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A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
SEVERAL COMMISSIONS,  
AND  
OTHER PUBLIC INSTRUMENTS,  
Proceeding from his Majesty's Royal Authority,  
RELATING TO THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

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Proceeding from his MAJESTY's Royal Authority,

AND

OTHER PAPERS,

Relating to the STATE of the PROVINCE in QUEBEC in NORTH  
AMERICA, since the CONQUEST of it by the BRITISH ARMS  
in 1760.

COLLECTED BY

FRANCIS MASERES, Esquire,

His MAJESTY's Attorney General in the said Province.

L O N D O N :

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE following papers have been collected together and printed in one volume, with a view to facilitate and expedite the settlement of the province of Quebec, which has been for some years past, and is still under the consideration of his Majesty's privy council. This settlement, it is conceived, cannot properly be made without a careful perusal and examination of the several instruments of government that have already been passed under his Majesty's authority, or that of his royal predecessors, concerning the said province. These are, first, the articles of capitulation granted to the French governor of Canada by general Amherst upon the intire surrender of it in 1760;—secondly, the fourth article of the definitive treaty of peace, in February, 1763, containing the full cession of the said country by the French king to the crown of Great-Britain, and the stipulation of his present Majesty the King of Great-Britain, in favour of a toleration of the Roman Catholick religion in the same, as far as the laws of Great-Britain will permit;—thirdly, the King's proclamation in October, 1763, for erecting four new governments in the ceded countries in America, whereby his Majesty promises to such of his subjects as shall resort to, and settle in, the said governments, that as soon as the circumstances of those new governments will respectively permit, they shall be governed in the same manner as the subjects of his Majesty's other colonies in America,

America, that are under his immediate government, to wit, by a governour, council, and assembly of the freeholders and planters of the same, and in the mean time, shall enjoy the benefit of the laws of England ;—fourthly, the commission of captain-general and governour in chief of the said province under the great seal of Great-Britain, given to major-general Murray in November, 1764, empowering him, amongst other things, to call an assembly of protestants in the said province, as soon as he shall find it practicable, and, with the consent of such assembly and of the council of the province, to make laws and ordinances for the benefit of the said province, but not giving him any power to make any laws, or ordinances, whatsoever by the advice and consent of the council of the province only ; and empowering him likewise to collate persons (protestant priests, as it is supposed) to all the ecclesiastical benefices in the said province ;—and fifthly, the ordinances made by the said governour of that province, with the consent of the council of the same only, by virtue of an instruction for that purpose under the King's signet and sign manual (purporting to empower him to make rules and regulations in the said province, by the advice and consent of the council of the said province only, provided that the said rules and regulations do not tend to affect either the life, or limb, or liberty of the subject, or to the raising any duties or taxes) for erecting courts of justice in the said province ; in which ordinances the chief justice of the said province, who is the only judge of the court of King's Bench thereby erected, is directed to determine all matters, criminal and civil, according to the laws of England ;

—and sixthly, the commission of vice-admiral, granted to the said major-general Murray, whereby all the laws of the English court of admiralty were introduced into the said province ;—and seventhly and lastly, the statute of the first of Queen Elizabeth, for restoring to the crown of England the antient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual ; which prohibits all exercise of the Pope's pretended power and jurisdiction in all the dominions of the crown of England, as well in those that hereafter should belong to it, as in those that belonged to it at that time, and consequently in the said province of Quebec ; and some other acts of parliament both before and since the conquest of the said province, which manifestly extend to and bind it. All these instruments are evidently necessary to be carefully considered upon this occasion by the members of his Majesty's privy-council ; and, if (as there is good reason to hope it will) this important subject should be brought before the two houses of parliament, to be considered also by the members of those houses. Now this could not easily be done without the help of some such collection as the present : because the above-mentioned instruments are no where else to be found printed together ; and many of them are not printed at all in any other book, but lie dispersed in the original manuscripts only, or in the records of the several public offices ; from which it would be very expensive, and be attended with great delay, to cause a sufficient number of copies for the use of so many persons to be transcribed. It is therefore hoped that the present collection of them will be thought a proper and useful work. It contains, besides the important instruments above-mentioned, some

some other papers of a public nature, or that have a tendency to explain the present condition of the province of Quebec. Such are the reports concerning the state of the laws in the said province, and the administration of justice in the same, in pages 1—48, and 50—56; the plan for the administration of justice in the said province, in pages 58—67; the draughts of two intended ordinances concerning the laws and the administration of justice, the one for continuing the French laws relating to landed property, in pages 68—70, the other for establishing monthly sessions of the supreme court of justice in the said province, in pages 71—74; the account of the King's iron mines near Three Rivers in the said province, in pages 207, et seq. and the account of the French duties on wine, rum, and brandy, imported into the said province before the conquest of it, and of the trials of the suits instituted at Quebec for the recovery of those duties for the crown in October, 1766, and July, 1769, in pages 288—311; and a few more papers of the like kind, which, it is hoped, will be found to be of some use towards attaining a right knowledge of the condition of the said province. But for a more particular account of the matters comprized in this collection, I must refer the reader to the following table of contents.

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A  
D R A U G H T

O F

An Intended REPORT of the Honourable the Governor in  
Chief and the Council of the Province of QUEBEC to  
the King's most Excellent Majesty in his Privy Council;

C O N C E R N I N G

The State of the Laws and the Administration of Justice in  
that Province.

*May it please your Majesty,*

**I**N humble obedience to your Majesty's order in council, of the  
28th day of August 1767, wherein your Majesty is pleased to  
order that we should report to your Majesty,

First. Whether any, and what, defects are now subsisting in the  
present state of Judicature in this your Majesty's province of  
Quebec:

And Secondly. Whether the Canadians are, or think themselves,  
aggrieved according to the present administration of justice:  
wherein, and in what respects; together with our opinions of  
any alterations or amendments that we can propose for the  
general benefit of the said province; and that such alterations  
and amendments, for the clearer apprehension thereof, be  
transmitted to your Majesty in the form of ordinances, but not  
passed as such; and that such report be returned, signed by  
your Majesty's governor, or his *locum tenens*, the chief justice,  
and attorney general of the said province; but that, if they  
should not concur, the person or persons differing in opinion  
should be required to report the difference of his opinions,  
together with his reasons for such difference of opinion, fully  
and at large:

A

We



We lay before your Majesty the following view of the laws and customs which at present prevail in this province, and of the rules of decision observed by your Majesty's courts of judicature in the administration of justice, together with such observations on these heads as the experience we have had in our respective offices since we have had the honour to serve your Majesty in this province has enabled us to make.

The laws of England are generally thought to be in force in this province.

In the first place, we beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that the laws of England are generally supposed to be in force in this province. All criminal proceedings have been carried on according to these laws: and in civil matters no other laws are cited, or appealed to, or allowed to be of any weight in the courts of justice; though in one or two causes certain customs that prevailed here in the time of the French government have been admitted as the grounds of the decisions, because the causes of action in those litigations had arisen either in the time of the French government, or during your Majesty's government of this province by your military commanders, during which period the ancient laws and usages of the country were supposed to be in force. But since the establishment of civil government your Majesty's chief justice of the province has acted by virtue of a commission that commands him to decide all matters that come before him according to the laws and customs of that part of your Majesty's kingdom of Great Britain called England, and the laws, ordinances, rules, and regulations of your Majesty's province of Quebec hereafter in that behalf to be ordained and made: so that he is not at liberty to allow of any other laws or customs but those of England, unless they are expressly introduced or revived by some of the ordinances of the province made since the establishment of the civil government. And further, besides this commission, there is an express ordinance of the province which obliges both your Majesty's chief justice and the other judges of the province to follow the same rule of judgment. This is the ordinance of the 17th of September 1764, passed by the governor and council of the province upon the introduction of the civil government, to erect and constitute the courts of justice by which the said civil government was to be carried on. This ordinance erects, in the first place, one superior court of judicature, called the King's Bench, in which it directs that your Majesty's chief justice of the province shall preside, with power and authority to bear and determine all criminal and civil causes, agreeable

The commission of the chief justice refers to them.

So does the ordinance of the 17th of September 1764.

Purpose of this ordinance.

agreeable to the laws of England and to the ordinances of this province: and, in the second place, an inferior court of judicature, called the Court of Common Pleas, with power and authority to determine all property above the value of ten pounds, with a liberty to either party to appeal to the superior court, or court of King's Bench, where the matter in contest is of the value of twenty pounds, or upwards; and directs that the judges in this court shall determine the matters before them agreeable to equity, having regard nevertheless to the laws of England as far as the circumstances and situation of things will permit, until such time as proper ordinances for the information of the people can be established by the governor and council, agreeable to the laws of England; and it farther directs, that the French laws and customs shall be allowed and admitted in all causes in this court between the natives of this province, where the cause of action arose before the 1st day of October 1764. It then, in the third place, gives powers to justices of the peace to determine matters of property of small value in a summary way, either singly, if the matter in dispute does not exceed the value of five pounds, or in conjunction with each other in weekly and quarterly sessions, where the matter in contest is of a greater value. The words of this ordinance, by which these things are ordained, are of the tenor following:

"Whereas it is highly expedient and necessary for the well governing of his Majesty's good subjects of the province of Quebec, and for the speedy and impartial distribution of justice among the same, that proper courts of judicature, with proper powers and authorities, and under proper regulations, should be established and appointed; his excellency the governor, by and with the advice, consent, and assistance of his Majesty's council, and by virtue of the power and authority to him given by his Majesty's letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, hath thought fit to ordain and declare, and his said excellency, by and with the advice, consent, and assistance aforesaid, doth hereby ordain and declare;

The words of the ordinance.

"That a superior court of judicature, or court of King's Bench, be established in this province to sit and hold terms in the town of Quebec twice in every year, viz. one to begin on the 21st day of January, called Hilary term, the other on the 21st day of June, called Trinity term.



" In this court his Majesty's chief justice presides, with power and authority to hear and determine all criminal and civil causes, agreeable to the laws of England and to the ordinances of this province; and from this court an appeal lies to the governor and council, where the matter in contest is above the value of three hundred pounds Sterling; and from the governor and council an appeal lies to the King and council, where the matter in contest is of the value of five hundred pounds Sterling, or upwards.

" In all trials in this court all his Majesty's subjects in this colony are to be admitted on juries without distinction.

