Religious and Moral Conditions Among the Canadian Pioneers

By

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RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CONDITIONS AMONG
THE CANADIAN PIONEERS

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THE generous phraseology of our title may suggest a
field of inquiry larger than that covered by the fol-
lowing study. The data to be here considered are derived
from the records of life in Protestant settlements formed
after the close of the French régime (1763) and within the
provinces east of Lake Huron. The accompanying bibli-
ography will indicate the principal sources utilized, and the
limitations of these will be noted by expert students. While
admittedly incomplete, they have been sufficient to illus-
trate certain phases of pioneer religious and social life, and
the writer feels justified in the hope that the main impres-
sions here given will not be negatived by further investi-
gation.

The effort is made to visualize a certain primitive stra-
tum of New World social phenomena, which in different areas
appears at different times. Conditions in Pictou County,
Nova Scotia, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century,
for example, were to some extent paralleled in Oxford
County, Ontario, in the second quarter of the nineteenth.
Thus while the study ranges over nearly a century, we are
concerned with particular areas for short periods only.

1 The words Canada and Canadian are for convenience used in the geo-
graphical sense which they assumed at Confederation.
I. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL HERITAGE OF THE PIONEERS

1. Of the considerable number of overseas races that within our period contributed to the Canadian population those of the British Isles supplied the vast majority. Such scant evidence as the early census returns present, points to the preponderance, among these groups, of the Irish. This is true of the earliest census reports which supply data on origins, both in Nova Scotia (1767) and in Upper Canada (1842). The Irish predominance in Nova Scotia dates from about 1763, and was apparently overcome by the arrival of many Scotch settlers during the late years of the century.¹

Numerically strong also were the natives of the colonies which became the United States of America. During the middle eighties some forty thousand Loyalists migrated to Canadian territories. They settled whole townships or counties, and in one case inaugurated a province. Later a steady migration of trading and farming classes came in from the adjacent States. Racially the Loyalists were highly composite. A recent student of the early settlements, without estimating relative numbers, tabulates thirteen entries for the United Empire Loyalists, six of which specify Dutch or German extraction.²

Of other American settlers the majority were English Yankees, and many of them were employed in trade. That their sympathy with the States would prove a decisive factor in the war of 1812 was confidently expected by American visitors to Ontario, one of whom estimates the Upper

¹ D. Allison, "Notes on A General Return of the Several Townships" in Collections of the N. S. Hist. Soc., Vol. vii, 1891, p. 45 f. See also the N. S. census for 1827, which shows 13,949 of the 37,647 Presbyterians in the Province resident in the Pictou District, while the Sydney District has 12,760. These areas were settled in this period almost entirely by Scotch immigrants.

² A. H. Hunter, "Ethnographical Elements of Ontario" in Ont. Hist. Soc., Vol. iii, p. 180 f., especially p. 188. The number stated above does not include Mennonite groups not classed as Loyalists.
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Canadian population as six-tenths American or the children of Americans.¹ Even Sir Isaac Brock estimated that seven out of eleven battalions would prove disloyal.²

In no province was any one racial element dominant. MacKenzie's variegated picture of the medley of races and religions at the Niagara election of 1824³ is a fair representation of the whole population. If in some instances single townships were filled by a racially homogeneous group, this rarely extended to a county and never even approximately to a province.

2. A second consideration is of the social classes represented among the settlers. Since the vast majority of the population in the British Isles were in the eighteenth century socially unprivileged, it was in the nature of things that the so-called lower classes predominated among the settlers. It is not possible here to review the condition of these classes in the homelands.⁴ In poverty and privation the new country had little to teach them: it offered them much in opportunity. Most of the settlers came on their own initiative, and these were doubtless among the more energetic and enterprising of their class. Often they had to overcome great impediments in order to leave their parishes.⁵ But on the other hand numerous shiploads of immigrants to the provinces cannot be regarded as free agents. The less enterprising inhabitants of English parishes were

¹ Michael Smith, Geographical View, p. 117. Cf. John Mellish, Travels, Vol. ii, p. 338 (1812): "If 5,000 men were sent into the Province with a proclamation of independence the great mass of the people would join the American government."

² R. M. Cumberland, Pioneer Problems, p. 169. That disloyalty was not confined to the American-born Canadians can be seen from Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 351; cf. p. 618.

³ W. L. MacKenzie, Sketches, p. 87.


often induced to go to the colonies more for the convenience of the parish authorities than for their own.\textsuperscript{1} The Highland clearances sent away whole populations, faced by the alternative of migration or virtual enslavement.\textsuperscript{2} In England and in Ireland there was many a “Deserted Village,” the younger portion of whose former inhabitants had gone to America.\textsuperscript{3} In such cases the selective process must have been to the advantage of Canada, but the emigrating part of the population differed little from the average of the impoverished peasantry.

It was unfortunate, too, for Canada that the more skilled and intelligent immigrants from the British Isles found their services in greater demand in the United States, and, in many cases, after a short residence in Canada crossed the border.\textsuperscript{4}

The Canadian provinces also attracted a number of the privileged and cultured classes. Once in the country these comprised the government officials, members of the legislature, the clergy and other professional men, and a fringe of the official class consisting of half-pay officers who generally sought government appointments. A disproportionate number of this class were English. As a rule they were prompt to assert and eager to enhance their standing, and tenaciously struggled to monopolize privilege in every province. On the other hand, in course of time they inevitably shared the advantages of their aristocratic inheritance with those of humbler origin, and made a valuable contribution in gentility and culture.

\textsuperscript{1} That these were “inferior both morally and physically” is the opinion of W. L. Grant; \textit{History of Canada for Ontario High Schools}, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{2} The famous instance of the Sutherlandshire clearances belongs to the period 1800–1820.

\textsuperscript{3} Lecky, \textit{England in the Eighteenth Century}, Vol. vii, p. 260, footnote 2, quoting a pamphlet of 1786, speaks of villages of four or five hundred that were reduced to forty; “the young and healthy have dispersed themselves, those who could pay their passage having transported themselves to America.”

\textsuperscript{4} A. Shortt, in \textit{Canada and its Provinces}, Vol. iv, p. 578.
3. Religious motives were not present in the migrations to the Canadian provinces. This general statement admits of little qualification. There were instances in which sectaries came in the hope of increased freedom. Shubal and Daniel Dimock, who had been whipped in Connecticut for their New Light views on baptism, sought the freer air of Nova Scotia, where they became distinguished in the Baptist communion.\(^1\) The statement has been made that the Mennonites who came after the Revolution did so because they feared they would be forced into military service in the United States, although they were exempted under British rule.\(^2\) Highlanders of Pictou, after church activities began in their midst, wrote to their old home that now they had the Gospel in its purity, and on this inducement brought a number of their countrymen to join them.\(^3\) But the mass of settlers at all stages came to obtain material and not religious opportunity. This fact has been emphasized by a writer on the settlements in New Brunswick, who tells us:

All the immigrants of this period (1760–1783) were Protestant, and hence unlike their new fellow-countrymen the Acadians, were not influenced in their practical affairs by any church organization. Like men of the same race today, a desire for material profit was their leading impulse, and their religion did not interfere appreciably therewith. They extended their settlements where profit and pleasure led them, and subsequently organized churches in their new homes. Hence religious conditions produced no traceable effects upon the distribution of their settlements.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Bill, *History of the Baptists*, p. 29.
\(^2\) Scherk, *Pen Pictures*, p. 77.
\(^3\) Patterson, *Memoir of Reverend James McGregor*, p. 137.
\(^4\) W. Ganong, *Monograph on the Origin of Settlements*, etc., in *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Can.*, 2 Ser., Vol. x, Sect. ii, p. 148. This statement bears a needless innuendo. It was indeed “a desire for material profit” that led most of the
So far as Upper Canada is concerned the chief traceable part played by religion in settlement appears in the government’s plan by which the settlers in the St. Lawrence counties were grouped and divided. Their policy was to settle groups adjacent who would not be likely to raise religious strife, and for this reason “persons of the same faith but not of the same nationality were placed side by side.”

Thus French and Scotch Catholics, German and English Protestants became neighbors. We have no means of judging how frequently religious opportunity determined the location of the individual settler. In a country where religious freedom was general and religious organization scanty, the new-comer had little choice in this respect.

The vast majority of the settlers were neither zealots nor rebels in religion. They brought with them the religious beliefs and preferences, if not the passions, of their former environment: “Coelum non animum mutò cum trans mare curro.” But can we in any degree classify them religiously? The data are inadequate to permit of statistical accuracy. Except for Nova Scotia we have no religious census early enough to represent the religious alignment of the original pioneers. For Upper Canada the earliest is 1842; for Lower Canada the number of churches is given for 1827; the same for New Brunswick for 1840, where all Protestants are classed together; for Prince Edward Island we have the religious census for 1841. For Nova Scotia we have the more relevant information of the religious census for 1827. From these sources it appears that of the Protestant denominations most largely represented in early Canadian life the numerical order was as follows:

settlers to migrate; but it is not therefore to be supposed that such a motive governed every action of their lives.

