

Papineau

Paris 12 8bre 1839

Monsieur Chier Monsieur Chapman

Ce n'est plus le grand océan qui nous sépare. Ce n'est plus
qu'un petit Océan de sept petites lieues qui sépare le Pays où vous êtes de
celui où je suis: mais il y a mille autres obstacles pénielles à ce que nous ayons
le plaisir de nous voir. De votre part la vie la plus active la mieux remplie
qui puisse bien se concevoir. Des épreuves des persecutions que la vertu et
le talent devraient ignorer, mais auxquelles ils sont plus particulièrement
exposés parce que le nombre des sots qui haïssent le talent est presque infini
et que le nombre des méchants qui haïssent la vertu est absolument infini.
Malgré les obstacles dont a été hérissée votre route, vous y avancez, espér
d'un pas ferme, parviendrez bientôt à l'admission au Barreau. y défen
drez avec éclat avec succès des Libéraux, opprimés pendant quelques temps enco
je le crains, dans toutes les parties du monde puisque le gouvernement
aristocratique de votre pays étend aussi loin son autorité, dont il abuse partout
hors de la Grande Bretagne, aussi insolamment que le peut faire une auto
cratie. Vos cours même de justice qui ont été le dernier ^{asile} refuge où des prin
cipes protecteurs avaient pris refuge contre les dogmes de l'arbitraire, ont
immolé les principes à l'ascendant de la Cour, ~~et~~ contre laquelle on ne les
verra plus jamais en lutte, jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient enveloppées dans une ruine
commune. On verra un nouvel et meilleur ordre de chose. Votre Lord Den
man non plus le dernier des Bretons libres, mais le premier des courtisans:
a mal jugé dans le cas des prisonniers Canadiens, mal jugé contre les privi
leges de la Chambre des communes, qui il est vrai doivent être restreints
quand elle n'est plus qu'une succursale de la Chambre des Lords. Mais sa di
gnité serait moins dégradante si elle était ^{constatée par} simplement l'humiliation que
lui fait éprouver la Chambre des Lords par le rejet méprisant de plus de Bills
et de Bills importants qu'elle n'en a rejeté à aucune autre époque de l'his
toire

J. W. Chapman Esquire

toire Parlementaire, mais il faut que la Cour Supérieure de Montréal aujourd'hui sa décision impuement, demain un simple juge de Paix en fera autant. Alors la Chambre des communes étant un rouage inutile, je ne vois pas trop pourquoi les nobles Britons ne seraient pas gouvernés par la seule chambre des nobles. Néanmoins les courageux efforts de notre grand Ami Mr. Roebuck a arraché les prisonniers Canadiens à l'exil pire que la mort que la vengeance leur avait destinée. En Canada l'on mendie continuellement les centaines de condamnés de ce sort affreux. Je ne puis croire à une pareille absurde contradiction, que l'élargissement de ceux qui avaient fait toute partie du voyage, de ceux que l'on a rendus à leurs familles dans les Etats-Unis et l'embarquement au bout du monde de ceux du bas Canada, pour rappeler apparemment que cette excessive rigueur leur sera infligée, parce que c'est le même sang qui coule dans leurs veines ^{celui qui coulait} que dans celles des Acadiens et que votre Ministère est aussi avancé aujourd'hui dans ses notions de justice et de libéralité qu'il le fut alors. Si vous savez quelque chose de l'avenir du Canada faites m'en part. Faites en part à mon neveu Louis Desaulles qui y retournera, qui verra Callaghan avec qui j'espère vous continuerez à correspondre.

S'il est en votre pouvoir de vous arracher un peu à vos occupations je recommande à vos soins à votre amitié cet excellent jeune homme. Je vous remercie bien cordialement de tout ce que vous avez fait pour accueillir le fils de votre ami, mon Lactance, de la manière la plus amicale possible et de lui avoir rendu sans séjour à Londres aussi instructif et amusant que possible. Mon neveu est dans le même cas ne peut être que peu de jours à Londres mais sous votre habile et bienveillante direction, il trouvera plus d'instruction, et de satisfaction que ne lui en donnerait un séjour très prolongé s'il ne vous rencontrait point. Je me tiens assuré que si Mr. Papineau s'était rendu à Londres votre amitié vous aurait épargné retire de vos occupations les plus

Représentes pour lui être utile. C'est Despaullès qui vous a épargné ce travail parce qu'il a fait le voyage d'Europe exprès pour l'aider à surmonter les difficultés sans nombre d'une jeune personne pauvre mère de famille voyageant seule avec sa nichée. et ainsi reprendre pour lui une partie de la tâche que vous auriez remplie alors.

Notre ami commun Mr. Ravenis est-il allé aux Antipodes de chez vous pour aller trouver occasion à fonder un bon et libre gouvernement. Je lui souhaite à lui et à la bonne œuvre dans laquelle il est engagé tout le bonheur et le succès qu'il mérite. Faites lui mes plus sincères amitiés.

Il me reste à former ou plutôt à exprimer le vœu sincère qu'il se trouve bientôt quelques circonstances qui vous porteraient et Mr. Roebuck à visiter cette belle métropole. Ce serait un vif plaisir que celui que donnerait à M. Papineau et à moi une si bonne visite.

Votre ami très affectueux

Papineau

This curious letter was written by
M. Papineau in exile & exhibits
the bitterness of a man who had
suffered dreadfully. My
father - whom with the writer, had
forgotten, was then studying for the
Bar. Mr. Ravenis had gone out to
New Zealand. He still remained in
the country but in poor health.
F.B. Jan 1863.

* survives in

J. H. Chapman Revier

Facieur de Mr.
Louis DeBardès.

