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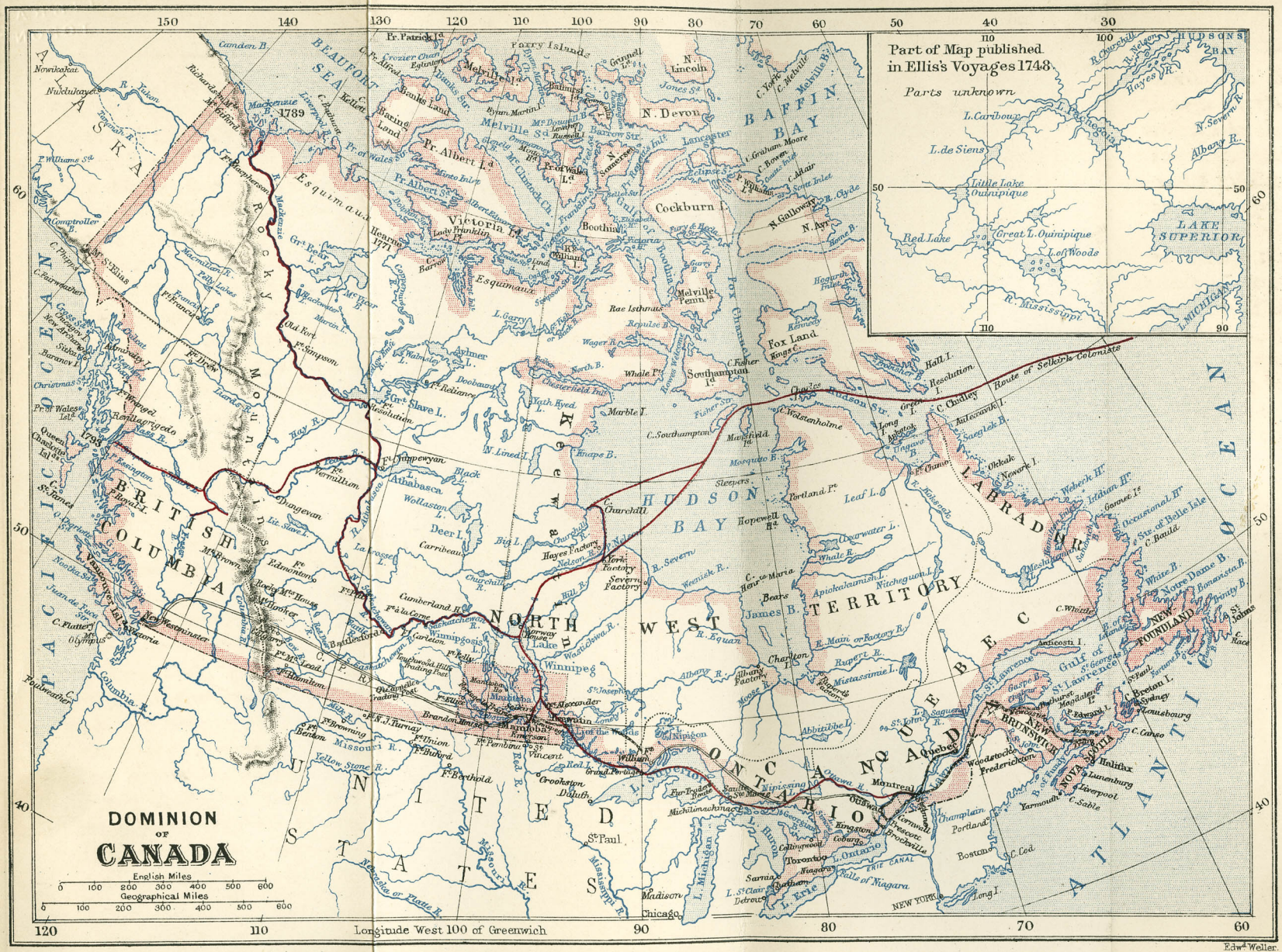

London; Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington.

Selkirk

Kirkcudbright
October Seven
1808

THOMAS DOUGLAS, 5TH EARL OF SELKIRK, F.R.S., ETC.

(*From posthumous Bust by Charatry.*)

[*Frontispiece.*

MANITOBA:

ITS INFANCY, GROWTH, AND PRESENT CONDITION.

BY THE

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WITH MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE.

"ALSO after the manner of the farmer let me follow the crooked plough, while the oxen break up the fields that are lying ready to be worked," said Tibullus the ancient in one of his Elegies. At the present time the name of Manitoba suggests such thoughts as these of Tibullus to thousands of those with whom the world is going hard in Great Britain and Ireland. One object in view in this work is to make it somewhat real to those who are looking towards Manitoba, the great prairie land. The writer is neither a Government emigration agent, a special correspondent, nor a candidate for political honours, but simply one who has led a most busy life in connexion with the educational and social improvement of the Canadian North-West for the last ten years, and has tried to keep his eyes open during that eventful period. One object of the present work is to collect together the various recollections connected with the names, Hudson's Bay Territory, Rupert's Land, Assiniboia, Red River Settlement, and Selkirk Colony—names that have been mainly swallowed up in the *Manitoba* of to-day. Many unsolved problems

of interest are touched upon; many disputed points necessarily referred to, and the actions of many different persons pronounced upon, under many trying circumstances; while a description of the country, its resources, and prospects will be found shining through all the discussions.