1 Croil, Dundas, p. 149.
3 Ibid., p. 94.
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### Nova Scotia, 1827

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<td>Methodists</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
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The numbers of Roman Catholics at the dates indicated were: Nova Scotia, 20,401; Upper Canada, 118,810; Prince Edward Island, 20,235. In Lower Canada (1827) there were 191 Roman Catholic churches, in New Brunswick (1840) 51 Roman Catholic and 219 Protestant churches. Inquiry will naturally be made for the Lutherans and Congregationalists. These appear in nearly equal numbers in the Upper Canada census referred to, 4,524 and 4,253 respectively, relatively small groups: their order is reversed in Nova Scotia where “Dissenters” number 4,417, and Lutherans 2,968.¹

These statistics furnish a suggestion of the religious affiliation of the pioneers at the time of their migration, but without further information they may lead us to mistaken conclusions. For example, it is well known that the Nova Scotia Baptists were not largely an immigrant group, but mainly of native growth, due to the conversion of former Congregationalists, and some others, to Baptist principles, in the period following the revival of Henry Alline (d. 1784). It is equally certain that the activities of the Methodist preachers in Upper Canada had changed the allegiance of many former Anglicans.

¹ A considerable number of small sects is recorded: Nova Scotia in 1827 had 158 Quakers, and fewer Universalists, Sandemanians, “Antinomians,” Unitarians, Swedenborgians, and Jews, in the order named. Upper Canada had no Sandemanians, but could boast a few Tunkers.
There are obvious relations between the racial and the religious statistics of the period. That which is chiefly to be observed is that the Irish immigrants were, at least till 1820, very largely Protestant. This is indicated, for instance, by the fact that when the Irish predominated in Nova Scotia, the population was Protestant in the ratio of five to one. 1 The Highland Scotch immigrants were either Presbyterian or Roman Catholic, those from the Lowlands predominantly Presbyterian.

It will be seen from the above tables that the most numerous Protestant groups were those of the Church of England, Presbyterians, and Methodists. No Church was numerically dominant in early Canada, and this statement applies, with the exception of Quebec, to each several province.

4. In respect to moral qualities and habits the Canadian settlers on their arrival were probably neither much above nor much below the types from which they sprang. Of these the Scottish Presbyterian type is perhaps the easiest to distinguish. It had its own distinct morality, based upon generations of Kirk discipline. With these people precept and penalty had rendered habitual a reverence for the Bible, the Sabbath, and the moral law. There were of course all degrees of variation from the type. An early observer states that the Scottish “emigrants do not belong to that class in which religion has the strongest hold.” 2 The trenchant satires of Burns are not our only evidence that in the Scottish towns and hamlets of the later eighteenth century piety could be both flouted and simulated. Vice and violence were common enough and changes in society were bringing for many a relaxation of the tradi-

1 The General Return of 1767 shows 11,228 Protestants to 2,146 Roman Catholics, and there were 1,265 Acadians who were doubtless nearly all Roman Catholic.

tional morality.\textsuperscript{1} But the fireside piety from which "Auld Scotia's grandeur springs" had not departed, and it made its contribution in the early life of Canada. The Scotch who came were not the most cultured of their race, not the class who had been exposed to the new intellectualism. Neither were they recruited from the beggar troupes that Fletcher of Saltoun had proposed to enslave for their own good.\textsuperscript{2} They were in general the portion of the people of Scotland best adapted for pioneer life, sturdy in their prejudices and their purposes, undemonstratively religious, and (with inevitable exceptions) free from debasing habits.

The Irish settlers, so numerous in the early days, brought a contribution of sterling worth. Those denominated Irish were largely Ulster Presbyterians who added to the Scottish traditions they inherited a peculiar militancy against Roman Catholicism. The qualities of industry and thrift were well developed in these people\textsuperscript{3} and their tendency to assert their political rights is familiar to students of the American Revolution. They are the kind of people one sometimes disagrees with but never despises.

Of the English settlers in Canada it cannot be said that as a group they present the moral characteristics of a distinctive type. This does not imply that they had less than others to contribute to the new society. Better off and better educated individuals of them who settled amid people of narrower traditions often gave to their communities an invaluable touch of refinement. The very hedges which they planted about their fields, intended, no doubt, as a reminder of home scenes, lent an air of something not primarily utilitarian, and illustrated the values of a higher

\textsuperscript{1} Graham, \textit{Social Life in Scotland}, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{3} Governor Wilmot recognized the "hard-working north of Ireland stock" as a "useful and valuable element in Nova Scotia" (\textit{Canada and Its Provinces}, Vol. xiii, p. 112).
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civilization. On the other hand, England did not scruple to
rid herself, at the expense of Canada, of an element which
has been described as "the pauper, weak-minded and petty
criminal" layer of society. This migration proceeded in
disregard of the frequent protest of Canadian authorities.
Filth, disease, and immorality on ship-board during the long
voyage out, added to the mischief. ¹ From Ireland too
came many unfit, sent to relieve their own country of
responsibility for their maintenance.²

Americans entering Canada had passed through a gen-
eration or more of conditions physically similar to those
they were to enter in Canada. They had experienced a
process of unsettlement from the British or Continental
society from which they were sprung. Even the Loyalists
showed evidence of this process; and other Americans were
generally distrusted as adherents or apostles of a doctrine
of republican equality, and were disposed to reject class
distinctions.³ Aggressiveness and vanity are usually at-
tributed, in special degree, to Americans by English writ-
ers.⁴ But a number of the more careful observers of early
conditions concur in the opinion that the more objectionable
"Yankees" were mere impostors, new-comers from the old
land who affected New England speech. "We had heard"
says Mrs. Traill, "so much of the odious conduct of the
Yankees in this country that I was rather agreeably sur-
prised by the few specimens of native Americans that I
have seen. They were for the most part polite and well
behaved people. . . . They speak better English than

² Ibid., Vol. v, p. 205.
³ Ogden, A Tour, etc. (1799), p. 55; Letter of Gore to Craig (1807) in
Ont. Ed. Assn. Annual Report, 1839, p. 296; R. W. Cumberland, Pioneer Prob-
lems, p. 166.
⁴ See frequent expressions of this viewpoint in Fidler, op. cit. Fidler is
perturbed because punishment by the rod is not practiced in American col-
leges (p. 310).
you will hear from persons of their class in any part of England, Ireland and Scotland." English travellers, she informs us, mistake earlier comers from England for Yankees "because they use Yankee words in their speech."  

"I do not know," writes another British pioneer, "anything more degrading than the affectation of Yankee airs and idioms by the newly imported English settler. . . . The Anglo-Canadian copies the worst and most prominent features of American character, and the British settler in turn caricatures the copy."  

At a time when feeling ran high between the British and the Americans, it is not surprising to find a good deal of exaggerated criticism of the American immigrants on the part of British writers. Loyalists, too, with a memory of their grievances, were not appreciative of the later comers from the States. That Americans shared the same prejudices is shown by such statements as the following written by an American in 1813: "It is an idea entertained by the generality of people in the United States that the inhabitants of Canada are some of the worst people in the world, made up of rogues, murderers and the like mean characters. However the idea is entirely false. That there have been some bad characters escaped from different parts of the United States to Canada no one will deny; but they cannot be called the inhabitants but only sojourners."  

Attempts to judge fairly were not common on either side. The critics of the Americans seem to have judged them by the "bad characters" who "escaped" into the country, of whom there were no doubt a considerable number.  

"The old soldier or loyalist," says Canniff, "would sometimes unduly blacken the characters of the Fathers of the American Republic,

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1 Backwoods of Canada, p. 82 f. Cf. Howison, Sketches, p. 47.
2 Six Years in the Bush (1832–1838), pp. 21, 22; see below p. 87.
3 M. Smith, Geographical View, p. 59.
4 See Strickland, Twenty-seven Years, p. 113.
for instance, the writer has several times heard it told as a fact that Washington was the illegitimate son of King George.”

The most general charge against the Americans, excluding that which is political, has to do with their business honesty. It appears that a large number of adventurers entered from the States, and one writer assures us that a volume would be required to present the stories of the women who have lost their property through these scoundrels. Another attributed the decline in morality following the war of 1812 to the “wanton and unblushing profligacy of the American private soldier,” which he believes has been communicated to the peasantry. But other British Canadians make generous admission of the admirable qualities of the settlers from the south. The advantage which they enjoyed over Old Countrymen lay in their experience of New World conditions and in the characteristic readiness and energy of their national type.

The recognition of women’s rights in the home life of Americans frequently met with the disapproval of men of the Old Land. A traveller in the thirties quotes the remark of a practical young Scot, who was resolved, as he said, not to marry a Yankee lassie: “They’ll blow the horn an’ tak’ a man frae the plough to fetch them a skeel o’ water.”

II. THE INFLUENCE OF PIONEER CONDITIONS ON MORALS AND RELIGION

(a) Liberation and Relaxation.