Londres

Rasco's Hotel Book

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Nov 24th 1834

My dear Sir

After having repeated
but unsuccessful attempts to recover
my several papers seized by the
Gov^r in 1837 I yesterday succeeded
I had but one object that of
obtaining Mr. Lee's Receipt for
the \$3000⁰⁰ I ought with him
Mr. LaRoche has been
with us since about 2000 to our
friends and the only understanding
with him is for \$500 supposed to be
in the hands of Johnson. The \$10000
Mr. Tracy & Co. settled & carried
in Sept last, that was taken whether
by that the Mr. Lee & Danvers,
LaRoche & Co. paid 12/6 was
paragon for the rest & became pecuniary
L. The rest did his utmost and it is
doubtful to say he held his faith
invariably. Having settled his affairs
I proceeded to attend to negotiations

for Mr. Lewis under a belief from
 what Lewis mentions that Lewis
 in some way compounded with Mr. L. K. Rogge
 for the money invested, but to meet me
 as once by saying that he would not
 enter on the subject until something
 was done towards the appointment
 of the \$3000 among his Creditors
 L. K. H. has settled with Lee Court, &c.
 and has the discharge of the same from
 Mr. Lewis their authorized agents,
 and Mr. Lee pretends to hold this \$3000
 for himself to which he can have
 no possible claim. Out of this now
with good management we may be
able to obtain dividends for Mr. Lewis,
that you therefore see Mr. Lee's intention
on what he found, his pretensions, if it be
or can be made to appear to be the
rest of the original receipts given by
him to Lewis, that not to be in my
possession among his papers and as
the case is with the delivery conditions
and prove Mr. Lewis in part as
least of what he has done. From other
parts of the fact I feel confident that
he is disposed to act honorably towards

Mr. Lewis ever without this screen, for
 tip, still is not. I have this additional
 power. I have done for Sam more than I could
 have done for myself and had so much of
 unaccountable responsibility it would have
 been necessary to impudently to have made
 if I had been aware of his intention to go to
 New Zealand. Although I intended to embark
 in a ship, and that it was only the day after
 I fell through disengagement of all his liabilities
 with Lark & Co. for I have given up time &
 money to sustain this which I know
 that his detestable man, New Zealand could
 possibly have been settled without any
 sacrifice or risk on my part merely
 for the debt on that by Lark
 Lewis or the end of his departure
 due on the 1st of May which I could
 not overtake under any circumstances
 but he could not know what I had done
 or what to come promise for to obtain
 his father's perfect cooperation. Without
 reference however to this if I had been in the
 command of such a squadron I would have honored
 the Act but have paid it & drawn on him
 for reimbursement. I have had much to
 contend with since Sam went away and
 Mrs. Simpson's death being her death has borne
 heavily on me, this however I regret to say
 better now. It seems to me that distress has
 a terrible effect on the human mind or rather
 on some hearts. John seems just to have
 forgotten his mother - not so with her - but let
 it pass. I say as yourself in the affair of
 £3000.

Papineau

Paris 26 Décembre 1842

Mon cher Monsieur Chapman -

Je vous remercie bien affectueusement de votre bon et amical souvenir, exprimé par votre intéressante lettre du 9 présent mois, qui par je ne sais quels obstacles & longs-détours, ne m'est parvenue que le 23 suivant. C'est avec un vif plaisir que mon épouse et moi apprenons les détails sur ce qui vous est arrivé d'heureux, et que nous faisons des vœux sincères, pour que votre bonheur grandisse encore & soit durable. Depuis notre séparation vous avez acquis une belle profession, vous avez épousé une Dame jeune, aimable, instruite et chère, qui déjà vous a rendu le père heureux d'un beau garçon avec expectation de charmans frères & sœurs qui le suivront, pour que vous ne manquiez pas de bonne compagnie, dans les vastes et distans pays que vous avez l'énergie d'aller visiter en vue de les embellir, avec l'espoir qui je l'espère et le souhaite de tout mon cœur se réalisera, d'y préparer plus facilement que dans les pays surchargés d'hommes & d'impôts, un nid bien doux et bien commode pour vos enfans, pour que plus tard et tous ensemble dans l'aisance, vous viviez à l'aise et à votre choix au pays de votre adoption ou en celui de votre naissance, comme vous l'aimez mieux. Que vos enfans aient la tête et le cœur de leur père et à mon avis, ils seront bien estimables. Ils auront peut être l'ambition de faire encore mieux, il leur faudra ressembler encore plus à leur mère qu'à vous. Peu importe, comme ils n'auront que des leçons & des exemples parfaits, je me fais caution qu'ils seront vertueux, et c'est la première, l'indispensable élément du bonheur, qui à cette condition peut se trouver même au milieu de grands revers de fortune.

La carrière que vous avez si honorablement & si laborieusement fournie depuis votre retour en Angleterre, l'étude spéciale du droit, la défense énergique des libertés coloniales, vous qualifient non seulement à recueillir pour vous de grands avantages dans une colonie toute Anglaise, mais aussi à y procurer de grands à vos compatriotes. Colonies et abus innombrables sont choses inséparables. La presse est le seul obstacle, à ce qu'ils pullulent assez pour détruire toute prospérité, pour étouffer tout sentiment d'indépendance individuelle. L'avoir dirigée en Angleterre, y avoir appris jusqu'où la loi vous permet d'aller, si elle

vous enjoind d'arrêter, vous donne de grands moyens de créer une opinion publique qui
fasse désirer à la majorité la jouissance du plus grand degré possible de la liberté légale. Vous
êtes bien préparé à servir vos compatriotes au Bureau et dans la presse, des lors à acquiescer de l'influence,
à être porté dans la vie publique, région d'orages & de souffrances sans compensation dans toutes
les Colonies. Celle où vous allez doit avoir des difficultés politiques. Au début les actionnaires ou proprié-
taires devaient être leurs propres & leur seuls législateurs. On les a trompés, le Parlement est intervenu
nu ce me semble. On s'arrêtera cette disposition tracassière. Pourquoi ne pas faire des Colonistes
des agents moraux, destinés à profiter de leur bonne conduite, de leur bonne législation, et à
souffrir de la mauvaise. Dans ce cas ils la corrigeraient bien vite. Mais quand on prétend en faire
une argile ductile qui doit se plier à tous les formes que lui voudra contonner les potiers de la Métro-
pole, ils leur imputeront tous leurs maux réels & imaginaires, seront sans reconnaissance pour le
bien reçu, et remplis d'ineextinguibles ressentiments pour les souffrances reçues & imputées.

