THE ARTICLES BY DR. MARIE TREMAINE REPRINTED HERE ARE THE FIRST OF A series of important but now difficult to obtain papers on the subject of Canadian bibliography which will appear in the Papers. It is fitting that the first of these reprints, actually two, should be by the scholar who is recognized as Canada’s most distinguished bibliographer. Dr. Tremaine was, until her recent death, the Honorary President of the Bibliographical Society of Canada.

Marie Tremaine’s articles *Early Printing in Canada* (1934) and ‘A Half-Century of Canadian Life and Print, 1751-1800’ (1951) provide clear and lively evidence of her scholarly direction and conviction that any study of printing and publishing history is a vital part of social history, in these cases, of the Canadian way of life. As a social historian she was a pioneer. Those chroniclers of our past who overlook her fundamental research, as say in *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800* (1952), do so at their peril. How much more convincing and thorough would Mason Wade’s *The French Canadian 1760-1967* (1955, rev. ed. 1968) have been if he had made use of Marie Tremaine’s study and interpretation of Quebec imprints?

In the two articles which appear here Marie Tremaine is shown in different lights, in different moods. *Early Printing in Canada* is dated at the end of her text as follows: ‘The Reference Library, Toronto. December, Nineteen Thirty-four.’ It is a readable and almost spritely account of the beginnings of printing in Canada and its gradual spread westward from Halifax to Victoria. The text, the Golden Dog Press imprint, and the general physical appearance of this fourteen-page pamphlet, as well as the date, suggest a Christmas keepsake. The Golden Dog imprint still exudes a certain youthful exuberance and excitement about it from the flowing swash upper and lower case letters to the author’s sometimes quaint or uncommon use of such words as ‘Bastonnais,’ ‘chidden,’ and ‘thither.’ Dr. Tremaine’s diction echoes the eighteenth century about which she is writing.

In her essay ‘A Half-Century of Canadian Life and Print, 1751-1800’ published in 1951 in *Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth*, Dr. Tremaine is at
her historical and bibliographical best. This is a thoroughly academic essay which reflects her research for *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800* which appeared a year later in 1952. The words 'life' and 'print' are inexorably linked in all of Tremaine's bibliographical work. Here, in this essay, she demonstrates the disciplined objectivity of the true bibliographer and, miraculously, her other side, that of the sensitive and broad-minded social historian. It is this combination of interests, the detailed bibliographical research, and the application of such information to the interpretation of life in eighteenth-century Canada, which makes Tremaine's life's work so unique.
IN THE VARIOUS BEGINNINGS OF PRINTING IN CANADA, ONE RECOGNIZES many features which characterize the early settlement of the country: sporadic enterprise in the Maritimes, the St. Lawrence Valley, the western plains and the Pacific coast; penetration from the more mature and progressive American settlements; encouragement by the Church and discouragement by the Fur trade; the stimulation of English administration.

Though Canada was discovered in 1534 and settlement begun by the French, printing was introduced by the English in the first area to pass to English control – the Maritimes. A military base against the French fortress, Louisburg, was established in 1749 in Nova Scotia, and thither in 1751 came Bartholomew Green, Jr. Born in Massachusetts, a stronghold of colonial printing, he was of the third generation of a famous family of printers in Boston. Green, unfortunately, died five weeks after his arrival in Halifax without producing anything, and his enterprise was continued by a former associate, John Bushell, also a Bastonnais. Bushell found little enough in the new town of two thousand people to occupy his press. He printed a few pieces for the provincial government – *An Act for the Relief of Debtors with respect to the Imprisonment of their persons*, December, 1752, also, *Treaties or Articles of Peace between His Excellency, Peregrine Thomas Hopson ... and Major Jean-Baptiste Cope, Chief Sachem of the Tribe of MicMac Indians*, dated 1753, printed in English and French, and possibly others. He established in January, 1752, the first Canadian newspaper, the *Halifax Gazette* and died during January, 1761, in debt, discouragement and
drink. Time and again, pioneer printers across Canada repeated Bushell's career, sometimes to its miserable finale. Ambitious for journalism and dependent on the meagre patronage of government before the development of trade and culture in a new community, they lived a precarious life.