" And his Majesty's chief justice once in every year to hold a court of assize and general gaol delivery, soon after Hilary term, at the towns of Montreal and Trois-Rivieres, for the more easy and convenient distribution of justice to his Majesty's subjects in those distant parts of the province.

" And whereas an inferior court of judicature, or court of Common Pleas, is also thought necessary and convenient, it is further ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that an inferior court of judicature, or court of Common Pleas, is hereby established, with power and authority to determine all property above the value of ten pounds, with a liberty of appeal to either party to the superior court, or court of King's Bench, where the matter in contest is of the value of twenty pounds, and upwards.

" All trials in this court to be by juries, if demanded by either party; and this court to sit and hold two terms in every year at the town of Quebec, at the same time with the superior court, or court of King's Bench. Where the matter in contest in this court is above the value of three hundred pounds Sterling, either party may (if they shall think proper) appeal to the governor and council immediately, and from the governor and council an appeal lies to the King and council, where the matter in contest is above the value of five hundred pounds Sterling, or upwards.

" The judges in this court are to determine agreeable to equity, having regard nevertheless to the laws of England, as far as the circumstances and present situation of things will admit, until such time as proper ordinances for the information of the people  
" can

" can be established by the governor and council, agreeable to the laws of England.

" The French laws and customs to be allowed and admitted in all causes in this court between the natives of the province, where the cause of action arose before the first day of October one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

" The first process in this court to be an attachment against the body.

" An execution to go against the body, lands, or goods of the defendant.

" Canadian advocates, proctors, &c. may practise in this court.

" And whereas it is thought highly necessary for the ease, convenience, and happiness of all his Majesty's loving subjects, that justices of the peace should be appointed for the respective districts of this province, with power of determining property of small value in a summary way, it is therefore further ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, and full power is hereby given and granted to any one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, within their respective districts, to hear and finally determine in all causes or matters of property not exceeding the sum of five pounds current money of Quebec; and to any two justices of the peace, within their respective districts, to hear and finally determine in all causes or matters of property not exceeding the sum of ten pounds said currency; which decisions being within, and not exceeding the aforesaid limitation, shall not be liable to an appeal; and also full power is, by the authority aforesaid, given and granted to any three of said justices of the peace to be a *quorum*, with power of holding quarter sessions in their respective districts every three months, and also to hear and determine all causes and matters of property which shall be above the sum of ten pounds, and not exceeding thirty pounds current money of Quebec, with liberty of appeal to either party to the superior court, or court of King's Bench. And it is hereby ordered, that the aforesaid justices of the peace do issue their warrants directed to the captains and other officers of the militia in this province, to be by them executed, until the provost-marshal, legally  
" authorized

“ authorized by his Majesty, shall arrive, and other inferior officers  
 “ be appointed for that purpose; all officers, civil and military,  
 “ or other his Majesty's loving subjects, are hereby commanded and  
 “ required to be aiding and assisting to the said justices and officers  
 “ of militia in the due execution of their duty. And it is further  
 “ ordered and directed, by the authority aforesaid, that two of the  
 “ said justices of the peace do sit weekly in rotation, for the better  
 “ regulation of the police and other matters and things in the  
 “ towns of Quebec and Montreal, and that the names of the justices  
 “ who are to sit in each week be posted up on the door of the  
 “ Session-house by the clerk of the peace, two days before their  
 “ respective days of sitting, that all persons may know to whom  
 “ to apply for redress.”

The ordinance  
 of the 6th of  
 November 1764.

Further, by another ordinance of your Majesty's governour and council, dated the 6th day of November 1764, it is ordained, that until the 10th day of August next, that is, of August 1765, the tenures of lands, with respect to such grants as are prior to the cession of Canada to the Crown of Great Britain by the definitive treaty of peace of February 1763, and the rights of inheritance, as practised before that period, in such lands, shall remain to all intents and purposes the same, unless they shall be altered by some declared and positive law. The words of this ordinance relating to this subject are of the tenor following:

The words of  
 this ordinance.

“ Whereas it appears right and necessary to quiet the minds of  
 “ the people in regard to their possessions, and to remove every doubt  
 “ respecting the same, which may any ways tend to excite and  
 “ encourage vexatious law-suits; and until a matter of so serious  
 “ and complicated a nature, fraught with many and great difficulties,  
 “ can be seriously considered, and such measures therein taken as  
 “ may appear the most likely to promote the welfare and prosperity  
 “ of the province in general, his excellency, by and with the  
 “ advice and consent of his Majesty's council, doth hereby ordain  
 “ and declare that, until the 10th day of August next, the tenures  
 “ of lands, in respect to such grants as are prior to the cession  
 “ thereof by the definitive treaty of peace signed at Paris the 10th  
 “ day of February one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three,  
 “ and the rights of inheritance, as practised before that period, in  
 “ such lands or effects, of any nature whatsoever, according to the  
 “ custom of this country, shall remain to all intents and purposes  
 “ the

“ the same, unless they shall be altered by some declared and  
 “ positive law; for which purpose the present ordinance shall serve  
 “ as a guide and direction in all such matters to every court of  
 “ record in this province. Provided that nothing in this ordinance  
 “ contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the prejudice  
 “ of the rights of the Crown, or to debar his Majesty, his heirs  
 “ or successors, from obtaining by due course of law in any of his  
 “ courts of record in this province, according to the laws of  
 “ Great Britain, any lands or tenements, which at any time here-  
 “ after may be found to be vested in his Majesty, his heirs or  
 “ successors, and in the possession of any grantee or grantees, his,  
 “ her, or their assigns, or such as claim under them by virtue of  
 “ any such grants as aforesaid, or under pretence thereof, or which  
 “ hereafter may be found to have become forfeited to his Majesty  
 “ by breach of all or any of the conditions in such grants respectively  
 “ mentioned and contained.”

By this latter ordinance we conceive that all the lands in this province, whose owners have died since the 10th day of August 1765, are meant to be subjected to the English law of inheritance, and to the English custom of dower, and to the English rules of forfeiture to your Majesty for high treason, or escheat to your Majesty, or to such other lord of whom they are holden, for felony or defect of heirs, and to all the other rules of the English law relating to land-property, even though the said lands had been originally granted before the signing of the definitive treaty of peace; and that all lands granted since the said peace were already, at the time of making the said ordinance, subject to the said English rules and customs, and were so to continue.

Conclusion ne-  
 cessarily follow-  
 ing from this  
 ordinance in fa-  
 vour of the in-  
 troduction of the  
 laws of Eng-  
 land.

By these two ordinances, which have been transmitted to your Majesty and never disallowed, and are therefore supposed to have received the sanction of your Majesty's royal approbation, the Canadian laws and customs have been generally supposed to be abolished, and the English laws and customs to have been introduced in their stead, and the judges of your Majesty's courts of judicature in this province have conceived themselves to be in conscience bound to administer justice according to the laws of England.

Besides these two ordinances there are several other public instruments and acts of government by which the laws of England are supposed

Other public in-  
 struments which  
 have tended to  
 produce the  
 same effect.  
 to



to have been introduced into this province. Some of these instruments are acts of parliament, which introduce those particular parts of the laws of England, to which they relate, into this province; and others of them are instruments of a high and important nature, that bear the sanction of your Majesty's royal authority, by which it is generally understood to have been your royal pleasure to abolish the former laws and customs of this province, and for the sake of governing your new Canadian subjects in a milder and more indulgent manner than they had heretofore been used to, and associating and connecting them with the greater part of your ancient and natural-born subjects of Great Britain by the strong tie of an union and communion of laws, to introduce the laws of England in their stead. These acts of parliament and other instruments of government are as follows;

Acts of parliament.

The acts of parliament that relate to this province are of two kinds; some of them are prior to the conquest of this province by your Majesty's arms in the year 1760, but extend to your Majesty's future American dominions, as well as those which belonged to the Crown of Great-Britain at the times of passing them, either by express words for that purpose, or by some general words that have been deemed by your Majesty's ministers and law-officers, by just construction in law, to comprehend them; and others of the said acts have been passed by your Majesty's self, by the advice and with the consent of your parliament, since the conquest and cession of this province by the last definitive treaty of peace.

Stat. 1. Eliz.  
cap. 1.

The most ancient act of parliament of the first kind that we have met with is that of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 1, by which the pretended authority of the bishop of Rome was abolished throughout all the dominions of the crown of England. The 16th section of this statute is of the following tenor: "And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may forever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this realm, or any other your Majesty's dominions or countries, may it please your Highness that it may be further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall, at any time after the last day of this session of parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-heminence, or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical,

"ecclesiastical, within this realm, or within any other your Majesty's dominions and countries that now be, or hereafter shall be; but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other your Majesty's dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

By this section of that statute, and the express words, *any other your Majesty's dominions and countries that now be, or hereafter shall be*, we humbly apprehend that all exercise of the pope's authority, or of any ecclesiastical authority derived from him, is prohibited in this province as much as it is in England itself.

The next section of this act of parliament annexes all ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the crown of England.

The 19th section requires all bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, and all ecclesiastical officers and ministers, and all temporal judges, justices, mayors, and other lay or temporal officers and ministers, and every other person having the Queen's fee or wages, within the realm of England, or any other her Highness's dominions, to take the oath of supremacy.

The 24th section enacts, that every temporal person doing homage for his lands to the Queen, her heirs or successors, or that shall be received into the service of the Queen, her heirs or successors, shall take the same oath.

And the 27th section enacts, that if any person of any degree whatsoever, dwelling within the realm of England, or in any other the Queen's realms or dominions, shall by writing, teaching, or preaching, maintain or defend the authority, spiritual or ecclesiastical, of any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate whatsoever, heretofore claimed, used, or usurped within the realm of England, or any dominion or country being within or under the power, dominion, or obedience of the Queen's highness, he shall forfeit all his goods and chattels for the first offence.

We submit it to your Majesty that this statute seems, from the whole complexion of it, as well as from the positive words, *your Majesty's*

*Majesty's dominions that hereafter shall be*, to have been considered by the legislature that passed it as an indispensable part of the general policy of the English government, and to have been intended to take place in every country that either then made or should thereafter make a part of the dominions of the crown of England.

The next statute that we have met with of this comprehensive nature is the statute of the 15th of Charles the Second, chap. 7, Stat. 15 Car. II. intitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Trade." In the 7th Chap. 7. section of this statute it is enacted, that after the 25th day of March 1664, no commodity of the growth or manufacture of Europe shall be imported into any land, island, plantation, colony, territory, or place to his Majesty belonging, *or which shall hereafter belong unto, or be in the possession of, his Majesty, his heirs and successors,* in Asia, Africa, or America (Tangier only excepted) but what shall be laden and shipped in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and in English-built shipping.