1. The early pioneers, especially those who had put the ocean between them and their former homes, began life in

1 Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 305.
2 Fidler, Observations on the Professions, etc., p. 272.
3 Howison, Sketches, p. 83.
4 Cumberland, Pioneer Problems, p. 165, citing Cartwright’s Correspondence, 1799, in praise of the “intelligence and hardihood” of these settlers.
5 Ferguson, Practical Notes, p. 132.
their new environment without those supporting forces of organized religion and settled and conventional morality to which they had been accustomed. In every part of the British Isles religion was a recognized and highly important phase of social life. The Established Churches professed to care for the religious interests of the whole population. Churches were the most prominent buildings, the clergy among the most prominent persons; and the burden of maintaining the religious system was distributed over all. But, in any Canadian Province, about 1800, the settler might chance to enter a community in which there was not yet even the rudest temple of worship, and he might live out his life without having opportunity so much as to join in a religious service. If he came from an environment of Scotch or Irish Presbyterianism, his every misdemeanor had hitherto drawn upon him the stern reproof of the kirk session; his small indulgences had been checked by those godly visitants who entered the public houses when "elders hours" had arrived; his profanity had been the subject of grave deliberation on the part of the fathers; his faith and knowledge had been fed by ample sermons, and tested in dread questionings on the catechism. Now, in the wilderness, religiously and morally he sank into a great void. If he came from England, or from the Irish episcopal fold, he missed the skyward-pointing church-tower, the sacred rites of the Church, the rhythm of the Christian year, the influence of the clergy in maintaining a tradition of culture and decency in society. If he had heard John Wesley or his itinerants preach, and had attended the Methodist Societies, with their moving oratory and their rigorous discipline, there was now to be a blank space of years before these experiences could be renewed. If he had been a tenant farmer, a laborer, or an apprentice, accustomed to a measure of obedience to another's will, he now suddenly became his own master, and entered on a task of lumbering
and new world agriculture, for which he had no special training. It would be surprising if in these circumstances we were to find no evidence of moral irregularity and religious retrogression.

2. Let us begin with an aspect of moral behavior in which the facts most readily come to light. The character of the pioneer was tested in nothing more severely than in the matter of indulgence in strong drink. There is here, at least before the late twenties, no question of total abstinence,—a solution of the problem that was scarcely yet seriously entertained in any quarter. It is the charge of the abnormal prevalence of drunkenness that we are to consider.

There is a vast amount of evidence pointing to an excessive consumption of alcoholic liquors. It is estimated in a nearly contemporary book that in the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland before the American Revolution the consumption of rum alone reached 600,000 gallons per year.1 A short time after its foundation Halifax had 100 licensed houses and, it is believed, as many illicit ones.2 A military man long stationed in Halifax wrote in 1830: "The abuse of ardent spirits is an evil which extends its baneful influence through the whole country." He believed that it was "the cause of nine tenths of the military offences," and that it "checked the political and moral progress of the nation."3 Haliburton ascribes the excess of the habit, which in 1829 he thinks already declining, to the cheapness of West India rum.4 Laborers in Nova Scotia received rum as part of their wages and storekeepers

2 MacMechan, in *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. xiii, p. 86. The prevalence of illicit liquor selling may have been due to the fact that licenses were relatively high in Halifax, viz., one guinea a month; Murdoch, *History of Nova Scotia*, Vol. ii, p. 252.
treated their customers to it in order to induce them to buy. But if it was employed with a view to stimulating business in Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick it is recognized to have had an injurious effect on trade.\(^1\) A half pint per day for all males over sixteen was the average consumption of rum in that province in 1787.\(^2\) The magistrates were allowed to grant licenses according to their judgment, at rates ranging from 10s. to £4.\(^3\) In 1820, the 10,000 or fewer inhabitants of Queen's County, Prince Edward Island, could boast of 40 licensed houses, or one for every 250 persons.\(^4\)

The people of Upper Canada gave a similar encouragement to the traffic. Even amid great hardships "many were woefully addicted to carousing."\(^5\) A civil court, the first in Dundas County, showed in its earliest expense account (1790) charges for "liker for the gentlemen of the grant jury," and for "decanters broken."\(^6\) Interest was lent to the elections of Oxford County by the barrels of whiskey at the polling booth. Both polling booth and barrels were kept open for four days.\(^7\) Yonge Street, running northward from York, was generously lined with licensed shops, having fifty-eight in a distance of about half as many miles.\(^8\) Grocery stores, bookstores, general stores, and other places of public business, were not complete without licenses, as the newspaper advertisements of the time abundantly show.\(^9\) Even a religious newspaper, in the forties, carried advertisements of brandy, whiskey (by the barrel), and brewery properties.\(^10\)

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\(^{3}\) Ibid.  
\(^{5}\) Croil, *Dundas*, p. 137.  
\(^{6}\) Ibid., p. 145.  
\(^{7}\) Mackay, *Pioneer Life in Zorra*, p. 141.  
Smith notes that railway development reduced the wayside liquor trade.  
\(^{9}\) See, *e.g.*, the files of the *Niagara Herald*, 1801.  
\(^{10}\) See the (Toronto) *Banner*, 1846, and *passim*.  

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whiskey pail and cup, and all comers were at liberty to help themselves.”¹ The whiskey barrel was in many a farmer’s home, and even where the original settler used it with moderation, not infrequently his sons were debauched by it.² Those whom liquor had impoverished were compelled to purchase it in smaller quantities. Many are the authenticated stories of tragedy and humor that survive to illustrate this phase of backwoods life. There was the old lady who tried to pawn her Bible for whiskey, and found that the storekeeper “would take neither her word nor the word o’ God for a gill o’ whiskey.”³ The child of an Irish settler said to Mrs. Traill: “Mother spends half the money father earns in whiskey to keep us warm,” adding that he himself would prefer “good hot praters.”⁴ Town life was often characterized by immoderate feasts in which liquor flowed freely. It was observed that “Canadian bedrooms were not much used, because it was handier to sleep under the table.”⁵

At an early stage in the history of Upper Canada the social institution known as the “bee” was introduced. It appeared first in the Bay of Quinte region, among military settlers accustomed to co-operation.⁶ The word was applied to a gathering of settlers in order to do a piece of work difficult or impossible for one to accomplish alone, such as logging, erecting a log or frame building, stumping, butchering, and even various farm operations. At these affairs hard drinking was the rule, and the “grog-boss,” or carrier

¹ Smith, Pioneers of Old Ontario, p. 292.
² Ibid., p. 297.
³ The humors of the pioneer tippler’s life furnish some fresh classics in Mackay’s Pioneer Life in Zorra.
⁴ Traill, Backwoods of Canada, p. 94. For a unique collection of the tragedies of pioneer drinkers the reader may see Hiltz, Experiences of a Backwoods Preacher, p. 228 f.
⁵ Lizars, In the Days of the Canada Company, p. 300.
⁶ Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 185.
of the whiskey pail and cup, was "the most important person." Some settlers showed a tendency to rely on the inspiration of numbers and drink, and grew incapable of the lonely drudgery necessary to success on a farm. Life for them tended to become a "continual round of intoxication." "Accidents were frequently the result of drink, and if the day was passed in safety, very often the revelry and drunkenness at night rendered the imbibers next morning in a sorry state for the work before them."  

That popular describer of pioneer life, Mrs. Moodie, has given straight from experience a very depressing picture of a logging-bee. Her husband, who was himself, it appears, a model of good behavior, had been twice injured at bees through the drunken condition of others. He was the author of some vigorous doggerel descriptive of the affair at his own farm, in which the devil sits grinning upon a burning log-heap—

> And there was lots of swearing,  
> Of boasting and daring,  
> Of fighting and tearing,  
> At that logging-bee.  

These conditions are abundantly attested for many communities. But on the other hand, there is also reliable evidence that, even before the days of temperance societies, bees were, occasionally at least, orderly and innocent. And if the balance of evidence leads strongly to the conclusion that drunkenness prevailed at these gatherings, it must always be remembered that quiet industry is not so likely to be recorded as noisy and disorderly conduct.

1 Strickland, *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West*, Vol. i, p. 36 f.
2 Edwards, *Correspondence and Papers*, p. 25.
5 Shortt, *Life of a Settler in Western Canada before the War of 1812*, p. 10.
Much depended on the character of the community. When the influence of religion was absent, there was an added tendency to "wildness." The "Markham Gang" and the "Tenth Line Blazers" were nicknames for the hard-drinking and lawless manhood of irreligious settlements. It is possible to overstate the degree in which the population was drunken. The people who laid low the forests of Canada were not habitually tipsy. An American witness about 1812 was struck by the fact that Canadians were comparatively well-behaved. "There is little horse-racing, card-playing, drunkenness and dissipation." A Baptist missionary, after long service in the Ottawa Valley (Breadalbane, Argenteuil County, Quebec) declared that he had never seen a glass of liquor drunk in his place of labor. Perhaps ministers were not the best informed observers of such matters. We know of another instance in which an ex-army officer concealed a keg of whiskey in his sleigh while a Baptist minister sat beside him on the seat. An English clergyman having spent some years near Toronto says: "I never saw but one man intoxicated, and he was an Englishman returning to England." The only possible judgment of this statement is that its author possessed either very poor gifts of observation or a very high standard of intoxication. It may be of interest to observe in this connection that he and his good wife took brandy in their tea. He is at the same time well aware that "intemperance exists to a great extent," and believes, contrary to strict fact, that there are no temperance societies.