Bushell's press passed to his assistant, Anthony Henry. Henry, a German, is said to have come to Canada as a fifer in one of the regiments which assisted in the British capture of the French fortress of Louisburg in 1758. Shrewd and competent though an undistinguished craftsman, he continued to print the *Halifax Gazette* till his death in 1801, except for the period 1766-70. This gazette, like other early Canadian papers, consisted of a single sheet or a folio and derived its principal support from government proclamations and information about parliamentary sessions, courts, land-grants, etc.; usually a weekly with editorial comment and some foreign and local news, the gazettes were semi-official or official organs. In October, 1765, coincident with the American outcry against the Stamp Act, the *Halifax Gazette* appeared on paper, without a stamp. Henry, chidden by Authority, explained that his stock had been de-stamped in youthful enthusiasm by his apprentice. The apprentice was Isaiah Thomas, later to become the first great historian of American printing. Henry, however, lost the *Gazette* as soon as a new printer, one Robert Fletcher from London, set up shop in Halifax. Far from discomfited, Henry launched a rival publication in 1769, the *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, and when Fletcher retired in 1770, the two journals were amalgamated as the *Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle*. During the interregnum Fletcher published one full length volume, *The Perpetual Acts of the General Assemblies of H.M.'s Province of Nova Scotia, 1767*.

After the Declaration of Independence the loyalist migration from the United States brought several printers to Nova Scotia and to New Brunswick, organized as a separate province in 1784. Among them was Margaret Draper, of *Boston News-Letter* fame. She stopped for a time in Halifax, en route to England, and left there her partner, John Howe. He founded the *Halifax Journal*, printed many works with great skill and succeeded Henry as King's Printer in 1801. His son and successor, Joseph Howe, became the most brilliant printer-journalist-politician in British North America.

It was nearly 100 years after the invention of printing in Europe that Europeans discovered and explored the St. Lawrence Valley, the gateway to northern North America. Then for more than two centuries French traders, missionaries, soldiers and settlers came and went and the great water-way passed to English control before a press was established on its banks. There is a suggestion however, that Pontbriand, the Bishop of Quebec, printed two mandements in 1759 as the English drew near, using a hand-press given him by Louis xv. The first broadside was issued apparently in April at Quebec,
and the second, after the fall of the capital, from Montreal in October. It is not settled, however, that they were printed in Canada. For all but Phileas Gagnon’s copies (now in the Municipal Library of Montreal) have disappeared, and the Bishop’s press disappeared before his death in 1760.

To Brown and Gilmore usually goes the credit of bringing printing into the Province of Quebec. William Brown, a Scotsman, born in 1737-38, came to America about 1753 and was apprenticed to Wm. Dunlap, a printer in Philadelphia and a relation by marriage to Benjamin Franklin. Brown mastered the trade and in 1760 set up for Dunlap, a printing press in Bridgetown, the capital of the Barbadoes. Three years later, he determined to establish his own business in Canada, and took into partnership Thomas Gilmore of Philadelphia. Each partner furnished £72 capital, and with £150 credit from Dunlap, Gilmore went to London to buy a fount of type from the Caslon foundry and a press from Kendrick Peck. Brown went directly to Quebec.

Following a prospectus prepared in Philadelphia in 1763 the first publication of the new firm was the Quebec Gazette, a newspaper of four pages in folio printed in English and French. From its first number, June 21, 1764, larger and more enterprising than the Halifax Gazette, with a more extensive subscription list, the Quebec Gazette remained an important source of information on social and political life in Canada till 1874. [Until the Confederation of the provinces in 1867, ‘Canada’ denoted the present Quebec and Ontario.] The first separate work printed by Brown and Gilmore was Presentment of the grand juries, their worships’ strictures thereon, and the grand juries remarks on these strictures, a quarto pamphlet of about 33 pages, in French and English. Of the four hundred and fifty copies printed, not one is known to survive. The second work, Le Catechisme du diocese de Sens, was printed for Louis Germain, a general merchant in Quebec, in 2000 copies of 171|+|3 pages on Nov. 19, 1765, and a second edition (148 pages) of 2000 copies on April 16, 1766 at a cost of £19.16.0. Eight extant copies of this title have been located. In 1766 Brown and Gilmore issued a broadside of the Stamp Act of which the only known example is in the Bibliotheque Saint Sulpice, Montreal. One of the minor results of this famous law was the suspension for lack of funds, of the Quebec Gazette from October 31, 1765, till May 29, 1766. In 1767 they published Nehiro-irinniwi, one of the few books ever printed in Montagnais, an Algonkian dialect. It is a prayer book, prepared by J.B. de La Brosse, a Jesuit.