Another statute of the same kind is the stat. 7 and 8 Will. III. Stat. 7 and 8 of Will. III. chap. 22, intitled, "An Act for preventing Frauds, and regulating 22. "Abuses, in the Plantation Trade;" by which it is enacted and ordained, that after the 25th day of March, in the year 1698, no goods or merchandizes whatsoever shall be imported into, or exported out of, any colony or plantation to his Majesty in Asia, Africa, or America belonging, or in his possession, *or which may hereafter belong unto, or be in the possession of, his Majesty, his heirs or successors,* in any ship or bottom but what is or shall be of the built of England, or of the built of Ireland, or of the built of the said colonies or plantations.

And the other acts of parliament relating to the trade of your Majesty's American colonies, though they have not such strong positive words in them as the three statutes above-mentioned, yet are generally understood to extend to this province as well as to your Majesty's more ancient American dominions; and, agreeably to this opinion, your Majesty has caused a clause to be inserted in your commission to your governor of this province, directing him to take the oath required to be taken by governors of the plantations to do their utmost that the several laws relating to trade and plantations be duly observed; and this oath he hath accordingly taken.

taken. And your Majesty's commissioners of the customs have appointed a collector and comptroller of the customs, and other officers necessary for the collection of them, for this part of Quebec, in order to carry all these acts of parliament into execution.

Another statute that we understand to be in force in this province, though made before the conquest of it, and not extended Stat. 2, 12 Ann. Chap. 18. by express words to the future dominions of the crown of Great Britain, is stat. 2, 12th Ann. chap. 18, intitled, "An Act for preserving all such Ships and Goods thereof which shall happen to be forced on Shore, or stranded, upon the coasts of this kingdom, "or any other of her Majesty's dominions." This statute, and another of the 4th of Geo. I. chap. 12, for enforcing and making the former perpetual, have been declared by your Majesty's attorney and solicitor general, in the month of June 1767, in an opinion given by them to your Majesty's lords commissioners of trade and plantations, upon a case stated to them by those lords, to extend to your Majesty's plantations in America: and no exception is made in their opinion of those of your Majesty's dominions in America which have been acquired since the passing of those statutes. And your Majesty's ministers have transmitted the said case and opinion to your Majesty's governor of this province, upon a supposition, as we apprehend, that it extends to this province as well as to all the others.

These are the acts of parliament passed before the conquest and cession of Canada that we conceive to be in force in this province by their own import and operation, and without needing any further act of government to introduce them.

Some of the acts of parliament passed by your Majesty's self since the conquest and cession of Canada relating to this province are these that follow:

The first of these statutes is that of the 4th year of your Majesty's Stat. 4 Geo. III. reign, chap. 11, which, amongst other things, enacts, that so much Chap. 11. of an act made in the 8th year of King George the First, intitled, "An Act for giving further Encouragement to the Importation of "Naval Stores, and for other purposes therein mentioned," as relates to the importation of wood and timber, and of the goods commonly



commonly called *Lumber*, therein particularly enumerated, from any of your Majesty's British plantations or colonies in America, free from all customs and impositions whatsoever, shall be continued, beyond the times appointed in former acts, to the 29th of September in the year 1771.

In this statute the words *British plantations* are generally understood to relate to this province as well as to your Majesty's other colonies in America; and a copy of this statute has accordingly been transmitted by the commissioners of your Majesty's customs in London to your Majesty's collector of the customs in this port.

Stat. 4 Geo. III.  
cap. 19.

The next act of parliament of this kind is of the same 4th year of your Majesty's reign, chap. 19. This statute expressly relates to this province by name, being intitled, "An Act for importing Salt from Europe into the Province of Quebec in America for a limited Time." It enacts, "that it shall be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to carry and import salt from any part of Europe into the said province of Quebec in America in British ships and vessels manned and navigated according to the act of navigation; any law, statute, usage, or custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

By these last words it seems to be supposed that all the former laws and statutes of Great Britain relating to this subject of the importation and exportation of goods and merchandize, made before the conquest of this province, are of force in this province as well as in the other British provinces in America.

Stat. 4 Geo. III.  
cap. 15.

Another act of parliament passed by your Majesty, and expressly relating to this province, is the statute of the same 4th year of your Majesty's reign, chap. 15, intitled, "An Act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, and for other purposes." By this statute it is enacted, that certain rates and duties therein mentioned shall be paid upon several species of foreign goods therein enumerated that shall, after the 29th day of September 1764, be imported or brought into any colony or plantation in America, *which now is, or hereafter may be*, under the dominion of your Majesty, your heirs and successors; and these duties are accordingly levied and paid in this province.

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These are the acts of parliament, or at least some of them (for possibly there may be others which have escaped our notice) which by their own import and operation extend, as we conceive, to this province, without the help of any other instrument or act of government to introduce them; and therefore such parts of the laws of England as are contained in these statutes are certainly in force in this province, being introduced into it by the highest authority, that of your Majesty, or your royal predecessors, in conjunction with both houses of parliament. The remaining parts of the laws of England have been introduced, or are generally understood to have been introduced, by a series of public instruments, or acts of government, founded on your Majesty's royal authority alone, without the concurrence of your parliament. These public instruments and acts of government are as follows:

The first of these public instruments is the capitulation granted by your Majesty's general, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, to the inhabitants of Canada at the general surrender of the whole country to your Majesty's arms in the year 1760. In the 42d article of this capitulation it is desired by the French commander, on the behalf of the French and Canadian inhabitants of this province, that they shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris and the laws and usages established in this country; to which it is answered by your Majesty's general, that they become subjects to the King: by which it should seem, that these your Majesty's new subjects in this province were put upon the same footing as your Majesty's other subjects in other parts of your Majesty's British dominions with respect to the laws by which they were to be governed, and the power of legislation that was to be exercised over them for the time to come; and that the continuance or abolition of their former laws and customs was to depend entirely upon the future counsels which your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, should find it expedient to pursue.

Articles of capitulation granted to the Canadians by Gen. Amherst, in 1760. Article 42d.

The 27th article of this capitulation demands, that the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall subsist intire, in such manner that all the people shall continue to assemble in the churches and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly; and then it goes on and demands, in the second place, that the people shall be obliged by the

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the English government to pay the priests the tithes and all the taxes they were used to pay under the government of the French king. The general's answer to this article is as follows: "*Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion. The obligation of paying tithes to the priests will depend on the King's pleasure.*" By this answer it is evident that a bare toleration, or permission to exercise freely the Roman Catholic religion, without being molested for so doing by the execution of the penal laws of England upon that subject, is granted to the Canadians, together with a reasonable use of their churches for that purpose, though not, as we conceive, to the intire exclusion of your Majesty's Protestant subjects from making use of the same churches likewise: but a legal establishment of that religion, with a right to exact their tithes from the people as legal dues and not as voluntary contributions, is refused them, until your Majesty's pleasure shall otherwise direct, which your Majesty has not yet judged expedient to do. By this refusal all those parts of the Canadian laws and usages relating to the payment of tithes and other church dues are either abolished or suspended.

Article 31st.

The 31st article of the same capitulation is as follows: "The bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the re-building of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the town or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessors exercised under the French government, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him." To this article your Majesty's general made the following answer: "*This article is comprised under the foregoing.*" Now the foregoing, or 30th, article is directly refused; therefore this article must be deemed to be refused likewise: and consequently by this refusal all those parts of the Canadian laws and customs that give a right to the bishop of Quebec to establish new parishes, and to provide for the re-building of his cathedral and his episcopal palace, and to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and to exercise the jurisdiction which had been exercised by his predecessors under the French government, are abolished; and your Majesty's ecclesiastical supremacy is vindicated and supported in a manner agreeable to that important and universal statute of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth above cited.

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The next public instrument relating to the condition of this province is the definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris on the 10th day of February 1763. In the fourth article of this treaty it is declared, that your Majesty will give the most effectual orders that your new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, *as far as the laws of Great Britain permit.* By this reference to the laws of Great Britain it should seem to have been your Majesty's intention that those laws should be the fundamental rule of government in this province.

The definitive treaty of peace.

The next public instrument relating to this subject, and upon which great stress has been laid by all your Majesty's British subjects that have resorted to this province, is your Majesty's royal proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, which seems to have had principally in view the profit and advantages that might accrue to your Majesty's British subjects by resorting to, or settling in, the countries that had lately been ceded to your Majesty by the definitive treaty of peace. By this very solemn and important instrument, passed under your Majesty's great seal of Great Britain, it is declared, that "your Majesty, being desirous that all your Majesty's loving subjects, as well of your kingdoms as your colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages that must accrue from the great and valuable acquisitions lately ceded to your Majesty in America, to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation, has thought fit, with the advice of your privy council, to erect four new governments to be stiled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada; and that, as it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling the said new governments that your Majesty's loving subjects should be informed of your Majesty's paternal care for the security of the liberty and properties of those who are or shall become inhabitants thereof, your Majesty hath thought fit to publish and declare, by that your Majesty's proclamation, that your Majesty has, in the letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain by which the said governments are constituted, given express power and directions to your governours in the said new colonies, that, so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the advice and consent of the members of their Majesty's

The King's proclamation in October 1763.



" Majesty's councils, summon and call general assemblies within  
 " the said governments, in such manner and form as is used and  
 " directed in those colonies and provinces in America which are  
 " under your Majesty's immediate government; and that your  
 " Majesty has also given powers to the said governours, with the  
 " consent of your Majesty's said councils, and the representatives  
 " so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain  
 " laws, statutes, and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and  
 " good government of your Majesty's said colonies and of the people  
 " and inhabitants thereof, as near as may be to the laws of England,  
 " and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other  
 " colonies." And then it is further declared in your Majesty's said  
 " proclamation, " that in the mean time, and until such assemblies  
 " can be called as aforesaid, all persons inhabiting in or resorting to  
 " your Majesty's said colonies *may confide in your Majesty's royal*  
 " *protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of your realm*  
 " *of England*; and that for that purpose your Majesty had given  
 " power under the great seal to the governours of your Majesty's  
 " said new colonies to erect and constitute, with the advice of your  
 " Majesty's said councils respectively, courts of judicature and  
 " public justice within the said colonies for the hearing and deter-  
 " mining all causes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and  
 " equity, and, as near as may be, agreeably to the laws of England,  
 " with liberty to all persons who may think themselves aggrieved  
 " by the sentence of such courts, in all civil cases, to appeal, under  
 " the usual limitations and restrictions, to your Majesty in your  
 " privy council."

