the "sentiments, sympathies and predelictions of the British inhabitants of Quebec, who, at that time, formed a small but wealthy and influential portion of the community."[1] Cary was quite capable of doing this, for he was not only a man of scholarly attainments, but he possessed a boldness of spirit which made him express his opinions in the face of an adverse majority, and which caused him to be always on the offensive, ever active with a piercing attack.

Continuing to publish his paper with the purposes of the minority favoured, Carey found himself in trouble within a few months. The men in government were already beginning to take a harsh attitude towards the press, which they continued to exhibit until after the rebellion. In 1806, upon mildly criticizing the government and upon expressing the hope that the French attitude towards the press, as exhibited by Napoleon, would never extend to Canada, Cary was ordered to appear before the assembly. At that time he showed no inclination to argue the point, but he expressed his regret at having caused any displeasure and was immediately released. It was in this same year that parliament ordered the arrest of Isaac Todd, a Montreal merchant, and the printer of the Montreal Gazette (evidently Edwards) for the statement and publication, respectively, of some mild criticisms; but the Sergeant at Arms, upon arriving in Montreal, found that the two men had disappeared, and the matter was allowed to drop.

1. Bibliotheca Canadensis, (Morgan) p.65.

Seven years later, in 1813, a letter appeared in the Mercury, signed by "Juniolus Canadensis" and addressed to "A party leader." Historians say that it was well understood to refer to Stuart. The letter was couched in pungent and bitter language, for it said, in part: "At a time when the enemy is at the door.....; at a time when every generous spirit is roused in the consciousness of a just cause, and eager to chastise the wicked presumption of a foe at once insidious and savage; at such a time as this what is your employment? You are damping that alacrity, checking that generous ardour; you are busy in sowing the seeds of embarrassment and delay; you are spreading the subtle venom of mistrust and dissatisfaction; you are picking out flaws with the microscope of a lawyer in the proceedings of government; you are cavilling, you are coloring, you are inflaming, you are fomenting groundless discontent; and what is this but to create unnecessary misery? You are painting evils and passing them for real, as you hold them up to those whom, if real, they would affect. This is your chosen office; this is your patriotism; and you revel in the plenitude of your temporary success....Go on then - and treasure up for yourself the recollection of prostituted energies and perverted talents;.....proceed to the great work which you have so happily begun; and if heaven avert not the consequences of your endeavors, you may yet perhaps smile at the ruin which is around you, and exclaim with genuine

satisfaction and unrepressed rapture- 'I have contributed to this.'"[1]

The reaction of the assembly was quick, Lee moving that the letter was false and a libel, and it was ordered that Cary should be taken into custody. He, however, was not found, and once again escaped the grasp of his opponents. It is related also that on another occasion, when the speaker's warrant had been issued for his apprehension, "he remained concealed till the close of the session in a secret apartment ingeniously constructed in his residence, and from this hiding place poured forth his philippics upon his opponents, like a high tory and amiable Marat - we say amiable, for he was a man of decided benevolence at heart."[2]

Cary, in the face of such persecution, continued to publish his journal with due regularity until his death in 1823, when the Mercury was taken over by his son, and years later by his grandson, who relinquished it only towards the close of the century.

In Montreal there had been developments also. Nahum Mower, of Windsor, Vermont, had moved to Montreal in 1807, bringing with him as one of his apprentices Stephen Miles, who was later to take a very active part innthe journalism of Upper Canada. Mower commenced printing the Canadian Courant soon after his arrival on this side of the border

1. History of Canada - Kingsford - Vol VIII p.245-246.
2. Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.65.

and he achieved a good deal of success as a printer and publisher.[1]

It was an unfortunate fact for Mower - for he had been born in Worcester, Massassachusettes - that the war with the States broke out a few years after his arrival in Montreal.

The Courant survived the troubled times, however, though the centenary number of the Gazette, printed at the time of the editorship of J.S. Brierley, hints that this was probably due to support from across the line. "That Benjamin Franklin's journalistic venture in Montreal was subsidized by American government we know;" states the Herald, adding, "there is no direct evidence tha Nahum Mower.....was similarly supported, but it remains a rather remarkable fact that the Canadian Courant should have existed successfully for a quarter of a century in a community where there were so few evidences of sympathy for the nation to which its owner belonged, and where a war was actually going on against that nation during almost half of the first decads of the paper's life."[2] On the other hand Thomas White once took the Courant as typifying the spirit of loyalty during the war of 1812, drawing attention to some patriotic reprints taken from the Quebec Gazette, and to a poetical "admonition to the Yankees" which said, in one of its sixteen stanzas:

1. White in "Newspapers", 1883, p.11, gives 1806 as the date of the first Courant.
2. Montreal Herald, March 15, 1913, p.3.

Facsimile of First Page of Oldest Copy Extant of The Herald

THE MONTREAL HERALD

ANIMOS NOVITATE TENEBO.—OVID.

Printed and Publiſhed by William Gray.

Three Dollars per Annum.] SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 28, 1812. [VOL. I —N° 24.

AGENTS.

Mr. James Barnard, . . .	*Quebec*
Mr. Edward Sills	*Three-Rivers*
Mr. A. Graves, Poſt-Office,	*Wm. Henry.*
Louis Olivier, Eſq. . . .	*Berthier*
Jacques Lacombe, Eſq. . .	*L'Aſſomption*
Meſſrs. M'Kenzie, Oldham & Co.	*Terrebonne*
T. C. Drollet, Eſq. . . .	*St. Marc*
James McCumming, Eſq. .	*Dorcheſter.*
Mr. G. Wood	*Cornwall*
A. & W. Morris, . . .	*Elizabeth-town.*
Thomas Markland, Eſq. .	*Kingston.*

HART LOGAN

HAS FOR SALE,

Fifty cheſts beſt SOUCHONG TEA

Ten hhds. fine Martinique SUGAR.

A quantity of Spaniſh WINE.

Jamaica SPIRITS, of excellent flavor.

A parcel of CORK WOOD,

SHOE THREAD, &c.

The whole cheap for Caſh or ſhort credit.

Montreal, 31st Oct. 1811.

For Sale by the Subſcribers,

30 caſes aſſorted Cotton Hoſiery.
15 do. do. Worſted Stocking Web.
20 bales do. coloured Flannels.
12 do. do. do. Bombazettes.
10 do. do. do. Kerſeymeres.
9 bales printed Callicoes, and Callicoe Check.
4 do. Ferrets.
10 bales 9-8ths Scotch Sheeting.

The above goods being imported for the New York and Boſton markets, are well worth the attention of merchants engaged in that trade.

PARKER, GERARD, OGILVY & Co.

Montreal, Nov. 2d. 1811.

TO LET,

For ONE YEAR from the 1ſt May next,

THE extenſive and well-known Premiſes, No. 33, St. Paul-Street, preſently occupied by the Subſcribers.

THOS. A. TURNER & Co.

Montreal, 30th Nov. 1811.

CHEAP STOVES FOR SALE

BY

Adam L. Macnider.

Montreal, [illegible]th Nov. 1811.

FOR SALE.

A Valuable FARM, ſituate on the river St. Lawrence, about three miles below Cornwall, containing 750 acres of land, ſixty of which are under improvement, with a Frame-Houſe, two ſtories high, Barn, and other buildings thereon erected. An indiſputable title will be given. For further particulars enquire of Captain JOSEPH ANDERSON, Cornwall, or the ſubſcriber.

OGDEN.

Montreal, 9th Jan. 1812.

ADVERTISEMENT.

For SALE, or to Let, and poſſeſſion given the firſt of May next,

THAT HOUSE, pleaſantly ſituated on the Place d'Armes, the property of Doctor Henry Loedel ALSO,

To LET, and poſſeſſion given immediately, that Houſe and Garden in the rear of the Quebec Suburbs, occupied laſt ſummer by Doctor Loedel. For particulars apply to

[illegible] 10th, 1812. JAMES WOOLRICH.

Cloths and Caſſimeres

FOR SALE BY

ABRAHAM SCHOFIELD,

No. 70, St Paul Street,

440 Pieces of fine, and middling fine Cloths and Caſſimeres, conſiſting of Black, Blue, Olive, Drab, Brown, Light, and Dark Mixture. The above goods will be ſold at a low price for caſh.

Any perſon wiſhing to purchaſe, may apply to the above-mentioned place.

Montreal, 28th Dec. 1811.

TO BE LET,

THE two-ſtory fire-proof Building at the Old Diſtillery, at preſent occupied by Mr. Holt, inſpector of aſhes—poſſeſſion given on 1ſt May next.——ALSO,

THE MONTREAL THEATRE—poſſeſſion to be given in November next.

LIKEWISE, an OFFICE adjoining the Subſcriber's auction-room, preſently in the occupation of Mr Kay—poſſeſſion to be given on 1ſt May next.—— For terms inquire of

M. C. CUVILLIER & Co.

February, 1812.

Advertiſement.

NOTICE is hereby given that WILLIAM LAMOUR, an elderly negro man, has been diſcharged from my ſervice. All perſons are warned not to deliver any articles to him on my account, as I will not be reſponſible

This man is well known, having formerly lived ſome time at the Hoſpital of l'Hotel Dieu.

March 14. MARY DONNELLAN.

WANTED at this Office, a FRENCH COMPOSITOR, capable of conducting a Weekly Paper in that language. A liberal Salary will be given

L'ON a annoncé dans le Proſpectus du mois de Septembre dernier, qu'on ſe propoſoit de publier une édition Françoiſe de ce papier, auſſitôt qu'il ſeroit poſſible ; afin que les ſujets de Sa Majeſté, qui n'entendent pas l'Anglois, puiſſent avoir dans leur langue un papier, qui les mit en état de connoître les affaires et les évenements politiques, qui ſe paſſent actuellement. Si jamais, ce ſemble, l'on ait dû déſirer une publication de cette eſpèce, c'eſt ſans doute dans les circonſtances où nous nous trouvons menacés d'une invaſion de la part de nos voiſins les Américains, expoſés à perdre un Gouvernement auſſi heureux qu'eſt le nôtre, à voir détruire, notre religion, nos loix, nos coutumes, et nos privilèges. Rien, ſans doute, ne ſeroit plus utile qu'un papier, qui indiqueroit les moyens de nous aſſurer la conſervation de tous ces avantages.

Mais comme une publication de cette nature exige de grandes dépenſes, l'encouragement du public nous eſt néceſſaire pour ſubvenir aux frais de l'impreſſion. Nous commencerons auſſitôt que le nombre de ſouſcripteurs ſera aſſez grand pour pouvoir l'entreprendre ; et nous l'aurions déjà fait, ſi nous euſſions eu de l'encouragement ; mais le nombre de ceux qui ſe ſont annoncés eſt ſi peu conſidérable, qu'il nous a été impoſſible de le faire. Cependant nous ne ſommes pas entièrement découragés, la propoſition eſt encore faite au public.

On recevra les Souſcriptions à l'Imprimerie, vis-à-vis le Bureau de Poſte en cette Ville, et chez tous les Agents de ce Papier comme déjà annoncé ; et le prix ſera de Quatre Piaſtres par année, payable de même manière que le Papier Anglois.

The Subſcribers have received by the late Arrivals,

A Conſignment of SADDLERY, conſiſting of the following articles, viz.—
2 ſets of Plated Harneſs, compleat
1 ſet of Tandum, do.
Saddles and Bridles of every deſcription.
Portmanteaus of different ſizes
Saddle Bags
Whips of all ſizes—Surſingles
Spring Girths
Elegant Plated Spurs
Curry combs and Bruſhes
Double and ſingle Saint Helds

ALSO,

10 bales of ſuperfine and common CLOTHS and CASSIMERES.

The whole will be ſold cheap for ready money, or ſhort approved credit.

THOS. A. TURNER & Co.

Montreal, 30th Nov. 1811.

200 Dollars Reward

WHEREAS the Subſcriber's Store was BROKE OPEN either on Saturday or Sunday Night laſt, and THIRTY-FOUR CHESTS of TEA were ſtolen from thence. Whoever will give ſuch information as will lead to a Diſcovery where the ſame may be found, ſhall receive the above Reward, and the informers name will be kept ſecret, if required.

ALEXANDER HENRY.

Twelve Cheſts of the above were branded G III R—and the remainder were without brand, but were of the cargoes of the ſhips Beaver and America, of the year 1811.

Montreal, 29th February, 1812.

C. BROOKE

HAS received by the BIRKBY, and other arrivals, 200 packages ſeaſonable

DRY GOODS,

part of which were put up for the American market; compriſing ſuperfine and common Broad Cloths, blue, drab, and mixture Plains, and Forreſt Cloths, Caſſimeres, Brunſwick Cord, Swandowns, Fluſhings, white, red and yellow Flannels, Point and Duffield Blankets, Chintzes, and Callicoes, &c. &c.

The above Goods are offered at reduced prices, by the package, for Caſh, or approved Credit.—Application to be made at the ſtore lately occupied by Mr. Robert Froſte, or to

Meſſrs. E. & J. SANFORD.

Montreal, 15th Nov. 1811.

TO LET,

A SMALL HOUSE at the corner of St Vincent and St. Thereſe ſtreets, oppoſite the houſe of John Reid, Eſq. well adapted for a ſtore or office. Apply to

HENDERSON, ARMOUR & Co.

CASH

FOR *FLAXSEED*, and the *higheſt market-price* will be paid by H. CORSE, No. 72, St. Paul Street, who has for ſale a general aſſortment of PAINTS, OIL, PUTTY, and WINDOW GLASS.

Montreal, Jan. 17, 1812.

THOMAS TORRANCE

RETURNS his ſincere acknowledgments for the liberal encouragement he has had ſince he commenced buſineſs in this city; and reſpectfully informs his friends and the public, that he has REMOVED his WHOLESALE and RETAIL STORE to his New Houſe,

No. 115, St. Paul Street,

nearly oppoſite the Hoſpital Church, between Mr Woolrich and Mr Shuter's, where he continues to have on hand a conſtant ſupply of

WINES, SPIRITS, & GROCERIES,

on the moſt reaſonable terms.

He ſolicits a continuance of their favours.

All orders from country merchants, taverners, and private families, will be executed with the [illegible] attention and diſpatch.

Montreal, 3d Feb. 1812.

THE Subſcribers have for Sale a cheſt containing a very neat ſmall aſſortment for a family, of Silver and cut Glaſſware, plated Candleſticks, and Branches; Knives and Forks, &c. which will be diſpoſal of on low terms, the proprietor having gone to England, and the articles have been little uſed.—Likewiſe a ſmall aſſortment of very choice Books, imported from London this year, will be diſpoſed of low, and are well worth the attention of any one who wiſhes to form a private library.

They have alſo for Sale—Flour, Beef and Pork, in barrels—double and ſingle F. Gunpowder, and [illegible] Merchandiſe received on conſignments.

FORSYTH, RICHARDSON & Co.

Montreal, Jan. 4, 1812.

FOR SALE,

THAT extenſive and deſirable FARM, delightfully ſituated on the banks of the St. Lawrence, at La Chine, the property of F. Las-promenade, Eſq. compriſing a valuable and productive Orchard, with two dwelling Houſes and ſeveral other buildings, &c. &c.

The terms will be very convenient as the major part of the purchaſe money may remain on mortgage for ſeveral years paying the intereſt. For particulars apply to the proprietor on the premiſes or to the ſubſcriber at Montreal.

March [illegible] FRANCIS BADGLEY, Agt.

Agency and Commiſſion Buſineſs tranſacted as uſual.

30[illegible] [illegible] Tubes SALT, of a [illegible] quality. Just received and [illegible] by [illegible] ALD & STEWART, Notre-Dame Street.

FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE,

BLANK NOTARIAL DEEDS, in French, Alſo, WRITING PAPER, of various kinds, *Quills, Ink Powder, Wafers, &c. &c.*

New Soup Rooms.

PALMER & CO. FROM QUEBEC,

PASTRY COOKS AND CONFECTIONERS,

RESPECTFULLY inform their friends and the inhabitants in general, that they have commenced buſineſs in the Houſe formerly occupied by the late Colonel JOHNSON, in Notre Dame ſtreet, where they reſpectfully ſolicit, [illegible] the public favor.

Refreſhments of various kinds every day.

N.B. Families ſupplied with every article in the above line, at the ſhorteſt notice, and on the moſt reaſonable terms.

Montreal, [illegible]th Marh, 1812.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE undersigned gives public notice that she has formed a commercial establishment in this city under the firm of

MARY C. CUVILLIER & CO.

and that she also intends, on her own responsibility, to carry on the different branches of

Auctioneering, Brokerage, and Agency.

The punctuality, attention, and impartiality, with which it is intended this establishment shall be characterized, will render it advantageous to those who may be inclined to have Goods disposed of by private or public sale, and for the transaction of General Agency and Commission business.

MARY C. CUVILLIER.

FIRE-PROOF STORAGE.

well adapted for Flour, Pork, or other valuable property.

Montreal, 24th April. 1811.

NOTICE

ANY information of the place of reſidence of the following perſons, will be thankfully received at this office.

Joſ. Vaiſancourt, a maſon—Bapt. Latourelle, a voyageur—Edward Anderſon, joiner—Auguſtin Bellow, maſon—Louis Brindamour—Louis Charier, blackſmith—David Walt, farmer—Jacob Omier—Joſ. Turquot—Pic. Conuillard.

FOR THE MONTREAL HERALD.

An Extract of a History of North-America, publiſhed at Boſton in the year

1850.