In 1772 Gilmore died in delirium tremens and Brown carried on as sole proprietor of the business, producing several works each year. With the patronage of the government, the Church and the commercial group in a growing capital of an ever extending country, Brown prospered, and died in 1789, a comparatively wealthy man. His business passed to his nephew,
Samuel Neilson, and, on the latter's death in 1793, to his brother, John Neilson, in whose family it continued, establishing in time, a genuine Canadian tradition in printing and journalism.

In contrast to Brown, Fleury Mesplet, the first printer of Montreal, was a financial failure from beginning to end. Yet he established the press in the Metropolis of Canada and provided in 1776 a medium of literary and political expression for the French Canadians, then an incoherent majority between a foreign, if benevolent, administration on the one hand, and, on the other, a hostile and vociferous minority of resident English.

Mesplet was born in or near Lyon, France, about 1735. By training a printer and by conviction republican and anti-clerical, he left the confusion of France about 1773 for London. Here he met Benjamin Franklin and, with the latter's encouragement, he embarked for America and settled to business in Philadelphia. In 1774 he was commissioned to print a message from Congress to Quebec, *Lettre Adressée Aux Habitants Opprimés de la Province de Québec*, a portent of revolution and an invitation to the fourteenth colony to join the revolting thirteen.

Business was poor for Mesplet, however; so, early the next year, his forty-first, he made a scouting trip to Quebec and returned satisfied that the northern province held prospects for a French printer with American affiliations. In 1776 he was appointed by the Continental Congress to accompany its Commissioners, Franklin and Carroll, to Montreal to win French-Canadian support for the American forces already invading Canada. Mesplet left Philadelphia on March 18, with five wagons loaded with printing materials, staff and wife. After a difficult and expensive journey, he reached Montreal on May 18 to find the American cause hopelessly discredited. When the Commissioners and the army left, Mesplet, financially paralyzed, remained, determined to establish his press and print a French newspaper. Suspected by the Administration of revolutionary tendencies and abandoned by the prospective editor, Pochard, a Philadelphian, Mesplet was obliged to postpone the journal. He printed in 1776, *Règlement de la Confrérie de l'Adoration Perpétuelle du S. Sacrement, et de la Bonne Mort*, for the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, that great institution which practically founded Montreal and whose library has now an unrivalled collection of early Canadian books. This work had been ordered during Mesplet's scouting expedition of 1775, and printed in Philadelphia, but the entire edition was lost with some of Mesplet's baggage in the Richelieu River en route to Montreal. The second edition of *Règlement*, then, was the first work printed in Montreal and it exists in at least twenty copies, as a cache of the little booklets in their original binding of damask wall paper was found in the Seminary more than thirty years ago. Later in 1776 Mesplet printed, also for the Sulpicians, *Jonatas et David ou le triomphe de l'Amitie, Tragedie en*
Trois Actes. Représentée par les Ecoliers de Montréal. During the next eighteen years, though interrupted by bailiffs and military police, Mesplet managed to produce at least sixty-six more works in French, Latin, English and Iroquois, also, two newspapers.

The first journal, La Gazette du Commerce et Littéraire, appeared on June 3, 1778, with Valantin Jautard as editor. The latter’s writings immediately embroiled himself and Mesplet with the English authorities and the Church. The journal ceased abruptly on June 2, 1779, and its producers spent the next three years in the Quebec jail. On the 28th of August, 1785, Mesplet launched the Montreal Gazette, a four-page folio, printed in two columns French and English. With a careful eye on Authority, Mesplet reported the news, built up a respectable subscription list, and the Montreal Gazette still survives. His journalistic success, however, did not retrieve his fortunes, and Mesplet died in 1794 as he had lived, a chronic but sanguine insolvent.