The question naturally arises whether the Canadian

1 W. L. Smith, Pioneers of Old Ontario, p. 142; Hilts, Experiences of a Backwoods Preacher, p. 123.
2 M. Smith, Geographical View of Upper Canada, p. 64.
3 Sketch of the History of the Churches and Ministers of the Fiftieth Meeting, Ottawa Baptist Union, p. 21, quoting Rev. Wm. Fraser.
4 Thomas, History of the Counties of Argenteuil and Prescott, p. 355
5 Fidler, Observations on the Professions, etc., p. 269 and p. 387.
settlers used liquor more freely than was the custom in the countries from which they had come. This may seem doubtful, when we recall the extent of the drink evil in England and Scotland in the eighteenth century. A writer in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* said, "The Scottish people in their lives differ only from the brutes in their love of spirituous liquors." In parts of Scotland roistering and drinking attended all social gatherings, christenings, funerals, weddings, "rockings," etc. In England the revenue from the licensed gin shops that debauched numbers of the lower classes, was used to defray the expenses of foreign wars. The enormous increase in drinking in England during the eighteenth century is well known. Yet it seems probable that the Canadians exceeded their British relatives in their addiction to the vice. In the older countries, while drinking was favored, drunkenness was punished. In many parts of Scotland temperate habits were cultivated by the co-operation and vigilance of Church and State. In Canada these restraints were not, in the early days, much in evidence. Conviviality was comparatively free, and the temptation to excess was present on every hand. The extension of credit by business men induced many a farmer to drink up his property. The lavish way in which liquor was distributed in business and politics, enabled young men...
to form drinking habits without initial expenditure on their own part, and in most communities nothing short of unsocial detachment from his fellows would save one from intemperance. In these circumstances the only way open to combat the liquor evil was the formation of new social groups in which liquor was taboo. This was the function of temperance societies.

The sentiment against excess in the use of liquor developed into a sentiment in favor of total abstinence. Largely through the influence of the Churches (and the Methodist Church should be specially mentioned), temperance societies began to be organized. A society of three members, one of them a Presbyterian minister, pledged to abstain from spirituous liquors, was formed at West River, Pictou County, N. S., in October, 1827. Within a year the Colonial Patriot was able to announce the surprising news: "On Friday last the frame of a large dwelling house . . . was erected without the aid of rum." In 1830 a ship was launched at Pictou without liquor.1 In the Canadas the earliest temperance society was probably that organized at Hallowell (Picton) in 1829.2 An early so-called temperance society in Nova Scotia was an association of Halifax business men who agreed not to supply liquor to their employees.3 In Adolphustown, Upper Canada, the members pledged themselves "not to furnish drink for raisings, bees, and harvest work," and for one year to abstain from private use.4 In some townships these societies were strong enough to prevent the use of liquor at bees. There never was whiskey at a raising in Oro township,5 where a temperance society came with the first settlers. In New

1 Patterson, History of the County of Pictou, p. 386 f.
2 Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 311.
3 MacMechan, in Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. xiii, p. 187. This writer ironically calls their action a "self denying ordinance."
4 Canniff, loc. cit.
5 Smith, Pioneers of Old Ontario, p. 301.
Brunswick the societies brought about a prohibitory law in 1855, which however soon proved a failure. ¹

The prominence of the Methodist leaders in the temperance movement in Upper Canada is an outstanding factor in its early history. ² In the Maritime Provinces Baptists seem to have taken the lead. ³ Presbyterians were not unanimous on the question of total abstinence, but in some instances they lacked none of the zeal of the denominations just named. It is a remarkable fact that a Presbyterian congregation was founded in Hamilton in 1831, in which none were "received or retained as members who make, vend, or use as a drink, ardent spirits." ⁴ This is a more drastic regulation than that of the Methodist discipline of that day. ⁵ Thus the temperance movement in Canada was a later phase of things, entering at a time when the churches were securing a powerful influence, and mainly the product of that influence.

3. The moral influence of pioneer conditions upon the settlers may be traced, according to numerous observers, in the undue vanity, conceit, and insolence of behavior which they displayed. This tendency is described in scathing terms by English visitors of aristocratic mould, who were bitterly offended by the assertiveness and boastfulness of those whom they rated as members of the lower class. Talbot assures us that "Vanity is the grand characteristic of all natives of this Continent, whether white or Indian." ⁶

¹ Hannay, History of New Brunswick, Vol. i, p. 447.
³ Fitch, Baptists of Canada, Vol. i, p. 50.
⁴ Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 538, quoting the "Narrative of the Churches under the care of the Niagara Presbytery" (1834).
⁵ "If any member of our Church retail, or give spirituous liquors, and anything disorderly be transacted under his roof on this account, the preacher who has the oversight of the circuit shall proceed against him, as in the case of other immoralities." Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, (1829), p. 84.
⁶ Five Years' Residence, Vol. i, p. 110.
On the other hand Mrs. Moodie, who felt keenly the ill manners of some of her neighbors, states emphatically: "From this folly the native-born Canadian is exempt. It is practiced only by the low-born Yankee or by the Yankee-fied British peasantry and mechanics. It originates in the enormous reaction springing out of a sudden emancipation from a state of utter dependence into one of unrestrained liberty." ¹ That this "unrestrained liberty" enjoyed by the settlers when sober rendered them the more unbearable when drunk, was the opinion of Howison, who had suffered many things in Canadian inns. "The influence of liquor only serves to draw forth their natural coarseness and rankness of feeling, and to make them, as it were, caricatures of themselves." He finds a "low tavern in Upper Canada" the best place in which to observe "the enormity which the human character assumes when unchecked by restraint, unrefined by education and unmodelled by dependence."²

A pioneer missionary asserts that "The people have a great aversion to those who do not think them everything that is clever and excellent."³ Haliburton, in his history, praises the "manliness of character which arises from conscious independence," which he finds in the Nova Scotia people and believes typical of the Anglo-Americans. But his Sam Slick has for the real object of its satire the overweening conceit of his fellow provincials, which makes them an easy prey to the "soft sawder" of cajoling pedlars.

4. The censors of the pioneers accuse them of a variety of other lapses from morality. Some contemporaries record an impression of widespread laxity in sex morals, and instability of marriage. The severest arraignment in this respect is that of Edward Allen Talbot. This writer with a good deal of circumstantial detail paints a condition in

¹ Roughing it in the Bush, p. 240.
² Sketches of Upper Canada, p. 225.
³ Bell, Hints to Emigrants, p. 110.
which the usual restraints are lacking, and wantonness prevails. He quotes Pope’s

Every woman is at heart a rake

as specially applicable to the women of Upper Canada.¹ Women being in a minority are in great demand, especially young women with children, even if the latter are illegitimate, for the children will soon be an asset on the farm.² Amid other sordid cases of adultery he vouches for one in which “two well fatted hogs” were paid by a guilty neighbor in satisfaction to an injured husband.³ He tells of a conversation with a group of representative dames of the Gore district, who mocked at obsolete “Old Country notions” of chastity. He informs us that “Scarcely a newspaper issues from the press, the columns of which are not graced by such advertisements” as these:

Whereas my wife Betsy Swiftfoot, alias the Widow Wild, has wantonly eloped from my bed and board without any just cause or provocation (having as I suppose become too wild to be steered by my compass) I do hereby caution the public not to give no credit to her’ on my account, as I am determined not to pay no bills of her contracting.

Cuckold’s Hall,
Upper Canada, July 20, 1821. Jonathan Swiftfoot.⁴

The defamatory statements of Talbot were challenged in his own day in a book not available to the present writer.⁵ The statements of many others are widely at variance with Mr. Talbot’s. Even Howison, an earlier and equally biassed authority, beyond the most general hints lends no definite support to his judgments. A few years later Strickland, a

¹ Talbot, Five Years’ Residence, Vol. ii, p. 38.
² Ibid., p. 40.
³ Ibid., pp. 42, 43.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 45, 47.
fair-minded witness, wrote: "In no country in the world does the torch of wedded love burn more brightly than in Canada, where the husband always finds the wife dearer than the bride." A recent student, Ermatinger, disagrees with Talbot, and finds an "absence of crime and immorality."2

Instead of indicating further opposing opinions let us test that one of Talbot's statements which can be controlled by references to existing data, viz., the one about advertisements of faithless wives in the press. The writer has gone through the advertising columns of a few of the typical newspapers of the early days covering the 1790's, the 1800's, the '10's, the '20's and the '30's, including available numbers of the *Upper Canada Gazette and American Oracle*, the *Canada Constellation* (both of Niagara), the *Niagara Herald*, the *Kingston Gazette*, the *York Observer* (one number only), the *Quebec Gazette*. Most of these are available only in broken files, yet it is not unlikely that the search has covered nearly as many columns of advertising as Mr. Talbot saw during his five years in Canada. The notes obtained indicate just one dozen such advertisements as the one he has parodied; a number not very excessive. Two and a half years of the *Kingston Gazette*, in Kingston's bloated days of war profits, 1812-1814, yielded only five instances. The conclusion forced upon the investigator is that Talbot's statement is a malicious exaggeration.

Nevertheless, to see, even rarely, these notices thrust in among others about stray cattle and horses and sheriff's sales of land, gives an uncomfortable impression of a certain rawness and coarseness of life. In one instance the disowned but spirited runaway answers back in the next issue with a wordy and illiterate advertisement in which the ex-husband is accused of being a worthless rogue and a

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horse thief. The Niagara district of Ontario was the wild and woolly West!

Without being led into exaggeration, we may be sure that the pioneers were often unrefined in matters of courtship and marriage. "Occasionally," says a writer recalling the early days, "wedding guests were placed in an embarrassing position by the lateness or non-appearance of the groom, or maybe by the unwillingness of the bride at the last moment to consent to the ceremony, the confession being finally obtained from her that she had been married clandestinely to some secret lover." Nor were irregularities confined to the humbler classes. Major Strickland credits the story which has attached itself to "Tiger" Dunlop, army surgeon, famous adventurer, and official of the Canada Company, that he tossed a coin with his brother to determine which of them should surrender his bachelorhood to their housekeeper. Sir William Johnston, leader of the Loyalists, took to wife without ceremony the sister of Joseph Brant, the noble Mohawk chief; a proceeding which can hardly be justified on the ground of Indian custom.