L'idée adoptée d'un conseil responsable à la majorité d'une assemblée qui est constituée sagement
pour ne pouvoir être rien autre chose que purement démocratique, suffirait bien pour assurer le bon
gouvernement des Canadas, si elle pouvait être sincèrement adoptée par le bureau Colonial.

Mais vous avez vu à quel degré elle pouvait être pervertie par des hommes qui avaient obtenu
une aussi grande réputation de libéralité, et qui la méritaient si peu, que les Lords Durham & Sy-
denham, mis à l'épreuve par l'octroi de pouvoirs discrétionnaires dont ils ont si indignement
abusé pour outrager les premiers ^{principes} de la loi, de la morale et du sens commun. Il ne sera plus jamais
possible de faire élire des candidats odieux à plus des trois quarts des électeurs. Ils n'ont pas repoussé
la violence par la force, parce qu'ils étaient certains de l'intervention des troupes, et que l'on aurait
compté devant des tribunaux corrompus, leur défense de leurs droits électoraux en une troisième
rébellion. Sir Charles Bagot a pris le système au sérieux & honnêtement avec un étonnant suc-
cès, qui le justifient clairement, qui auraient dû lui attirer la haute approbation des ministres.
Ils laissent au contraire tous leurs dogmes aboyer contre lui, et le laisseront mourir d'inquiétude
et d'effroi. En ce cas tout redevient problématique en Canada. Le système Sydenham n'y peut
pas être pleinement continué, même avec les sacrifices d'honneur & d'argent qu'il a entraînés. Le
système Bagot calmait en peu d'années des haines invétérées assurait des réformes assez impor-
tantes, pour que l'agitation politique cessant, l'on put bien vite travailler à l'amélioration de la Colo-
nie, par de grands encouragements à l'éducation et au défrichement des terres. L'Assemblée sera
de plus en plus démocratique. Avec l'augmentation de la population il faudra celle de la Représen-
tation. Jamais l'on n'y consentira, à approuver le système absurde en Amérique, des bourgs pouris.
Le peu qu'en a constitué votre Parlement seront détruits, ou au moins paralysés par le plus grand

Membre de Comités indépendants & incorruptibles. Retourner à l'Ancien Système d'opposer le
Conseil Législatif, à l'Assemblée ne fera pas maudire ce corps décrié & pourri, mais l'autorité qui
l'aura choisi; elle ne fera pas prendre le change. L'on ne peut plus cajoler les représentants en leur
disant donnez nous un peu de temps et de confiance, nous allons libéraliser le conseil. Ils répondraient
vous l'avez rempli de plus de trente ennemis passionnés des libertés populaires, pour le libéraliser
il faudrait enlever aux hustings un plus grand nombre d'hommes probes et éclairés que nous n'impo-
sons gaspiller. Ceux qui peuvent être utiles le sont plus dans la Chambre qu'au Conseil, nous les y gar-
dons. Dites bien explicitement à toutes vos nullités, que le Govt. met sa force et sa confiance dans
l'appui de la Majorité des Représentans; que les secorder c'est le servir, et marcher à partager ce
qu'ils jugeront à propos de conserver d'emplois. Ils peuvent être facilement gagnés par leur intérêts.
J'ose croire et espérer que la majorité des représentants ne peut pas être gagnée par cette mauvaise
voie. Que la plupart d'entre eux vous ressemblent, & aux nobles amis que le Canada a trouvés
en vous, Messrs Roebuck, Evans et un petit nombre d'autres bons Anglais; qui ont agi d'après
des principes élevés de justice universelle pour nous, comme pour eux mêmes. Il y avait vrai-
ment un grand mérite chez le petit nombre de ceux qui ont vécu en Canada, à ne pas absorber
la contagion, à ne pas croire aux calomnies sans cesse renouvelées contre nous, à ne pas par-
tager les folles préventions de ceux au milieu desquels ils vivaient beaucoup plus qu'avec
nous. Aussi ceux là conserveront-ils toujours j'en suis sur un nom cher & précieux parmi
mes hommes compatriotes. Les dépêches de Lord Stanley communiquées par Sir Charles Bagot, avaient
généralement un ton d'Urbanité, d'attention à reconnaître le droit des représentants, qui m'a fait plus
bien et contrastait fortement avec le ton dictatorial qu'il avait affecté lors de son premier ministère.
Cette circonstance me donnait à espérer que les mesures décisives de Sir Charles Bagot avaient son
approbation formelle. Qu'après le retour de Mr Wakefield, vous ignoriez avec Mr Roebuck ce qu'
en est, me laisse craindre le contraire! Si il en est ainsi, si l'on prétendait retourner vers le Système
Sydenham, vivre en Canada serait bien dégoûtant. Paris politique l'est aussi beaucoup, mais Paris
Artistique et Scientifique est véritablement le plus brillant foyer de la civilisation et j'en jouis
beaucoup et ne le laisserai qu'à regret.

Combien il est pénible que je n'aie pu y servir la main à des hommes que j'aime aussi sincèrement
que vous & Mr Roebuck, combien il est peu probable que nous jouissions jamais de ce départ bonheur-
après votre départ pour les Antipodes. La séparation des parents & des amis, voilà les profondes ames
tumes de la vie, mille et mille fois plus sensibles que les pertes des jouissances du luxe. Vous m'écrirez je vous
en prie par le retour de mon Neveu. Donnez-moi d'amples détails sur Mr Revans, portez lui l'assurance
de mon amitié et mes souhaits pour ses bons succès comme pour les vôtres, agréer, et faites agréer les
mêmes sentimens à Mr Chapman, à Mr et à Mr Roebuck de la part de Mr Papineau et de la mienne.
Soyez persuadé que tous les bons souhaits de la saison, sont ceux qu'elle et moi ferons en tout temps pour votre bonheur
à tous. Remerciez mon neveu que votre aimable hospitalité retient trop long temps. Votre ami dévoué
Papineau.