The sense in  
 which this pro-  
 clamations has  
 been understood  
 by the British  
 inhabitants of  
 this province;

These are the words of your Majesty's said proclamation, and by  
 them your Majesty's British subjects in this province declare that  
 they have always understood that the laws of England have been  
 introduced into this province, and that it was your Majesty's inten-  
 tion to assimilate the laws and civil government of it to those of the  
 other American colonies and provinces which are under your  
 Majesty's immediate government, and not to continue the municipal  
 laws and customs by which the conquered people had heretofore  
 been governed. And through a confidence in this proclamation,  
 understood in this sense, they say they have quitted their native  
 country to come and settle in this province, expecting to change  
 only their climate by such a removal in pursuit of commercial  
 advantages,

advantages, and not to become subject to the laws of the conquered  
 people, with which they are wholly unacquainted, and against  
 which (though perhaps without reason) they entertain strong  
 prejudices.

And in this sense was this proclamation understood also by your  
 Majesty's late governour of this province and his council, who did <sup>and by his Ma-  
 jesty's late go-  
 vernour and  
 council;</sup>  
 not, in making the important ordinance above mentioned, of the  
 17th of September 1764, conceive themselves to be overturning  
 all the ancient laws and customs of this country, and introducing  
 the laws of England in their stead, but meant only to erect and  
 constitute courts of judicature to administer a system of laws already  
 in being, to wit, the laws of England, which they conceived to have  
 been already introduced there by the words of your Majesty's pro-  
 clamations. And in this sense likewise your Majesty's lords com-  
 missioners for trade and plantations, in the month of September 1765, <sup>and the lords  
 commissioners  
 for trade and  
 plantations in  
 September,  
 1765.</sup>  
 understood these words in your Majesty's proclamation: for in the  
 7th and last article of a report made by the said lords commissioners,  
 upon certain memorials and petitions from your Majesty's subjects  
 in this province, complaining of the ordinances and proceedings of  
 the governour and council of this province, and of the then present  
 establishment of courts of judicature and other civil constitutions,  
 to the lords of the committee of your Majesty's privy council for  
 plantation affairs, dated on the 2d day of September in the said  
 year, the said lords commissioners of trade propose, *that in all cases  
 where rights or claims are founded on events prior to the conquest of  
 Canada, the several courts shall be governed in their proceedings by  
 the French usages and customs which have heretofore prevailed in  
 respect to such property*; from which words it appears plainly that  
 their lordships understood that in all cases, where rights and claims  
 are founded on events posterior to the said conquest, the several  
 courts of justice were to be governed by the English laws, and that  
 their lordships were solicitous to make an express provision, that  
 this general rule of deciding cases according to the English laws  
 should not be applied to such causes as were founded on events that  
 were prior to the said conquest, in which cases it would be  
 manifestly unjust.

We know at the same time that your Majesty's attorney and Th-  
 solicitor general, in the following month of April 1766, under- <sup>fin-  
 ed se-  
 which  
 unde-  
 stood  
 his</sup>



attorney and solicitor general,  
in April 1766.

stood the words of your Majesty's royal proclamation in a more confined sense, as being introductive of only some select parts of the laws of England that were more particularly beneficial to your Majesty's English subjects, and not of the whole body of those laws. This they took to be the true import of these words in your Majesty's proclamation above-mentioned, *the enjoyment of the benefit* of the laws of England; and they were of opinion that the criminal laws of England were almost the only laws that came under that description; and that the laws of England relating to the descent, alienation, settlements, and incumbrances of real estates, and to the distribution of personal property in case of intestacy, were certainly not comprehended under it. Whether this or the former way of interpreting this part of your Majesty's proclamation is the true one, belongs only to your Majesty to determine, according to the ancient rule of law laid down by the celebrated lawyer *Braclon*, that "*cujus est condere, ejus est interpretari.*" All that we presume to do on this occasion is to lay before your Majesty a full and plain historical account of the several public instruments and acts of government by which the laws of England have either been introduced, or imagined to be introduced, into this province in lieu of those laws and customs which were observed in it heretofore.

The commission given to Gen. Murray in 1764, to be vice admiral of the province of Quebec.

The next public instrument of this kind is your Majesty's commission to General Murray in the year 1764, to be vice-admiral, commissary, and deputy in the office of vice-admiralty in the province of Quebec. This is a judicial commission, by which the said General was impowered to enquire, by the oaths of honest and lawful men of the said province, of all and singular matters and things which of right, and by the statutes, laws, ordinances, and customs, anciently observed, were wont and ought to be enquired after; and of wreck of the sea; and of goods of felons of themselves; and likewise of goods waived, flotion, jetson, ligan, deodands, derelicts, and other casualties upon the sea, or sea coast, or fresh-water rivers, as far as the tide flows; and also of anchorage, lastage, ballast, and fish royal anciently by right or custom belonging to your Majesty; and to arrest or cause to be arrested, according to the civil and maritime laws and ancient customs of your Majesty's court of admiralty, all ships, persons, and merchandizes for causes arising within the maritime jurisdiction, and to hear and determine

determine the said causes, with all the matters incident thereunto, according to the laws and customs aforesaid; and to fine, chastise, and imprison within any of the gaols of the province the parties that shall be found guilty, according to the rights, statutes, laws, ordinances, and customs anciently observed.

By this commission it is evident your Majesty has introduced into this province all the laws of your Majesty's English court of admiralty, in lieu of the French laws and customs by which maritime causes were decided in the time of the French government.

The next public instrument relating to this subject is your Majesty's commission to General Murray in the year 1764, to be captain general and governor in chief in and over this your Majesty's province of Quebec. This commission, and the instructions that accompanied it, seem every where to pre-suppose that the laws of England were in force in this province, being full of allusions and references to those laws on a variety of different subjects, and do not contain the least intimation of a saving of any part of the laws and customs that prevailed here in the time of the French government.

The commission of governor in chief of this province given to Gen. Murray in 1764, and the instructions that accompanied it.

It seems as if your Majesty had been of opinion, that by the refusal of General Amherst to grant to the Canadians the continuance of their ancient laws and usages, and by the reference made in the fourth article of the definitive treaty of peace to the laws of Great Britain, as the measure of the indulgence intended to be shewn them with respect to the exercise of their religion, sufficient notice had been given to the conquered inhabitants of this province, that it was your Majesty's pleasure that they should be governed for the future according to the laws of England, and that they, after being thus apprised of your Majesty's intention, had consented to be so governed, and had testified their said consent by continuing to reside in the country and taking the oath of allegiance to your Majesty, when they might have withdrawn themselves from the province, with all their effects and the produce of the sale of their estates, within the eighteen months allowed by your Majesty for that purpose.

A probable inference from the title and purport of the said commission and its instructions.



These are the public instruments by which it is generally supposed, by those who have perused them, that the laws of England have been introduced into this province. But as your Majesty's royal proclamation above-mentioned, and your commission to General Murray to be governor in chief of this province, have never been published here in the French language, and as the provincial ordinances above-mentioned of the 17th of September and the 6th of November 1764, which have been published here in the French language, have mentioned this change in the laws in very concise and general terms, without specifying or describing any of the laws of England that were thereby introduced, the greatest part of your Majesty's new subjects remain ignorant of the extent of the change to this hour, and imagine that their ancient laws and usages are in many points still in force. They still divide their lands upon an inheritance in the same manner as before the conquest; their widows are admitted to the same shares of them as before, without any regard to the English rule of dower, which differs widely from that of the French law; and the personal estates of persons who die intestate are distributed at their decease according to the rules of the French law, which are somewhat different (though not very greatly, as we are informed) from those of the English statute of distributions; and the distributions of their personal estates have likewise been made for the most part by persons authorized thereunto in the manner that was usual under the French government, and not by receiving letters of administration from your Majesty's governor of the province in the manner directed by your Majesty's instructions. Fortunately for the peace of the province no litigations have yet arisen in any of your Majesty's courts of justice to give occasion to decisions that would make them acquainted with the change of the laws in these particulars, which would probably create a great deal of uneasiness.

Some of the ancient laws and usages are still observed by the Canadians.

A diversity in the practice of the English and Canadian inhabitants of the province, with respect to letters of administration and the distribution of the effects of persons who die intestate.

Yet upon the decease of your Majesty's British subjects in this province, their relations have taken out letters of administration from the governor of the province, agreeably to your Majesty's instruction for that purpose, and, as we believe, have followed the English rule of distribution; and some few, but very few, of your Majesty's new subjects have likewise taken out letters of administration in the same manner, but have followed, as we believe,

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the rules of the French law, with respect to the distribution of the effects. We humbly apprehend that this diversity in the practice of your Majesty's subjects in this province may hereafter be the occasion of some confusion, though happily no bad consequences have hitherto followed from it.

There has likewise been a diversity in the practice of your Majesty's old and new subjects with respect to the manner of conveying and mortgaging landed property. Your Majesty's British subjects have bought and sold lands and houses by instruments drawn up by English lawyers according to the English modes of conveyancing; and your Majesty's Canadian subjects have employed Canadian notaries, or scriveners, for the same purposes, who have followed the French forms of conveyancing made use of before the conquest. And it has often happened that the same lands and houses have been sold and bought and mortgaged by both French and English conveyances, as they have passed into the hands of Canadian or British proprietors. This also, we conceive, may hereafter be productive of some confusion.

Another diversity in their practice with respect to the manner of conveying and mortgaging landed property.