In the lower ranks of society, such irregularities were largely accounted for by the inconvenience of getting a minister or a magistrate to perform the ceremony. Canniff cites the instance of two servants, Peter and Polly, living in a respectable house, who were the parents of a boy some years old before they found opportunity, in a visit paid to the place by a justice of the peace, to have the knot tied. The scarcity of qualified clergymen was the cause of many

1 See the Canada Constellation, Dec. 7 and 14, 17, 99.
2 Scherk, Pen Pictures of Early Pioneer Life, p. 224.
3 According to Strickland the "Tiger" was not gambling; the coin had a head on both sides, though the brother did not know this! Twenty-Seven Years, Vol. ii, p. 5.
4 Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 81.
5 The date is 1796. Canniff, op. cit., p. 240
unblessed marriages. By the legislation of 1793 in Ontario the clergy of the Church of England, and (if one of the parties belonged to the minister's congregation) of the Church of Scotland and of the Lutheran and "Calvinist" Churches were permitted to perform marriages; a magistrate could be employed if there was no qualified clergyman within eighteen miles of the bride's home. The disabilities of ministers of other communions in this regard were removed in Upper Canada in 1831, in Nova Scotia in 1830, and in New Brunswick in 1834. The Church of England and its few clergy were unpopular with many of the settlers, because of the alliance of Anglicanism and Tory privilege; and many couples either went over the border or sought a magistrate in preference to a clergyman. It appears that one reason for this was a dislike for the Church of England marriage service on account of its length and character.

There seems good reason to believe that women of loose morals were not unknown, and not always treated as social outcasts. Take Mrs. Moodie's Betty, a character regarded by this authoress as typical. "She had had three husbands, and he whom she now had was not her husband, although the father of the splendid child whose beauty so wore upon my woman's heart. Her first husband was still living (a thing by no means uncommon among persons of her class in Canada), and though they had quarrelled and parted years ago he occasionally visited his wife to see her eldest daughter who was his child. She was now a fine

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1 Calvinist was made to include Baptist, on the basis of the "Five Points." Riddell, *Upper Canada Sketches*, p. 42.
2 "An Act to Confirm and make valid certain Marriages heretofore contracted in the Country now comprised within the Province of Upper Canada." Section III (*Statutes of Upper Canada*, vol. i, p. 46).
4 Objection was taken not only to the tedious length but also to the "in-delicacy" of the marriage service, especially the words: "With my body I thee worship." McGrath, *Authentic Letters*, pp. 197-198.
girl of sixteen, as beautiful as her little brother. Betty's second husband had been killed in one of our fields, by a tree falling upon him while ploughing under it. He was buried upon the spot, part of the blackened stump forming his monument. In truth, Betty's character was none of the best, and many of the respectable farmer's wives regarded her with a jealous eye."

It would be tedious to rehearse the many references to the prevalence of dancing as a pioneer amusement, and perhaps impossible to compare former times with present in respect to the moral aspect of this form of recreation. It is evident that then as now young people were fond of dancing. Both the Methodist and the Roman Catholic Church took an uncompromising attitude towards it. Except among the high society of the military towns, dancing was unrefined; but there is no proof that it was indecent. And while in some communities it was carried to excess, in others it was comparatively infrequent. While every hotel of any pretensions had a ball-room, it did duty for a bedroom most of the time and was in some instances used for its nominal purpose only once a year.

Countless references to shocking profanity of speech appear in the sources of this sketch. But again one questions whether there is anything distinctive here. Mr. Talbot tells us, for instance, that he had "heard more swearing in a week in Canada than in twenty years in Ireland." But it was Irish boatmen near Peterborough whose curses shocked Mrs. Trail. Are we to suppose that these boatmen had learned their expressive vocabulary in Canada? Possibly the wilderness let loose their tongues. The experiences of many wrestlers with new circumstances in Canada were fitted to call forth any profane language they had at

3 Howison, *Sketches*, p. 42.
5 *The Backwoods*, p. 63.
their disposal. Anyone who has ploughed new land will recognize what a triumph of self-restraint there is in this laconic note in the diary of a settler near Lancaster,—an American Methodist: “Plowed with horses and got hurt, plowed with oxen.”

An early Baptist leader, familiar with backwoods life, has set down what he believes to have been the chief temptations of the early settlers. The statement is sufficiently revealing to warrant the following summary of its contents:

1. Temptations incidental to the sudden escape from service to the fullest liberty.
2. The temptation to overwork, and to overwork their children.
3. The temptation to drink.
4. The temptation to seek office, even by bribery.
5. The temptation to neglect the day of rest.
6. The temptation to abstain from religious service because of the lack of preachers of one's own denomination.
7. The temptation to run into debt.
8. The temptation to be “humbugged by cute friends from over the border.”

b. Moral and Spiritual Effects of the Struggle for a Livelihood

1. The observer just quoted is aware of the relaxation in morals incidental to the sudden and complete change in

1 Shortt, Life of a Settler, p. 7.
2 Edwards, Correspondence and Papers, p. 124 f. In connection with the last mentioned occasion of falling, this writer gives some highly interesting instances of what he calls, in the language of the day, the Yankee “shave.” In some of these cases the piety of the settler contributed to his undoing, and a meek and sanctimonious agent sold him very bad editions of the Book of Martyrs or the Cottage Bible, at exorbitant prices. It will be remembered that “American Humor” took its rise in the description of this feature of the life of Nova Scotia in Haliburton’s immortal Clockmaker.
environment which the settlers experienced in coming to Canada. He is also aware of another aspect of their new experience, of a very different sort. The great majority of the settlers faced a period of intense struggle for a livelihood. They arrived at a Canadian port with very inadequate information as to how to secure the land they hoped to settle upon. In multitudes of cases they wasted their small surplus of money left over from the ocean passage, in an unprofitable stay in the port of arrival,—Quebec, Montreal, or Halifax,—and reached their farms only to be forced immediately into debt.1 The inevitable scarcity of produce in the clearings of the first half dozen years, the blunders due to inexperience, and the enormous profits exacted by traders from farmers,2 were among the frequent causes of hardship. In Prince Edward Island settlers from Dumfriesshire had their first crops, even their potatoes, devoured by mice (1775).3 In Ontario the army worm destroyed foliage and swarmed like bees.4

Weather conditions were sometimes unfavorable to a crop, as in the terrible “Year without a Summer” (1816), after which Nova Scotia potatoes, “blue noses” as they were called, saved the lives of many an impoverished Ontario pioneer.5 Settlers who for military service or otherwise,

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1 “When I was in Quebec and Montreal I had opportunities of knowing that many of the hovels of these cities contained crowds of British emigrants, who were struggling with those complicated horrors of poverty and disease, whom the hope of being exempted from such evils had induced to abandon the clime of their birth. The greater number of these people when they first landed, had funds enough to carry them to the Upper Province, and even settle them comfortably on their locations, but they knew not where the promised land lay, and were detained in Lower Canada, by anxious and unavailing efforts to obtain correct information upon the subject.” Howison, Sketches, p. 77.

2 In New Brunswick importing merchants often made 100% on their expenditures. Baird, Seventy Years, pp. 130–131.

3 Patterson, Memoir of Rev. James MacGregor, p. 79.

4 Smith, Pioneers, p. 172.

5 Smith, Pioneers of Old Ontario, p. 171 f.
received Government supplies, passed through an intense crisis when these were withdrawn.\(^1\)

But the people had come to improve their circumstances in the New World, and most of them were determined to fight their way not only to temporary relief, but to economic security. Ordinarily they saw before them a good opportunity of economic rewards. As they could not in their former environments, they were able here to work out their own salvation in this respect. If they were spirited and enterprising, all the conditions called them to intense work. The summer could be spent profitably widening their tillage, the winter in relentless warfare on the forest. Necessity and opportunity could hardly be more completely combined to produce effort. Doubtless many were, by the mere pressure of toil, saved from the relaxation of morals to which other factors tended. As a moral tonic it took the place, in a measure, of the discipline supplied by the Church in Old Land. But many also surrendered to drudgery, and indefinitely postponed all higher interests. A few found the just proportion between toil and productive leisure, in which happiness and well-being so largely consist.\(^2\)

2. With the more ambitious the weekly day of rest was by no means uniformly observed. In some communities a sentiment in favor of the rigid keeping of Sunday prevailed, and would-be violators of the day were largely held in check by public opinion. In Zorra "Maggie Reid would not speak to Miss Ross because Miss Ross washed the dishes on Sunday."\(^3\) But many, the more readily because there were

\(^1\) There was a famine among the Loyalists in 1788 on the withdrawal of the government supplies, which, though not promised, the veterans hoped "Old George" would still maintain. The suffering was widespread and intense. It is described in some detail by Canniff, *Settlement of Upper Canada*, p. 195 f.