J. J. Chepman Esquire

*2. Tiltotson Place Waterloo bridge
London*



Albany, 25 November 1853.

My dear Friend,

Your favor of the 12th October was received in due course, and though not acknowledged before now. I beg You to be assured I did not omit attending to the several wants set forth therein.

I immediately forwarded by post, a couple of pamphlets about the Code (which entre parenthese soit dit, all the Lawyers here damn most deliciously.) One of these was the Report (I believe) of the Codifiers. folio. I should have sent at the same time the Documentary History, but I was expecting from day to day a sett of the Work in 4^{to} and thought best to postpone this my present to the Antipodians and Anthropophagi of New Zealand, until I should appear in the buckiest form possible, so that their Reverences may be able to "cut and come again".

By the enclosed letter of Messrs Goodhue and Co of New York, you will find that the parcel has been forwarded by the Packet ship Devonshire which was to have sailed yesterday for London. In the parcel you will find also a volume on the ^{proposed} Criminal Code. I hope you will receive this testimony of my regard and friendship, in good order; I beg you to believe that it affords me pleasure to be able to add to your Library, though I fear on examination my labors will not reflect much reputation on the donor.

Henry Chapman Esq

Tillotson Place London.

68 I am sure I am glad that your venerable and respected
Father derived any pleasure from my long letter. I hope he will long enjoy
the pleasure (if pleasure it be) ^{of reading my propositions,} and the honor of interesting three generations
of Chapmans. You will present my regards to your Father and say that
he must not die, until I pay him a visit. I hope to see Europe some
time or other, and shall wake him up when I go to London. Now,
he can't do less than say he'll be glad to see me, after this hint.

Sabourin has sent an account of his visit to, to Canada.
He reports that you are returning as Judge to N. Zealand.
You have not given me any details of his conversation with you
which I expected, after my full particulars. I was curious to hear how
he glossed over his treason to the Progresistas. Pray give me
all these particulars. There are many other points in my letter
which you have passed unnoticed. Don't squeeze a sponge
dry, friend, without giving it ^{back} some moisture ~~in return~~ to wet the
parched lips in return.

I shall be glad to receive the Maps and any thing ^{you think} else worth
sending. They can be forwarded "Care of Messrs Goodhue & Co. Fourth
St. New York," or left for me at Messrs Rich, Brothers, Booksellers
Covent Garden London. ^{Who} They will forward them with some other things I've
ordered.

Since I last wrote nothing has occurred in Canada worth
noting. A report has spread, from what source I know not, that
your Government propose uniting all the Br: Am: Colonies, but
whether under one Legislature, or on a confederated plan, I can
not learn. Now, as you are on the spot, and have the
odor of Bureaucracy about you, would you do us a favor
to enquire into this matter, and let me know if the Govern-

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ment have any such plan. It is supposed that Elgin's visit to England is in some way connected with that move. If you could fill me a few pages with something connected with Canada, similar to what you used to write long ago, I could send it to friend Fabre, who is unchanged, and get ^{it} into a paper in Montreal, without compromising you. I'd copy it here, so that your hand would not be seen. Hincks is making hay while the sun shines. He now drives his Carriage and Series, is speculating in Rail roads and Real estate, all on £800 a year. The Parliament is to meet at Quebec in February - to do nothing but vote money, and will then be dissolved. The Representation is increased to 112 members (I believe) and new Elections are required to fill up. The Anti Feudal Tenure party are pretty active. One or two meetings have been held in Quebec and Three Rivers since I wrote last, but the movement appears to hang fire in these quarters, as you know of old every thing in the ~~the~~ shape of Movement has ever done. I do not think any thing will be done at present, nor till after the elections. It is expected on all sides that there will be a break up in the Ministry. Hincks is becoming respected - the remainder are inefficient. They seem to be walking on rotting ice - afraid to go on for fear they'd go down, and yet obliged to move somewhat lest their weight continued in one spot may be too great and sink them. The truth is, those countries are too far advanced to remain Colonies. Their responsible Government is a mockery - a delusion under which Office holders rob and plunder either per se, or per alios, and without any means

of controlling men sure of their appointments for four years and as long as they ^{able to} ~~can~~ purchase a majority in the Assembly. It requires a strong public opinion composed of the sentiments of independent educated masses, to control such a power. I fear Colonies will never possess such a ~~power~~ controlling influence - at least with quadrennial Parliaments. They ~~are~~ ^{are} the mother of Rottenness and Corruption. Two years would be the longest term ~~which~~ ^{which} they would have them elect, and certainly I'd turn every "Minister" or head of Department out of the house.

Our Congress opens next Monday. The talk abroad is that we are about to annex the Sandwich Islands to this Republic. By and by I suppose Australia will follow, for with the present system, there seems to be no limit to the ^{capability for} ~~possibility~~ of Absorption. I hope, however, you'll be allowed to develop your own resources at your leisure, and in your own way.

Mitchel one of your Pan-Quinian friends is expected daily at New York where vast preparations are making to give him a public reception. I suppose your Government would be glad to get rid of all, on the same terms.

Wishing you all possible good fortune and good health, I beg you to believe me, ever truly yours
E. B. Callaghan

Albany, N.Y. 19 Sept. 1853.

My dear Chapman

Had one of those Spirits which modern Puffers pretend to wake up occasionally now-a-days, stood ~~up~~ before me I could scarcely be more surprised than by the appearance of your handwriting, and most acceptable letter of the 26th ult. which came to hand on the 15th Inst. I have read it over and over, and each time with increased pleasure. I have often thought of you since your last letter, and as often wondered whether you at the Antipodes would ever turn ^{right side} up again; and now you burst in on a fellow without any preliminary knocking, or sending your card, or saying I'll call in such a day. Well, well; you're welcome "anyhow"; and I'm glad see even your mark.