Edward Edwards bought up Mesplet’s equipment at auction and continued the Montreal Gazette in 1795. In the same year, a second press, printing a second Montreal Gazette, was started in Montreal by Louis Roy, who had returned to Lower Canada after inaugurating printing into Upper Canada. He moved on, however, in 1796, and Edward remained alone and comparatively unproductive. In 1807 Nahum Mower, a native of Worcester, Mass., arrived, he published the Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser and built up a prosperous book printing business. In the same year, James Brown, a Scotch book dealer in Montreal, opened a printing press and, true to the young printing tradition in Canada, published a paper, the Canadian Gazette. It was short-lived, however, and Brown took over the Montreal Gazette on Edwards’ death in 1810. Like Mower he was a prolific printer. As the town grew, the Administration and religious and mercantile institutions extended their enterprises, engendered controversies and supplied the ever-increasing presses of Montreal.

Printing was introduced into Upper Canada (now Ontario) under circumstances peculiar to the time, as an instrument of government. The province was formed in 1791 under an administration separate from that of French Canada, partly to encourage settlement by loyalists who had left the United States since the Declaration of Independence. Thither in 1792 came the first lieutenant-governor, Simcoe, to build a log cabin capital by the Niagara River and establish a government printing press. En route from England he had engaged Louis Roy from Neilson’s shop in Quebec to be first King’s printer, and amid the confusion of organizing a new society in a wilderness of forest and stream, he imported a press with a considerable range of type and paper early in 1793.

On April 18, 1793, at Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake) Roy produced
the first number of the *Upper Canada Gazette*. In the same year he also printed two eight-page pamphlets: *Speech of His Excellency John Graves Simcoe, Esq; Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, upon opening the first session of the Legislature of the said Province, and Acts of the Legislature of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada*. Which, if either, of these items appeared first is still obscure. The Toronto Public Library has a broadside dated Newark, February 7, 1793, in type similar to Roy’s, which may have preceded all three and still not have been the first printed matter produced in Upper Canada.

Roy retired from his post of King’s printer and from Upper Canada in 1794, for reasons unknown but not unsurmised, given the hardship of frontier life and the inflexible temper of Simcoe. Gideon Tiffany continued the *Gazette*, printed the text of the Jay treaty, proclamations and the acts and journals of the fifth session of the first parliament. Then in September, 1797, Titus Greer Simons took over the *Gazette* and, with his partner, Wm. Waters, moved to the new capital, York (now Toronto), in October, 1798. Waters and Simons were superseded in 1801 by John Bennett. Bennett, like Louis Roy, had been trained by Neilson in Quebec and, in typographical expertise and business enterprise, he far surpassed his predecessors. He produced a fine quarto volume, *The Statutes of His Majesty’s Province of Upper Canada*, in 1802, the *Upper Canada almanac* in 1803 and 1804, probably also the annual statutes and journals of the Assembly as well as the weekly *Gazette*. Bennett was King’s printer till 1806-07 when he became involved in a financial embroglio with the administration and was superseded by John Cameron.

In the meantime the land of the new province was purchased piecemeal from the Indians, surveyed and settled somewhat along the waterfront and clearings were hacked out of the bush in the back townships. Rough roads connected York with Detroit, with Kingston and Montreal, and with Lake Simcoe, Georgian Bay and the great North West. Dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy at York became evident during the administration of Gore about 1807. With the rise and spread of political agitation, printing and journalism spread through Upper Canada. Niagara, formerly Newark, had had a press operated by Gideon Tiffany and his brother Sylvester till about 1802. In 1807 Joseph Willcockts, in support of Judge Thorpe’s party, launched the *Upper Canada Guardian*, and in 1812 the *Telegraph*. In 1817 the *Niagara Spectator* appeared, printing in issue after issue Robert Gourlay’s *Letters to Resident Landowners of Upper Canada*, in denunciation of the administration. The editor, Bartemas Ferguson, was jailed and Gourlay banished the next year. Andrew Heron printed the *Gleaner* at Niagara between 1817 and 1834. Stephen Miles, a Vermonter, and a protégé of Nahum Mower in Montreal, brought a press to Kingston and began to issue the Kingston *Gazette* in
1810. He printed many works indeed, then retired to the Methodist minis-
try. In 1817 St. Catharines and in 1818 Sandwich had presses. Printing
increased rapidly in both Lower and Upper Canada with the development of
the radical movement which culminated in the Rebellion of 1837. Macken-
ze, editor of the *Colonial Advocate* and a radical leader, lost his types in
Toronto Bay at the hands of government adherents.