\(^2\) For a good description of the busy life of an industrious settler taken from the diary of Benjamin Smith, see Shortt, *Life of a Settler in Western Ontario.*

\(^3\) Mackay, *Pioneer Life in Zorra*, p. 77.
no church services to attend, acquired habits of Sunday labor. Early missionaries found this a hindrance to the inception of their work. A Presbyterian minister in Perth, even in a recently settled community of Highlanders, found about him "a moral as well as a natural wilderness," in which "the Sabbath was awfully profaned" both by indulgence and by labor. People who worked on Sunday looked unfavorably upon the efforts of the Church, and regarded religion "not as a privilege but as a hindrance." From a variety of sources we learn similar facts. A Methodist settler, of exceptional religious zeal, accustomed to "read his book" on Sundays, records one exception to his usual habit, when in stress of harvest work he "took in wheat." In some circumstances it may have been better that they should work on the seventh day than that they should disobey the other portion of the commandment: "Six days shalt thou labor." Yet no doubt the prevalence of the habit of Sunday labor is one indication of a drift to materialism.

3. There come to us from every quarter, indications of the great scantiness of the reading of the pioneers. This was due in part to the scarcity of reading matter, but also in considerable degree to the absorption in other employments. If we are to trust the French émigré who visited Canada in 1794, even the existing newspapers, published at Quebec and Niagara, went largely unread. Talbot in five years' experience in Upper Canada saw only two people with books in their hands, and one of these was consulting a...
book of remedies for his bodily ills.¹ We read of Nova Scotia in 1830: "The dawn of cultivated education has hardly yet risen upon the Province," and that there is a lack of books and magazines.² Many of the settlers were illiterate, and many of those who had formerly had the habit of reading now lost it. One contingent of Prince Edward Island settlers had a supply of books when they arrived; but these were destroyed by the plague of mice.³ Efforts were made to supply the Scotch settlements of Charlottetown and Pictou with books, but the supply was always limited, and the demand was far from general. In Upper Canada a minister of the Church of England offered books and tracts gratis to those who would call for them, but they were not disposed of, the explanation being, according to our informant, that "Canadians do not like to lose time even for such an important matter as that of spiritual instruction."⁴

A modest book trade sprang up in the principal towns, and advertisements of books occurred in all the early newspapers. A large proportion of the titles of books listed in an advertisement in the Kingston Gazette for 1812 indicate a religious content. We have seen that insistent and dishonest pedlars succeeded in disposing of a certain number of religious and other books to the farmers. But there can be no doubt that the cultural aspects of life were largely disprized, and that practical cleverness was valued above culture, since it was of more service in the quest for a living and a competence. A writer well disposed toward the settlers says there was "very little reading" as the people

¹ Five Years' Residence, Vol. ii, p. 118.
² Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia, p. 96.
³ Patterson, Memoir of James McGregor, p. 84. This scourge had made agriculture wholly unprofitable in the Island in the 1720's and 30's, when it was inhabited by French settlers. See Warburton, History of Prince Edward Island, p. 61.
⁴ McGrath, Authentic Letters, p. 191.
were too weary with toil to spend their evenings in this way.¹

Comment on this situation must relate itself, however, to contemporary conditions elsewhere. We are dealing with a period earlier than that of the extension of education to the masses in the British Isles. It was never intended in Canada that education should remain permanently in a low state. In this respect a great service was done by the early missionaries, many of whom taught schools, and nearly all of whom encouraged religious reading. Later came the founders of universities and of provincial systems of education, eminent men, and for the most part church leaders of the various denominations.

4. It is charged that in the struggle for a livelihood the pioneers were often guilty of unneighborly selfishness, and even dishonesty. "Gain is their God," says Talbot.² To this end all else was subjected. Their interchange of work was done not in a friendly but in a bargaining spirit; and he is prepared to disprove from his own experience that they possessed even the one good quality of hospitality, freely conceded to them by their other critics. Except on the special point of hospitality Howison holds the same views, and goes so far as to say that "the Canadian peasantry are profligate, unamiable, and dishonest."³ At a date between these two aristocratic writers, we are grateful to Michael Smith, for assuring his American countrymen, even during the War of 1812, that the "main body of the Canadians are peaceable, just and generous."⁴

One factor in the economic life of the period was not conducive to mutual confidence in trade. The system of barter, generally practiced for lack of money, is fitted to call forth

¹ Haight, Country Life Fifty Years Ago, p. 181.
² Five Years' Residence, Vol. ii, p. 69.
³ Sketches of Upper Canada, p. 143.
⁴ Geographical View, p. 60.
all the gain-loving instincts of humanity, and we may attribute to the influence of this practice some of the alleged covetousness of the settlers. The habit of haggling over prices is not entirely extinct in country stores; but it is practiced only by old people, and seems a residuum from the age of barter. Money has its moral perils, but for the early pioneers the lack of money was a root of all evil. Even bets were laid not in money but in kind; e.g., "a blacksmith's bellows against a barrel of molasses." That gambling was universal is the testimony of the hostile critic to whom we have so often referred: by others this is denied. All things considered, it seems improbable that gambling was one of the greater evils of the time.

The history of a people's covetousness may in a measure be found in the records of its courts of law. For Canada these afford scant evidence of a people property-mad. The courts were much employed with cases of assault and battery. Strong drink was usually a factor in such cases. Disputes over property are not, of course, infrequent, and there is some evidence that, owing to distance and costs, litigation was not instituted by all the victims of property encroachments. Many people had the spirit, if not the frankness, of that Yankee land-seeker who when asked by the terrible Colonel Talbot what recommendations he could offer, replied that he had been recommended by the Almighty to get all the land he could. Probably, as often elsewhere, the man who stole the goose from off the common was more harshly dealt with than the greater felon who stole the common from the goose.

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1 This is the opinion of both Talbot and Howison; Five Years' Residence, Vol. ii, p. 79; Sketches, p. 129.
2 Talbot, Five Years' Residence, Vol. ii, pp. 58-59; M. Smith, Geographical View, p. 64.
3 Smith, Pioneers, p. 291; Shortt, Kingston in the Years of War.
4 M. Smith, Geographical View, p. 60.
5 Ermatinger, The Talbot Régime, p. 304.
The Canadian Pioneers

Capital punishment was, by ancient statute, the penalty for grand larceny, but in Upper Canada it was habitually commuted to banishment across the line. This was the penalty for a variety of offences from that of the Methodist minister who in violation of the law performed the marriage ceremony, to the cattle-stealing of 1812 when beef was high. Even in the case of theft of meat on the part of the head of a destitute and starving family, this penalty was inflicted. A ten-year-old Indian boy who had shot his white playmate likewise was forced to become an American. Banishment to the States, we are told, "was a sentence next to that of death felt to be the most severe that could be inflicted." Yet Canadians, even in the old days, looked to the Republic as something other than a criminal colony, and a judge who presumably had sent thither a number of exiles chose to follow them himself and ended his life as an American citizen.

There is of course a kind of economic selfishness that operates within the law, and doubtless thrift often degenerated into greed. But that Canadians were not as a class inhuman and unneighborly wealth-seekers is borne out by many testimonies. Witnesses who cannot be accused of any favorable bias attribute to them hospitality in a high degree.

1 Dominion Archives—(1867); cited by Riddell, Upper Canada Sketches, p. 35 f.
2 Croil, Dundas, p. 146.
3 Ibid.
4 Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia, p. 142, refers to the customary "hospitality, courtesy, and relief of distress." Fidler says of the Upper Canadians: "I frankly acknowledge that I had no just cause of complaint. . . . I experienced great and general hospitality" (Observations, p. 342). See also Howison, Sketches, p. 131; Canniff, Settlement, p. 625. Kindness to strangers was not always devoid of its embarrassments. We learn that when a Methodist itinerant asked a Glengarry Highland woman with a pail of water in her hand for a drink from her cup, she not only gave him to drink, but strained the water through her soiled handkerchief to remove the wigglers (Carroll, Case and his Contemporaries, Vol. i, p. 44).
The response made in times of public calamity was exceedingly generous; witness the Miramichi Fire Relief funds, 1825. The War of 1812 called forth self-denying efforts on a large scale, to relieve the suffering families of the patriots. The cholera scourge of 1832 found not only clergy and medical doctors, but neighbors and the public generally exhibiting a fine loyalty and rendering every possible service to the sufferers. Community life was full of incidents in which timely aid was disinterestedly rendered. Major Strickland found on returning from a journey incidental to the funeral of his wife, that his fields were green with grain sown in his absence by a generous neighbor. The history of the early days is replete with proofs that the law of kindness triumphed over the temptations of greed.

5. In Canada conscience and economic conditions caused the early abolition of slavery. Slavery was introduced into Canada during the French period, and there is evidence of occasional sales of negroes in Nova Scotia from the foundation of Halifax. With the Loyalists there was a considerable influx of slaves, and this was legalized by an act of the British Parliament of 1790. The second session of the Assembly of Upper Canada, in 1793 legislated against slavery. The Act of 1793 forbade the importation of "any negro or other person to be subjected to the conditions of a

1 Cooney, *Compendious History of the Northern Part of the Province of New Brunswick*, p. 82.
4 *Twenty-seven Years*, Vol. i, p. 106.
5 There were in Lower Canada 304 slaves in 1784. Canniff, *Settlement*, p. 569 f.
6 *The Halifax Gazette* in 1769 contains this advertisement: "On Saturday next at 12 o'clock will be sold on the Beach, 2 hogsheads of rum, 3 of sugar, and 2 well-grown negro girls . . . to the highest bidder." Quoted by T. W. Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, p. 10. This author finds 1232 negroes, mostly slaves, brought to the Maritime Provinces by 1784 (p. 32).
slave," and freed on coming of age the children of existing slaves. Canniff believes that the last vestige of slavery passed in 1835. Advertisements regarding slaves appear in the Niagara papers in 1802. Efforts in Lower Canada to secure legal control of slaves failed to become law, and slavery had almost ceased to exist before the Imperial Emancipation Act of 1833.\footnote{Canniff, \textit{Settlement of Upper Canada}, p. 569 f.} Slaves frequently escaped into Canada from the United States, and were often pursued by the agents of their owners, and in some cases kidnapped and taken off again. A particularly brutal instance of this, in which a negro girl was the victim, took place about 1830 at Queenstown without calling forth the chivalrous intervention of the people that might have been expected.\footnote{Mackenzie, \textit{Sketches of Canada and the United States}, p. 21. Cf. Mrs. Moodie's story of a negro married to a native girl, who was ridden on a rail and died (\textit{Roughing it in the Bush}, p. 252).} Canada has however been singularly free from trouble over the small colored element of her population.