WE are now arrived at a period of our hiſtory where it may be uſeful to ſtop for a moment, in order to compare the different adminiſtrations which directed the public affairs of the nation during the twenty-four years which had elapſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Federal Conſtitution. Of Waſhington, we may emphatically repeat what was anciently ſaid of Epaminandas, that "while he lived, his country uniformly proſpered; but after his death, it began immediately to decline." This great man obſerved the ſtricteſt neutrality towards the belligerent powers of Europe; he was neither to be frightened with threats, nor blinded with promiſes: he had only one object in view, the good of his country, which rendered his intercourſe exceedingly ſimple with foreign nations, and commanded their reſpect. He diſcharged the office of Preſident for eight years with ſo much dignity and firmneſs, liberality and foreſight, that he threw a temporary luſtre over his native land. His wiſe meaſures gave a ſhew of ſtability to the conſtitution, notwithſtanding its numerous inherent defects: for ſuch were his [illegible] and influence, that during his adminiſtration, the form of government appeared to many nations, as well as the Fredonians, the moſt perfect that had ever been deviſed. The civil departments of ſtate were eſtabliſhed on a proper foundation.—Proviſion was made for the adminiſtration of juſtice; if not in a ſplendid, at leaſt in an independent manner; and public credit, which had been entirely deſtroyed by the old confederation, and the abſurd meaſures of the ſtate governments, was again reſtored. The debt contracted in the revolutionary war was funded, and meaſures taken to enſure the regular diſcharge of the intereſt, and the gradual extinction of the capital: and as it was not to be ſuppoſed, that in the preſent ſtate of the world, any nation could remain always at peace a ſyſtem of internal taxation, independent of foreign commerce, was matured and carried into effect. Indeed, every thing was done under the auſpices of Waſhington, that wiſdom could ſuggeſt, to make a very bad form of government appear good; and [illegible] Europe, to be the moſt delightful region of the globe—a land flowing with milk and honey—the favorite reſidence of freedom and happineſs. Theſe appearances were kept up for nearly twelve years with ſingular addreſs; for altho' Mr. Adams had neither the talents nor virtues of Waſhington, the government had received ſuch an impetus, that its courſe of proſperity did not immediately ſtop.

In the thirteenth year of the Conſtitution, Mr. Jefferſon was ſeated in the chair of ſtate. It was well known that this gentleman's views of policy, differed widely from thoſe of his two predeceſſors. He had always oppoſed the Conſtitution, and he was now ſworn to maintain inviolate what he had never ceaſed to condemn. How the great majority of the Fredonians, who ſtill loved their form of government, could expect to bind their new Preſident and his aſſociates, by oath and duty, to ſupport and recommend to confidence what they had blaſted with ſuſpicion, is not eaſy to conjecture. Certain it is, that Mr. Jefferſon and his friends acted more conſiſtently: they choſe not to enforce what they had reſiſted, but haſtened to introduce thoſe favorite meaſures by which the federal government was at length overturned. In doing this, they proceeded with that low cunning which characterizes little minds: they durſt not avow their meaſures, but they contrived to make them appear acts of neceſſity. The Frediſh ſeem, during the reign of Mr. Jefferſon, to have been groſsly deceived; for they ſuppoſed themſelves divided into two parties nearly equal in numbers, both equally attached to Fredonia, and equally diſpoſed to defend her againſt aggreſſion. They never dreamed that a few demagogues had acquired ſuch a power over the republican, which was now the dominant party, as to induce them to act as they directed. Theſe deſperate demagogues, goaded by avarice or ambition, traduced the beſt men of the nation; and by relating the moſt infamous falſhoods concerning them, rendered them hateful to the people. By purſuing this plan, they very ſoon ſucceeded in driving the wiſe, the virtuous and the good, from public life. Every day the newſpapers announced that ſome ſenator had reſigned, or ſome reſpectable character refuſed to be returned to the State Aſſemblies, or to Congreſs. There is a timidity in virtue itſelf, which becomes, in perilous times, exceedingly pernicious. The friends of the conſtitution, men of great abilities, of wealth and power, inſtead of rallying round it when its enemies acquired the direction of the government, retired to private life and left their opponents on the field.

From the centenary number of the Montreal Herald, March 15, 1913, At the top of the sheet there is the printer's name, as well as the subscription rate, the date of publication, and the number. This early Herald is distinctly better than the first Halifax Gazette. The date, 1850, in the right hand top country is evidently a misprint. (To go with page 131)

"Friend Jonathan desperate that day'll be to thee.
American pride will then be laid low,
Our wooden walls battery with terror you'll see,
And in anguish regret all your blood that must flow."[1]

The Courant was not above the average newspaper of its day, and it disappeared from view a few years before the revolution.

The next important development after the commencement of Mower's Courant was the establishment of the Montreal Herald, a paper which, with a fluctuating career, has existed down to the present day. William Gray, born at Huntley, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, on August 12, 1789, left for Canada in 1811, and, with the enterprise and hopefulness of a young man of twenty-two, he had commenced publication of the Montreal Herald before he had been in Montreal for six months. The first copy appeared on October 19, 1811,[2] and "it is fairly certain that in naming his new venture the Herald, William Gray had in mind the great Glasgow Herald - the first newspaper to assume a national character in Scotland - founded in 1782. His own city of Aberdeen did not then boast any newspaper of eminent rank after which he could name his Montreal print. He started with one hundred and seventy subscribers, and tradition has it that part at least of the money for the purchase of the press was provided by the Rev.Mr.Strachan, in which case we have the assurance of the editor a year

1. White, "Newspapers", p.11.
2. For many years the date was given as being 3 years earlier.

or two later that it had been repaid."[1] The Herald started life as a weekly, with a subscription price of four dollars per annum, and its early growth was one of great rapidity. Upon the occasion of its third anniversary, the publisher of the Herald issued the following statement:

> "This publication began under circumstances not very flattering. It was supposed that a third journal would have little chance of meeting support, that the talents engaged in the two which had long been established would baffle our best efforts. Our printing apparatus was very inferior to those of our neighbors. Added to these considerations we had little or no capital to second our endeavors. Notwithstanding every discouragement we undertook the task with 170 subscribers; 150 of them were citizens of this good town. After two years exertions, the original number was considerably more than trebled, and during the last ten months, 489 names have been added to our lists; so that the weekly distribution rather exceeds 1,000 impressions."[2]

But the entire credit for the Herald's early success must not be given to Gray alone, for from the very beginnings of the enterprise he was aided by Mungo Kay,

1. Montreal Herald, Mar.15,1913. p.6.
2. " " " 15,1913. p.7.

who had been for several years a Montreal merchant, and who was but four years older than Gray himself. Gray, though he had been in the country only a few months, served in the war of 1812-1814, and at the conclusion of the struggle he deemed himself sufficiently versed in military scandal to utter a scathing attack upon Sir George Provost, charging him with mismanagement of war operations. The semi-official press, headed by the Quebec Gazette, placed itself on the side of officialdom and for a time the Herald was cut off from its outside subscribers by the refusal to deliver the paper through the mails. This action was "followed by bills of indictment, found by the Grand Jury in March, 1815, against the editor and printer for libel on the Commander-in-Chief; but the war was now over. Sir George was recalled to England and the case never came to trial."[1]

During the next few years the Herald began to develop a policy of plain speaking, and, according to the journalistic usage of the day, this was done largely through the means of letters addressed to the editor, these letters being written by the members of the editorial staff and by occasional contributors, among whom were often found men of exceptional ability. This custom prevailed down into the thirties, when editorials, as such, became more common, and the letter method declined to some extent.

1. Montreal Herald, March 15,1913. p.7.

Mungo Kay was connected actively with the Herald until the time of his death in 1818, and it is in the following obituary notice printed in the Montreal Gazette for September 9th, of that year, that we find most of the slender information regarding Kay:

"We are sorry to perform the melancholy duty of announcing to our readers the death of Mr. Mungo Kay, Editor of the Montreal Herald. He departed this life on Sunday last (6th September) at the age of forty-three years, regretted by all his acquaintances. His funeral was attended by a numerous concourse of the most respectable citizens. Mr. Kay had long been a respectable merchant of this city. It is now nearly seven years since he became editor of the Herald. To him in a great degree the paper owes its birth; and it is but doing justice to his memory to say that his talents and indefatigable industry have made it at least one of the most entertaining journals of the two Provinces. His judicious selections, his unwearied research and his efforts to obtain the earliest intelligence have more than justified his choice of motto - 'Animos novitate tenebo.'"[1]

Dr. A.J. Christie and Henry Driscoll succeeded Kay in rapid succession. But William Gray, the founder, died on February 28, 1822, as the result of catching a cold while making a hurried journey from Toronto to Montreal, when he heard that the office of the Herald had been attacked by those who were not pleased with the tone of the

1. Reade in Canada, Hopkins, Vol.V. p.150

paper. Although Mrs. Gray, who died in 1823, nominally controlled the paper for a short time after her husband's death, the foundation period was really at a close, and fromtthen on it was to pass through a number of hands, and experience varying success. But Gray and Kay had accomplished a great deal for Montreal journalism in the few years of their newspaper activity and their names deserve to be remembered, because of what they did.

Archibald Ferguson, who acquired the Herald from the Gray estate, deserves brief mention, for during his regime, which lasted until 1833, he not only controlled the Herald, but also published the New Montreal Gazette, a weekly journal devoted chiefly to matters of literature.[1] It was during Ferguson's editorship that John Dougall, who was later to found the Montreal Witness, first came before the public as a contributor to Ferguson's paper.

The year that Ferguson retired from the Herald - that is 1833 - is an important one in Canadian journalistic history, for it was then that the first daily in the Dominion was published. H.S. Chapman, a self-educated Englishman, was its editor and its place of publication was Montreal. The paper itself did not survive for any length of time, for Chapman returned to England and the next year "received an appointment as a parliamentary commissioner and afterwards became Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand and Colonial Secretary of Tasmania."[2]

(1 and 2 references on next page.)

One of the first known penny papers in the province also appeared at the same time. It was the Montreal Transcript, founded as a tri-weekly in 1835 by a young man named Wilson. At the end of three weeks, through the failure of its founder, it fell into the hands of its printer, John Lovell, who having accepted the title in payment of the debt due him," succeeded in getting the late Robert Johnson,Esq., of the Ordnance office to edit the Transcript. The paper proved a commercial success. In 1836, the late Donald McDonald became the owner, and continued its publication with satisfactory compensation as a daily, tri-weekly and weekly until July 1865, when he sold to Messrs. Gibson and McGrath."[1]

References:

1. There is a copy of the first volume of this paper in the Redpath Library. Its first number is dated July 16, 1827, and was printed and published by A. Ferguson, No.15 Notre Dame Street. It was an eight page publication and its contents, though largely literary, included a fair amount of news. The beginnings of the modern editorial column can be seen in this paper, the full title of which was, "The New Montreal Gazette and Canada Literary, Political and Historical Register."

2. McKim's Directory, 1892, page 37.

3. This account is given in "Newspapers" (White) p.13. It is the most accurate of a number of varying statements on the Transcript and was obtained from Mr. Lovell himself.

Though there had been consistent advancement in the two centres of the province - Quebec and Montreal - the same cannot be said of the country districts. In the majority of cases the villages that were by now beginning to thrive had to depend upon the city papers, that is with a very few exceptions. Before 1840 there were at the most four country papers of any importance,one of the earliest and one of the best being the British Colonist and St. Francis Gazette, published by S.H. Dickerson, at Stanstead, which is on the border line of the State of Vermont. Dickerson issued his first number on May 1, 1823, and in his opening salutation to the public, he said: "The British Colonist will be conducted upon the strictest principles of Patriotism and its columns will always have for their object the general good of the settlement." The publisher also stated that through the medium of his paper he would urge the advancement of agriculture and education. The Colonist was published on Thursdays, at the rate of two and a half dollars a year, though at the commencement of volume three there is found a notice stating that payment, at a slightly higher rate, would be received in wheat,corn or oats. Close attention is paid to news from the various portions of the colonies and there are numerous clippings from contemporary publications, which indicate clearly the more important journals of the day.[1]

The Farmers' and Mechanics' Journal and Eastern Townships Gazette,later known briefly as the Sherbrooke Gazette,was established in Sherbrooke, then only a village, by Walton and Gaylord in 1834, remaining under the same proprietors until 1870.[2]

1-Description from Redpath Library copy.See also Appendix B.
2-History of Can. Journalism (Press Assoc.) p.150-51

The Missisquoi Standard appeared in 1835 and, edited by James Moir Ferres for the first year of its existence, combatted the so-called radical ideas then rampant in the province. Ferres, leaving the Standard, joined the Herald and later purchased the Montreal Gazette.

There was also a paper published at Three Rivers but its appearance seems to have been irregular.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

Even remembering the slow growth of journalism in Quebec during the eighteenth century, it is not a startling fact that in the decade before the revolution of 1837-38 numerous papers of all sorts and kinds, came into existence. Nor is it startling to learn further that most of these papers lived for only a few months and then disappeared. For these journals, largely French-Canadian, were established for controversial purposes. The connection of the Quebec press with the revolution is a fascinating topic and worthy of a thesis in itself; and, as this thesis discusses English journalism solely, it cannot hope to treat the subject even in broad sweeps. But, as the English papers allied themselves on this side and that, and as each paper made sweeping attacks upon its contemporaries, a short space must be devoted to this fruitful period.

In the city of Quebec, there were, it will be remembered, two outstanding English papers, Cary's Mercury and Neilson's Gazette. The former has already been described as Tory and Anglican in the extreme and consequently it is scarcely necessary to say on which side it stood concerning revolutionary matters. Cary was anti-French, anti-radical, and anti-Gazette. And though he was on the side of the minority, he did not mind declaring his stand.

Neilson, on the other hand, published a semi-official paper for many years and in consequence was a supporter of the government until his paper was free from these shackles. This occurred in 1823 when the office of King's Printer was transferred from Neilson's son, who was then in nominal control of the Gazette, to another printer of the city. From then on the Gazette did not always agree with government policies but Neilson never wavered in his sympathetic appreciation of the French-Canadians as a people, though he parted company with the radical leaders, who advocated violence and separation. In the earlier days Neilson, who had been elected to the provincial assembly in 1818, was a firm friend of Papineau. Papineau and Neilson were delegates to the British Parliament in 1823 as opponents to the scheme of union which was then being promoted and in the joint letter which they wrote to R. Wilmot, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, there is little to indicate the path which Papineau was later to follow. Within the next ten years Neilson and Papineau had parted company.

The breach finally came in 1833, when Neilson denounced Papineau in the House on the grounds that the latter was advocating the overthrow of the constitution and, after breaking away from the mother country, a subsequent alliance with the United States. The consequence of Neilson's separation from his party was the loss of his seat in the house, after representing the County of Quebec for fifteen years. His son, moreover, broken under the strain of publishing the Gazette, which had become a daily in 1832, died in 1835, and though the elder Neilson was well on in years he resumed the editorship of the paper. It can well be imagined that 1837 and 1838 were trying years for newspaper editors in the province but throughout this period Neilson "was found true to those loyal

principles, which he had always inculcated - recommending order and obedience to the laws, and respect to the constituted authorities..... He still showed himself the firm and constant friend of the French Canadians, and maintained that the mass of the people were untainted by disloyalty or disaffection. He was, in truth, attached to them as a people - he loved to talk of their primitive manners and customs, their simple character and habits, and the peculiar changes and occurrences of their history; for their clergy,too, he entertained a high respect; which respect was returned with equal respect and regard, on their part, which followed him, it is believed, to the last moments of his life, and still attends his memory."[1]

Briefly digressing it may be recorded here that Neilson opposed the Union of the Provinces until he saw that further attacks were futile; and that in the latter part of his life he entered the Legislative Council. As a journalist he was active to the last day of his life, writing two remarkable articles for the Gazette of January 31,1848. On February the first he died having been connected with the Gazette for fifty years.

In Montreal the situation as far as newspapers were concerned was, if anything, more acute. The Vindicator, under the fiery Dr. Tracey and La Minerve, under M.Morin, were the chief supporters of the Papineau party, while on the other side were lined a group of newspapers that acted without co-operation and often with enmity towards each other. These included the Herald, Courier and the Gazette, whowere openly suspicious of each other's motives.

The beginning of the reign of journalistic violence is found after the first qu arter of the century had passed. By 1830 it was rising to a height. Just when the Vindicator was first published I do not know; it could not have been much before 1832. In that year its editor was a Dr. Tracey, an Irishman, extreme in his views and

1-Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.293.

violent in his expression of them. In May a vacancy had occurred in the west ward of Montreal and Tracey was brought forward by La Minerve to run against a Mr. Bagg, who has been described as a mild mannered merchant. The election ended in a riot, during which three of the crowd were killed by the troops that had been called out. Tracey was elected by a majority of three but never took his seat as he died that summer, a victim of cholera. The report of the unfortunate incident given in La Minerve shows how the spirit of hatred was spreading and how the newspapers were eager to snatch up material for propaganda instead of keeping to a sober and thoughtful course. La Minerve said, in part: "Il est difficile de n'être pas convaincu qu'on avait le désir de faire un massacre général. Il est clairement prouvé que la faction ennemie des Canadiens se préparait à cette atrocité depuis longtemps....Il y a 30 ans le parti que nous combattons aujourd'hui voulait déja nous fusiller...On aurait voulu aussi faire tuer M.Tracey..... Les meurtriersouvrirent les yeux,ou plutôt leur rage se trouva assouvie (sic.). Des partisans de M.Bagg s'approchèrent des cadavres en riant et regardèrent avec unejoie féroce le sang canadien qui ruisselait dans la rue. On les a vus donner la main,se féliciter,et regretter que le nombre des morts ne fût pas plus grand...N'oublions jamais le massacre de nos frères...Que les noms des pervers qui ont tracé,, conseillé, exécuté cet attentat soient inscrits dans nos annales,voués à l'infamie et à l'exécration." (La Minerve, 24th May,1832.)[1] Tracey in January of the year of his death had been imprisoned with Duvernay of La Minerve, for statements published in their papers.