Leases have likewise been made of lands near Quebec for twenty-one years by the society of jesuits in this province, though by the French law they can only be made for nine years. This has been done upon a supposition that the restraints upon the power of leasing lands imposed upon the owners of them by the custom of Paris, of which this is one, have no longer any legal existence. Upon the same principle many owners of seigniories, Canadians as well as Englishmen, have made grants of uncleared land upon their seigniories for higher quit-rents than they were allowed to take in the time of the French government, without regard to a rule or custom that was in force at the time of the conquest, that restrains them in this particular. And as the seigniors transgress the French laws in this respect, upon a supposition that they are abolished or superseded by the laws of England, so the freeholders, or peasants, of the province transgress them in other instances upon the same supposition. For example, there was a law made by the French king concerning the lands of this province, ordaining, that no man should build a new dwelling-house in the country (that is, out of the towns and villages) without having sixty French arpents, or about fifty English acres, of land adjoining

In some instances the Canadians have followed the laws of England.

to it, and that, if, upon the death of a freeholder and the partition of his lands amongst his sons, the share of each son came to less than the said sixty arpents of land, the whole was to be sold, and the money produced by the sale divided amongst the children. This was intended to prevent the children from settling themselves in a supine and indolent manner upon their little portions of land, which were not sufficient to maintain them, and to oblige them to set about clearing new lands (of which they had a right to demand of the seigniors sufficient quantities at very easy quit-rents) by which means they would provide better for their own maintenance, and become more useful to the public. But now this law is intirely disregarded; and the children of the freeholders all over the province settle upon their little portions of their father's land, of thirty, or twenty, and sometimes only ten acres, and build little huts upon them, as if no such law had ever been known here: and when they are reminded of it by their seigniors, and exhorted to take and clear new tracts of land, they reply that they understand that by the English law every man may build a house upon his own land whenever he pleases, let the size of it be ever so small. This is an unfortunate practice, and contributes very much to the great increase of idleness, drunkenness, and beggary, which is too visible in this province.

Further, many persons who have purchased seigniories in this province, and amongst them some Canadians, have hitherto declined paying to your Majesty's receiver-general the mutation-fine, or fifth part of the purchase money, due to your Majesty upon the admission of every new seignior by the custom of Paris. The English purchasers say that this, being part of the custom of Paris, is now abolished by the introduction of the laws of England; and the Canadian seigniors say that it is not due to your Majesty till they have been regularly invested with, or put in possession of, their seigniories, with all the rights and jurisdictions thereunto belonging, by your Majesty's officers of government, and have been admitted to take the oath of fealty and perform the ceremony of homage to your Majesty for the said lands; which has not hitherto been done.

Thus it appears that in many respects the Canadians apprehend the laws of England to be in force in this province, and that they endeavour

endeavour to apply them and put them in practice whenever they take them to be for their advantage; though in other points, and particularly in those of inheritance and dower, and the distribution of the effects of persons who die intestate, they have universally adhered to their former laws and usages.

In criminal proceedings the Canadians as well as English universally suppose the laws of England to be in force. No others are ever mentioned or thought of; and the Canadians seem to be very well satisfied with them.

And in all civil proceedings carried on in the superiour court, or court of King's Bench, the forms of all actions, the stile of the pleadings used in them, the method of trial, and the rules of evidence are those which are prescribed by the English law, and are universally known by the Canadians to be so.

In the court of Common Pleas the proceedings are drawn up in any form and stile that the parties, or their advocates, think proper, and sometimes in the French and sometimes in the English language, as the attornies who prepare them happen to be Canadians or Englishmen; and for this reason they are oftenest in the French language, most of the business in this court being managed by Canadian attornies.

Arrests of the body for debt are used in the first instance both upon suits in the court of King's Bench and suits in the court of Common Pleas, and even upon suits instituted before justices of the peace. This is a part of the English law that a good deal surprized and alarmed the Canadians upon its first introduction, as it carried an appearance of much greater severity than was practised under their own laws, which allowed of imprisonment only in criminal proceedings and in some few civil suits grounded on bills of exchange, or other instruments of a commercial nature, and then only in execution of a judgment of the court, and not in the beginning of the suit; but now they are grown accustomed to this way of proceeding, and frequently put it in practice against each other: and many persons of good sense and character, of both nations, are of opinion that, considering the great credit that has been given by persons in trade in this province, and the knavish



and trickish disposition that has appeared in many of those to whom it has been given, there is no other method of proceeding by which the creditors can hope to obtain payment of their debts. This is more especially the opinion of your Majesty's British subjects that are concerned in trade in this province, many of whom objected some time since to the execution of even a part of the English law itself, to wit, that part of it which relates to commissions of bankruptcy, upon a supposition of it's being too indulgent to debtors to be useful in this province; yet other persons are of a different opinion, and think arreits of the body in the first instance an unnecessary piece of harshness in civil suits, and wish that it were restrained; and to this opinion we humbly submit it to your Majesty that we are ourselves inclined.

This is, as we conceive, a faithful representation of the present state of the laws in this province, and of the public instruments and acts of government upon which it is founded. We now beg leave to lay before your Majesty certain doubts that have arisen, and may arise, concerning the validity of those instruments, and the extent of their legal operation.

Remarks on  
some of the  
foregoing in-  
struments.

We shall say nothing concerning the validity of your Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, and the high legislative authority which your Majesty has therein thought proper to exercise with respect to your Majesty's new colonies, though there are persons who think that this branch of your Majesty's royal prerogative ought rather to have been exercised in conjunction with both houses of parliament: but we should suppose that what your Majesty has thought fit to do in this respect by the advice of your Majesty's privy council must be legal, and consequently that the operation of the words above cited from your Majesty's said proclamation is complete and incontestable so far as the true meaning of them can be ascertained. But if your Majesty in your royal wisdom should interpret them in a different sense from that in which they have been generally understood, and should declare that they were not meant to introduce the whole body of the laws of England that were not in their nature local, but only to introduce some particular parts of them that were more immediately beneficial to your Majesty's subjects, agreeably to the sense in which they were understood by your Majesty's attorney and solicitor general in April 1766;

or,

or, if your Majesty should declare that they were not meant to introduce immediately any part of the laws of England into those provinces, but only to promise and assure your Majesty's British subjects that your Majesty would, in due time and place, and by particular and express promulgations, introduce some select parts of the laws of England that were more immediately conducive to their welfare and satisfaction; in either of these cases we beg leave to submit it to your Majesty's consideration, whether the ordinances above-mentioned, of the 17th of September and the 6th of November, can be deemed of sufficient validity to introduce any part of the laws of England that were not already established by your Majesty's said proclamation. Our reasons for doubting this are as follows:

Your Majesty by your commission to General Murray, dated the 21st day of November in the 4th year of your Majesty's reign, to be governor in chief of this province, was pleased to delegate unto him a certain limited legislative authority, to be exercised by him by and with the advice and consent of your Majesty's council of the province, and of the general assembly of the freeholders and planters in the same therein directed by your Majesty to be summoned, to wit, an authority to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the said province, not repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws and statutes of your Majesty's kingdom of Great Britain. But your Majesty did not in any part of the said commission delegate either this or any other legislative power to your said governor to be exercised by him with the advice and consent of the council only, without the concurrence of an assembly. Now no assembly of the freeholders and planters has hitherto been summoned; consequently all the ordinances that have hitherto been made, so far as they have a legislative tendency, have been made without any warrant or authority from your Majesty's commission to your governor, and perhaps may, upon that account, be justly contended to be null and void.

By the King's  
commission to  
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of an assembly.

If this be so, the words in the ordinance of the 17th of September 1764, which direct the court of King's Bench to determine all civil and criminal causes agreeably to the laws of England, and the other words of that ordinance, and of the ordinance of the 6th of

D

November



November following, which purport to introduce the laws of England into this province, can have no legal operation to change the laws which were then subsisting in the country; and the ordinance of the 17th of September must be considered only as an executive act of government, erecting and constituting courts of judicature in the province for the administration of the laws in being, whatever those laws might be; and in this view it is certainly a legal and valid ordinance, because your Majesty had, by an express clause in your commission aforesaid, given your said governour full power to erect such courts with the advice and consent of the council only.

A very limited legislative authority is given to the governour by a private instruction, to be exercised by the advice and consent of the council only.

A doubt concerning the legality of this method of communicating a legislative authority.

It is true indeed that your Majesty did give a private instruction to your late governour, purporting to communicate to him a certain degree of legislative authority to be exercised by him, by and with the consent of the council only, without any assembly; to wit, *an authority to make such rules and regulations as shall appear to be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the said province, taking care that nothing be passed or done that shall any ways tend to affect the life, limb, or liberty of the subject, or to the imposing any duties or taxes.*\* But we submit it to your Majesty's consideration, whether a power of this kind can be communicated by any other instrument than letters patent under your Majesty's great seal of Great Britain, publicly read and notified to the people, to the end that the acts done by virtue of them may have a just claim to their obedience; for otherwise they may alledge that they are faithful and loyal subjects to your Majesty, and ready to pay obedience to every thing that your Majesty's self shall ordain, and likewise to every thing that shall be ordained by your Majesty's governour by virtue of powers properly communicated to him by your Majesty; that consequently they will obey him in every thing he shall do by virtue of the powers conveyed to him in your Majesty's commission which has been publicly read to them; but that in the things not warranted by the said commission, but said to be done in pursuance of certain private instructions that have not been made known to them, and which they are therefore uncertain whether he has received or not, they cannot presume that he acts by your Majesty's authority, and therefore are not bound to obey him. For this reason we humbly apprehend, that the private instruction before-mentioned cannot have legally conveyed to your Majesty's governour and

and council the legislative authority mentioned in it, small and narrow as it is.

But secondly, if a private instruction should be deemed to be a legal method of communicating a legislative authority, yet the power conveyed to the governour and council of this province by the instruction above-mentioned is much too confined an authority to warrant the general introduction of the English laws; particularly of the criminal laws, which all affect either life, or limb, or liberty; and the process of arrests of the body in civil suits for debt and trespass; and the power of committing persons to prison for contempts of court committed in the presence of your Majesty's judges; and that of granting attachments of the body for disobedience or resistance to the orders of your Majesty's superior courts of judicature, when such acts of disobedience or resistance are committed out of court; which all immediately affect the personal liberty of your Majesty's subjects in this province.

The legislative authority mentioned in this instruction is too small to warrant the introduction of the laws of England.

These are the reasons upon which, we conceive, the legality of the introduction of the laws of England into this province by the provincial ordinances above-mentioned may be called in question.

But these reasons have no relation to the other high instruments of government by which these laws may be supposed to have been introduced here, namely, the articles of capitulation in 1760, the 4th article of the definitive treaty of peace, and your Majesty's royal proclamation of the 7th of October 1763. If these instruments have introduced the laws of England, they may have a legal existence in this province, notwithstanding the want of legal authority in the two provincial ordinances above-mentioned. But if your Majesty should determine that these instruments have not introduced the laws of England into this province, then, as we conceive, it will follow, that the whole body of those laws has not yet been legally introduced into it, but that those parts only of the laws of England have a legal existence in this province which are contained in the acts of parliament above-mentioned, which by their own import and operation, and without needing any new instrument of government to introduce them, extend to all your Majesty's dominions in America.