\section*{III. Religious Destitution}

(a) The Lack of Religious Ordinances.

1. The early Protestant settlers in Canada experienced what the prophet Amos described as "a famine of hearing the words of the Lord." The Churches of Great Britain were not prompt to follow the migrating thousands with anything like adequate provision for the ministrations of religion. So far did settlement outstrip church organization that, till at least as late as 1830, there existed in all the provinces large churchless communities. Needless to say, there was a corresponding decline of religious instruction and of religious habits.

The efforts of organized Protestantism in Canada were at first largely by expansion from the older colonies, afterwards the United States. Before the Revolutionary War
both New England Congregationalists and Scottish Presbyterians in Nova Scotia felt strongly the influence of New England in their ministry. The first Presbyterian minister in the Province was a Princeton graduate. He was sent by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, N. J., in response to an urgent invitation from Truro, N. S., "stating in strong terms the destitute circumstances in which the petitioners were placed in regard to the gospel."¹ The Scottish Secession Churches soon began to send missionaries, but the Church of Scotland was not vigorous or interested enough to show much activity until the foundation of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1825. The Revolutionary War severed church relations with New England, and this was of special importance for the decline of Congregationalism in Nova Scotia. Many of the New England trained ministers of the Congregational settlers sympathized with the revolting colonies. One of them, Seth Noble of Maugerville, N. B., corresponded with Washington and conspired in a fruitless local uprising in 1775.² During the war period the fiery evangelist Henry Alline put the whole province in a religious ferment: he died of consumption at 36 in 1784.³ He was not college bred, and his crude opinions led some of his followers to antinomian views.⁴ Alline tolerated, without adopting, adult baptism, and when the war removed the former pastors, new leaders arose who propagated Baptist principles. Many of the Baptist founders of the Maritime Provinces were men who had come from New England to enjoy the larger liberty allowed them in Nova Scotia.

¹ Gregg, History of Presbyterianism in Canada, p. 60.
² He fled to the revolting colonies and many years later sent to his old congregation a bill for his salary during the period of his absence. Hannay, History of New Brunswick, Vol. ii, p. 388.
³ The Life and Journal of the Reverend Mr. Henry Alline, Boston, 1806. This book presents a remarkable record of the psychology of conversions.
⁴ Marsden, Narrative of a Mission, p. 49, records conversations with some of these people.
In Upper Canada American influences prevailed till the War of 1812. The earliest of the Church of England worthies here was John Stuart of Kingston, a Loyalist (and former Presbyterian) from Pennsylvania. Presbyterianism was represented by Robert Macdowell sent by the Dutch Reformed Classis of Albany. The early Methodist itinerants were likewise American. The Established Churches of Great Britain were slow to assert their strength. It will be recalled that no bishop of the Church of England was appointed to the American colonies till after the Revolution: the date of the first appointment for Nova Scotia was 1787. Roughly speaking Protestant organization had to find new beginnings in the Maritime Provinces at the close of the Revolutionary War, in the Canadas at the close of the War of 1812.

2. It is safe to say that at no stage before 1830 did the ministry of the principal denominations collectively reach sufficient numerical strength to accomplish more than a fraction of the work that was calling for their services.

It is difficult to present accurate statistics in the matter, but the following facts will, with allowance for inevitable inaccuracies, establish the statement just made. Let us first take Upper Canada in 1820. According to a survey contained in a report written in that year to Nathan Bangs, by Messrs. Ryan and Case, Methodist missionaries, the ministers of the leading Protestant denominations in the Province numbered 82, consisting of: Church of England, 16; Presbyterian and Congregationalist, 15; Baptist, 18; Methodist, 33. In 1822 the population of Upper Canada was officially estimated at 126,000, of whom we are justified in placing the Protestants at approximately 100,000. If we place their number in 1820 at only 90,000, we find that the

1 Playter, History of Methodism in Canada, p. 192.
2 Canadian Archives, Pamphlet 1443.
ministry (82) stands to the people in the ratio of about .9 per thousand.

An estimate of the Presbyterians in the Maritime Provinces made in 1825 was 50,000, and their ministers are said to have numbered 40, a ratio of .8 per thousand. In 1827 the Church of England was credited in the census report with 28,659 adherents. In 1829 Haliburton lists 26 ministers: if the body had grown to 30,000 at this time, the ratio would just fall short of .9 per thousand. The Methodists who reported 9408 in 1827, had in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island 19 missionaries in 1829, and were thus evidently more adequately supplied. Their ministry however, was to all society. On the whole it seems evident that the ratio of Protestant ministers to people was distinctly less than one per thousand.

To understand the meaning of these statistics, it may be useful to compare them with those of the present day in the Dominion of Canada. According to 1922 Year Books, there were 1,407,959 adherents of the Church of England reported in the 1921 census, and these had 1595 ministers (not including lay leaders) in 1922, 5 dioceses not reporting. The total is probably around 2000, which yields a ratio of 1.5 per thousand. The Methodists had 2536 ministers, 1,158,744 adherents, a ratio of 2.4 per thousand. The Presbyterians had 1964 ministers with 1,408,812 people, or 1.4 per thousand. The Baptists 777 ministers, 421,730 people, or 1.8 per thousand. The 4,397,245 Protestants of these denominations, had 7,277 ministers or a ratio of about 1.7 per 1,000. These comparisons in themselves abundantly prove that the fields, undermanned to-day, were sadly undermanned a century ago.

1 Glasgow Colonial Society, First Report, 1826, Supplement, p. 15.
2 Haliburton, Historical and Statistical Account, Vol. ii, p. 302 f. There were a number of Methodist circuits in Prince Edward Island. See Warburton, History of Prince Edward Island, p. 308.
But one must consider in addition the vast areas concerned—relatively to population much greater than to-day—the impossibility of rapid travel, the lack of equipment and the thousand discomforts and hindrances due to primitive conditions, that reduced the efficiency of the individual worker as compared with his successor of to-day. The heroic conflict with these hindrances, constitutes the romance of pioneer missions in Canada.

The Church authorities of the homelands lacked initiative and imagination, or were too much concerned over pressing problems at home to give adequate leadership in Canada. It would be easy to fill pages with the pleas sent home from neglected communities and the regretful statements of early observers of the inadequacy of the missionary staff. "A moral wilderness"; "sheep having no shepherd"; "perishing for lack of knowledge" are among the oft-repeated phrases of letters sent to the Glasgow Colonial Society. A Methodist itinerant in 1816 describes the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as "a people hungering and thirsting for the bread and water of life, without temple, minister or ordinances."1 An Anglican writer in 1824, after somewhat inaccurately enumerating the missionaries of Upper Canada, exclaims: "What are they among so many?"2 In what was then Western Canada (west of York), there lay wide areas rapidly filling with settlers, but almost untouched by the churches, in which, says an Anglican layman writing in 1833, "there are young families that have never been baptized and I am credibly informed that there are fathers and mothers, nay, grandfathers and grandmothers, who have never been received by baptism into the Church of Christ."3 It is impossible to judge the total result to the early population

1 Marsden, Narrative of a Mission, p. 37.
3 McGrath, Authentic Letters p. 191.
of Canada of this widespread famine of religious ordinances. It continued with other factors to the disadvantage of the moral and spiritual life of the early settlers. As one of the best informed students of this pioneer society remarks: "The earnest contest for life, the daily struggle for food, and more especially the absence of ministers of the gospel all combined to create a feeling of indifference, if not a looseness of morals."

3. In churchless communities, even with the best of intentions on the part of the original settlers, the tendency to irreligion and general retrogression inevitably set in with the first native generation. This fact is set forth in the words of the shrewd worldling, "Tiger" Dunlop:

The original settler retains the religious impressions he brought with him from home, and so far as in him lies instils them into his children; but those children, never having been brought up in the public observance of the Sabbath, find that it is not at all necessary for their comfort. . . . A population arises destitute of reverence for either God or man, and ruffian violence takes the place of law, and dissolve licentiousness that of morality, and man retrogrades from a civilized to a worse than savage state.

Talbot illustrates the sheer religious ignorance which he finds general among native Canadians by a story of two hunters, one of British and one of Canadian birth, who were lost in the woods and in prospect of death. The former was anxious about the future life; the latter only lest his body should be torn by wolves. Nothing of course, is more commonplace than the lamentation of the aged over the impiety of the young; but in a community devoid of

1 Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 276.
3 Five Years' Residence in Upper Canada, Vol. i, p. 203.
those inspiring and correcting forces which centre in the Church, there is some historic significance in the picture, described by himself, of a settler in Lanark, the father of a family, sitting with grave concern over a dying fire after the rest had gone to bed, the burden of his mournful reverie being: "O what will become of the rising generation?"  