1-History of Canada,Kingsford,Vol.IX,p.484

This bitterness continued to exist and is found even in the papers of the highest order. Peculiarly enough one of these better papers, the Morning Courier, has received practically no attention from historians or writers on Canadian journalism, nd yet it was an excellent paper, well edited, showing nearly all the modern tendencies, and abounding in news of the day.[1] I have seen only one volume of it, including numbers for part of the year 1837 and part of 1838, but this was sufficient to make me believe that it must have been a paper somewhat in advance of its time. It not only included the more conventional news of the day, but also sporting news, theatrical news, and book reviews. Moreover, it was published as a daily for six months of the year as early as 1837, while in the other six months - that is from the first of November to the first of May - it appeared on Mondays and Wednesdays. A special country edition was also issued. The terms for the Courier were six dollars a year in town and eight dollars if sent by mail.[2]

The Courier first appeared in 1834 and its later numbers at least bear the motto from Seneca,"Optimus est Reipublicae status, ubi nihil deest nisi licentia pereundi." In 1837 it was being printed "for the Proprietors by Rollo Campbell,St.Francois Xavier Street," but on May 8, of the same year, the name of James Ellis appeared as printer and publisher. Further light is shed on the management by the issue for April 3, 1837, for in that number "the Patrons of the Morning Courier are respectfully informed that the Editorial department of the Journal will in future be conducted by Dr. Barber, late of Harvard University. "Barber, in his opening

1-See Appendix C
2-From copy in Redpath Library.

editorial showed that he must have been a man of more than the ordinary ability, for it was cleverly and forcefully written. His first editorial concluded: "As Britons, we must be alive to the degradation of that branch of the Legislature which is supposed emphatically, to represent the people - but, as the inhabitants of a British Colony, we must rejoice that power should be withheld from a party whose policy it has been to oppress the British resident, and to repair respect for British authority."

The editor of the Vindicator,[1] at this time, was a Dr.O'Callaghan, who finally sought safety across the line, and neither his paper nor La Minerve received a great deal of mercy from the Courier. In the editorial column, in the correspondence column, and in the news column, the supporters of revolution were attacked continually, sometimes jocularly, sometimes bitterly. For instance, in the issue of April 24, 1837, the editor of the Courier reprinted this article from the Vindicator, adding the bracketed material as a satirical attack on what had gone before: "Henceforth, there must be no peace in the Province, no quarters for the plunderers. Agitate! Agitate!! Agitate!!! Everything is lawful when our fundamental liberties are in danger. 'The guards die; they never surrender.' "(Fudge! Fudge!! Fudge!!!)

Not content with disagreeing with the Vindicator and La Minerve, and with carrying on controversies with American papers, the Courier also had to poke ridicule at the Herald. The Courier descfibed the Herald as "ultra-tory" and even consented to print a letter comparing the Herald and the Vindicator,"Why is the Herald like the Vindicator?"

1-The office of the Vindicator was wrecked in the riots of November 9,1837,O'Callaghan fleeing with Papineau and Nelson to St. Denis on the Richelieu.

asked the correspondent, 'Piccolomini.' "Do you give it up? Because it makes a great many radicals.- The only difference being, that the Herald makes twelve times as many as the Vindicator,- because why? Because the Vindicator only uses arguments and facts, and the Herald deals in abuse and insult."[1]

During the campaign against the revolutionists in the closing months of 1837 the Courier printed full accounts of the proceedings and even went to the extent of publishing extras containing the latest news. The Courier continued to appear for some years after the years of trouble, but as numbers of it are scarce,I do not know the exact date of its cessation.

Though the Courier might seem severe to-day in its attitude, the Herald and the Gazette were harsher in tone. Of the two papers the former was the more important then, for on its staff were several brilliant men, who raised the paper to the highest possible level. Robert Weir, a young Scotman of twenty-four, purchased the Herald in 1833 and guided its destinies through the troubled periods and on until 1843, the date of his death. The columns of the paper even as early as 1835, indicate an attitude distinctly hostile to the government and the French, and as distinctly favourable towards continued alliance with the mother country. But though Weir was the man who controlled the paper, the figure of outstanding interest was Adam Thom, a man with a fascinating career. Born in Scotland about the beginning of the century, Thom received a thorough education before emigrating to Canada in 1832, having studied at King's College, Aberdeen. Shortly after his arrival here, he commenced the publication of a monthly periodical, The Settler; became active in a thriving literary organization known as the

1-Morning Courier,April 3rd, 1837

Beefsteak Club; and energetically entered upon the study of law, being admitted to the bar in 1837.

He was thoroughly trained then for his editorial work on the Herald. Abandoning his monthly, he commenced his newspaper work on the first of January,1835. He was engaged for the specific purpose of combatting the Papineau groups and immediately launched his campaign with no uncertain force. His attacks usually took the form of letters written under a pseudonym, the "Anti-Bureaucrat Letters" and the "Anti-Gallic Letters," being typical. The latter were signed "Camillus" and were addressed to the Earl of Gosford, then Governor-General of Canada, who favoured a concili atory policy, It can be easily imgained that Gosford's policies were distasteful to the more rabid Tories and that Thom's letters were equally distasteful to Gosford. Thom, with the assistance of James Moir Ferres, who came to the Herald from the Missisquoi Standard in 1836, continued his campaign until after the revolution and as his letters not only appeared in the columns of the newspaper, but also were printed in pamphlet form, they exerted a great influence over a period of two years and more. Thom was looked upon as the foremost publicist of the province and as something of a leader among those who were opposed to the movement of Papineau and his followers. In glancing over the writings of Thom it is evident that he was well read, for many of his writings were given over to the review of constitutional history, and political subjects. His works by no means consisted merely of wild ravings; they show careful thought and preparation. Thom forsook journalism and left Montreal after the revolution, when he returned to England in 1838 with Lord Durham, who had requested that he should join his staff. Thom is credited by Morgan and others with having helped compose a good deal

of Durham's famous report.[1] After serving in several official capacities in the Northweat, Thom retired to England in 1845, where he died in 1890.

Naturally there were other papers, besides the ones mentioned, that participated in the controversies of this period. But these were not of sufficient importance to warrant inclusion. The outstanding ones have been dealt with in a general manner and the main journalistic trends of these troubled years have been indicated.

1838 TO CONFEDERATION.

If a detailed account of every paper were given, considerable space could be devoted to the period from 1838 to Confederation. But as this is impossible in a thesis of this nature, a great deal need not be said regarding the activities during these years. Not that Quebec journalism sank into a state of lethargy; it certainly did not, for with the spirit of dissatisfaction and distrust being slowly obliterated by the passing years, the newspapers of the province became settled on a solid basis, growing and mutiplying with the expansion of the communities in which they existed. The mere propagandist sheets disappeared from view; the true newspaper developed. That is the daily journal from 1838 and on, was common; the make-up began to assume a shape something similar to the modern one, though the front pages of most papers were covered with the advertisements; papers allied themselves with political parties; by 1860 telegraph news, from other cities, other countries had become a vital part of the news columns; and a year before - in 1859 - the Canadian Press Association had been organized.

In the two centres of the province - Montreal and Quebec -

1-"We believe that he was the author of a large portion of the celebrated report of Lord Durham" Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p-371

there were few important additions to the ranks of the newspaper. Of the changes in the two cities, the more important were in Montreal.

Sir Francis Hincks, who was known first as a journalist in Upper Canada, came to Montreal in 1843, conducting for a short period a paper known as the Times. His most significant venture however, was found in the Pilot, a paper established in the following year for the specific purpose of supporting the Liberal party and "it did a vast deal in restoring Lafontaine and Baldwin to power."[1] In 1848, upon returning to office, Hincks retired from the press, and the paper passed into the hands of William Bristow as editor and Rollo Campbell, who has been mentioned already for his connection with the Courier as printer. A rapid summing up of this period in Montreal newspaper development was made by Thomas White when he said,"Mr. William Bristow and Mr. Matthew Ryan were both editorial contributors to the Pilot, and the party controversies between it, and the Herald, under the editorship of Mr. David Kinnear, and the Gazette under the editorship of Mr. Abraham, and afterwards of Mr. James Moir Ferres, were very severe. The Courier under the editorship of John Turner, was in those days a vigorously conducted paper of the extreme Tory stripe, and the Commercial Advertiser, under the editorship of that incisive writer, the late Mr. Parsons, was in its time a newspaper of great influence."[2] In politics, Parsons was something of a free-lance but "he became the fiercest of champions for the Southern cause," dreaming of "a powerful Southern Confederacy," and, holding the most formidable pen of his day, "he was dreaded at times by friend as well as foe."[3]

1-Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p-186
2-Newspapers (White) p-13
3-History of Can. Journalism (Press Assoc.) p-155

Established fundamentally as a temperance and religious paper, the Montreal Witness, so well known a generation ago, appeared in 1845 under the direction of John Dougall, who was one of the foremost newspaper writers of the day. Dougall, who had come to this country in 1826, had already been a contributor to the Herald and was known to the public as a man of ability. The Witness in the beginning was published as a weekly but in 1860 it entered the daily field. It exercised great weight during this period of its life, and also during the earlier portions of the regime of the founder's son, John Redpath Dougall, who controlled the paper from 1870. The unfortunate period of decline did not come until the twentieth century.

Although long since forgotten by the reading public, there is another paper that must be mentioned for its historical interest if for nothing else. That is the New Era, established by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the famous Canadian statesman, in May, 1857. The political career of McGee is too well known to necessitate dwelling upon it here, but in this year when the one hundreth anniversary of his birth is being celebrated little mention has been made of McGee, the journalist. Yet from his earliest days he was active in newspaper work. Almost immediately upon his arrival in America he joined the newspaper press of Boston; later Daniel O'Connell offered him a position on the editorial staff of the Freeman's Journal,Dublin, which he accepted; then on his return to the States, he published two newspapers in succession, the New York Nation and the American Celt; and finally, in the year of his arrival in Montreal, he commenced the New Era. The paper did not have a long life, for McGee, turning his attention to public life, was lost to the newspaper world.

The last few years before the province united into the Dominion

saw the Gazette under the control of Ferres; witnessed the rise of the Hon.E.Goff Penny, who for two decades - from 1861 to 1881 - was looked upom as the leading Canadian journalist, with the exception of George Brown; and saw the commencement of the first great financial collapse in Montreal's newspaper world. This resulted from the fact that Gibson and McGrath, who had purchased the Transcript in 1865, continued its publication at a heavy loss. This lasted until December, 1866, when "John Lovell being the printer was compelled to assume the liabilities, and was induced by fine promises to continue the Daily Transcript under the title of Daily News. He also continued the Weekly Transcript. He risked a large sum of money in publishing both papers."[1] The"fine promises" were not kept; six years later Lovell had dropped the two publications with a loss of sixty thousand dollars.

In Quebec, those two time-tested journals, the Gazette, and the Mercury, continued to appear with due regularity. In 1838 the Gazette had become a daily,publishing alternately in French and English but in 1842 the use of French was discontinued. The Hon, John Neilson controlled the paper until thetime of his death in 1848, when it passed out of the Neilson family, who had directed it for well over half a century, into the hands of Middleton. But Robert Middleton, born at Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1810, was a worthy successor, for when he became editor and part owner of the Gazette, he had been connected with it, under Neilson, for nearly a quarter of a century. With Dawson as a partner, Middleton continued the publication of the Gazette with marked success, so that on June 21, 1864, a centenary number of Quebec's oldest paper was issued. It is an interesting

1-Newspapers (White) p - 13

number, containing an abundance of historical material. The Gazette continued to appear until after Confederation, when, in 1874, it was absorbed by the Chronicle, though it continued to appear as a weekly under its own name. It is only logical, in one way, that this amalgamation took place, for the field was not large enough to accommodate all the papers that were being produced. Peculiarly enough, according to Morgan, the Chronicle, which was established as a morning paper in 1847, was first edited by Middleton of the Gazette, though pnly for a short time.[1] To-day the Chronicle is still published, bearing also the name of the Gazette and the date,1764.

In company with this new paper, the Morning Chronicle, and the Gazette, Cary's Mercury continued to be prominent. The founder, Thomas Cary, had died in 1823, but his son and his grandson carried on the traditions which he had handed down to them. The paper became conservative in politics and in 1864 it was written that under the son of the first editor "the Mercury was at the service of Lord Metcalf and his friends, was the bitter and daring opponent of Lord Elgin, and the constant enemy of the Hincks,Baldwin,La-fontaine and Morrin (sic) Ministries."[2] The Mercury a daily in 1863, remained in the Cary family until towards the close of the century, and finally ceased to be published in 1903.

There were other minor enterprises in the Ancient Capital at this time, but none of them proved of permanent value. The three papers mentioned may be considered the most important in the city, that is of the English journals, for there were numerous French publications, some of which were extremely well-edited and very influential.

1-Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p-278
2-The Quebec Gazette, June 21, 1864, p. 8

Throughout the counties, the years from the revolution to Confederation were formative ones and journalism in the smaller towns was firmly and thoroughly established. So much so, in fact, that there have been few new papers issued since Confederation, even during the last quarter of a century. These country papers naturally are not of sufficient importance to warrant detailed accounts, but in closing this section it would be well to mention the principal ones that came into being. These included the Stanstead Journal, conducted by L.R.Robinson, 1845; the St. John's News and Frontier Advocate, founded in 1848, by E.R.Smith; the Advertiser and Eastern Townships Sentinel, known within a year as the Waterloo Advertiser, founded at Knowlton in 1856, and supported by the Hon. Messrs. Knowlton,Huntington and Moore, and H.S. Foster; the Canadian Gleaner, established in 1863 at Huntington by Robert Sellar; the Richmond Guardian, founded by W.G. Jones, 1857; the St. Francis Telegraph, started in Sherbrooke, 1851, by W.L. Felton; and the Three Rivers Inquirer, founded by G. and R. Lanigan.[1]

1-History of Canadian Journalism (Press Assoc.) p.151

CHAPTER - 11, SECTION - 111

THE ONTARIO DEVELOPMENT FROM 1800 TO 1867.

Only A Few Papers Issued Before 1812.

Remembering that there was practically no newspaper activity in Ontario before the beginning of the nineteenth century, one does not wonder that the development from 1800 to 1825 was not rapid. For the early years in Upper Canada were troubled years, and those few papers that did exist, did so only in the face of financial odds, government persecution, and finally armed invasion. The period from the first of the century to the end of the war is separate in itself and, with only one or possibly two papers surviving the stormy days of the conflict with the Americans, the years which followed witnessed a re-establishment and subsequent growth throughout every portion of the province. In consequence the pre-war days will be dealt with separately and rapidly.

The Upper Canada Gazette, of Roy's, and the Canada Constellation, of the Tiffanys, have been mentioned already in the first chapter, By 1801 both of these papers had ceased to appear, and though journals of various sorts continued to be published in Niagara, that town's position as a journalistic centre weakened until it became absolutely insignificant. The Herald, after the cessation of the Constellation, appeared in Niagara from 1801 to 1802, after which nothing of importance or interest appeared in Niagara until 1809. This was the Upper Canada Guardian or Freeman's Journal, published under the direction of that turbulent Irishman, Joseph Wilcocks. In one way this paper belongs in reality to York, for it first appeared in that town in 1807. Wilcocks, who was a member of the Legislature and the first leader of the opposition, was fierce in his attack, which

he conducted in the House and through the medium of his paper. Before ite removal, the Guardian had caused its owner to fall into the bad graces of the government, but the paper seems to have had a considerable circulation and was looked upon with some apprehension. It was printed at Niagara from 1809 to 1810 and it was believed, in sone quarters, that United States funds were the chief means of its publication. Wilcocks, who has been described as "simply a noisy agitator, with little education, without political knowledge, and with no defined policy in view, except to rise by notoriety to a profitable position,"[1] was killed in 1814 at the attack of Fort Erie, while he was serving, as a colonel, with the United States forces. His paper had been discontinued at the opening of the war.

Kingston was another important newspaper centre prior to 1814, and even for some years after. Of the earliest journalists and printers in this town, Stephen Miles holds an unquestioned position of priority, for he not only was a pioneer printer in Upper Canada, but he remained there and carried on his work for many years. Miles as already mentioned, came with Nahum Mower to Montreal in 1807, and in July, 1810, his period of apprenticeship was at an end. Later Miles recorded that shortly after the termination of his apprenticeship "I made arrangements in connection with an excellent young man Charles Kendall, who had worked as a journeyman, to go to Kingston, Upper Canada, and commence publishing a paper. Accordingly having purchased our material from Mr. Mower, we left Montreal 1st September, 1810, in the old fashioned Canadian batteau (17 in number) and arrived at a wharf in Kingston ust the west side of where the barracks now are on the morning of the 13th. We took an excellent

1-History of Canada (Kingsford) Vol.Vlll, p. 99

breakfast at a tavern opposite, and at once set about to procure a suitable room for a printing office."[1] The first number of the Kingston Gazette appeared on September 25th, and was published under the names Mower and Kendall, for Miles was not as yet of age. The Gazette, within the next few months, changed hands several times. In March 1811, Miles sold his share in the paper to Kendall, who, in turn, at the end of the year disposed of the office and contents "to the late Hon. Richard Cartwright, the Hon. Allen McLean, Thomas Markland, Esq., Lawrence Herchimer, Esq., Peter Smith, Esq., and John Kerby, Esq.,"[2] These men did not desire to continue the publication themselves but they re-sold the paper to Miles, on easy terms. "After some unadvoidable (sic) delay, the second volume of the Gazette was commenced by me," wrote Miles, "and printed and published in my name, till December 31, 1818."[3]

Following Miles's journalistic career to its conclusion, it is found that after disposing of the Gazette, he commenced publishing the Kingston Chronicle in 1819 for John A. Pringle and John Macaulay, continuing with them for three years. He then took charge of the printing of the Upper Canada Herald, which had been established in 1819 by Hugh C. Thompson, owner and editor. Miles remained with the Herald until 1828, when he ventured to publish the Kingston Gazette and Religious Advocate, on his own account; but this did not last for long, and after a brief period in Prescott, he returned to the Kingston Chronicle, now under McFarlane and Company. In the capacity of printer, he worked on this journal until 1835 when he entered the ministry as a Wesleyan preacher. Miles's connection with Upper Canada journalism extends then over a quarter of a century and, both

1-The Settlement of Upper Canada (Canniff) p.353
2-The " " " " " p.353
3 " " " " " " p.353

as printer and publisher, he may be considered a figure of importance in the history of early Kingston papers.