There have been many changes since you became a New Zealander, my dear friend; and when you desire me to tell you all about myself and family and every body in whom you take an interest, you lay out for me considerable of a piece of work. To condense ten years history within the compass of a sheet or two of letter paper is no small job, especially if a man be in a hurry.

The introduction of Responsible government into Canada embittered and aggravated the feud that existed between Lafontaine and the Papineaus and Vigers worse than ever. On the death of Bagot in May 1843 he was succeeded by Metcalpe as Governor, who being considerably of the Sir Francis Bond Head school, refused to recognize his Ministers (then consisting of Lafontaine, Baldwin, Hincks &c) in any light than heads of departments who were to give their advise and report to him when required, ^{so to do} - when not invited, Metcalpe considered himself ^{only} Responsible, and administered the government ~~himself~~ as he pleased being of opinion that his Ministers

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were not all responsible. Lafontaine and his Colleagues kicked at this and Metcalfe, ^{came Denis on over them and} kicked them out. Old D.B. Viger was then Member of the house and formed part of the Majority that approved the Stand the Ministry took, but was made the Cul-beat or Somerset next day or two, and gave in his adhesion to Metcalfe who appointed him Prime Minister. Old Viger was glad to give Lafontaine this slap in the face. Viger brought D.B. Papineau (Louis Joseph's brother) in as Comptroller of Crown lands; Dominick Daly, one of the Lafontaine Ministry, held on as Prov: Sec: ^{Tray} and Badgley of Montreal (one of the leading Unionists) was made Attorney General East- Draper of U.C. Uty Genl (Met) had a regular coalition took place between the Vigers & Co and the old family Compact of U.C. Canada. Louis Joseph got his back pay of \$18,500, and Armand his son was appointed one of the Prothonotaries of Montreal with an income at that time of £2000⁰ - but since reduced to £300 a year. All this time I was keeping myself warm here by dancing my feet on the side walk, listening to Mackenzie growling like a suppressed Volcano. Hated by Lafontaine for having written you that letter in 1838 exposing his ^{intrigues} intrigues with Stanley, and forgotten or ignored by the Vigers Papineau's ~~for whom~~ whom I ^{labored and worked} ~~remained in that city~~ you can say how faithfully. I made no complaint, however, turned my attention to my profession and endeavored to get a living from that. However, slender it may be it would be an independent one, and that you know is somewhat of a consolation to sweeten the draught.

The Viger, Draper, Papineau and Badgley coalition continued through Metcalfe's Administration, but was overthrown in 1847-8 when Lafontaine and Baldwin, Hencks & Morin came back after a session or two Lafontaine and Baldwin became unpopular, and resigned. Hencks and Morin continued, and

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took in Dr Rolph as Crown Lands Commissioner, and Malcolm Cameron (brother of a Capt Cameron (Steam Boat) formerly of Laprairie) as President of the Council. So that the Ministry stood in 1852, 3-

Malcolm Cameron	(U. Canada)	Pres. of the Council
R. E. Caron	(L. C.)	Speaker of Leg Council
A. N. Morin	(L. C.)	Provincial Secretary
L. J. Drummond (son-in-law of DeBaratzch)	(L. C.)	Attorney Genl (East)
W. B. Richards	(U. C.)	" " (West)
Francis Hincks Inspector General	(U. C.)	Inspector General of Acc ^{ts}
John Rolph	(U. C.)	Commissioner of Crown Lands
Dr E. P. Taché	(L. C.)	Receiver General
John Young	(L. C.)	Public Works
James Morris	(U. C.)	Postmaster General.

Since then some modifications have taken place. Morris and Cameron have exchanged places. Caron has been made a Judge, and Rolph takes his place in Leg: Council; Morin has become Commissioner of Crown Lands and P. J. O. Chauveau of Quebec who was Solicitor General succeeds Morin as Prov: Secretary. Young, who is a merchant of Montreal, left the Ministry early and was succeeded by a ~~man~~ ^{person} of Quebecois of the name of Chabot, a person, I understand, formerly of drunken habits. Many of these people are *Novi homines* to you, but the changes have been so rapid, and the combinations on the public stage in Canada so many, that it is difficult to keep up with them.

By the death of Sir James Stuart in July, Lafontaine has managed to get the appointment of Chief Justice of L. Canada a place ~~now~~ filled in your time by Ch. Justice Sewell. Judge Robtson of Montreal ^{had} retired on a pension, and Badgely (Atty General under the Viger Administration) has succeeded him. Lafontaine is now on the eve of visiting England, having obtained a six months leave of absence, and possibly you may meet him. He is a great man - in his own estimation, and may possibly endeavor

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to pull the Wool over your eyes. But he is arrogant and domineering and whilst in office has proved himself as much a friend of popular rights as Dalhousie was. The consequence is, he has not been able to re-enter public life, and has been shelved ^{as this is not the place} to write the history of his administration. If it were, you would be somewhat astonished at this second edition of the Sailor on horseback!