Religion, too, stimulated printing in Upper Canada. As is usual in
pioneer communities, evangelism throve. Missionary enterprise flourished
among the Indians, conflict arose between church and state, and controver-
sies developed among denominations. All this activity produced dozens of
pamphlets that were literally read to pieces. It is significant that the first
non-political publication in the province was the Rev. Robert McDowall’s
*A sermon on the the Nature of Justification*, printed by John Bennett in
York, 1805.

The first Canadian novel appeared in 1824, Julia Beckwith Hart’s *St.
Ursula’s Convent*, printed by Hugh C. Thomson at Kingston, more interest-
ing as typography than fiction. The following year Charles Fothergill
printed the first book of verse at York, *The Wonders of the West, or A Day at
the Falls of Niagara*.

West and north of Upper Canada lay the Great North-west, where fur
was king. Control of this uncharted region, the best part of half a continent,
had been granted by Charles II to the Gentlemen Adventurers trading into
Hudson’s Bay. Indians, traders, explorers and an occasional priest paddled
and portaged thousands of miles through this wilderness each year. One or
two abortive attempts were made at settlement. But neither civilization nor
its so-called amenities were encouraged by the generations of Gentlemen
Adventurers, who understood well that the fur trade would recede with the
frontier.

About 1840, James Evans, a Methodist missionary from Upper Canada,
was stationed at Norway House, a trading post between Lake Winnipeg and
the Bay. To facilitate scripture reading among the nomad Crees, Evans,
already noted for his Indian texts, invented an ingenious syllabic alphabet.
Printing equipment, however, he could not obtain as the Hudson’s Bay
Company controlled transportation. So Evans cut moulds in wood, melted
the lead linings of tea chests for his type, and, using a chimney soot solution
as ink, birch bark for paper, he printed a spelling book in Cree syllabics with
the imprint of Norway House, 1841. The handiwork of this enterprising
clergyman, moulds, type, and a little volume, are now in the possession of
Victoria College, Toronto. The Hudson’s Bay Company shortly afterwards
consented to carry a press to Norway House — for mission purposes only.

The next press in the Middle West appeared in 1859 in the District of
Assiniboia. This was the scene, in 1817, of the first attempt at western
settlement, the ill-starred Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony. Thither in the summer of 1859 came two journalists from Upper Canada, Wm. Buckingham and Wm. Coldwell. Buying their gear en route at St. Paul, Minnesota, they drove it in ox-carts up to Fort Garry (now Winnipeg). On December 29, 1859, they issued the first number of the *Nor’Wester*. This paper became an independent and aggressive power during the last decade of the Hudson's Bay Company's reign in the West, and at the end, in 1870, the paper was itself wiped out by the rebel, Louis Riel. Several new journals soon appeared in the district, then a centre of nation-wide interest; among them, the *Manitoba Free Press*, now the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the leader of Liberal journalism in Canada. At this time (1870) the government of the recently federated Dominion of Canada took over the Great Northwest. The provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta were formed, systematic settlement began and into dozens of pioneer towns of the seventies and eighties the printer-journalist followed the land agent.

The Pacific Coast of Canada, discovered in the 16th and explored in the 18th and early 19th centuries, remained fur trade territory till the days of the gold rush. About 1858 several printing presses appeared on Vancouver Island. The first, brought from France by Modeste Demers, the Roman Catholic bishop of the Island, printed at Victoria, *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Calédonie*. The *Victoria Gazette*, *Vancouver Island's Gazette* and the *British Colonist* were also established at Victoria in the same year, but only the last survived. It was founded by a Nova Scotian, William Smith, who had changed his name to Amor de Cosmos, intended to signify - Lover of the Universe. Despite the naïveté of its editor, the *Colonist* prospered. It printed many pamphlets, proclamations and government works, installed a cylindrical press in 1862, absorbed other newspapers and still appears. On the mainland at New Westminster, John Robson, later premier of the province, printed the *British Columbian* in 1861.

So, in little more than a century, the printing press had entered and established itself in every section of Canada, in the maritimes, French Canada, Loyalist Ontario, the West, and the Pacific Coast – in each district under different conditions, conditions as various as the country itself.