To conclude Kingston's earliest journalistic history before turning to the situation in Toronto, mention must be made of several other papers. The most important of these is the British Whig, one of the first dailies in Upper Canada, which was established in 1834 by Dr. Barker. It early was purchased by L.L.Pense and continued to be published by his descendants into the twentieth century, The Kingston Spectator, started in 1830, lasted only a few years. The Chronicle and News, founded in the same year was in reality a continuation of the earlier paper, The Chronicle. In 1851 the News, as it was later called, became a daily, and continues to be published to-day under the name of the Standard. So it is seen that the two prominent papers of Kingston to-day, are papers with records of long service, one having lived for over a century and one now nearing the day when a centennial number will be possible.

Turning to the York of the pre-war days, we see a small village, which though the seat of government, was not an imposing sight. As a natural result, there were only a few journalistic efforts during the first quarter of the century, and these to begin with largely confined to official publications. The earliest York paper, logically enough, was the Upper Canada Gazette, which was removed with the seat of government from Niagara to York in 1799. The Gazette was first published in York by Waters and Simons but by 1810 it was controlled by Bennett and Cameron, with the former being the more prominent partner. Even until the time of the war, the Gazette, however, was at a disadvantage, for communication from the outside world was not of the best, the printers finding themselves often enough without news to print on paper, or without decent paper to print whatever news they had. With navigation closed during the

winter, the Gazette more than once appeared on blue wrapping paper, and in the issue before Christmas, 1901, the printers issued this complaint: "It is much to be lamented that communication between Niagara and this town is so irregular and unfrequent. Opportunities now do not often occur of receiving the American papers from our correspondents and thereby prevents us for the present from laying before our readers the state of politics in Europe."[1]

These natural troubles were not the least, for in 1812 war broke out with the States, and Canada was continually in danger of invasion. In 1813 the Gazette became known as the York Gazette but in that same year the American troops entered the capital city of Upper Canada. Although the printing office had been removed to Andrew Mercer's college, apparently for greater security, the Gazette did not escape the notice of the invaders, the press being broken and the type being scattered to the four winds.

The only other paper to appear in York, that is before 1812, was evidently the Upper Canada Guardian, which has been mentioned already in connection with its editor's actions in Niagara.

As far as has been ascertained, York was without any paper whatever from the time the Gazette was destroyed by the Americans until the time of its revival by Dr. Horne in 1817. Dr. Horne, who was an army surgeon, edited the paper, now under the title of the Upper Canada Gazette, for three years or more, giving his support to the government, when he transferred it to Charles Fothergill. Fothergill was one of the first men to attack Mackenzie, doing this through the medium of his paper, but he later supported him on several occasions. Fothergill fell under the displeasure of the government for his attitude towards some of the vital issues of the

1-McKim's Directory (1892) p.39

day and "the ink of Fothergill's reported speech on the post-office question was scarcely dry when he was dismissed from the situation of King's Printer. He had not abused his trust by turning the paper, with the conduct of which he was charged, against the government; but he had ventured to confront a gross abuse in the assembly. That was his crime, and of that crime he paid the penalty."[1] He was a member of the legislature and the hopelessness of the system is seen in the fact that he was King's Printer at the same time.

Another supporter of government appeared with the publication of the Observer in 1820. Its editor was a man named John Cary, who had been connected with the official paper, and in the prospectus of his paper he described himself as being "the person who gave the debates, reported in the Gazette."[2] The Observer survived until 1830 and during those ten years Cary continued to publish reports of parliamentary proceedings.

Up to 1820 journalism in Upper Canada had presented nothing exceptional. It was quite true to the type of paper which has been described in other sections - that type which reprinted an abundance of news from everywhere except its own locality, dealt wholesale in verbosity, published government advertisements, and dipped only slightly into controversial matters. And there was good reason for the last fact, for ample evidence of government persecution had been given already and men of mild dispositions were not willing to risk themselves to the tortures which had been suffered by earlier victims. The outstanding case of persecution is found of course in the famous Gourlay incidents of 1818 and 1819 but though Gourlay was punished for statistical material which he had had published, he was not a journalist and the details of his trial and conviction

1-Makers of Canada-Mackenzie (Lindsey)p.110-11
2-McKim's Directory (1892) p.40

need not be mentioned. It is sufficient to say that he was a victim of an autocratic system and was treated with cruelty and with an absence of justice which would not be countenanced to-day in an educated community. A brief paragraph in the Kingston Chronicle of 1820 also indicates the methods in vogue, for it stated that Barnabas Ferguson, editor of the Niagara Spectator, had been condemned for libelling the government "to 18 months in jail; to stand in the Pillory once during his confinement; to pay a fine of £50 and remain in prison till paid; and on his liberation to find security for good conduct for seven years, himself in £500, and two securities of £250 each."[1]

It could scarcely be said then that in 1820 Upper Canada had an unshackled and progressive press. Nor could it be said for many years after. But in 1824 and later there arose men who were courageous enough to declare their convictions, sincere enough to remain true to them, intelligent enough to see corruption where many people saw government, and clever enough to conduct really influential journals with one main purpose - reform.

The first of these men, and the most striking, was William Lyon Mackenzie, a man much maligned and misunderstood, yet a man of high ideals and stern convictions. Goldwin Smith described him briefly as " a wiry and peppery little Scotchman, hearty in his love of public right, still more in his hatred of public wrong-doers, clever, brave and energetic, but as tribunes of the people are apt to be, far from cool-headed, sure-footed in his conduct, temperate in his language, or steadfast in his personal connections."[2]

It is not necessary to dwell long upon Mackenzie's earlier career. He was born at Springfield, Dundee, Scotland, on March 12,

1-McKim's Directory (1892) p. 40
2-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p.3

1795, his father dying a few days after his birth. He received, however, a good education and at the age of seventeen entered business. It was not until Mackenzie was twenty-five that he left for Canada and from 1820 to 1824 he was in business, experiencing considerable success. But the young Scotchman became interested in the political affairs of the country and, forsaking business for journalism, he published the first number of the Colonial Advocate on May 18, 1824. It was dated Queenston, Upper Canada, is said to have been printed at Lewiston, New York, and was circulated largely in York.

When Mackenzie entered the political arena, he forsook prosperity but he had an unbounded love of country, believing that his action would be for the good of his fellow countrymen. "I never interfered in the public concerns of the colony in the most remote degree, until the day on which I issued twelve hundred copies of a newspaper without having asked or received a single subscriber," wrote Mackenzie years later while he was residing in the States. "In that number I stated my sentiments, and the objects I had in view, fully and frankly, I had long seen the country in the hands of a few shrewd, crafty covetous men, under whose management one of the most lovely and desirable sections of America remained a comparative desert. The most obvious public improvements were stayed; dissension was created among classes; citizens were banished and imprisoned in defiance of all law; the people had been forbidden, under severe pains and penalties, from meeting anywhere to petition for justice; large estates were wrested from their owners in utter contempt of even the forms of the courts; the Church of England, the adherents of which were few, monopolized as much of the lands of the colony as all the religious houses and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church

had had the control of in Scotland at the era of the Reformation; other sects were treated with contempt and scarcely tolerated; a sordid band of land-jobbers grasped the soil as their patrimony, and, with a few leading officials who divided the public revenue among themselves, formed 'the Family Compact', and were the avowed enemies of common schools, of civil and religious liberty, of all legislative or other checks to their own will. Other men had opposed and had been converted, by them. At nine-and-twenty I might have united with them, but chose rather to join the oppressed, nor have I ever regretted that choice, or wavered from the object of my early pursuit, So far as I or any other professed Reformer was concerned in inviting citizens of this union to interfere in Canadian affairs, there was culpapble error, So far as any of us, at any time, may have supposed that the cause of freedom would be advanced by adding the Canadas to this Confederation, we were under the merest delusion."[1]

Naturally the Advocate's salutatory contained similar sentiments to those expressed by Mackenzie years after. But though the principles stated in the opening number of this journal appear moderate enough in their tone to-day, they were then looked upon by government officials and their friends as being radical and, in consequence, dangerous. The first Advocate, which was in octavo form, was devoted largely to the editor's exposition of principles, and Mackenzie showed beyond question that he was a reformer and no friend of the government. The tone of his opening discussion was free from the bitterness of his later writings, but was frank and open. He lauded the setting aside of lands for religious purposes, but disapproved of the revenue being monopolized by one church.

1-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p.86

He enthusiastically supported the proposal made by Dr. Strachan to establish a provincial iniversity but he predicted that it would have little success "if tied down by tests and oaths to support particular dogmas."[1] The various branches of government were each in turn duly considered and, in the majority of cases, criticized unfavourably. The members of the legislative council were described as being "always selected from the tools of servile power" and "as for the church which claimed to be the established religious of the country, its ministers were declared to be not of that class who endure persecution for conscience' sake".[2] Mackenzie already saw the troubles which were coming and, in concluding his salutatory he made an anticipatory defence in which he disclaimed any connection with Gourlay and claimed, it is interesting to note, that he "never wished to see British America an appendage of the American union."[3]

Protests followed rapidly upon the publication of this first Advocate, Mackenzie was immediately looked upon as a dangerous figure; some suggested that he should be expelled from the province; and some accused him of disloyalty. Among these latter was Fothergill and in the Advocate of June 10,1824, Mackenzie replied at length to the charge. His defence was forceful and as the sturdy Scot made no retreat he gave the residents of Upper Canada something decidedly new in the realm of journalistic articles. The Advocate and the official Gazette were as the poles apart. "It is true, my loyalty has not descended so low as to degenerate into a base, fawning, cringing servility," wrote Mackenzie. "I may honour my sovereign, surely, and remember the ruler of my people with the respect that is due unto his name and rank, without allowing my

1-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p. 95
2- " " " " " p. 96
3- " " " " " p.97

deportment to be equally respectful and humble to His Majesty's butcher, or his baker,his barber, or his tailor!" And then turning to the matter of foreign allegiance he said: "Only think of the consequences which might result from owing allegiance to a foreign government; think that in a few short weeks, or it may be years, one might be called on, upon the sanctity of an oath, to wage war against all that from childhood upwards he had held most dear; to go forth in battle array against the heritage of his ancestors, his kindred,his friends, and his acquaintances; to become instrumental in the subjugation, by fire and sword, to foreigners, of the fields, the cities, the mausoleums of his forefathers -aye, perhaps in the heat of battle, it might be his lot to plunge the deadly blade into the breast of a father, or a brother, or an only child. Surely this picture is not overcharged. In our days it stands on record as having been verified."[1]

Fothergill, a printer himself and a member of the house, did not carry the quarrel further and even went to the trouble of bringing in a motion in the assembly that Mackenzie be paid for the publication of bills and resolutions. A small sum was passed but, struck out by the lieutenant-governor, it was never paid.

During its career the Advocate did not always appear with due regularity, only twenty copies, for instance, being issued during the first six months. The last number of the paper to be published at Queenston was dated November 18,1824, for Mackenzie had seen many good reasons why the Advocate should be issued in York. A week later the paper was being printed in the capital of the province, and in January its circulation was given as being eight hundred and thirty. By the spring of 1826, Mackenzie realized fully the difficulties of publishing a political journal in the face

1-Makers of Canada -,Mackenzie (Lindsey) p.101-102

of such opposition. Burdened down by work and encountering financial troubles, the Reform editor was nearly defeated, and for a while it looked as if the Advocate would be withdrawn from the conflict. "I will carry it on as a literary and scientific work," wrote the publisher, "will enrich its pages with the discoveries of eminent men, and the improvements of distinguished artists; but from thenceforth nothing of a political or controversial character shall be allowed to appear in the Journal of Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce."[1]

In less than two months after the issuance of this new policy, there was precipitated a beneficial catastrophe which was to alter the course of events and to re-establish the Advocate upon a more solid basis. On the evening of June 8,1826, a mob constituted of persons connected with the ruling faction, entered the office of the Colonial Advocate. A few moments later the press had been broken, the type scattered into the bay, an adjacent yard and garden, and on the floor, and the printing establishment belonging to William Lyon Mackenzie completely ruined. With the publisher absent from the town, no effort was made to stop this vandalism, and the fifteen young men connected with the outrage completed their work unmolested. It was an effort on their part to silence the Advocate, to suppress the publisher, and to make more secure the position of the "Family Compact." Peculiarly enough, as after events showed, the attack, instead of silencing the Advocate, did the very opposite, enabling Mackenzie to continue the publication of his journal for another eight years.

The perpetrators soon realized the danger of their own position and, sensing the possibilities of a suit for damages, as well as a

1-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p.111-112

criminal action, they offered through their solicitor,J.B.Macaulay, to pay to the full extent for the damage which they had executed. The opening negotiations received no acknowledgment; and again the offer was made."But Mackenzie refused any amicable settlement with Macaulay's clients and friends; and there was nothing left to but to send the case to trial, and let a jury, upon the hearing the evidence, award equitable, and, if they thought fit, exemplary damages."[1]

The trial held in the same year,1826, is now a familiar incident in history. Presided over by Chief Justice Campbell, it lasted for two days, an unharmonious jury deliberating upon the verdict for thirty-two hours. The jurors favoured the awarding of damages but they failed, at first, to agree upon the amount, the total varying from £2,000 to £150. The sum of £625 was finally agreed upon and the verdict was announced. It was undoubtedly a favourable one and was received with enthusiasm by the majority of the people, for Mackenzie, as a political figure, had risen into prominence and after the attack upon the Advocate, public support was given readily to him. He had carried on his controversies brilliantly and sanely and was regarded as one persecuted by the powerful faction because he dared to attempt reform, to create a state where justice would rule.

With the civil case decided, the question of criminal prosecution remained, but Mackenzie declined to make any complaint. Francis Collins, another printer, did not like to let the matter rest, however, as a retaliatory measure to satisfy his own personal grievances, and against the wishes of Mackenzie, he proceeded with

1-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p-117

the case, securing the convictions of seven of those who had participated in the attack on the Advocate. But though found guilty, the accused were given light sentences, and Collins, as it later appeared, derived no benefit from his action.

Once on the verge of collapse and now restored by the after-results of the riot, the Colonial Advocate again entered the political field with renewed vigour. But during the years that followed the destruction of the office, Mackenzie's general attitude slowly changed. Even after the riot he had continued to advocate Confederation, publishing an article in his issue for December 14, 1826, entitled "A Confederation of the British North American Colonies," but persecuted by members of the ruling faction, bitterly hated by those in power, he was being driven gradually to those extremes which he finally resorted to in 1837. Mackenzie was first elected to parliament in 1828 and in the opening session he brought forward a series of thirty-two reform resolutions, moderate in tone but out of keeping with the ideas of many of his prominent contemporaries; was active in several branches of parliamentary duties; and showed himself to be a man of ability. Opposed by nearly every paper in the country he was re-elected for York in 1830, but within a few months he was charged with libelling the house through the medium of his paper. Mackenzie made a brilliant defence in which he conclusively showed that the Advocate was not the only paper that used plain language, but that, as the Advocate did not choose to side with the government, it was thought fit that it should be silenced. "The majority of this House, whatever may be their practice in regard to sycophancy, profess to dread and abhor the very name of sycophants;" said Mackenzie, " yet are they willing to use the free-

dom of the press to bestow remarkable titles on others. The Mercury and the Courier,[1] and their agents, my brother members here present, in the account of the Hamilton meeting, jointly honour me with the appelations of a 'politico-religious juggler'-'mock-patriot'-'contemptible being'-'grovelling slanderer'-'wandering imposture',whose 'censure is praise', and whose 'shameless falsehoods,' 'fooul deeds,' 'envious malignity,' and 'impotent slanders' point me out as 'the lowest of the vile.' All this it is expected I should quietly submit to, and so I do. Next, it appears to be expected that I should patiently endure the most insulting abuse on this floor from persons in authority under the government; and that, too, I have been found equal to. Thirdly I must not call things by their right names in the newspaper called the Advocate; but either praise the most undeserving of public men, be silent as death, or go back to the freeholders of the country with the brand of a 'false, atrocious, and malicious libeller' on my forehead. If such shall be your measure of justice, I will not shrink from the appeal to the country. Not one word, not one syllable do I retract; I offer no apology; for what you call libel I believe to be the solemn truth, fit to be published from one end of the province to the other."[2]

Mackenzie's first expulsion from the assembly took place on December 12,1831, on the grounds that "he was guilty of a high breach of the privileges of this House,"[3] and from then on he was the victim of the most unfortunate form of party prejudice. Re-elected time after time, he was expelled with due regularity on five occasions, physical force even being resorted to by the Sergeant-at-Arms. History has condemned these actions against Mackenzie but he received little pity at the hands of his enemies,

1-Contemporary papers sympathetic with the government
2-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p.195-196
3- " " " " " p.201.

who in reality drove him to his actions of 1837. Once he was the victim of criminal assault; and once again his newspaper office was attacked by a disorderly mob, who broke the windows and ruined some of the type.

The popularity of Mackenzie continued to exist, however, and when Toronto was incorporated he was elected the first mayor of the city. Naturally, under the pressure of various duties, Mackenzie published the Advocate only with difficulty. He felt, moreover,in 1834, that the need of his paper was not so acute as it had been when he had commenced publishing it in 1824. Then he had stood practically alone as a reformer; but ten years had brought about a great increase in the ranks, so that there were other Liberal journals besides the Advocate. And wishing to be done with the press and its arduous tasks he published the last number of the Colonial Advocate on November 4,1834. The paper was sold to Dr. O'Grady, a Roman Catholic priest, who incorporated it in a journal of his own, publishing the two under the combined names of the Correspondent and Advocate.