Inconveniencies arising from the present state of the laws and administration of justice.

We will now proceed to lay before your Majesty the principal inconveniencies under which the Canadians labour from the present state of the laws and methods of administering justice in this province.

The uncertainty of the laws.

The first and greatest inconvenience arising from the present state of the laws in this province is the uncertainty of them, and the doubts that are entertained concerning the legal continuance of the ancient laws and customs that were observed here in the time of the French government. This is a cause of great uneasiness and anxiety to persons of both nations in many of the ordinary transactions of life; inasmuch that it would be a great improvement of the condition of the province if either the English laws, or the old laws and customs of the country, were established by some new act of government, conceived in the most clear and positive words that can be made use of, with an express exclusion or abolition of the other laws, which may be imagined to have hitherto been in force. For by this declaration in favour of either of the systems, your Majesty's subjects would know what they had to expect for themselves and their families with respect to their inheritances, purchases, mortgages, contracts, and other civil rights and privileges from the operation of the laws; and would in consequence thereof proceed to make such regulations of their affairs by particular agreements and settlements, and by their last wills and testaments, as would protect them against the inconveniencies which they might apprehend themselves to be exposed to from such parts of the established system of laws as they did not approve. We do not mean by this to insinuate, that such an immediate establishment of one of these systems of law, to the entire and express abolition and exclusion of the other, would be the best remedy that could be applied to this evil; but only to represent to your Majesty our idea of the greatness of this inconvenience, since even such a cure would be desirable. What is the best remedy that can be applied to this evil is, as we conceive, a point of the greatest difficulty, and fit only to be determined by the wisdom of your Majesty's councils; though in obedience to your Majesty's commands, we shall humbly suggest to your Majesty, in the subsequent part of this report, some of the different methods that, as we apprehend, may be taken for this purpose, with the advantages and disadvantages with which they will be respectively attended. But before we proceed to consider

consider this arduous subject, we beg leave to lay before your Majesty some other and much smaller inconveniencies arising from the present state of the courts in this province, together with a plan for the administration of justice for the time to come, which we humbly conceive to be likely in a great measure to remove them.

These inconveniencies are the expensiveness of law proceedings, which is considerably greater than in the time of the French government, the tediousness of them, and the severity of the present method of proceeding in civil suits by arresting and imprisoning the defendant's body. Other inconveniencies attending the present state of jurisdiction in this province.

The expences attending law-suits arise evidently from two different sources, the fees of the officers of the courts of justice, and those of the attornies and advocates whom the parties employ in the management of their causes. The former are capable of being properly regulated, as the persons to whom they are due are all servants to your Majesty, and under the immediate controul of your Majesty's governor and council; and measures have been already taken to ease your Majesty's subjects in this province of some part of these fees: your Majesty's chief justice and clerk of the crown have remitted those that used to be taken by them in the supreme court; and those of the attorney-general for the conduct of criminal prosecutions have always been charged to your Majesty: and if those which are taken by the clerk of the supreme court for the civil business that is transacted there, and by the provost-marshal, or sheriff, and his bailiffs, for their summonses, arrests, and other ministerial business done by them in the course of the proceedings, and those which are taken in the court of Common Pleas, or the quarterly and weekly courts of the justices of peace, by the several officers of those courts, are found to be unreasonable, it will be easy to reduce them to a more moderate standard by a provincial ordinance for that purpose, if your Majesty will condescend to make such a reasonable addition to the salaries of these several officers as shall be a compensation for such diminution of their fees. The other cause of the expensiveness of law-suits is the rate of the fees of the attornies and advocates. These fees, it is evident, are not capable of a like reduction with the former, but must always be such as the parties and their lawyers shall agree upon; since it is the



the natural right of every man to set what price he pleases upon his labour. All that can be done to keep those fees from growing exorbitant is to prevent a monopoly of law business in the hands of a few lawyers, who might thereby be enabled to exact unreasonable rewards from their clients by the necessity the people would be under of either employing them upon the terms they thought proper to demand, or letting their business remain undone: and this has been already done by your Majesty's wisdom and indulgence in permitting Canadian notaries, attornies, and advocates to practise their respective professions notwithstanding their continuance in the profession of the Romish religion.

Yet when every thing is done that can be done to diminish the expence of law proceedings, it is probable they will still be more expensive than in the time of the French government; which ought not to be a matter of surprize, since the prices of corn and provisions, and of all sorts of labour, are almost double of what they were at that time.

The slowness with which they are conducted upon the present establishment.

The next inconvenience arising from the present establishment of the courts of judicature complained of by the Canadians is the tedious length of law-suits. This is owing to the unfrequency of the terms or sessions of the supreme court of judicature, and of the court of Common Pleas, which sit only three times a year at Quebec and twice at Montreal. In the time of the French government there were three royal courts in the three several districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, vested with full power to determine all matters both criminal and civil: in each of these courts a judge appointed by the French king administered justice, and a king's attorney prosecuted on behalf of the crown: and they used for that purpose to hold two courts in every week throughout the year, except about six weeks in the months of September and October, and a fortnight at Easter: and besides these courts held regularly every week, they would sit on other days of the week, if the business before them made it necessary. From these courts there lay an appeal to the highest court of the province, which was called the superiour council; and this high court also sat every week: so that the difference between the expeditious methods of obtaining justice in the time of the French government, and the slowness of the proceedings upon the present establishment,

is very striking in the eyes of the Canadians, and is esteemed a very considerable inconvenience.

Besides the usual ill consequences arising from the want of dispatch in law-proceedings, this unfrequency of the sessions of the superiour courts of judicature has been a principal cause of the increase of the fees of the Canadian attornies and advocates: for, as their opportunities of pleading causes happen so much seldomer than formerly, they endeavour to make up, by the value of the fees they now receive in the three sessions of the court of Common Pleas, the advantages they formerly derived from the number of them in the time that the French king's courts sat every week.

There is indeed in the present establishment a court of justice in each district of the province that sits every week for the dispatch of business. These are the courts of the justices of peace. This was a very judicious institution, and well suited to the circumstances and disposition of the people. Yet it is liable to some objections. For, in the first place, the justices of the peace, who are the judges of these courts, are not much skilled in judicial proceedings; and, secondly, the same justices not attending constantly at these sessions, it is often necessary, where a matter cannot be decided at one session, but is adjourned to the next, to repeat all the proofs and arguments before the justices at the second session, which had been produced at the former session before the other justices who happened not to be now upon the bench, which occasions an increase of expence and trouble: and, lastly, their jurisdiction extends only to such disputes as relate to sums of money that do not exceed ten pounds. In all contests for greater sums the parties are obliged to have recourse either to the quarterly courts of the justices of the peace, or to the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, where the sessions are held but three times a year.

The next inconvenience is the severity of the present method of proceeding in civil actions, by arresting and imprisoning the defendant's body. This, by filling the gaols with unhappy debtors, increases the number of the poor and helpless, and makes the families of the debtors, as well as the debtors themselves, become oftentimes a burden to the publick; and it is generally thought by the Canadians to be an unnecessary degree of harshness.



To remedy these several inconveniencies we beg leave to recommend to your Majesty the following plan for the administration of justice in this province for the time to come; which we have formed in imitation of that which was in use in the time of the French government.

A plan for the administration of justice in this province.

That this province should be again divided into the three districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, as in the time of the French government: which might be called the Shires of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal; and each of these three districts should have separate officers of justice: that a Royal court of judicature should be established in each of the three towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, which are the capital, or rather only, towns of those several shires or districts: and that each of these courts shall consist of one able English judge, appointed by your Majesty, and invested with full powers to hear and determine all matters, both criminal and civil, arising within his jurisdiction, just as your Majesty's chief justice of the province is empowered to do upon the present establishment throughout the whole province.

Three royal judges, one to each shire or district of the province.

These judges to be English barristers at law, of at least five years standing at the bar.

These English judges should be barristers at law, of at least five years standing at the bar; and they should be such as, besides their skill and knowledge of the law, had a competent knowledge of the French language. And further, to enable these English judges more readily to understand the testimonies of the French witnesses, that would so often be examined before them, and likewise to comprehend the nature and extent of such of the antient laws and customs of the country as your Majesty shall think fit to be either continued or revived, we conceive, that it would be convenient to give each of them a Canadian lawyer for an assessor, or assistant to them in the decision of causes: but the Canadian assessors should have no vote or authority to decide the causes in conjunction with the English judges; but should only assist them with their opinion and advice, the whole power of finally deciding them being vested solely in the English judges. This employment of the Canadian lawyers, even in this subordinate capacity of assistants and advisers, would be thought a very gracious indulgence in your Majesty by all your Majesty's new subjects; and many of them, to whom it has been mentioned, have expressed an entire approbation of it. If they had an equal degree of authority with the English judges in the final decision

Each English judge should have a Canadian lawyer for his assessor, or assistant; but the sole power of deciding the causes should be vested in the English judges.

decision of causes, they would be much more likely than the English judges to abuse it, by reason of their connections in the country, and the enmities and partialities that these connections would give birth to. And besides, there are other reasons, which would make it inexpedient to trust your new Roman catholic subjects, so lately brought under your Majesty's allegiance, with so great a degree of power. These judges and their assistants should hold their courts every week throughout the year, excepting one month at Christmas, one week at Easter, and another at Whit Sunday, which are the three great seasons for holidays observed by Christians. And they should sit on the Tuesday or Wednesday of every week, that the contending parties and their witnesses might not be under a necessity of travelling on Sundays to attend them. If the use of grand juries should be thought fit by your Majesty to be continued in criminal prosecutions, these judges should take cognizance of criminal matters (that is, of such parts of the criminal proceedings as required the attendance of grand juries) only once a month, that the inhabitants might not be too much diverted from the care of their private affairs by their attendance in the courts as grand jurymen. But the other steps of all criminal proceedings that do not require the presence of grand jurymen, and, if the use of grand juries was laid aside, the whole of those proceedings should be carried on in the weekly sessions, as well as all the civil business of the district.

The judges should hold courts once a week, with a very few exceptions.