Mackenzie went back, I believe, in 1849, and has since been elected to the Assembly for the County of Haldimand H.C. He is publishing a paper in Toronto, called Mackenzie's Stepage. It is a sort of compilation similar to that he used generally to publish. He is death on Hincks, who is Inspector General, and ^{who} by his adroitness has succeeded in getting some English Capitalists to build the Great Trunk R.R. in Canada, the Province guaranteeing £3000 a mile for the construction. Hincks is suspected of having had his hand greased to a large amount, and it has but lately turned out in evidence before the Court of Chancery in Toronto that he sold £50,000 of Toronto debentures (issued to aid in the construction of the Northern R.R. from that city) in England by which he and Mayor Bowers pocketed £10,000 - that is ^{paying the R.R. on by £40,000} Hincks got ^{it is alleged} £5,000 and the other party an equal sum. L. J. Papineau has been elected to the present Assembly for the County of the Two Mountains having been previously defeated for the City of Montreal; but he has not sat much. You will see by some of the papers I send you that the Abolition of the Seigneurial Tenure is agitating the District of Montreal. Young Canada is at the bottom of this movement, and it is ^{to} this party that Papineau owes his election in Gironard's old County. Yet ~~now~~ when the Seigneurial Tenure ^{and studiously} question was expected to come before the House, he steadily ^{absent} ^{himself} the entire Session. In truth, he is in favor of the present system and opposed to any change in it, & so is Lafontaine. M. Papineau is getting old, and is getting to dislike public life under the new System. He is no longer Dictator. He is but a man, and

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the consequence is he prefers private life. He now resides on his Seigniorie at Petite Nation, where he has erected a magnificent Chateau. For the first time since 1837, I went into Canada last summer, and ran up to see M^r Papineau on the Ottawa. You can't figure to yourself how much every thing ^{in Montreal} is changed - physically improved, but politically - quantum mutatus ab illo Aetore! ~~The introduction~~ of Responsible government introduced the French Canadians, for the first time to office. There was at once a rush for place, ^{somewhat like the old Tail under O'Connell.} The Ministry had the patronage and at once ~~the~~ public opinion became paralyzed. Every one was afraid to comment on the acts of the government lest his chances, in esse or in posse, for public honors or profits might be affected. The consequence is, the whole mass is corrupted. Now the government has gone into building Rail roads - every one is expecting to be benefited thereby in one way or the other - and the public patronage is increased - so that you have scarcely one of the old stock of Reformers left. It seems all ^{is} a grand rush for wealth, and the man who pretends to be pure, disinterested or to aim at the reform of public abuses, is laughed at or frowned down. Papineau went into the present house with two or three *soi disant* followers. He was scarcely a month there when he was alone! Yet I think if he took a stand for popular rights openly, and irrespective of the result, he would call out supporters among the people which would influence the members. But he withdrew and abandoned the field. I spoke to him about Universal Suffrage - He turned a deaf ear to it, and now I'm beginning to suspect that the French Canadians - from the poorest to the richest - are opposed ~~to~~ - or indisposed to it, fearing that it would throw immense power into the hands of the Emigrants. I wrote a letter to John Ryan of Quebec ^{copy of} which you will find enclosed. Entre nous Papineau was not pleased at its Radicalism. And yet

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The young men of Canada, the farmers' sons and ^{the} mechanics
are coming in droves every day to these States, driven off
by the fact of their being political non entities in their own
Country. And the leaders inside there will not see the cause,
nor if seeing, attempt to remove it.

Parent, of the Quebec Canadian formerly, is Assistant Prov:
Secretary, and it is said is actually the Manager of the
Government. When Elgin was about to return to England
the other day, he had him (Parent) sworn in Deputy
Governor! Parent never liked the old countrymen, and
as the ~~gov~~ Ministry, as regards Lower Canada, is only the
reflex and embodiment of the old Quebec and Gosford
Clique, you can easily infer what chance Progressive
institutions or Liberal government have at their hands.

T. S. Brown is in Montreal, bookkeeper in a hardware
Store. He is considerably Anticanadian I'm told. Old Mr.
Jacob DeWitt is still President of the People's bank; as hale
as ever. Mr Fabre was here this summer. He is well
and about the only one, with Joseph Roy and Jacob
DeWitt, who have not changed. Louis Perrault of the
Indicator is suffering from Paralysis. He and Lovel
are the printers (by ^{competition +} contract) for the Assembly. ~~He is~~ ^{Duvernay}
of the Minerve is dead. Adam Thom you are aware
is in the North West. The following are the Newspapers in
Montreal. Herald. Kinneear Proprietor; Gazette, Ferris;
Daily Advertiser (formerly Courier) — Transcript. McDonald prop.
Plot - Ministerial Organ. Edited by the Secretary of the old Constitutional Association.

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Sun — Pays, Minerve, Moniteur. The Minerve is Ministerial. None of the French papers are Daily. The English speaking portion of the Liberal party have no ~~party~~^{paper} — none having been established since the days of the Indicator. The Canadians, I suppose think they can get along very well without one, now that they have every thing they ever wanted — i.e. the loaves and the fishes.

I have resided here since I left Canada except two years that I removed to New York for the purpose of publishing a History of the Province of New York (or New Netherland) under the Dutch. This work having rendered it necessary for me to learn the Dutch Language, and to consult some MSS. in that tongue entailed necessarily on me a great deal of labor. It introduced me ~~to~~ to the ^{State} government of this State which has published the 4 Vol. of Documentary papers you have seen noticed in the Catalogue. . . I am now busy translating some French and Dutch MSS. relating to the Provincial History of the State of New York, and hope to ~~be~~ have finished next year with this job. ^{What I'll give to them I cannot say.} I have given up my profession since I turned Author. The labor was too arduous, and the remuneration inadequate to the fatigue. I married since I left Canada. We had one child a little girl, but when she arrived at an age that she knew us and we loved her the more, she died. This was the hardest blow I met since I saw you.

So my dear friend, you have my story — and in brief an account of the changes which have taken place since you became Antipodian. Of your former place of residence I know scarcely any thing, except what I could glean from Montgomery Martin's History of the British Colonies. 5 vols 800 — 1835

I cannot judge very well of the reliability of the work. The maps seem good for nothing. ~~They are not worth anything.~~
 So you see, you will have to give me some instruction about your new home. I'm prepared to love your wife and little ones before hand - as far as distance will permit. I'm sorry I cannot have a tête à tête with the good Lady. Failing this I must content myself with a foot to foot - Rather an un-gallant attitude I must admit - But Geography is to blame.