In reality Mackenzie, though he thought so at the time, had not finally severed his connections with the press. The other papers which he later published cannot bear comparison with the Advocate but they must be mentioned. From July 4,1837, to November 29, of the same year, Mackenzie edited the Constitution, which was an organ of discontent. It was in this paper that the reform leader published his draft of the proposed constitution for the new government which was to be set up after the revolution. The existence of the Constitution was brought to a dramatic conclusion by the rising of the insurrectionists. The first and the fourth pages for a number

to appear on December 6th had been printed when Loyalists swarmed into the office and terminated the career of Mackenzie's sheet.

Even during his period of exile in the United States, Mackenzie continued to work along journalistic lines. He became a close friend of Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, and also carried on the publication of a Gazette from 1838 to 1840, issuing this paper for the greater part of the time in Rochester. He further published in New York a few numbers of a paper known as the Examiner.

One more publication must receive notice and that is Mackenzie's Message, a weekly paper, which he issued in Toronto from February 1853, to the autumn of 1860. But by then the powerful Mackenzie of the days before 1837 had become a man without hope and crushed under the blows which the years had dealt. His end was tragic, for on August 28,1861, he died "broken-hearted with disappointment; died because he no longer knew where to find the means of existence, and because his proud spirit forbade him to beg."[1]

The dead Mackenzie was proclaimed by the newspapers of the country as a patriot and as a leader in the cause for responsible government. So it is that the realization of a man's greatness comes too often only after his death. In the political changes of the age he had been a moving force, and it was through those papers that he published that he largely exerted his influence. And as we review the experiences through which he went we realize that he was a thoroughly honest man goaded to desperation by his persecutors. "It may be said that his writings show an uneven temper," sums up his biographer, "but taking them in the mass,and considering the abuses he had to assail, and the virulence of opposition he met-foul slanders,

1-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p.507

personal abuse and even attempted assasination - we have reason to be surprised at the moderation of his tone. In mere personal invective he never dealt. He built all his opposition on hard facts, collected with industry and subject to the usual amount of error in the narration..... On whatever objects exerted, his industry was untiring; and the unceasing labours of the pen, consuming nights as well as days, prematurely wore out a naturally durable frame....Whatever he did, he did with an honest intention; and though freedom from errors cannot be claimed for him, it may be truly said that his very faults were the results of generous impulses acted upon with insufficient reflection."[1]

One of the most interesting of Mackenzie's earlier contemporaries was a young man named Francis Collins, already mentioned in connection with the trial of the rioters, who wrecked the Advocate office in 1826. Collins was born in Ireland in 1801 and coming to this country he early found employment as a reporter of parliamentary debates. From 1821 to 1825 Collins continued in this role, but in the latter year he commenced a paper, the Canadian Freeman. The remuneration which he had received from his parliamentary duties was cut off and he soon found himself embarrassed by debt. But not only this. In April 1828, criminal action was taken out against him by the attorney-general for four libels and though Collins, in retaliation, secured the conviction of the rioters, he himself was found guilty and sentenced to spend twelve months in jail and pay a fine of £50. "The libel consisted of imputing 'native malignancy' to the attorney-general, and of stigmatizing as 'an open and palpable falsehood' a statement made by that functionary in court."[2]

1-Makers of Canada - Mackenzie (Lindsey) p.260-261
2- " " " " " p.134

Public sympathy was extended to Collins, for his convistion was another miscarriage of justice in that much harsher and more personal phraseology was being used in nearly every paper of the time, and if Collins had to be prosecuted, many another writer should have been charged with the same crime. The fine was paid by public subscription but Collins had to spend the full twelve months in jail, though Biggar records that "owing to an unusual impulse of leniency on the part of the government, he was allowed to have his cases of type in jail to set up his articles in the cell so that his paper appeared regularly during the several months of his imprisonment."[1]

Collins did not live to see the revolutionary movements of 1837, for he died in 1834.

The radical tendencies in Upper Canada naturally were opposed by a strong faction, and their views were given expression in several journals of the day. One of these papers, the Patriot, was established at Kingston in 1829 but in 1833 it was moved to York, where it became the leading journal of the Conservative party. Its proprietor and editor was Thomas Dalton, an Englishman, and through the medium of his paper his influence was great, for he was looked upon as one of the most vigorous writers of the period. "Of a strong and fervid mind, he displayed indefatigable zeal as a public writer in strengthening the tie between Canada and the Mother Country; his efforts were unflinching to crush every measure calculated to disturb the harmony that should exist between the Parent State and her dependencies."[2] And as a Toronto journal stated: "In the cause of his country, he was sometimes ardent to a degree which all his friends could not approve. But those who knew him best, were the most convinced of the sincerity with which he declared his opinions upon the public questions of the day."[3] Dalton, who was an early

1-McKim's Directory (1892) p.40
2-Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan)p-89
3- " " " p-89

advocate of Confederation died in Toronto on October 26, 1840.

The Courier was another supporter of the government. George Gurnett, its editor and proprietor, like Dalton was an Englishman, born at Horsham, Sussex, about 1791. His first Canadian journalistic venture was the publication of the Gore Gazette at Ancaster, Upper Canada, as a Conservative paper, and moving to York he founded the Courier on the samepolitical principles. Gurnett continued this latter paper from 1829 to 1837, when upon being elected Mayor of the city, he disposed of it. For some years the editor of the Courier was Charles Fothergill, who has been mentioned in connection with the Gazette, and who also worked on the Loyalist, another government publication.

PAPERS IN NIAGARA - 1812 to 1837.

Before turning to the rapid increase in the Toronto newspaper ranks after 1837, a quick glance must be taken at Niagara from 1812 to 1837, for that town still held an important place in the affairs of the Upper Province. Wilcocks's paper had disappeared during the war with the States and the first important journal to appear after the declaration of peace, was the Spectator, founded on March 17, 1817, by Amos McKenney and afterwards published by Pawling and Ferguson. It was in this paper that Robert Gourlay published long letters during 1818; and it was this same Ferguson who was condemned for libel on the government to spend eighteen months in jail and to pay heavy fines.

In the same year,1817 the Gleaner was first published by Andrew Heron. This paper surviving till 1837 was later published by Samuel Heron, and was one of the most successful papers to appear in Niagara. Its first editor was "a noted man, a bookseller, and the founder of the Niagara Library in 1800.....The editorials of the Gleaner are eminently sane, moderate and always on the side of

morality and right thinking."[1]

The Reporter, 1833 to 1842, waspublished first by Thomas Sewell and afterwards by J.J.Masten, and carried the motto from Blackstone, "The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state."

The last important paper to be established before the close of 1837 was the Chronicle, which commenced publication in July of that year, Its first editor was John Simpson and the paper itself was in the nature of an official organ, and its columns were always " full of advertisements, official accounts of meetings, news of every place except Niagara; always dignified, but nothing spicy is found in its pages."[2] The editor served as a member of parliament and as Deputy Auditor-General.

Other papers of much lesser importance which appeared during these years included the Niagara Herald, the Canadian Argus and Niagara Spectator, the Spirit of the Times, the News, and the Telegraph. The list in itself shows that there must have been a consistent interest in publishing journals till the time of Mackenzie's flight, but from 1837 on Niagara, as a newspaper town,is on the decline, new papers being few and old papers disappearing.

Toronto Journalism from 1837 to Confederation.

When only the echoes of the rising in Upper Canada were left to distrub the peace of the province, the journals in Toronto entered upon a new era of development, one which was not distinctly modern, yet one which was decidedly in advance of the standard fixed during the first third of the century. It was a period of re-establishment, which gave the papers

1-History of Niagara (Carnochan) p.-73
2- " " " " p.-76

coming into existence an opportunity to found themselves on firm foundations. And firm foundations were necessary, for though the revolution was gone, provincial politics were still seething and Toronto papers were bubbling over with political activity.

Within the first year after Mackenzie's armed attack on Toronto, two papers of importance appeared in the city. These were the Examiner and the Colonist, both established in 1838.

Sir Francis Hincks, already mentioned because of his connection with the Pilot (Montreal), was the editor of the Examiner, which was started as an organ of the Liberal party. Hincks's career is too well known to require mention. He had only been in Canada for seven years when he founded the Examiner but he was well acquainted with the political aspects of the country and, gifted with ability, he was able to exert a very noticeable influence through the columns of his paper. Hincks, though elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1841, continued his connection with the Toronto press until he took up residence in Montreal in 1843, when the Examiner was put under the control of George Lesslie. Not long afterwards it became absorbed by the Liberal paper, the Globe.

The other paper to be founded at the same time as the Examiner was the British Colonist. Its first editor was Hugh Scobie, a Scotchman who had come to this country in 1832. Scobie was an "active and zealous member of the Established Church of Scotland in this country," and upon persuasion from members of that church, he established a paper in their interests known as the Scotsman. "Only two numbers of the paper, however, bearing this name was (sic) issued, as how well soever Scotsman might have designated the immediate object of the journal, it was not

patriotic enough in the broadest sense of that term, to meet the liberal views of Mr. Scobie, and he therefore changed it into the British Colonist."[1] It should be remembered that though the Colonist has been described as a Conservative paper, Scobie was not officially connected with any party, political or religious, choosing rather, despite the many obstacles, to remain an independent journalist. Taking this stand, Scobie became the target of attacks by the extreme factions in politics but he witnessed these to the end of his days. "We have said it did not suit Mr. Scobie's taste to do the drudgery of a party or a ministry. We might with truth have used a strong expression and said that, it did not accord with his nature. He was a man of independence as stern, as rugged, and well defined as his native mountains. Born of the race of mountaineers he showed those virtues for which history has made them famous. He gloried in being independent and he often laughed, with quiet scorn, at the efforts which party politicians, time and again, made to crush him. Up to his last hours, it was his delight to tell to his friends the story of his struggles and the plots of divers politicians to destroy his influence; and how signally he had foiled them. He dwelt with pride, as he had good cause on all those things; yet not with empty boasting."[2]

Started as a weekly, Scobie's British Colonist first changed to a semi-weekly and during the last two years of Scobie's life 1851 to 1853, it was issued as a daily. The journalistic career of Scobie was terminated only by his death, which occurred in Toronto on December 4,1853. The first editor of the British Colonist has been described as a Liberal Con-

1-Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.338
2- " " " p.339

servative in his political beliefs.

After Scobie's death the Daily Colonist passed into the hands of Samuel Thompson, and shortly afterwards came under the control of two well known journalists, George Sheppard and Daniel Morrison.

Sheppard's career as a journalist presents plenty of variety for even prior to joining the Colonist he had worked on a number of the best papers in England, and had also been active in Canadian and American journalistic circles. A keen controversialist and at times a writer of telling sarcasm, Sheppard was a valuable assistant to a party, but his connection with the Colonist only lasted for a short time. The reason of his separation from the paper was occasioned by the quarrel between Sir Francis Bond Head and the Brown-Dorion ministry. He later became an editorial writer on the Globe, an editor of the Hamilton Times, a correspondent of the Leader (Toronto) at Washington, and an editor on the Quebec Chronicle, and on the Quebec Mercury.

Morrison, the other editor, also severed himself from the Colonist in 1859, editing for a time the Daily Chronicle (Quebec) and later the Daily Prototype, in London, U.C.He subsequently left the province to join the New York press. Absorption was the eventual fate of the Colonist, for about 1865 it disappeared by amalgamation with the Leader, a Reform journal, started in 1852 by James Beatty and edited until 1867 by Charles Lindsey, who had formerly served on the Examiner.

Turning back again to the early forties, the first serious attempt to establish a daily newspaper in Toronto is the most prominent event. This was the Daily Telegraph, which was edited for a time by Henry Clark Grant; but as the paper

did not appear for any length of time it is not necessary to dwell on the details of its brief history.

GEORGE BROWN AND THE GLOBE

It was as a travelling agent for the New York British Chronicle that George Brown made his first visit to Toronto; but as the outcome of that same visit, the Toronto Globe was established and, as its proprietor and editor, George Brown the travelling agent, reached the pinnacles of nineteenth century journalism in Canada.

Peter Brown, an Edinburgh merchant, was born in Scotland about 1784. Fifty-four years later a business failure, he emigrated to New York, hoping in this young country to re-build upon a new foundation. That was in 1838; and George Brown, who accompanied his father , was only a youth of twenty at the time. It is difficult to appreciate the reasons that led the Browns to choose New York as their new home, for they remained intensely British in their sympathies, and within a few months they came to the realization that these sympathies were not being cordially greeted by the people with whom they now lived. From business, Peter Brown had turned to journalism, finding employment as a contributor to the Albion, that well-known weekly newspaper published in New York as a British paper.

Four years later, in December 1842, the Browns commenced a journalistic enterprise of their own, their paper, the British Chronicle being somewhat similar to the Albion but being moulded in a form intended especially to please the Scottish and Presbyterian elements in the United States and Canada. Early in its career, the Chronicle took a firm stand on the popular side of the movement then disturbing the peace of the Church in Scotland, and as a result, the work of the Browns was closely watched by readers in Upper Canada.

Young Brown consequently was not entirely unknown when he visited Toronto in the spring of 1843 in the hope of increasing the number of subscribers to the British Chronicle. The outcome was far different from the one originally hoped for. As a result of Brown's survey of the Toronto possibilities, the British Chronicle ceased to appear. And on August 18,1843,Peter Brown and George Brown issued in Toronto the first number of the Banner, a weekly paper partly Presbyterian and partly political. In the earliest numbers of this journal the attitude which George Brown was later to take in favour of government by and for the people was clearly outlined and the Banner, "which had at first described itself as independent in party politics, soon found itself drawn into the struggle which was too fierce and too momentous to allow men of strong convictions to remain neutral. We find politics occupying more and more attention in its columns, and finally on March 5th,1844, the Globe is established as the avowed ally of Baldwin and Lafontaine, and the advocate of responsible government."[1] Its early circulation was three hundred.

Brown, a young man of twenty-six, at the time of the founding of the Globe, quickly became a power in provincial politics. His advancement from 1844 until his death was steady and in a sense bordering on the sensational, for Brown, in a large measure, was the successor of William Lyon Mackenzie, except that where Mackenzie resorted to force and failed, Brown trusted in forceful moderation and won.

The Globe was started as a weekly, bearing a motto from Junius to George 111: "The subject who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate will neither advise not submit to arbitrary

1-Makers of Canada - George Brown (Lewis) p.10

measures."[1] In the leading article, which was long and devoted chiefly to a historical review of the history of the country, Brown touched upon the lack of responsible government in the province and in emphasizing the value of Lord Durham's recommendation, said:"The battle which the Reformers of Canada will fight not the battle of a party, but the battle of a constitutional right against the undue interference of executive power."[2] And concerning Imperial relations the prospectus of the Globe had said: "Firmly attached to the principles of the British Constitution, believing the limited monarchy of Great Britain the best system of government yet devised by the wisdom of man, and sincerely convinced that the prosperity of Canada will best be advanced by a close connection between it and the mother country, the editor of the Globe will support all measures which will tend to draw closer the bonds of a mutually advantageous union."[3]

In the same month that the Globe was established, the Reform party opened its campaign. Brown allied himself with the movement and, though a young man among veterans, his ability was recognized and the Globe was given the support of the party. In consequence the paper thrived from its earliest days and quickly became a tri-weekly and in 1853 a daily. Two years later it absorbed the North American and the Examiner and obtained a circulation of 16,436.

It has been said, and justly, that Brown "was the shaper and creator of public opinion, not its creature. His was the directing mind, setting in motion the whole Liberal journalistic

1-This motto still appears on the Globe,
2-Makers of Canada - Brown (Lewis) p.-21
3- " " " " " p.-21

machinery in the Province."[1] Whether Brown favoured certain policies or whether he frowned upon them was a matter of importance. Using the Globe as his mouthpiece, Brown advocated during his career sound principles, some of which were in advance of his time, and some of which have not been adopted even to this day. He branded, among other things, the practice of slavery; he launched an attack on the Separate School Bill; he believed in free trade and representation by population; he urged the separation of church and state, and the abolition of the clergy reserves; he believed in prohibition; and, as we have already seen, he urged the closest possible imperial relations, and confederation.

These policies were stated in part in the first daily issue of the Globe, the editorial being a declaration of the principles which the paper was to follow. It said, among other things:

> "Representation by population, Justice for Upper Canada! While Upper Canada has a larger population by one hundred and fifty thousand than Lower Canada, and contributes more than double the amount of taxation to the general revenue, Lower Canada has an equal number of representatives in parliament.
>
> "National education - Common school, grammar school, and collegiate free from sectarianism and open to all on equal terms. Earnest war will be waged with the separate school system, which has unfortunately obtained a footing.
>
> "A prohibitory liquor law. - Any measure which will alleviate the frightful evils of intemperance."[2]

1-George Brown (Buckingham) Canada (Hopkins)Vol.V,p.201
2-Makers of Canada - Brown (Lewis) p.75

Brown's ideas on slavery were not the outcome of hasty thought, for he had thoroughly believed in emancipation of the slave from his youth and one of his reasons for his dislike of the American nation was that it still countenanced slavery. "When I was a young man," he once said upon addressing a Toronto gatherine, "I used to think that if I ever had to speak before such an audience as this, I would choose African Slavery as my theme in preference to any other topic. The subject seemed to afford the widest scope for rhetorid and for fervid appeals to the best of human sympathies, These thoughts arose far from here, while slavery was a thing at a distance, while the horrors of the system were unrealized, while the mind received it as a tale and discussed it as a principle. But,when you have mingled with the thing itself, when you have encountered the atrocities of the system, when you have seen three millions of human beings held as chattels by their Christian countrymen, when you have seen the free institutions, the free press and the free pulpit of America linked in the unrighteous task of upholding the traffic, when you have realized the manacle, and the lash, and the sleuth-hound, you think no more of rhetoric, themind stands appaled at the monstrous iniquity, mere words lose their meaning and facts, cold facts, are felt to be the only fit arguments."[1]

Brown's stands were always definite, leaving no room for doubt in the mind of his audience, whether of readers or of listeners, and this was as true of the free trade question as of the slavery question. "The Tory press," said the Globe, "are out in full cry against free trade. Their conduct affords an illustration of the unmitigated selfishness of Toryism. Give them everything they can desire and they are brimful of loyalty.