The method of proceeding in these courts in civil actions might be as follows. The plaintiff might bring a declaration or plaint, in writing, into court, which might be either in the French or English language, as he thought proper, praying the process of the court to cause the defendant to be summoned to answer it; but not to be arrested by his body. This plaint should be read to the judge in open court, in order that he should determine whether or no it contained a good cause of action; and, till he approved it, no summons should be issued upon it. If he approved it, he should order it to be filed amongst the records of the court by the clerk or register of the court, and should award a summons to be sent to the defendant to come and answer the plaintiff's demand, at such a time as he, the judge, should therein appoint. If he neglected to come at the time appointed by the summons, without any good reason for his neglect, he should be condemned to pay the plaintiff a moderate

Method of proceeding in these courts.

sum of money, to be ascertained by the judge, as a compensation to him for his expence and trouble in attending the court, at the time appointed by the summonses, to no purpose; and he should be summoned to come and answer the plaintiff's demand on another day. If he then also refused to come, judgment should go against him by default. When the defendant appeared, he should make his answer to the plaint of the plaintiff in writing, and either in the French or English language, as he thought proper: and this answer should be filed amongst the records of the court. The judge should then himself interrogate the parties concerning the facts, in their account of which the parties seemed to differ, and which appeared to him to be material to the decision of the cause: and these interrogatories and the answers of the parties should be reduced to writing by the judge, or by the clerk of the court from the words dictated to him by the judge. When the judge had thus found out in what facts material to the decision of the cause the parties differed, he should himself state these facts in writing, and declare that it was necessary for him to be informed, by proper testimony, whether they were true or false; and should ask the parties whether both, or either of them, desired that he should inquire into the truth of these facts by means of a jury, or by examining witnesses, or other proofs himself. If both, or either of the parties, desired to have a jury, a jury should be summoned to attend, at such following session as the judge should appoint. This jury should be paid for their attendance by the party that desired to have a jury; and if both desired it, then equally by both parties. They should receive five shillings sterling a man. For at present it is a subject of complaint among the Canadians that they are taken from their necessary occupations to attend upon juries (which is by no means an agreeable employment to them) without any consideration for it: and this, if it happened every week without any compensation, would be thought, and perhaps justly, a very heavy burden. But for a reward of five shillings they will serve with great alacrity. These juries should be appointed in nearly the same manner as special juries are in England; that is, the ministerial officer, that executed the process of the court, should return to the court a list of four times as many persons qualified to be jurymen as were necessary to constitute a jury; that is, if a jury was to consist of twelve men, a list of forty-eight persons so qualified; and then each party should strike out twelve of the names contained in this list: and

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and then the names of the remaining jurymen contained in it should be set down in a new list in an alternate order; that is, first one at the nomination of the plaintiff; then one at the nomination of the defendant; then another at the nomination of the plaintiff; and then another at that of the defendant; and so on; and these persons (whose names were thus set down in this new list, and who would be enough in number to constitute two juries) should all be summoned to attend the court on the day appointed for the trial of the cause, and should be called over in the court in the order in which their names were set down in the new list; and the first twelve, or other number sufficient to make a jury, that appeared in the court should be the jury to try the cause. By this method of choosing a jury the disagreeable and capricious practice of challenging jurymen would be avoided, which is apt to give rise to animosities between the persons challenged and the parties who object to them.

Of the jury so chosen a majority should have a right to determine the verdict: the present rule, of requiring an absolute unanimity amongst all the jurymen, being evidently absurd and unnatural, and, amongst other inconveniencies, productive of one of a very important nature, which is the perjury of some of the jurymen in every third or fourth cause: for it happens at least so often that there is a real difference of opinion amongst the jurymen, and that some of them go over to the opinion of the rest, in opposition to their own sentiments, and contrary to the oath they have taken to give a true verdict according to the evidence; which means, as we presume, according to their judgment of it. And it has sometimes happened, that a great majority of the jurymen has gone over to a small but resolute minority. This therefore calls loudly for a reformation; and more especially in a country where the natural and ordinary differences of opinion, that must frequently happen amongst jurymen, are likely to be greatly heightened by national and religious prejudices. If the agreement of twelve men should be thought necessary to establish the truth of a fact, it would be necessary to impanel twenty-three jurors. But perhaps a bare majority of twelve men may be sufficient to answer all the purposes of justice in civil matters.

A majority of  
the jury should  
carry the ver-  
dict.



In criminal matters it might be proper to make the agreement of two-thirds of the jury necessary to the conviction of the accused person.

And as the issues, or points of fact, that were to be proposed to the consideration of the jury, were to be drawn up in a minute and particular manner in words dictated by the judges of the courts, so the verdicts of the juries should be always special verdicts, stating the facts, as the jury find them to have happened, with great exactness and particularity. This would prevent juries from encroaching upon the province of the judges, and determining points of law by means of the short and general issues of "*Guilty or Not Guilty*," "*He did or did not undertake*," "*He does or does not owe the sum demanded*," and the like, that oftentimes involve points of law mixed with matters of fact, and thereby give juries an opportunity of committing these irregularities. Whenever these things happen (whether it be from the ignorance or want of discernment in the jury-men, or from their wilfulness or partiality) it is certain that a real injury is done to the losing party, whose right it is, according to the laws of England, to have the points of law, upon which his cause depends, determined by the learned and able judges whom your Majesty has appointed to fill your courts of justice, as much as it is to have the matters of fact in the cause determined by a jury of honest freeholders in the neighbourhood.

The juries should always give special verdicts.

Examination of witnesses.

The witnesses examined in the trial of a cause should be examined *word voce* in open court, in the presence of both parties, or their attorneys and advocates; and cross-examined, if the adverse party thought proper: and should not be allowed to deliver their testimony by written depositions or affidavits taken in private; not even in those trials which were carried on without a jury; unless by the consent of both the parties, or by the particular direction of the judge, upon very strong reasons for so doing, moved and debated in open court.

Execution against the defendant's goods and lands.

When judgment was given for the plaintiff in a civil action, a writ of execution should go against the goods and lands of the defendant, but not against his person; directing the ministerial officer that executed the process of the court, to levy the sum of money awarded to the plaintiff by the judgment, upon the defendant's moveable

able goods and chattels; and, in case they are not sufficient for the purpose, then, but not otherwise, to sell part of his lands, to produce the remainder of the sum. And if the executive officer could not find a sufficient quantity of either moveable or immoveable property belonging to the defendant to raise the sum awarded, and the judge was of opinion, upon affidavits made before him to that purpose, that there was reasonable grounds to suspect that the defendant had secreted or concealed some of his effects, he might require him to deliver in to the court, upon oath, an exact schedule of all his estates and effects of every kind; and if he refused so to do, might commit him to prison till he complied. And if he omitted any part of his effects to the amount of twenty pounds sterling, in the schedule so delivered in to the court, he should be liable to the penalties of perjury.

Upon proper grounds the defendant might be required to deliver in to the court, an exact schedule of his estate and effects upon oath.

The judge should have a power of awarding reasonable costs to either party, according to his discretion.

It would be convenient to have a separate ministerial, or executive, officer, to each of the three districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, to be called a Sheriff, which is the common name for such an officer in England, instead of one Provost-marshal for the whole province.

Sheriffs to the three several shires, or districts.

And it would be necessary for your Majesty to have an attorney in each of these courts, to prosecute for your Majesty in all criminal cases, and in suits concerning your Majesty's revenue, and in all other suits in which your Majesty's interest is concerned. If your Majesty should not think proper to appoint an officer expressly for this purpose, the power of carrying on these prosecutions for your Majesty might be vested in the clerk, or register, of the court; just as in your Majesty's court of King's Bench in England, the clerk of the crown (whose principal duty is, to register, or enter, the pleas of the crown in the records of the court) is likewise attorney of your Majesty in that court, and prosecutes in your Majesty's behalf. But we submit it to your Majesty, that it would be convenient, and more suitable to the honour of your Majesty and the dignity of the court, to have a separate officer for this purpose, to be called your Majesty's Attorney for that district, as there was in the time of the French government.

King's attorney in each of the three courts.

From



Appeals from  
the courts to  
the governor  
and council, and  
from thence to  
the King in  
council.

From these courts there should lie an appeal to the governor and council of the province, and from thence to your Majesty in your privy council. One great use of the appeal to the governor and council would be to preserve an uniformity in the law throughout the whole province, which otherwise might gradually become different in the three different shires or districts of it, by the difference of the decisions that might be given in these several courts of justice, if they were intirely independant of each other, and subject to no common superiour council that might correct the errors of their proceedings.

And for the same reason the decisions of these courts should not be deemed to form precedents of sufficient authority to determine any subsequent disputes; but this authority should be ascribed only to those cases which had been decided by the governor and council of the province upon the appeals brought before them from these shire-courts, or by your Majesty's self in your privy council.

And in order that your Majesty's governor and council might not be destitute of the advice of persons skilled in the laws to assist them in the determination of the appeals that should be brought before them, it might be expedient that your Majesty's judges of these three courts, and perhaps also your Majesty's three attornies in them, should be made members of your Majesty's council of the province; by which means all the best law abilities in the province would be employed in making these important decisions that were to carry with them the force of law: and with this view it might be proper to require your Majesty's judges and attornies of the courts at Three Rivers and Montreal to attend the governor at Quebec for one month about Christmas time, in order to assist at the decision of these appeals, which should therefore be reserved to this season of the year.

The nature of  
these appeals.

These appeals should be only, as they now are, of the nature of writs of error in England, to correct the errors in law committed in the courts of these shires or districts, and not to re-consider the facts in the cause, unless they had been settled by the judge alone without the assistance of a jury. Where this was the case, the parties might, if they thought fit, cause the evidence itself to be taken down in writing by the clerk of the court, and signed by the witnesses

witnesses and judge, that it might make a part of the record, as it does upon a trial by a general court martial in England: and, upon the removal of this record before the governor and council, they might re-consider the whole matter, the facts as well as the law, and give such judgment upon it as they thought just; but they should not admit any new evidence relating to it. Where the cause had been tried by a jury, the losing party might, if he thought proper, have it tried over again by a second jury, consisting of twice as many jurymen as the first jury; and the verdict of this second jury should be final with respect to the matters of fact determined by it.

A second trial  
by a double jury.

When Gaspey shall be settled, a fourth judge might be sent thither, whose jurisdiction should extend over a district lying round about it, to be taken out of the district of Quebec, which is now immoderately large. Such an establishment would be of great convenience to the inhabitants of that part of the province.

These are the outlines of the plan which we humbly beg leave to recommend to your Majesty for the administration of justice, and which, we are confident, would be of great advantage, and give very great satisfaction to your Majesty's Canadian subjects, and effectually remove many of the inconveniencies of which they now complain.