As for Denison, I'm prepared to endorse all you've said and done in his regard. The Refugees who have fled from his ~~Yoke~~ yoke ~~rather~~ speak hard of him. I'm sorry, however, that you have been obliged to take the stand, though feeling yourself conscientiously right, I do not see that any thing else was left for you but to act up to the light that was in you. I sincerely hope that you will come out best - and that you'll be sent back Governor in the fellow's place. Let me hear from you as in old times, and I'll endeavor to keep you posted as regards matters in Canada. Should your return ^{home} be sooner than you anticipate write me when you get out Yonder - and if you could tell me where I could get a good ~~map~~ recent map of Australia & Van Diemen Land I would be doing me a favor. All the books of those places I have is a Grammar of the ~~Indian~~ Languages of the Indian Tribes there. When I was last year in Montreal, I met Capt Mornin who had been banished to V.D. Land for the troubles of 1838. He spoke very highly of the country. The gold discovery occurred fine thing, and he consequently regrets his return. He is Harbor Master at Montreal.

Vanselson and Arlwin of Quebec are judges - the first in Montreal and the latter in Quebec. Both nominations of Lafontaine.

I was sorry to notice some symptoms of despondency in that part of your letter where you talk of going back to the bar "if things came to the worst." I do not see any reason for being discouraged even if the Colonial Office should not do you justice. With your experience of Colonial Government and your knowledge of the workings of the Colonial system added to your intimacy with Colonial Law, you must be equal if not superior to any man in Australia. You have proved yourself to the people of Van Diemen Land their friend - a man possessing common sense and courage, and I'm sure this character of you must spread to every other portion of that Country and the adjoining ^{Colonies} ~~parts~~. At your profession you will be at the head of the bar and in the Council at the head of the Majority. Government cannot but see this, and I think will be loath to allow you to go back to the people - a victim either of Denison or Downing Street. Had I your introduction to public life, they would not catch me dancing attendance on them. I'd work it so, that they'd be glad to come to me, not with a Secretaryship but with an Attorney generalship, and Mr Governor should feel that he should not snub me a second time.

It is not for me to advise a course, but I write thus to shew that a bright future is before you if you only keep up your heart and do not catch that plague of an Englishman's life - the Blue devils. Wait a reasonable time for an answer from Downing Street. If they do not do you justice do not run down to the level of Domt. Daly and be one of their lobby loungers - but see if ^{you} it would not get on as well at your profession as in office - get into the Legislature ^{also,} and let them feel the want of you - which your friends in London can easily remind them of, occasionally.

These are my views. Yet at the same time act not rashly. A time will soon come when the Colonists there will begin "to feel their Oats" The gold discoveries must increase the population very considerably and introduce wealth and feelings of moral independence. When these have matured Responsible Government must follow, when the servants, advisers and Ministers of the ^{local} Government will have to be chosen

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from the resident Colonists to possessing political influence. Look forward to this time, and so play your cards that, if you be not on the Bench, you will be prepared for the Change. The inhabitants of Australia, pouring out untold gold into the lap of England, cannot but demand, and that very soon, the privileges which have been won by Canada, and conceded even to that fog Land of fog-Scotland.

I speak thus freely, because I wish you to see the game that is in the cards. How tis to be played, or when it is to be played is for others to determine.

Meanwhile are you taking advantage of your position in London? Hincks went there and in a short time got up a Company to construct a Rail Road from the gulf of St Lawrence to Toronto. I have been looking at the map of V. D's Land in Montgomery Martin's 4th Vol. and it strikes me that there is a splendid route for a R. Road from Hobart Town to Launceston, up the Valley ~~and~~ of the Macquarie and down that of the Tamar. The distance is not ~~so~~ ^{than} further from here to Boston, if as far. ~~A~~ strong sea steamer would keep a constant communication with Melbourne, ~~where~~ in time ~~the~~ road could be continued to other points, so as to facilitate the ^{foreign} trade with the aid ^{the} settlement of the Country.

Possibly, you may have Railroads there already, and my idea ^{maybe} ~~is~~ but ten years too late. If so, ascribe it to our want of local information. Should it not be too late, however, do turn it over in your mind, and if you could go back with ^{promise of support and} the nucleus of a Company which might be incorporated by your funds in the Council - reserving a fair proportion of the Stock to the Colony, I have no doubt you would be hailed as a public benefactor, and you may snap your fingers ^{in the face} of your Denison. ^{If you could} Combine with this R. Road a line of ^{Electric} Telegraph from H. Town to Launceston, with a submarine one across to Melbourne - you have no idea, how it would facilitate Commerce and the interchange of Articles. Could the

merchants once experience its benefits, they could not but appreciate it. I should think they'd be got to subscribe the stock very soon ^{for the latter} ~~and~~ build the line before even the R.R. were begun.

The time for theorizing about ^{forms of} governments is pretty well gone past. Every school boy knows what's best. We live in a practical age, when men are directing their attention to developing the resources of the country and ^{attracting} ~~gathering~~ ^{to it} the greatest amount possible of commerce.

At present the United States government has three Exploring Expeditions out seeking for the most feasible line for a Rail Road to the Pacific, across ~~to~~ or through the Rocky mountains. This Road will be begun next year, and finished before ten years. The State of N York has granted a Charter for a Company, and already men have been in Texas, looking for a proper line in the western part of that state.

By this great line we expect to command the great China Trade Australia is nearer to China than we are; why should she not prepare to bid for a share of it?

But I must stop my pen, and you must excuse me. I began this letter in the hope of making it interesting to you, and here I am laying down rules for a road in Van Diemen's land and pouring the wealth of India into her lap.

My dear friend, ^{I sometimes} ~~wish~~ I were out there ^{mainly} ~~going~~ with you. I think with our experience of the past and ^{the} 16 years apprenticeship I have served in this country, we would ~~make a team~~ "pull a strong team". But you know best; perhaps with your prospects, it were better you were alone. So therefore ascribe what I write to those old feelings of friendship which have never died, though so long smothered. I'll be always glad to hear of your prosperity and happiness, and if any views of mine in this letter can be turned by you to advantage, I'm sure no one will be more glad of it than I ~~shall~~ shall be. Meanwhile, think of me, and when you return there, if you should have a chance for this individual ~~to~~ bear me in mind & let me know. It's indifferent to me when I die.