1-Makers of Canada - Brown (Lewis), p. 1-2

They will shout paeans till they are sick, and drink goblets till they are blind in favour of 'wise and benevolent governors' who will give them all the offices and all the emoluments. But let their interests, real or imaginary, be affected, and how soon does their loyalty evaporate! Nothing is now talked of but separation from the mother country, unless the mother continues feeding them in the mode prescribed by the child."[1]

To relate of Brown's complete political activity within this limited space is impossible; but there is one other aspect which must be briefly mentioned. And that is Brown's attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church. It must be remembered that he was against sectarianism having any relation whatever with government or with education; and in the battle that he waged he eventually fell into the bad graces of the Catholic Church, and also, at times, of the Anglican Church. Writing afterwards of the fight against clergy reserves, sectarian schools, and the use of public funds for sectarian purposes, he said: "On these and many similar questions, we were met by the French-Canadian phalanx in hostile array; our whole policy was denounced in language of the strongest character, and the men who upheld it were assailed as the basest of mankind. We, on our part, were not slow in returning blow for blow, and feelings were excited among the Catholics from Upper Canada that estranged the great bulk of them from our ranks."[2] Brown was " the sworn foe of c clericalism. He had no affinity with the demagogues and professional agitators who make a business of attacking the Roman Catholic Church, nor with those whose souls are filled with vague alarms of papal supremacy....He fought against real

1-Makers of Canada - Brown (Lewis) p.-32
2- " " " " " p.-126

tyranny, for the removal of real grievances. When he believed that he had found in confederation the real remedy, he was satisfied, and he did not keep up an agitation merely for agitation's sake."[1] And, on top of all this, he was an ardent supporter of freedom of worship, the Globe once stating: "As advocates of the voluntary principle we give to every man full liberty of worship as his conscience dictates, and without penalty, civil or ecclesiastical, attaching to his excerise thereof. We would allow each sect to give to its pastors what titles it sees fit, and to prescribe the extent of spiritual duties; but we would have the State recognize no ecclesiastical titles or boundaries whatever."[2]

The Globe was a powerful factor in bringing about the striking Liberal victory of 1847, and Brown himself, though once defeated by William Lyon Mackenzie, held a seat in parliament with great steadiness from 1851 until 1867, when he was defeated in the general elections and excluded in consequence from the first Dominion parliament.

During his political career, Brown showed a steadfastness and boldness, typified no better than by his stand in favour of the Rebellion Losses Bill when his house was attacked by a mob. His services to his country were recognized during the latter days of his life. He was offered positions and honours including the Lieutenant-Governorship of Ontario and a knighthood, but he refused these all and to the last was a journalist. "I have long felt very strongly," he wrote, "that I had to choose one position or the other - that of a leader in parliamentary life, or that of a monitor in the public press - and the latter has been my choice being probably more in consonance with my

1-Makers of Canada - Brown (Lewis), p.-127-28
2- " " " " " p.45

ardent temperament, and at the same time, in my opinion, more influential; for I am free to say that in view of all the grand offices that are now talked of - governorships, premierships and the like - I would rather be editor of the Globe, with the heart confidence of the great mass of the people of Upper Canada, than have the choice of them all."[1]

His choice was fulfilled, and free from political duties, which had hitherto kept him on many occasions from the office of the Globr, he devoted himself to his journalistic work and to scientific farming, a subject in which he was keenly interested. On March 25, 1880, while working in the Globe office, George Brown was attacked by George Bennett, a former employee who had been discharged for intemperance, and in the struggle which ensued the veteran editor was shot. The wound was not considered fatal but Brown never again left the room in his house to which he was conveyed. He died on May 10, and the career of Toronto's great journalist, who had accomplished much in the cause of the people, was brought to a tragic close.

Brown was undoubtedly a great editorial writer, but in some ways he was deficient as a journalist. It is said that he repolished the reports of his own political speeches before they were published, and it is known as a fact that his paper was dedicated chiefly to political news. One writer said about Brown and his father that "with frigid and prudish minds they guarded the columns of their paper against the intrusion of reports of sprots.....or gambling in stocks, or the clean or unclean productions of the stage."[2] But it can never be said that the management of the Globe stopped at expense to gather in the political news of the nations, and even to secure the

1-Makers of Canada - Brown (Lewis) p.247
2-Brown (Buckingham) in Canada (Hopkins) p.201

more sensational news of wars and murders. Robert Sellar, a Quebec newspaper man, said: "Its excellence in this regard(the gathering of news) was due to Gordon Brown, who really made the reputation of the Globe, for while his brother's personality stamped it in public repute, it was Gordon's work that put it in the front rank. He was a silent,observant man, who led, so it impressed me, a lonesome life. His capacity for work was great, and he was unwearied in making each number of the Globe the best possible with the means at hand."[1]

Sellar's estimate can be proved easily by a glance through the files of the Globe of sixty years ago. In the numbers for the year of 1865,[2] the paper being then a four page daily, there was an abundance of telegraph news, including parliamentary news from the lower province, and detailed accounts of the civil war in the States. The issue of April 16th contained the first despatches telling of the assasination of President Lincoln, and the Globe of the day following besides been literally crammed with the details of the President's death, was in mourning for the chief executive of the United States.

The most important contemporary of the Globe, the British Colonist, has already been mentioned. The Leader was established, it will be remembered, by James Beaty in 1852; and a year later, Mackenzie's Messenger appeared only to disappear in 1860 after a precarious career. The Atlas, founded by Samuel Thompson with the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Roaf, appeared as a Tory organ in 1858, but it was not until 1866 that J.Ross Robertson, establishing the Daily Telegraph, really brought Toronto journalism to its modern era. From then on the develop-

1-History of Canadian Journalism (Can.Press Assco.)p.176
2-In Fraser Institute.

ment reached hitherto unthought of proportions; but those things belong to the post- Confederation period and cannot be mentioned here.

JOURNALISM IN THE SMALLER TOWNS.BEFORE CONFEDERATION.

With Ontario a province of many towns, a detailed account of the growth outside of Toronto cannot be given. By 1840 the journalistic importance of Niagara had diminished and disappeared, and even Kingston no longer held the position that it had occupied from 1810 until 1835. But there were two other towns the fortunes of which were in the ascendant - Hamilton and London. To-day these cities occupy, with the exception of Toronto, the foremost positions in Ontario, and it is of interest, as well as of value, to trace the beginnings of the newspaper profession - if so it may be called - in these two thickly populated centres.

Before the thirties there had been only a few insignificant papers west of Toronto and before the forties there had been no paper of any permanence. In 1846, however, Robert Smiley established the Hamilton Spectator as a tri-weekly, the first number being printed on July 15th. The paper, Conservative but independent, advocated among other things the secularization of the clergy reserves. In 1852 it became a daily, and in 1855 after the death of its founder, it was controlled by John Smiley and William Gillespie. Nine years later, upon the financial collapse of the dual owners, Thomas and Richard White made their first prominent sppearance in the Ontario field. Thomas White, in 1864, had been connected with the press for twelve years, having been assistant editor of the Quebec Gazette in 1852, and having established the

Review at Peterborough in the following year. These two men whose ability is known beyond dispute, placed the Spectator upon a firm foundation, but in 1870, upon obtaining control of the Montreal Gazette, they forsook Hamilton for the larger arena. In 1867 Thomas White was the president of the Canadian Press Association, and it was said of him: "His writings display great strength and vigour of style, as well as ornament of diction. He is also a very forcible public speaker and is regarded as a rising man in the ranks of the Conservative party."[1]

The only other journal of account to appear in Hamilton before the Dominion had come into being was the Times,a Liberal organ, edited for years by H.F.Gardner.

The London Sun was issued as early as 1831 by A.E.Talbot, who also published in 1839 the Freeman's Journal; and the London Times struggled for existence between 1844 and 1853. The year 1859 saw the commencement of the London Free Press, one of the most popular of provincial journals,its founder and first editor being W. Sutherland. Josiah and Stephen Blackburn succeeded Sutherland in 1852 and it was largely due to their efforts that the paper has had such a fine record. Josiah Blackburn edited the Free Press for thirty-eight years until his death in 1890.

The Free Press was, and is Conservative, and an opposition paper, the Advertiser, also still thriving, entered the field in 1863. It was established by John Cameron, and expounding Liberal views, won for itself a popular place.

1-Bibliotheca Canadensis (Morgan) p.390

CHAPTER - 111

A BRIEF SKETCH OF EARLY WESTERN JOURNALISM

Established under difficulties and isolated from the east, thewestern newspapers of the earlier days possess a history which reads like a romance. But as only a few papers were published before 1867 and as the entire newspaper development of the western provinces has been erratic, a space really worthy of the subject cannot be set aside for the story of the western journals.

IN MANITOBA

Although there are only ten years of newspaper history prior to the admittance of Manitoba into the Confederation, it is these ten years which are the most interesting of the entire development. The first paper in the North West was issued at the Red River Settlement on December 28,1859, but the story of its establishment goes back several months when two Ontario journalists,William Buckingham and William Coldwell, upon hearing that the Red River Settlement was liable to be erected into a crown colony, conceived the idea of hastening west and starting a paper. Both the men had had good grounding in newspaper work. Buckingham had been connected with the Halifax Guardian and the Toronto Globe, and had also founded the Erie News at Simcoe, while Coldwell had been a reporter on the Leader. It is not necessary to give a full description of the laborious journey to the Settlement; but it is well to remember that from September 28th to November 1,1859, these two adventurers and an accompanying party travelled across the plains from St. Paul,Minn. to Fort Garry. With waggons and a Red River cart,the heavy printing materials,most of which had been purchased at St.Paul, were conveyed slowly towards their destination, and the successful accomplishment of the task has no comparison in the annals of Canadian journalistic endeavour.

Even after arrival there were many good reasons for the printers to be discouraged; the settlers did not receive the proposition with enthusiasm; the Hudson Bay Company was not cordial in its reception; and the shack in which the printing plant was set up was a pitiful structure, with the wind sweeping through the cracks and with the inside nearly as cold as the exterior. But Buckingham and Coldwell perservered and on December 28,1859,they issued the first number of their paper,the Nor-'Wester - an appropriate name for the isolated journal. Within a short time,however, the paper, as a semi-monthly, became fairly well established, for the editors were energetic and had excellent connections with the other colonies. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, as parliamentary correspondent from Quebec, and that fine journalist,George Sheppard, as an occasional contributor, were both connected with the Nor-'Wester and undoubtedly helped in its progress. "The circulation of the paper was indeed remarkable for the width of its field," wrote Biggar,"for its readers extended from the banks of the Mackenzie River within the Arctic Circle, to the shores of the Atlantic, not to speak of its European circulation. It was the only paper north of St. Paul in the United States and between the Great Lakes of Ontario in the east, and Vancouver Island on the west."[1]

With the opposition from the Hudson Bay Company continuing and with the prospects of a Crown Colony delayed,Buckingham was the first to desert the Nor-'Wester, returning to Canada in 1861. James Ross, a thoroughly educated young man, filled the vacancy created by the departure of Buckingham but in 1864 Ross sold his interest to Dr. Schultz, whose connection with the Settlement has

1-McKim's Directory, 1892, p.49

been thoroughly recorded in history, In the same year disaster in the shape of fire overtook the office of the paper; and the pioneer Coldwell, after staying long enough to help Schultz revive the Nor-'Wester, also left the settlement,returning east to Toronto.

Schultz continued as editor of the journal for the next four years, and there is an abundance of interest in the files of his paper. The copy of January 19,1868,published at the "Town of Winnipeg,Red River," states the policy which the paper intended to follow during the coming year,Schultz writing,in part: "Politically,the Nor-'Wester will continue to advocate the rights of the people, to point out the errors and weaknesses of the present rule, and to use what legitimate means an honest journal may to bring about the long wished for change."[1] This paper, and others which followed, were printed on wretched paper and mention is often made of the difficulties experienced in receiving the proper materials for the publication of a presentable newspaper.

The first mention of Dr. Walter Brown as a journalist, appeared during the winter of 1868, when it was stated that Brown would edit the paper during Schultz's absence from the Settlement. It was probably due to this temporary connection with the Nor-'Wester that Brown finally obtained full control of the paper, for on August 4,1868, he started a new series under the full title of the Nor-'Wester and General British American Advertiser and with the motto, "Nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice."

Brown's Nor'Wester had an unpleasant career, which was brought to a close during the riots in 1872 when the offices of

1-From the copy in the Redpath Library

the Manitoban,the Nor'Wester, and Le Metis were wrecked.

With the Settlement in the throes of civil strife,William Coldwell returned to Winnipeg with new printing equipment for the purpose of establishing another paper. He arrived in 1869 and on December 1st, he issued the first number of the Red River Pioneer. This statement does not agree with several historical accounts which have been written regarding the period. J.P.Robertson claims that "William Coldwell...returned again to the Red River in 1870, and was about to embark upon another journalistic venture the Red River Pioneer, but only the outside pagés were printed when Riel pounced upon the plant and confiscated it for his own use."[1] And Biggar wrote; "The Hon. William McDougall...had handed in his proclamation to be printed in the first issue. This proclamation and an editorial calling upon the country to support the new administration, had just been put into type and printed off when Louis Riel descended upon the place and gave an order forbidding the issue of the paper 'until peace was restored'. Under the gentle persuasion of pistols and guns the printers were induced to set up the remaining half of the paper with proclamations and articles advocating rebellion and the Riel regime."[2]

That both these accounts are inaccurate is proved by an issue of the Red River Pioneer for December 1,1869, printed by Coldwell and Company.[3] Among other material this issue contained the proclamation of William Mactavish,Governor of Assiniboia in both French and English. But that Riel did later control the Pioneer is absolutely true, for on January 7,1870,there appeared a paper which is unique in journalistic records. Its outside pages, one and four, are those printed by Coldwell over a month before and,

1-History of Canadian Journalism (Can,Press Assoc./p.182
2-McKim's Directory (1892) p.52
3-A copy of this and several New Nations in Redpath Library

as they contained no political material, Riel and his accomplices did themselves no harm by issuing them. But the two inside pages are under the title, the New Nation, and the editorial matter and the news advocate rebellion and annexation. It is evident that the re-printing of Coldwell's two pages wasa measure towards rapid issuance of the New Nation, for a four page issue, with the two outside pages changed, was also published bearing the same date, January 7th.

Major H.M.Robinson, an American, was the editor who so dramatically replaced Coldwell, but though the exchange was brought about by force, the Red River Pioneer was paid for in cash. Robinson "performed the Cromwellian act of generously paying Mr. Coldwell with money which he had seized from the Hudson Bay Company."[1] This sale was announced in the first issue of the New Nation, for a paragraph over the editorial column stated that "Notice is hereby given that the Red River Printing Press, type and material generally, have been sold to the H.M. Robinson and Co., who are now proprietors and publishers of the New Nation...Coldwell and Co."

The policy taken by Robinson in the opening number has the one advantage at least of being clear-cut and decisive. "The Dominion Government by its criminal blunders and gross injustice to this people have forever alienated them;" he wrote,"and by their forfeiture of all right to our respect, will prevent us in future from either seeking or permitting its protection. The Imperial Government we consider to be too far distant to intelligently administer our affairs....Our annexation to the United States will follow in time, and bring with it the advantages this land so much requires."[2]

1-McKim's Directory (1892) p.52
2-The New Nation, January 7,1870

On page two of the same number there is also an account of the growth of the Red River press, in which the Nor'Wester and its editor are the objects of ridicule. Brown,it appeared, had printed the government proclamations as an extra "before it had been officially promulgated....The madness which could compel a man at such a crisis as the present to tamper with the publication of an official document, was the fit precursor of the subsequent fate of Dr. Brown, whose editorial sanctum has been seized by the people, and who himself hard pressed by the enemy has fled to parts unknown. "The New Nation and the Nor'Wester were plainly not on the best of terms.

The policy of the paper continued to be fiery until March 1870, when a change of management took place. With that change a note of reconciliation entered in and during the remaining months of the year the New Nation favoured a peaceful course of action. In June the paper printed an "act to establish and provide for the government of the Province of Manitoba," the editorial in the same issue remarking: "We are British, not Canadian - and we thank God to-day that we are recognized by our Queen and her advisers....We hope now that, as part of the Dominion, we will see no more of that abuse regarding us, which has been so widely circulated throughout the Dominion of late. Canada and we, will now join hands, as one man to another."[1]

The New Nation did not survive for many months after the Rebellion, its last editor being Thomas Spence.

Coldwell did not return to the east but remained in Winnipeg where he joined with R.Cunningham. a correspondent of the Toronto Globe, in establishing the Manitoban in 1870. Wrecked in the riots of 1872, the Manitoban was revived and was finally merged with the Free Press, which was established by W.F.Luxton in 1874. Winnipeg's

1-Issue of June 24,1870.

pioneer journalist, Coldwell died in February 1907.

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The journalistic history of British Columbia stretches back over a period of sixty-eight years and the first newspaper published in Canada's great maritime province of the west was as primitive as the insignificant Halifax Gazette issued over a century before. Peculiarly enough this paper was printed in French and was controlled by Bishop Demers, a pioneer Catholic missionary. It appeared in Victoria and devoted largely to news of the church, it was issued twice and then disappeared, The Bishop had in his possession an old-fashioned press and old-fashioned type, both described as having been obsolete for many years, and it was only through his desire to have a paper in his diocese that trouble was taken to issue this short-lived journal. Although the Bishop was the nominal head of Victoria's first paper, a great deal of the actual work was done by a French nobleman, Count Paul de Garro, who had been forced to leave France during the troubles in the reign of Napoleon 111. Garro, deprived of his duties by the cessation of the paper, after idling about town and working as a waiter, joined the gold rush in 1861, taking passage "in an old steamer called the Cariboo Fly, bound for the Cariboo Gold Mines. As the vessel was clearing the harbor she was blown up, and among the bodies recovered was that of the Count. Thus died the first editor of British Columbia."[1]

This paper of Demers's and de Garro's can hardly be considered as a newspaper in the accepted sense of the word. And for this reason the Victoria Gazette, though it existed for only a few brief months, can be justly awarded the position of priority in the journalistic records of British Columbia. The Gazette under the

1-McKim's Directory (1892) p.54

control of Whitten, Towne and Company, continued until December 1858, the year of its commencement. Considering the present subscription rates of newspapers, it is a rather startling fact that, being issued five times a week, the rate for one week's Gazette was fifty cents, which amounts to twenty-six dollars a year.