Death was a frequent and often a sudden visitor in the backwoods, and funerals could not be postponed till the coming of a minister. Many are the touching and saddening accounts of bereavement, and the funeral incidents that have been preserved. In times of epidemic disease, the most terrible being the visitation of cholera in 1832, the dead were so numerous that they had to be buried by contract without funeral rite of any sort. Instances occurred in private life in which after an accident the dead were laid away in the ground with the least possible interruption of work. The customs in regard to caring for the corpse, wakes, and burial, were in large measure those of the countries from which the settlers came. 

The funeral service, if there was any, was simplicity itself: neighbors bore the pine coffin to the burial place. "The rude coffin being placed in the grave, those present would uncover, and the father," (here our authority assumes what so often happened, the death of the young) "in sad tones would make a few remarks about the departed, offer a few thoughts which the occasion suggested, and then the coffin was hidden out of sight. The men would return to their labors and the women to their

1 Glasgow Colonial Society, Fourth Report, 1830, App. V.
4 Mackay, Pioneer Life of Zorra, p. 198. See the positively gruesome account of a death scene witnessed by Howison in a novel of the Niagara district. With the aid of a bottle of spirits, friends laid out the corpse, after which the women came in and put a Bible under the head and a plate of salt upon the breast. Sketches, p. 122,
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duties." There being no churches and no churchyards, the place of burial was either on the farm of the departed, or in a community burial ground that developed around the first grave of the settlement.

4. The absence of religious instruction left room for the free development of superstition. People might neglect the weightier matters of the law, but they planted and reaped, butchered, made soap, and weaned their babies according to the phases of the moon. Ghosts were frequently encountered, and, it seems, could be best discerned by those whose eyes had been opened with drink. But they were sometimes dispelled by bold unbelievers. The Acadian who murdered two Englishmen and died unshriven, reappeared in the form of a wild goose. There lived here and there in the wilderness a witch of terrible powers. One near New Dundee, Upper Canada, possessed the sixth and seventh books of Moses! Witch doctors and spell-making quacks, were consulted for illness in man or beast. In much of this there is a distinct Old World touch. German settlers placed the names of Caspar, Melchior and Belthazar over doors to keep out witches. Dogs howling to the moon, foretold death. But the New World had its own spiritual terrors. The frogs that lifted their chorus from every pool, the wild beasts and birds, were sometimes thought of in terms of the supernatural. A hawk that had

1 Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 245.
2 Scherk, Pen Pictures, p. 90; Canniff, Settlement, p. 243 f. Canniff attributes this practice to the Dutch, and finds it duplicated in New York State, and especially at Hoboken, N. J. But the present writer has in mind numerous instances in communities in which no Dutch influence can be traced.
3 Haight, Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago, p. 98; Scherk, Pen Pictures, p. 91.
4 Mackay, Pioneer Life in Zorra, p. 211 f.
5 J. McGregor, Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Provinces, p. 177.
been wounded and was thought dead, was taken into a room, and on recovering consciousness exhibited such fiendish qualities that it was mistaken for the devil.¹ The early folklore of Nova Scotia bears resemblances to that of the Micmacs,² and may have been influenced by Indian tales.

There is nothing very original or distinctive about the folklore of the Canadian settlers. But it is clear that where religious teaching was absent, superstitions were the more readily cultivated, and took a more important place in the life of the people than would otherwise have been the case.

(b) Family and Public Religion before Church Organization.

1. But the picture has been only partially drawn. While the majority of the early communities suffered in religion and morals by the conditions that have just been noted, there were some settlers to whom religion was so vital an experience and in whom religious habits were so ingrained, that they retained in the interval the practices of family religion, and even inaugurated some form of public worship. It appears that most of the Scotch settlers of Oxford County retained the habits of morning and evening home worship, of grace after meals, and of parting and meeting with a blessing. No pressure of work was allowed to interrupt these observances; and we learn of an instance in which, to the consternation of the hired man roused up from scant sleep, thanks were offered for the light of another day two hours before daybreak.³ In a recently published history of Prince Edward Island the later rapid growth of the Presbyterian Church there is attributed to the fact that Bible

¹ The enraged bird played up to the part, and tore the clothing of a servant woman as she fled from the place. Baird, Seventy Years of New Brunswick Life, p. 38.
³ Mackay, Pioneer Life in Zorra, p. 47.
reading and catechizing were maintained in the settlers’ homes from the beginning.¹ In Nova Scotia Methodism took its rise from quickenings in household prayer meetings.² In Upper Canada, in the Bay of Quinte region, Methodism existed twelve years before the first itinerant arrived.³

2. While the churches were making slow beginnings, Sunday Schools were being introduced. In some places they were undertaken years before there was any prospect of church organization. For some years prior to 1776, James Davidson kept a Sunday School at Lyon’s Brook, Pictou.⁴ This pioneer school was, of course, earlier than the experiment of Robert Raikes, the reputed originator of the modern Sunday School. At Elizabethtown (Brockville) a community Sunday School was carried on by laymen for years before the settlement of a minister.⁵ One was organized in Kingston in 1817, which has been mistakenly regarded as the earliest in Upper Canada.⁶ “More than forty” schools in the Upper Canada district were reported by presiding elder Case in 1822.⁷ In 1824 the Parliament of Upper Canada set apart a small sum for their promotion, and by that year they were common in the older settlements.⁸ While Methodists were very active in their organization, many of the schools were non-denominational. A Scotch Presbyterian visited Prince Edward Island in 1820 and 1821, for the purpose of founding community Sunday Schools. He was not the agent of his own or of any Church, but endeavored to reimburse him-

¹ Warburton, History of Prince Edward Island, p. 400.
² T. W. Smith, Methodism in Eastern British America, Vol. i, p. 81 f.
³ Webster, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, p. 30.
⁴ Patterson, History of Pictou County, p. 69.
⁶ Canniff, Settlement of Upper Canada, p. 308.
⁷ Playter, History of Methodism in Canada, p. 208.
⁸ Canniff, op. cit., p. 309; Playter, op. cit., p. 228.
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...self by the publication of letters describing the Province. In this way he has left a highly valuable description of pioneer life, in which the element of religious destitution is impressively presented. He was instrumental, with the aid of lay leaders, in the founding of a number of schools, but on the whole his work was a disappointment. ¹

3. In some instances public worship was undertaken, and religion given some sort of local organization, in a purely spontaneous effort on the part of the religiously minded among the settlers. The Scotch Baptists of Breadalbane, Argenteuil County, instituted their own church, setting apart two of their number as ministers. ² In the journal of a settler near Peterborough, it is recorded, under date of 1836, that "Before the erection of a church, and since, when no duly appointed minister can be procured, one or other of the educated settlers have always been accustomed to read prayers and a sermon to the rest." ³ Military officers were accustomed on occasion to make use of the English Church service. Major Strickland records reading the service at a blacksmith's funeral. ⁴ Col. Thomas Talbot, the benevolent despot of Middlesex County, maintained public worship at St. Thomas. ⁵

The first settlers at Pictou numbered among them a group of church elders who inaugurated Sunday services while they petitioned God and the Anti-Burgher Synod for a minister. "The exercises in these meetings consisted of prayer and praise, and especially reading the Scriptures and religious works." Hence they were called "Readings." ⁶

¹ Johnstone, Travels in Prince Edward Island.
² One of these proved a Calvinist, the other an Arminian, a circumstance that led to a division of the congregation. Sketch of the History of the Churches, in Minutes of the Fiftieth Meeting of the Ottawa Baptist Association, p. 20.
³ Six Years in the Bush, p. 118.
⁴ Twenty Seven Years in Canada West, Vol. ii, p. 174.
⁵ Ermatinger, The Talbot Régime, p. 270.
⁶ Patterson, Memoirs of James McGregor, p. 84.
In Cavendish, Prince Edward Island, a group of leading families "were able to conduct intelligently among themselves religious services, and did so until they obtained a pastor of their own."¹ In another part of the Island Province settlers (from Dumfriesshire) had imported some religious books. These were for the most part destroyed by the plague of mice which made repeated visitations to the province in the eighteenth century;² but Boston's *Four Fold State* proved too tough for the rodents; they left it damaged but not destroyed, and the mutilated copy of this classic was made to do service at many a pious gathering.³

In 1824 a Paisley man, settled in Caledon, Upper Canada, wrote to the Glasgow Colonial Society:

You wish to know how we spend the Sabbath in Caledon, to which I answer that we all assemble at eleven o'clock, forenoon, in the house of J. McD., when we commence our religious service with prayer and praise, after which a chapter of the Bible is read. We next read one of Burder's *Village Sermons*; after the sermon is read the children are catechized, and the service concludes as it began with prayer and praise.⁴

The minister of a pioneer church in New Brunswick writes in the same year:

In some places, even in the wilderness where preachers have never yet been sent, is regularly heard the public voice of psalms and of prayer and of exhortation.⁵

One is led to think that such praiseworthy lay efforts were fairly widespread, though by no means universal. Such groups in each denomination of Christians formed

¹ MacLeod, *History of Presbyterianism in Prince Edward Island*, p. 21.
³ Patterson, *Memoirs of James McGregor*, p. 84.
nuclei for the organization of the churches when that became possible; meanwhile they held many of the outposts for religion and decency, and kept alive the expectation of a better day.

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