I forgot to mention the Nelsons - Robert and his brother Wolfred. The latter lives in Montreal. When he found Lafontaine in power he gave in his adhesion at once, and in a speech at Montreal, begged public pardon for what he had done in '37 and became an outré Loyalist. He next opened against Papineau and abused him in and out of the House in a most shameful manner; ripped up all the secrets of '37, misrepresented and lied, until he not a shadow of his former character could be recognized. The secret of this was, that he had a claim for losses during the Rebellion, and the ^{Lafontaine} government exacted these terms, that Wolfred should be the Bully of the party. Having acted the part of a political Dictator and betrayed his former friends, he received the indemnity. 'Tis true that by the Law, no one could be paid who had been in arms - But this difficulty was soon got over. The property destroyed was considered to be Mrs Nelson's and she was indemnified. Nelson has a situation as Commissioner of the Lunatic Asylum which gives him a handsome annuity & also some other jobs. Robert Nelson never returned to Canada. He practised sometime in New York - then went to California - returned - and the last I heard of him was that he went back to California to look after some investment he made there. His wife and child are at present in England, I believe. She is "Boss" - if you understand the New York term. Jacques Viger is still in Montreal, an adherent, as usual, of those in power. He has been one of the Commission for investigating Rebellion losses, with Simpson erst of Coltan Duda - who has since moved from Lunenburg to N.Y. having married a ^{wealthy} widow - so old, I do believe she belongs to the Elizabethan age. I met them in Quebec last summer.

I do not recollect any thing else of interest. Gavazzi a recreant Station priest has been lecturing at Montreal - the troops were called out to prevent a riot and fired on the people and shot - a very unusual thing in Canada - a lot of most Loyal Protestants - the very people who had invited Gavazzi to lecture against Popery, and who had gone into the Church with arms to defend "Freedom of Speech". The Mayor, Charles Wilson, brother in law to the late St. Tracey, of 21st of May renowned, is blamed for having ordered the fire, though he stoutly denies it - He has been arrested on a charge of Murder and the trial is fixed for 14th of October, when another riot is anticipated. To prevent this, the Ministry intend removing the Trial, 'tis said to Sherbrooke or some other distant place. The Colonel of the Regiment has also been arrested, with divers Citizens, and from all appearances the spirit of Politico-religious fanaticism never ran higher than it now ^{then} does.

I scarcely know how to manage to send you the copy of the Documentary History you enquire for. I can let you have (and most gladly) a Sett; 4 vols. 8vo. "without any expence to myself"; if you will give the name of any friend in New York to whose care I can forward it. I am embarrassed by your injunction "not to incur any expence". I could send a copy through Goodhue & Co.,^{my} Rich's agents, if you would not object to the freight - a trifle - and the duty which they charge on your side. This is the cheapest mode I can hit on. There is an Express running between this and London, but that would be entirely too expensive. "Private hands" are not to be met in this place. ~~They~~^{If any, they} do not mention their intended departure except among their immediate friends, and they belong to a class who will not be troubled with ^{by a sailing vessel from} ~~expence~~ ^{New York,} ~~commissions.~~ I do not see any other course, except to send them through Goodhue & Co. ^{Book seller, London,} ^{the books themselves will not cost anything.} Rich, you paying expences at the other side. If you do not object to this course, advise me, and I'll try to pick up a copy of the Code, and New Constitution and put them in the parcel. You are aware, I suppose, that the Constitution of this State was amended in 1846. The Judges are now Elected by the people in this State. Also Surrogates, District Attorneys &c, and the Bar is thrown open to whoever chooses to practise and satisfies the Judge of his good Character. For ~~the~~ The Senate and Assembly the State has been divided into single districts, each of which elects one Representative. Thus Albany, which formerly elected 3 ^{Assemblymen} members by general ticket, is now cut up into three separate districts, each of which elects one member to the Assembly. ^{New York is divided into 16 or 17 single districts (Assembly)} The country is one Senate district. There are 32 Senate districts and 128 Assembly districts ^{in the State.} Senate is elected for 2 years and then ^{the Senators} all go out and there is a new Election for that Branch. Assembly Annual. The Court of Chancery is abolished and Equity powers transferred to the Supreme Court. The Court for the Correction of Errors is also abolished, and a distinct Court of Appeals erected. Judges elected for eight years.

Robert Emmet is one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in N.Y. City - Marcy, Governor of this State in your time, is now Secretary of State at Washington. Our democratic party in this State is cut up into Old Hunkers and Barnburners - and subdivided into "Hards" and "Softs" - "Adamantines" and "Putty heads" - The Softs and Putty heads are such of the Hards or Hunkers who have gone over

to the Barnburners, or Free Soilers, and support Murey against Genl. Cass. On the other hand the Whigs are subdivided into Woolly heads or Anti Slavery - and Silver Greys - or friends of the late President Fillmore, who are death in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law -

These subdivisions are possibly hieroglyphical to you, but they will show you how political parties are cut up. The State Election for Governor, Canal Board, Senate & Assembly comes on this fall - with an Amendment to the Constitution authorizing a loan of \$9,000,000 for the Embargement of the Erie Canal - ~~was made~~ ~~in November~~. The polls are open throughout the State but one day - from sunrise to sunset - and Election districts are so multiplied and divided, that almost all the Ballots are deposited by 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Very few votes are put in after that; yet almost every voter votes. We'll have almost any number of tickets this fall. Whigs, Hunkers, Barnburners, Abolition, Maine Law (Temperance) and - though last not least - Women's Rights. Lucy Stone for Secretary of State &c.

And now having finished my song;
I hope I've offended nobody;
And I hope the day is not long (see far off)
When we shall have Freedom and Liberty!

With this distich of an old Irish ballad I conclude, and

Remain,
My dear Friend,
Ever yours unchangeably
E. Do'Callaghan