Frederick Marriott, an Englishman, was the next to enter the field, publishing the Vancouver Island Gazette, which was destined to survive but a few weeks. Marriott had edited "for years the News-Letter of San Francisco, and was in many ways a remarkable man - fearless, trenchant, cynical."[1]

But of all the journalists in this early group, Amor de Cosmos, founder of the British Colonist, was the most powerful and the most colourful figure. De Cosmos was a native of Nova Scotia and was born under the name of Smith, but while in California, where he had been lured by the call of gold, he "aspired to a more aristocratic name than Smith, and he had the latter changed by Act of the State Legislature to Amor de Cosmos....He came very nearly going down to posterity however with a less inviting cognomen. During the passage of the bill through the Legislature, one of the members moved an amendment that his name should be Amor de Muggins, which narrowly escaped being carried."[2]

De Cosmos commenced the publication of the British Colonist in the autumn of 1858 and, as was the case with so many of these earlier publishers, he immediately entered upon a campaign against Governor Douglas and the government in general. De Cosmos took a prominent part in the political life of the colony, advocating the union of the Island and British Columbia and early agitating in favour of Confederation with the Dominion. He eventually rose to the position of premier of the Province and also took part in

1-History of Canadian Journalism (Canadian Press Assoc.) p.200
2- " " " " " " " p.201

the political activities of the Dominion House. De Cosmos gained great credit by helping to block an eleventh hour bill which, if it had been passed, threatened to ruin many of the settlers through eviction. He and a brother editor, Leonard McClure, by delivering two speeches extending over a period of twenty-two hours held up the proposed measure to such an extent as to render it inoperative. To McClure is given the credit of making one of the longest speeches ever delivered, for he "spoke for sixteen hours, when de Cosmos took up the burden and spoke for six hours."[1]

McClure was then editor of the New Westminister Times, published by E.H. King at Victoria. The Times, established in the spring of 1859, supported the government and due to personal reflections made upon a political candidate,E.E.Longford, the paper was early sued for libel. The trial had some extraordinary results for not only was the authorship of the libellous article traced to the Attorney-General, Mr. Carey, but during the proceedings, the plaintiff, Longford,"lost control of himself and used expressions for which he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for contempt of court."[2]

McClure, strained by his remarkable forensic accomplishment died six months afterwards; and the Times, injured by the libel action, moved to New Westminister but ceased publication the next year.

Between 1859 and 1865 there appeared in Victoria a number of papers noted more for their brief existences than for anything else. John Robson, who like de Cosmos was to become premier of the province, was the founder of the British Columbian, in 1859. Then appeared in rapid succession such papers as the Daily Times, the Express, the Telegraph,the News, the Standard, and the Post.

1-History of Canadian Journalism (Can.Press Assoc.)p.202
2-McKim's Directory 1892) p.54-55

At least two of these publications - the Post and the Express - were dailies. Trained on the staff of the London Telegraph, Thomas Tanley, the editor of the Post, was a clever writer but "addicted to a vice unhappily too common among journalistz, and after some months of excessive drinking committed suicide in the public street."[1] And without an editor, the Post disappeared.

The cessation of the Express was for another reason. Although it did not appear until 1862, its proprietors, George Wallace and Charles W. Allan, soon advanced their publication to an excellent position, and receiving a good offer, sold out to the Times. Wallace, after turning showman and making $70,000. which he lost in a bank failure, re-appeared as a newspaper correspondent in the east, acting for the Toronto Mail in Montreal. Reduced to poverty and broken in spirit, he did not survive the struggle for long and far from the scenes of his early endeavours, he died in Canada's metropolis and was buried in the Mount Royal Cemetery.

Out of this disturbed period between 1859 and 1865, however, there came one fine journal, conducted by a fine journalist. This was the Chronicle, established in 1862 by D.W.Higgins and McMillan, Higgins was the moving force behind the paper. He had already conducted in San Francisco a paper by the same name, so that he was well versed in the ways of a newspaper establishment. Leaving the States for the British colony, he found his efforts crowned by success, for his paper, in 1866 absorbed the financially distressed Colonist, and as the Colonist it still appears. Higgins was the proprietor and editor until 1888; when upon entering the Legislature he forsook journalism temporarily, returning as editor of the Vancouver World in later years. With de Cosmos,Higgins occupies a foremost place among those who were active as journalists

1-McKim's Directory (1892) p.55

in Victoria during the nineteenth century.

With British Columbia entering Confederation in 1871, and with Vancouver developing only after that date, there is no more to be said regarding the journalism in British Columbia prior to the entrance of the province into the Dominion. As is evident the early newspaper history is brief and as practically nothing has been written about it and as Quebec and British Columbia are separated by many miles of country, the foregoing has been of necessity only a sketch. Yet it indicates the early movement in th the far west and without this brief section, this thesis could not have been considered complete. It may be said, in concluding this division, that there was a fascinating growth of journalism throughout the mining districts and in the smaller towns, but the papers cannot even be named because of their ephemeral nature and because of their consequent lack of importance as time-tested publications. They played their part and then went the way which is enevitable for all papers that are not established on firm foundations in thoroughly solid communities.

CHAPTER - 1V

JOURNALISM AFTER CONFEDERATION - CONCLUSION

The base of a structure is its security. In Canadian journalism, as the preceding chapters have shown, the foundations had been placed firmly by the time that Confederation was an actuality. Since that year to be sure, many new papers have been established but these, as well as the old ones that continued to live and expand, have been able to stand "four-square to all the winds th at blew" because of these pioneers who had cleared away the undergrowth, and laid the foundations securely in the soil.

To be brief, the detailed portions of this historical sketch are completed. Now that the story of the earlier days has been told, now that the emphasis has been laid upon dramatic struggle of the press for its existence and for its freedom, there is but time and space left for only a very general account of the thirty-three years from Confederation to the twentieth century. Only the chief journalistic centres can be touched upon - Halifax St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and one or two others - and these but to an extent sufficient to indicate the major developments.

In the far eastern Canadian city,Halifax, where Canadian journalism first saw light, there were three inportant papers that came from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. These were the Chronicle, the Acadian Recorder and the Halifax Herald. The Recorder is Henry's paper of 1813, grown old in the service of the community, and the Chronicle is a continuation of Young's and Howe's Nova Scotian. The Chronicle still publishes the Nova Scotian as a weekly, and the Echo as an evening daily. But the Herald, with the Mail as an evening edition, is a post-Confederation

paper. It was established in 1875, largely through the efforts of John James Stewart, and under his management it rapidly became one of the most influential papers in the Maritimes. To-day, as an independent Conservative publication, it has the largest circulation of any paper in the province.

Probably the most interesting figure connected with the Chronicle, was the Hon.W.S. Fielding, who had a successful newspaper career, as well as a brilliant political one. Fielding entered the Chronicle as an office boy at the age of sixteen, and within a short time he became a reporter, especially well-versed in shipping news. In 1873, when seven hundred lives were lost in the S.S. Atlantic disaster, it was Fielding who 'beat' all the rival papers, American and Canadian, by 'scooping' the story and by controlling the release of the details of the tragedy. Fielding eventually became chief editorial writer and editor of the Chronicle, and his editorials carried great weight in defeating the Holmes-Thompson government in 1882. Fielding, throughout his career as a journalist and a politician, stood for a sound Liberalism.

The Hon. J.W.Longley was also connected with the Chronicle, and Robert McConnell, after years of experience as a newspaper man, became editor of the paper in 1892.

In Charlottetown, Edward Whelan's Examiner, though it has now disappeared, lived into the twentieth century. Founded as a weekly, it became a daily in 1877. W.L.Cotton was the editor for many years, conducting the Examiner as a Conservative paper. The Islander, established by John Ings in 1842, disappeared a few years after Confederation, and the Island Argus, started by

James H. Fletcher, 1869, was absorbed by the Examiner in 1881. The two prominent papers at the present time were both started before the end of last century. The Patriot, the first editor of which was David Laird, appeared in the years before the Island joined the Dominion. Laird continued as editor until 1896, bringing his paper into the ranks of the dailies in 1881 and editing it on the policies of the Liberal party. The other paper, the Guardian, was established as an independent and temperance journal, commencing as a semi-weekly in 1885, and appearing as a morning daily in 1891. B.D. Higgs was one of its earliest editors, but it was under J.E.B.McCready that the Guardian advanced into the twentieth century. The Royal Gazette, first printed in 1791, still appears as an official organ of the government.

Those four notable editors - Elder, Livingston, Ellis and Anglin - held the prominent places in St. John for several years after Confederation. The amalgamation of Elder's Journal and Livingston's Telegraph was brought about a few months after Confederation, and the Telegraph, as it was then called, gripped more firmly each day the mind of the reading public. For this, Elder was largely responsible and he became the outstanding journalist in the province. Upon his death in 1883- he was at the time Provincial Secretary of New Brunswick - he was succeeded as editor of the Telegraph by McCready, who edited the paper for nearly ten years, and was followed by Dr. Hannay upon a change of proprietorship. Although outside of the scope of the nineteenth century, it is interesting to learn that the Telegraph-Journal, its full name to-day, now has a circulation of nearly twenty thousand copies a day, the largest of any in the Maritimes.

The Daily Sun, now gone, was established in 1877 and under the editorial direction of J. Livingston and S.D. Scott had a successful career as a Conservative paper. Scott was the editor from 1885 to about 1908.

During the early days of the Globe, the editor John V. Ellis built it upon sound principles, so that it lives to-day as a daily. Ellis's connection with the Globe was one of long duration, for he was with it from its foundation in 1858 until he retired in 1899. Ellis was well-known as a politician, being in turn a member of the Provincial Legislature, the House of Commons, and the Senate.

IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

The two central news markets in the Province of Quebec continued to thrive after 1867, In the capital city the Mercury, and the Morning Chronicle maintained their positions as prominent papers. From 1879 to 1896 the Chronicle was under the able editorship of De. George Stewart, who at one time edited the Mercury. The Mercury ceased publication in the early year of the twentieth century, but the Chronicle still appears, bearing as its date of foundation the year 1764, and still issuing as a weekly the Gazette. Only one new English paper of any importance appeared and that was the Telegraph, established in 1874. A few days ago a rumour of pending merger between the Chronicle and the Telegraph companies was announced, but if it is to take place, it has not been consummated yet.

In Montreal the first date after Confederation to be remembered - and it is an important one in the newspaper world - is 1869. In that year Hugh Graham, with the aid of Marshall Scott and George Lanigan, started the Montreal Star as a one cent evening paper. It first appeared as something of a sensational sheet,

but with a good circulation secured, the publishers directed their activities into more orthodox channels. To-day, the Star is certainly one of the greatest news sheets in the Dominion, with a circulation of over one hundred thousand copies a day. Ranking as an independent paper, the Star, however, has been known to switch in its political policies with great rapidity, and is closely watched by politicians throughout the country. It has though an editorial column which is cleverly written and the paper, judged in its totality, stands high among the journals of the nation. Hugh Graham - now Lord Atholstan - continues to be the predominating figure on the Star, still writing editorials and helping to conduct other departments of the paper.

John Lowe and Brown Chamberlin, who had purchased the Montreal Gazette in 1852, conducted it successfully until 1870, when they sold to Thomas and Richard White, formerly owners of the Hamilton Spectator. Thomas White, who became Minister of the Interior in 1886, was the controlling influence until his premature death in 1888, and it was due to his ability, as a writer and as a leader, that the Gazette reached the position of such prominence that it did. Richard White was in editorial control for ten years, from 1886 to 1896, when he was appointed Collector of Customs at Montreal. His place was taken by S.L.Kydd with J.C.Cunliffe and John Reade as assistants, but the Whites continued to hold an interest in the paper and do so until this day. Other writers on the Gazette during this period included such able men as James Kirby D.C.L., George Spaight, Professor Sumichrast later of Harvard, and John Talon-Lesperance. To-day the Gazette is known throughout the Dominion as an extremely reliable dealer in news and a paper with sound Conservative tendencies.

The Montreal Herald reached its height under the editorial regime of the Hon.E.Goff-Penny, and for some years after 1885

the Hon. Peter Mitchell was in control. In 1899 J.S.Brierley and J.E.Atkinson assumed management, bringing to the paper a new lease of life.

The destinies of the Witness were controlled by John Redpath Dougall after 1870, but as a daily the paper was forced to discontinue in the twentieth century because of its advocacy of prohibitory liquor laws and because if failed to follow the modern tendencies in journalism. It had been a great paper in its day and its editorial column was distinguished by the excellency of the writing.

IN ONTARIO.....

Turning to Toronto for the last time, we find that the years immediately after 1867 witnessed sensational developments in the newspaper field, for a number of new newspapers appeared in rapid succession with the competitive struggles for existence and the amalgamations following.

This modern era of journalism in Toronto was introduced immediately prior to Confederation by the establishment of the Daily Telegraph, in 1866. J.Ross Robertson was the foremost promotor of the enterprise, which lasted over a period of five years and then was snuffed out. In1876 he staked his faith in a second venture, known as the Evening Telegram, a paper which to-day has a circulation of nearly one hundred and seven thousand, and which is still published by the estate of the founder.

T.C.Patteson, a brilliant journalist, was the first proprietor and editor of the Mail, a Conservative paper appearing for the first time in 1872. Five years later the young paper came under the control of John Riordan and Christopher W. Bunting, the latter remaining in command until 1896. The Mail is interesting in itself, but it is more interesting because of its conflict with

the Empire, another Conservative organ brought into existence chiefly through the efforts of Sir John MacDonald, David Creighton and other party men in 1887. The Empire scored a success in the general lections of 1891, and it obtained its final financial victory over the Mail in 1895, the two papers amalgamating that year into to single journal known since as the Mail and Empire. The famous Dr. Goldwin Smith was for some time a contributor to this paper. Arthur Wallis received the appointment of editor-in-chief of the Mail and Empire in 1890, and was later assisted by W.H.Bunting and W.S.Evans.

Edmund E. Sheppard was for a time the editor of the Evening News (1880), and in 1887 he brought out the Saturday Night, only to purchase the Evening Star in 1895. The Star, ranked as an independent paper, was started in 1892 and to-day has the largest circulation in Toronto. Sheppard was in charge of the Star only for a comparatively short period of time.

The Globe, Toronto's oldest surviving daily, must not be forgotten. It has continued as a Liberal paper down to this day, bearing the motto chosen by George Brown, and still appearing as a morning journal which is widely read. The foremost figure in the last years of the nineteenth century on the Globe was J.S.Willison, who joined the paper in 1883, having commenced his career on the London Advertiser the year previous. He became editor-in-chief of the Globe in 1890.

Ottawa, a city late in its development, has not attached to it a great deal of newspaper history, and the little that there is has received sparse mention from writers on the subject. The first paper to be blessed with long life was the Ottawa Citizen. Founded in 1844 it still lives to-day; it publishes evening and morning editions and is independent.

The Free Press, an evening paper, was the next important publication to make its appearance, being established in 1869 and standing for reform principles. The Free Press survived a number of years but to-day it is no more.

Besides the Citizen, the Journal is the only other important paper in the Dominion capital to-day. It was established forty years ago and now has a circulation covering a wide field. It belongs to the ranks of the independent Conservatives.

The Herald joined the Hamilton group in 1889, but in London the Advertiser and the Free Press continued to hold complete control.

THE WESTERN JOURNALS

With the Winnipeg newspapers shattered by the Red River Rebellion and the subsequent discontent, W.F.Luxton, in 1874, was instrumental in establishing the Winnipeg Free Press which, in its various editions, is now the mightiest journalistic force in the prairie provinces. Luxton was editor of the paper for over twenty years; and in 1894 he founded the Daily Nor-'Wester, which later became the Telegram, but he remained in charge only a few months.

The Herald was the first paper in Winnipeg to be published daily, but the experiment was continued for only a few months in 1877.

After serving for eight years on the Winnipeg Sun, a paper of some importance before the 'nineties', Robert L. Richardson commenced, in 1890, to publish the Tribune, a paper standing for liberalism and national schools. The Tribune to-day is Winnipeg's second paper.

As the development is Saskatchewan and Alberts is distinctly modern there were only a few papers of any importance before the twentieth century. The Saskatchewan Herald appeared at Battleford

as early as 1878, under the direction of P.G. Laurie, and the Calgary Herald, established in 1883, was for some years edited by John Livingston. The well known Regina Leader was founded by Nicholas F. Davin, an orator, writer, and politician, who was editor and proprietor for many years. The first paper in Edmonton was the outcome of a pioneer venture, for the founder, Frank Oliver, was forced to carry his equipment by ox cart over the prairie trails for seven hundred miles. The result was the issuing of the Edmonton Bulletin in 1880, a paper described as being in its earlier days as being the "smallest and the dearest paper in Canada."[1] Two years later the Gazette, under C.E.D.Wood appeared at Fort Macleod; and as the Canadian Pacific Railway spread through the west, the papers became more numerous. The Regina Standard was the pioneer daily of the province of Saskatchewan. It was first known as the Journal and was established by C.J.Atkinson.