It remains that we consider the first and greatest inconvenience above-mentioned, which arises from the uncertainty of the law in the present condition of the province, and that we set before your Majesty the different methods by which, as we conceive, this inconvenience may be removed, and the laws of the province may be settled for the future upon a solid and permanent foundation.

Four methods of doing this have occurred to us. The first is, to compose a code of laws for this province, that shall contain all the laws by which it is to be governed for the time to come, to the entire exclusion or abolition of every part both of the laws of England and the French laws that shall not be set down in the code itself.

Four different  
methods that  
may be taken  
to settle the laws  
of this province.

The

The second is, to revive or re-establish the whole French law at once, to the exclusion of all the English laws, excepting those few which have been introduced by act of parliament, as above-mentioned, and a few more of the laws of England which are most eminently beneficial and favourable to the liberty of the subject, and to introduce these beneficial laws by a particular ordinance or proclamation, published in the province, in order to make them fully known to the Canadians. Such might be an ordinance to take away the use of the question, or torture, in criminal prosecutions, to change the cruel punishment of breaking on the wheel into hanging or beheading; and to introduce the substance of the English law relating to the writ of *habeas corpus*, by declaring that no person in the province should be committed to prison, or detained in prison, by the order of any magistrate without a warrant in writing under the hand of the magistrate, expressing particularly the cause of his commitment or detention; and that every man so detained in prison should, if he desired it, be brought before one of your Majesty's judges in the province, and either set at liberty, bailed, or remanded to prison, as the cause of his imprisonment, expressed in the warrant by which he is detained in prison, should require. Such an ordinance might be thought to fulfill, in a great measure, the promise given to your Majesty's British subjects by those words in your Majesty's proclamation above-mentioned, *of the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of England*, supposing that your Majesty should think proper to determine that those words contain only a promise.

The third method of settling the laws of this country, so as to continue to the Canadians the use of several of their ancient customs, is to make the law of England the general law of the province, with an exception of those particular subjects concerning which your Majesty shall please to permit the former customs of the country to subsist, and with respect to those subjects to let the ancient laws of the country subsist in the manner they did at the time of the conquest, and without attempting to reduce them to writing, and enact them anew by particular ordinances, expressly setting them forth in all the extent in which your Majesty thought proper to let them continue.

And

And the fourth method of doing this would be to make (as in the third method) the law of England become the general law of the province, with an exception of those particular subjects, or heads of law, concerning which your Majesty shall please to permit the former customs of the country to continue; and with respect to those subjects, to enumerate and set forth at length, in an ordinance or proclamation to be made for that purpose, the particular customs which your Majesty should think fit to be continued, to the exclusion and abolition of all other customs that should not be contained in the said ordinance or proclamation.

The first of these methods of settling the laws of this province, namely, that of making a code of all the laws by which it shall be governed for the future, to the exclusion of all the laws both of England and France that are not contained in it, would certainly be the most troublesome in the execution to your Majesty's ministers and servants, both in England and in this province. And further, we conceive that it would be objected to by some of the Canadians, who are the most difficult to please, as a rash and dangerous experiment, to which the persons your Majesty should think proper to employ in the compiling this code would be by no means equal. They would frame their objection to such a project in some such manner as this: 'That to reduce the whole law anew into writing, with a rejection of a great part of it as useless in the opinion of the compilers, is a task of such extraordinary difficulty, that not only no person in this province is fit to undertake it, but even the ablest lawyers in the parliament of Paris, if they were to devote their whole time and attention to it, would hardly be able to execute it properly; that if any thing of this kind is attempted here, many important things will most certainly be omitted, and others be too concisely, imperfectly, or obscurely expressed; that in such a code no part of the ancient laws of this province ought to be omitted, notwithstanding some of them may never have been put in execution here; for that those laws are not less a part of the law of this country than those which have been often put in practice; and that the only reason why they have not yet been executed is, because the objects of them, that is, the cases to which they relate, have not yet arisen; and that when these cases shall arise, here is a wise law already provided beforehand to decide them; and that therefore no part

Advantages and disadvantages with which the first method of settling the laws will be attended.



' of the custom of Paris, which was truly and properly the law of this province, ought to be left out of any code that shall be made for the government of it: and further, that there is a strong mutual connection between the different parts of this system of law, that makes it very difficult to change or abrogate any part of it, under a notion of its being useless, without weakening or rendering ineffectual other parts of it which the compilers may esteem useful; and that therefore the only safe way is to let it stand as it is; and that, in this view of permitting the whole of it to continue, there is no need of a code to express it over again in new words; that it is already expressed in writing in the best manner possible in the text of the custom of Paris itself and in the learned treatises of Monsieur Ferriere and other writers upon it, and in the decisions of the parliament of Paris and of the superiour council of this province, upon the cases that have been contested before them; that indeed such a new code might be of some convenience to an English judge to save him the trouble of studying or consulting the French law-books, but that it would be a most dangerous and pernicious attempt to the rights and liberties of your Majesty's Canadian subjects.'

These are the objections which will certainly be made by some of your Majesty's Canadian subjects to the measure of compiling a new code of laws for this province, which we have stated to your Majesty at great length, that they may have all the weight with your Majesty which they may deserve. At the same time we beg leave to inform your Majesty, that we believe that these objections will be made only by a few persons in this province, and that the bulk of your Majesty's new Canadian subjects will be very well satisfied with such a code, and this even though it should in a great measure be taken from the laws of England, provided only that a few of the most important of their ancient laws and customs, and that most nearly affect their property and the future situation of their wives and children, be contained in it.

On the other hand, the advantages that would arise from this measure of compiling such a code of laws for this province would, as we conceive, be these that follow.

In

In the first place, the English judges, who will, as we presume, always be employed to administer justice in this province, would have a short and plain rule to go by, which they would easily be able to make themselves masters of, and would not be liable to be puzzled and misled by artful French lawyers, partially citing and misrepresenting and misapplying the doctrines and cases contained in the French law books.

And in the second place, the English inhabitants in general would have the satisfaction of knowing easily and certainly what the laws of the province were, upon what conditions they purchased lands or houses, what rights of alienating or devising them they thereby acquired, what duties to your Majesty, their lords or their tenants, they were bound to, and in what manner their wives and children would enjoy their possessions after their decease.

These would be no inconsiderable advantages resulting from the composition of such a code, even though done in a very imperfect manner. But there is another and greater advantage with which, as we conceive, this measure would be attended, which is the removing from the minds of the Canadians all idea of the excellency of the French laws and government, and of the superiour skill and ability of French lawyers and judges, bred in the parliament of Paris, and consequently of the happiness of having their law-suits decided by them. For we apprehend that, as long as the French laws and customs subsist at large without being reduced into a code, so that the several French law-books, books of reports, and edicts of the French king are the books of authority upon the subject, to which recourse must be had continually in the decision of points of law, so long will the people of this province retain a reverence for those edicts, reports, and other law-books, and for the authority of the French king who made the edicts, and for the parliament of Paris that has made the decisions reported in the books of reports, and the other learned French authors who have composed the other treatises on this subject; and this reverence will be accompanied with a continuance of their liking for that government from which these good laws and edicts and law-books proceeded, and under which they might be most ably administered, and consequently with a secret wish to return to that government, that is, to return to their  
F 2  
subjection



subjection to the French king; whereas, if they continue to enjoy the most important of their ancient laws and customs under a new name, and expressed in a stile and phrase somewhat different from the former, and carrying with it the stamp of your Majesty's authority, the idea of their former sovereign, and of the parliament of Paris, and of the wise lawyers that compose it, would by degrees wear out of their minds, and they would think of nothing upon these occasions but the king of Great Britain and his code, and the great favour he had shewn them in permitting their principal laws and customs to continue, and giving them the express sanction of his royal authority. This we take to be a very capital advantage attending this measure of compiling a code of laws.

As to the inconvenience that might arise from the omissions or imperfections of this code (for we readily admit that it would be very imperfect) it must be observed, that they might be continually lessened and remedied by fresh ordinances, from time to time re-enacting those parts of the former laws and customs of this province which appeared to have been forgotten in the code, and which the governour and council thought worthy to be re-established: and in the mean time the code itself (imperfect as we suppose it to be) would still be sufficiently exact to determine all the common cases that occur in the ordinary course of human affairs, such as the rules of inheritance in the direct line, the rules of dower, and of the husband's rights arising from the matrimonial contract, the usual rules about quit-rents, alienation-fines, and other profits due to your Majesty and to other lords, the usual methods of investiture of lands by performing fealty and homage, and the like, which would be sufficient to prevent the country from falling into general confusion.

This code we suppose to contain the whole of the law by which the province is to be governed, criminal as well as civil, to the exclusion of the whole of the English law, as well as the French, except what was contained in the code itself, and the acts of parliament relating to the custom-house duties, and those few other statutes that expressly relate to this colony by name or sufficient words of description since the conquest of it, or which, though made before the conquest of it, yet extend to it by virtue of the general

general description of *all his Majesty's dominions now belonging to the crown of Great Britain, or that shall hereafter belong unto the same.*

These are the advantages and disadvantages with which, as we conceive, this first method of settling the laws of this province, by composing a code of laws for that purpose, would be attended.

The second method of settling the laws of this province, by reviving at once the whole French law, and introducing by an ordinance only a few of the laws of England that are most eminently beneficial to the subject, is evidently the shortest and easiest method that can be taken for this purpose; but it would be attended with the following inconveniencies.

In the first place it would have a tendency to keep up in the minds of the Canadians that respect for the laws of France, and the wisdom of the parliament of Paris, and the excellence of the French government, which has been above described, and which it would be one of the principal advantages resulting from the former measure, of compiling a code of laws, to extinguish.

In the second place it would give disgust to the English inhabitants of this province, who are fond of the laws of England and desirous of having the greatest part of them continued, and think they have a right to the enjoyment of them upon two distinct grounds.

In the first place, they think that every country that becomes subject to the crown of Great Britain (whether by conquest, exchange, or otherwise) becomes immediately subject to the laws of England, and that the laws by which it was formerly governed become immediately and *ipso facto* void and of no effect, being superseded by the laws of England without the aid of any act of parliament or royal proclamation for that purpose. In this we presume they are mistaken; since both the express declarations of the law-books, and those of your Majesty's attorney and solicitor general in their report concerning this province, made in the year 1766, and the dictates of natural reason inculcate a quite contrary doctrine, to wit, that the laws of the conquered people subsist in their full vigour till the will of the conquerour shall expressly