After the first transcontinental railway line had been finished, the development of Vancouver in all its aspects was rapid. There were, to begin with, three early journals - the News, the Advertiser and the Herald. But where the Herald found the solution to its difficulties in death, the News and the Advertiser settled their problems by amalgamation. Towards the end of the last century and into the early years of the twentieth, the guiding spirit of the News-Advertiser was the Hon. Mr.Francis-Carter Cotton, an Englishman who cut out for himself a successful career in British Columbia. The News-Advertiser has been described as "Conservative in tone, non-sensational,clean,reliable and well edited - a good old-fashioned newspaper, going on without change from day to day, uniform in its dress and consistent in policy with all previous expressions of opinion."[2] The News-

1-History of Canadian Journalism (Can, Press Assoc.)p.205
2- " " " " " " " p.193

Advertiser exists no longer.

Under the partnership of Templeman and O'Brien, the Daily World was started as a Conservative paper, but with the changes brought about by time, it became recognized as the organ of the Laurier Government. Its amalgamation with the Sun took place a year or two ago.

Hewitt Bostock, then without the title of Senator, supplied the necessary funds to finance a new paper, the Daily Province, which was started under the guidance of Walter Nichol, formerly of the Hamilton Herald. Independent to-day, the Province was originally Liberal in its policy, and its success on the western coast has been most marked.

The only important change in Victoria was brought about by the appearance of the Times in 1884. The Hon. William Templeman was closely associated with the paper from its inauguration.

Connected first with the New Westminister Columbian and later with the Colonist, Victoria, the Hon. John Robson should be mentioned before the section on western journalism is completed. He was a writer of vigour, and a keen politician, who was widely known as 'Honest John, being christened this by a contemporary. After a busy life, he died of blood poisoning in 1892.

.....CONCLUSION.....

It would be only a platitude to declare solemnly that the newspapers of to-day are too close to be viewed in their proper light. But it is well that I stopped at the beginning of the century, for a critical survey of the present journalistic machinery of the country would require a careful and complete analysis. The remarkable mechanical advantages of the twentieth century newspapers and the vast financial resources by which they are controlled have completely altered the system of the last century.

So in the few pages that remain, I want to turn back hurriedly to take a final and fleeting glance at the periods in Canadian journalism before the present era. To say that a conclusion should be a justification of the work done is only a supposition; but I believe that, in the case of this thesis at least, this is so. If I had recorded only useless material this thesis would typify a waste of time and energy; if I had written of something insignificant and of no importance in national life my efforts would have been of no avail. But I am convinced that this is not the case. Yet it was not until I commenced my research in this subject that I realized the vastness and worth of the material at my command. Canadian journalism has gone unnoticed and unrecorded for many years.

It is in the very earliest days of Canadian newspaper life that I find my first claim by which I would justify this thesis. Those early pioneers, who were writers, publishers, printers all in one, carried on a work the importance of which cannot be over emphasized. Following on the very heels of the first pioneer settlers, and in the face of physical difficulties, the early Canadian journalists brought their presses and types into the

hearts of the wilderness, helping to keep these communities in touch with the great world outside. True, their work was often crude and the papers which they issued were more than often commonplace things. But the pioneer spirit was there, and it is upon the pioneer spirit that the nation is built. Canada is richer to-day because of Bushell, Sower,Brown,Mesplet,Coldwell and all their co-workers and contemporaries.

With the passing of the pioneer days and with the arrival of the formative period of national life, the newspapers continued to carry on their work, but this time in a different direction. If it had not been for newspaper men, honest, courageous and clever, the establishment of responsible government in the British Colonies in North America would have been delayed even longer than it was. The spirit of Joseph Howe, William Lyon, Mackenzie, Jotham Blanchard, and many another newspaper man of the day is found in those lines used as a soft refrain in Galworthy's "The White Monkey,"

"No retreat, no retreat;
They must conquer or die
Who have no retreat!"

These men who fought for the freedom of the press and of the people, did not retreat; they advanced to a double victory, and their names and their works should be remembered. And that is my second claim which I would put forward to justify this thesis.

Then too there is the fact that many of Canada's greatest politicians and moulders of public opinion have been men of the press. Howe,Mackenzie,Brown,Neilson,Amor de Cosmos,White,Elder, McGee, Fielding,-these, to name only a few, were all journalists, who won for themselves high places in the political and literary life of the country. That is my third reason.

And remembering these things, it is hard to realize that the full story of Canadian journalism has never been told. In all my search for material, I did not find one well written work on the subject, although some excellent works on one or two particular phases have been published. "The History of Canadian Journalism," issued by the Canadian Press Association, is devoted chiefly to an account of the Association itself, with several very sketchy articles on the different provinces included fof good measure, Biggar's article, in McKim's Directory (1892) is good as far as it goes, but it only deals with the earliest days, accounting for practically nothing after the early portion of the nineteenth century. And so it is that the last claim that I shall make to justify this thesis - I could have made more - is that this work now finished, is the most complete history of Canadian journalism that I know of, and as such it is worth the time and the effort required to do it. Candidly I admit it is a journeyman work; candidly I admit it is far from complete. But I have been awakened to the greatness of a fine subject and I believe that I have helped to open the way for further research in the same subject, for this thesis is composed only of generalities, the details yet remain.

APPENDIX - A

The following list is taken from J.M.Le Moine's "Quebec, Past and Present," pages 421-422 (Quebec 1876) and gives an excellent idea of a development of journalism in that city from the time of the foundation of the Gazette until some years after Confederation. Some of the papers mentioned are not at all important, while other papers are not included on the list; but I reproduce the list as Le Moine gives it.

Quebec Gazette,21 June,1764
Courier du Quebec,24 Nov.,1788
Quebec Herald,24,Nov.1788
Quebec Herald,26,Nov.,1788
Quebec Daily Mercury,5 Jan.,1805
Le Canadien,22 Nov.,1806
Courier du Quebec,3 Jan.,1807
Le Vrai Canadien,7 March,1810
The Commerical List,14 May,1816
Le Telegraphe,1820
Le Sentinelle,1822
Gazette Patriotique,12 July,1823
La Sentinelle Quebec,11 May,1826
L'Electeur,16 July,1827
The Star,5 Dec.,1827
L'Abeille Canadienne,7 Dec.,1833
The Telegraph,7 March,1837
Morning Herald,25 April,1837
La Liberal,17 June,1837
Le Fantasque,August, 1837
The Literary Transcript,13 Jan,,1838
Journal des Etudiantes,1841
L'Institut,7 March,1841
British North American,10 May,1841
The Quebec Argus,3 Nov.,1841
L'Artisan, 5 Oct.,1842
Standard,29 Nov., 1842
Le Journal de Quebec,1 Dec., 1843
The Quebec Herald,19 Oct., 1843
Le Castor,7 Nov., 1843
Quebec Times,10 Feb.,1844
The Berean,4 April,1844
Freeman's Journal,7 June,1844
Le Menestrel,20 June,1844
Commercial Courier,23 Jan,1845
The Guardian,4 Oct.,1845
Morning Chronicle,18 May,1847
L'Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie,18 Dec.,1847
Quebec Spectator,3 May,1848
The Emigrant,25 May,1848
L'Abeille, October 1848
Canadien Independent, May 1849
La Sentinelle du Peuple 26 March,1850
L'Ordre Social,28 March,1850
L'Ouvrier,6 May 1851
La Voix du Peuple,26 Dec.,1851
Our Journal,24 Sept.,1852
The Protestant Times,3 Sept.1853
The Quebec Colonist,1853
The Observer,March 30,1854
L'Independant 1 July,1854
Le National,20 Nov.,1855
Military Gazette 17 Jan.,1857
Le Courier de Canada,1 Feb.,1857
La Citadelle,9 May, 1857
Le Fantasque,19 Nov.,1857
The Vindicator, Dec.,1857
Le Cascon,3 March, 1858
L'Observateur, 9 March,1858
La Citadelle,3 April,1858
The Quebec Herald, 5 May,1858
Le Charivari,10 May 1858
Le Chicot,1858
Le Borru,1 Feb.,1859
The Gridiron,23 July,1859
La Reforme,9 June,1860

Litterature Canadien,26 Sept.,1860
Les Debats 22 March, 1862
Quebec Daily News, May 1862
Le Grognard,27 Sept.,1862
The Exponent,May 1863
L'Echo des Imbeciles, 26 July,1863
La Tribune 23 August, 1863
La Scie,29 Oct.,1863
The Dagger,2 Nov.,1863
La Mascarade 14 Nov.,1863
La Line 18 Nov., 1863
La Semaine,2 Jan.,1864
The Arrow,6 April 1864
L'Eclaire Sept.,1864
La Scie Illustre,11 Feb.,1865
L'Organe de la Milice,17 April,1865
The Stadacona Puch,20 May,1865
The Sprit,7 June,1865
Le Progres,6 Sept.,1865
Gazette du Commerce et de L'Industrie 12 May,1866
L'Electeur 19 May 1866
The Comet 27 Oct.,1866
The Telegraph, 1 May 1867
L'Evenement,15 May 1867
L'Echo du Peuple,1 June,1867
L'Omnibus,1867
La Sangsue,14 Sept. 1867.
The Quiver,12 Dec. ,1867.
Le Charivari Canadien,June 1868
Saturday Review,14 Nov.,1868
L'Opinion Nationale,3 May,1870
L'Independant,June 1870
The Saturday Budget,12 Nov.1870
L'Opinion du Peuple,8 April 1871
Irish Sentinel,8 Feb.,1872
The Irish Citizen,July 1872.
L'Esperance,28 Sept.,1872.
L'Echo de la Session,Nov.1872
Daily Telegraph,May 1874
Le Cultivateur,3 Sept.1874
Le Journal de St.Roche,23 Jan. 1875.
L'Union de St.Roche et de St. Sauveur,12 Jan.1875.
The Lance,14 August 1875
Daily Telegraph,8 Nov. 1875
The Northern Star,20 Nov.1875
The Quebec Star,27 Nov. 1875
La Volonte,1 March,1876
Le Figaro,10 March 1876
Le Reveil,20 May,1876.

APPENDIX -B

The following statistics are given in the British Colonist (Stanstead) of July 21,1825.They were reprinted from Neilson's Gazette."These papers have been established for some time past:

At St. John's, Newfoundland	-1
Charlotte,Prince Edward Island	-1
Halifax	-5
St. Andrew's,N.B.....	-1
St.John ditto.....	-3
Fredricton.....	-1
	-12
Quebec.....	-4
Three Rivers (interrupted at present) ...	-1
Montreal	-8
Stanstead.....	-1
	-14
Brockville (U.C.)...	-1
Kingston.....	-2
York.....	-3
Niagara.....	-2
	-8
	-34

It added that the Canadian Freeman,York,was among those "periodical publications established or about to be established."

APPENDIX - C

The statement given below appeared in the Morning Courier (Montreal) for June 5,1835. It was included in an article on 'Hochelaga Depicta' and is a reliable indication of the most important papers then appearing.

"The following journals are requested to insert the above prospectus occasionally during the winter, and the Publisher pledges himself to present each with a bound copy of Hochelaga Depicta, when completed: Morning Courier, Montreal Herald, Gazette, Vindicator, Irish Advocate, Minerve, and L'ami du Peuple, Kingston, Chronicle and Gazette, Toronto Courier, Quebec Mercury, and Neilson's Gazette."

A volume of the Courier (1837-38) is in the Redpath Library.)

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APPENDIX - D

The following table is reproduced from a proof sheet of one of the pages in McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications for 1925 through the courtesy of H.T.Stephenson. It sums up in brief the progress made since 1892, when the first McKim's Directory was issued.

	Daily	Tri-Weekly	Semi-Weekly	Weekly	Semi-Monthly	Monthly	Miscell.	Total
1892	97	6	22	653	30	217	8	1033
1925	111	9	30	976	35	331	48	1540

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APPENDIX - E

Two Cards from Sydneham Howe.

Through the courtesy of John U.Ross, of Pictou,N.S., a relative of the late Joseph Howe,the following statements have been received from Sydenham Howe, the son of Joseph Howe, Mr. Howe, an octogenarian, lives in Middleton,N.S., and these replies were in answer to a request for the date of John Howe's arrival in Halifax. The first reply read:

Middleton,15 April '25.

"I have no record of this date. My grandfather's papers were destroyed when his house burnt down and I can find nothing among my Father's papers. I do know however that it was the time the British left New York. My grandfather took his lady love Martha Minns to Rhode Island,was married there,and sailed for Halifax,but I cannot name the ship. I have no books of reference here.

Yours sincerely,Syd Howe."

The second card read:

Middleton 20th April, '25.

"Have discovered that the British troops came to Halifax from Boston in 1776 so that is the date of my Grandfather's coming to the Province.

Yours truly,

Syd Howe."

These two statements arrived at such a late date that they could not be incorporated in the thesis. I deemed them of sufficient importance,however,to include them here,as they contradict the statement made by Dr.MacLellan, in the anniversary issue of the Halifax Chronicle. Mr.John U.Ross also wrote from Pictou saying: "W.E.MacLellan does not recall his authority for giving the year you mention nor do I find it given in any of the Howe literature I have."

APPENDIX - F

The following list is given by Castell Hopkins, In Canada, Vol.V, page 222-223. It represents the principal papers in the order of their founding and, though it is not complete, it is a sound indication of the advance of journalism throughout the Dominion from 1752 to 1896.

Royal Gazette,Halifax,1752
(1) Gazette,Montreal 1778
Mercury, Quebec,1805
(2) Herald, Montreal,1808
News,Kingston,1810
Acadian Recorder,Halifax,1813
Morning Chronicle,Halifax,1820
Recorder, Brockville,1820
Journal, St. Catherines,1826
La Minerve, Montreal,1826
Ontario, Belleville,1834
Intelligencer,Belleville,1834
Courier,Brantford,1834
British Whig,Kingston,1834
Citizen,Ottawa,1844
Globe,Toronto,1844
Witness,Montreal,1845
Spectator,Hamilton,1846
Reporter,Galt,1846
Chronicle,Quebec,1847
Free Press, London.1849
Herald,Guelph,1847
Examiner,Charlottetown,1847
Presbyterian Witness,Halifax,1848
Huron Signal,Goderich,1848
Dumfries Reformer,Galt,1848
True Witness,Montreal,1850
Planet,Chatham,1851
Expositor,Brantford,1851
Review,Peterborough,1852
Casket,Antigonish,1852
Mercury,Guelph,1853
Times,Woodstock,1853
Beacon,Stratford,1854
Sentinel-Review,Woodstock,1854
Examiner,Peterborough,1855
Courier du Canada,Quebec,1857
Canadian Post,Lindsay,1857
Guardian,Richmond,1857
Times,Hamilton,1858
Colonist,Victoria,1858
True Banner,Dundas,1858
Norfolk,Reformer,Simcoe,1858
Globe,St.John,1859
Journal,St. Thomas,1859
Patriot,Charlottetown,1859
Advertiser,London,1863
Herald,Stratford,1863
Canadian Gleaner,Huntington,1863
St. Croix,Courier,St. Stephen,1865
Banner,Chatham,1865
LeMonde,Montreal,1866
Star,Goderich,1866
L'Evenement,Quebec,1867
Times,Fredericton,1868
Star,Montreal,1869
Free Press,Ottawa,1869
Telegraph,St.John,1869
Telegraph,Quebec,1870
Mail and Empire,Toronto,1872
Free Press, Winnipeg,1872 (3)
Times,St. Thomas,1873
Morning Herald,Halifax,1875
Sun,St.John,1877
Times,Brockville,1878
La Patrie,Montreal,1879
Le Canada,Ottawa,1879
Le Soleil,Quebec,1880
L'Electeur,Quebec,1880
World,Toronto,1880
Gleaner,Fredericton,1881
Courier du Canada,Quebec,1881
Transcript,Fredericton,1882
L'Etendard,Montreal,1883
Herald,Calgary,1883
Leader,Regina,1883
La Presse,Montreal,1884
Times,Victoria,1884
Journal,Ottawa,1885
Morning Guardian,Charlottetown,1885

1-Corrected date 1785
2- " " 1811
3-Corrected date 1874

Tribune,Calgary,1886
News-Advertiser,Vancouver,1886
Columbian,New Westminister,1886
Standard,Regina,1886
Star,St.Catherines,1887
Gazette,St.John,1888
World,Vancouver,1888
Herald,Hamilton,1889
Standard,St.Catherines,1890
The Miner,Nelson,1890
Tribune,Winnipeg,1890
Telegram,Vancouver,1890
Record,St.John,1893
Daily Province,Vancouver,1893
Morning Telegram,Winnipeg,1894
The Miner,Rossland,1896
News,London,1896

APPENDIX - G

The following is from the Appendix to "The British Dominions in North America," by Joseph Bouchette,Surveyor General of Lower Canada,Vice-President of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. This book was published in 1832, and the list below is taken from an original edition now in possession of the Sherbrooke Public Library.

Bouchette gives these papers as the most prominent in Lower Canada in 1832;

Quebec Gazette (by authority) - once a week - Quebec
Quebec Gazette (Neilson's) - twice a week - "
Quebec Mercury - " " " - "
Star - - " " " - "
Montreal Gazette (by authority)- " " " - Montreal
Montreal Herald - " " " - "
New Montreal Gazette - once a week - "
Canadian Courant -twice a week - "
Canadian Spectator - " " " - "
Spectateur Canadien - " " " - "
La Minerve - " " " - "
British Colonist - once a week - Stanstead
Irish Vindicator (proposed) - twice a week- Montreal

APPENDIX - H

The following statistical account of Canadian journalistic development is from Bourinot's "Intellectual Development of the Canadian People," (1881) pages 77-78.

1840 - 65 papers in all Canada, including Maritimes.

1857 -243 papers in all.

1862 - 320.

1870 - 432, with Ontario owning 255 of these.

1881 - probable number 465,56 being dailies.

Bourinto estimates that 160,000,000 copies of newspapers were in 1881 annually distributed to a population of 4,000,000.

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c-The Press of Ontario, Arthur Wallis.

d-Reminiscences of 1856, Robert Sellar.

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52-Montreal Gazette, 1788-89, 1804, 1806.

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