The author has tried to be just, has sought "nought to extenuate, nor aught set down in malice." He has endeavoured to call things by their true names. He does not disguise the fact that he seeks to reverse an opinion, held by some, "that the Earl of Selkirk was not worthy of confidence as a colonizer." The feeling of reverence shown by the Selkirk colonists in Manitoba till the present day for the memory of their patron was the first thing that directed the attention of the writer to the matter, and further investigation has shown that justice has been too long delayed to the memory of one of whom Sir Walter Scott, an intimate friend, says, "I never knew in my life a man of a more generous and disinterested disposition." The author has to return thanks to the present Earl of Selkirk and Lady Isabella Hope, only survivors of the family of the late Earl, for supplying many of the materials of the work.

The immediate cause of the present work is in its having given recreation and a change of subject to the mind of the writer, overtaxed with assisting others in the heavy task of laying the foundations in education and religion, in what was called at the beginning of the last decade "The Great Lone Land."

MANITOBA.

CHAPTER I.

A GOOD MAN AND A NOBLE WORK.

IN the little fishing village of Helmsdale, on the east coast of the Scottish county of Sutherland, a band of colonists were waiting the arrival of the vessel in which they were to begin their journey and cross the tempestuous North Atlantic, to a new home in America. It was seventy years ago, and the vessels that went round the stormy coasts of the North of Scotland, and there faced the billows of the Pentland Frith, were no doubt staunch and well tried. Manned with the hardy coastmen and the islanders from Orkney, the trim little vessels rose and fell with the waves as if endowed with life. Yet who would now think of facing the dangers of the great sea in such craft! Those were not the days of the Allan liners, and for weeks these small sailing-vessels of the older days danced about the Atlantic with a westward trend, until at length the new world was reached. The village grave-yard spoke of many a daring mariner

who had at last fallen a prey to the stormy North Sea, and been dashed in some hurricane upon the shore: but the sea was the means of livelihood to the fishermen, and though they knew that sooner or later the water wraith would appear on its weird mission of death, yet for wife and hungry bairns the dangers must be faced--and familiarity lessens fear.

But the colonists were not fishermen. Along the coast of Sutherlandshire and the north-east of Scotland there live side by side two distinct races. The fishermen are of Norwegian descent, are chiefly known by the blue eye of the Norse nations, and speak a Teutonic language. The people living by farming—to whom the colonists belonged—had the colour of the Celt, the language of the Celt, and the Highland pride of the mountaineer. Woe to the luckless damsel of Highland blood, who listened to the wooing strains of any young fisher-lad. If thus she made her choice, she might ever after count on the contempt of her own people, which could remain as strong a feeling toward her and her offspring fifty years after, as on the day when she forsook the ancestral tradition by plighting troth to a fisherman lover. But sad days had fallen upon the Highlands. The "Highland Clearances" will ever glow with the lurid recollections of homes broken up, Highland thousands driven to foreign lands, and Highland hearts torn with pain at having to leave home and country. And now the exiles stand gazing at the stormy sea and their rolling vessel with failing hearts. But they must go. The company has gathered, and the bustle of needed preparation is

mingled with the weeping of women, the farewells of relatives, and the wild joy of the unconscious children, who see and know only the novelty of the scene.

The colonists are going out under distinguished patronage, and no less a person than a noble of one of Scotland's oldest families is present to see the colony depart. A tall, spare man, full six feet high, with a pleasant countenance, is the Earl of Selkirk—and he is bidding his people a hearty good-bye, with a promise to come and visit them in their new homes on the prairies in the very heart of North America. Though from the South of Scotland, and without a drop of Celtic blood in his veins, his love for the Highland race had enabled him to take up their language while rambling in their beautiful glens. His lordship makes his promises to the older men, comforts their weeping spouses with those Gaelic expressions which are the vehicle of intensest feeling, and gives words of encouragement to the young men—the hope of the colony. The whole number is about seventy, of this first party, but this is only the advanced guard, for in the land acquired by their patron is the room denied them in their native country—and not for them alone, but for a million of people.

But to these have assembled there a goodly number of sorrowing relatives, many of whom shall follow soon, and among them several of "the men"—a remarkable class of Highland worthies—having counterparts nowhere else, so far as we know. They were men of a superior sort, noted for their sanctity, who seem to have taken the place in the Highland mind of the bards and wizards of their Celtic fore-

fathers. It was said that by their superior goodness some of them had acquired a peculiar faculty, something bordering on the gift of prophecy, by which they could foretell certain events—that indeed they possessed the "second sight." On the present occasion it is related that a family had as one of its members a weak and helpless babe. They feared to adventure themselves upon the deep with the sick child, and were anxious to delay their voyage. But one of "the men" professed to have it shown him that after so many days out on the voyage a change would take place, and the infant recover. The parents embarked, and truly enough after being a few days at sea the child revived, but we shall leave our readers to judge whether the recovery was from natural causes, and to speculate if they choose whether the prophet would have lost his fame had another result followed. We have no doubt that these lay prophets caused their spiritual overseer, the parish minister, many an hour of anxiety, for without fail they would claim to make up in piety for his superiority over them in information and college lore. Lord Selkirk had wished to send with the colonists a spiritual guide, and had come to terms with the son of the parish minister of Resolis; but the young man desired to remain a year to perfect himself in the native language of his people, and so one of "the men" had been selected to go—a man who afterwards bore himself irreproachably, and who had much influence in the colony.

The colonists had for their expedition and their subsequent establishment been put under the care of an experienced leader, whom Lord Selkirk had

selected from those met by him in the new world on a former visit—one acquainted with the region to which his colonists were proceeding. And now the ship—as staunch and well manned as any afloat—is ready: and the farewells have been taken, and the enterprise is consecrated by the strong features of Christian song and reverent supplication. There is in these songs of the Highlanders what Professor Blackie calls, "The quiver of the weird old psalm tunes, streaming like a choir of spirits through the breezy air of the mountains, and making them most suitable for such occasions as this." No doubt those tunes are memorials of that time of heroic venturing, when a body of Ross and Sutherlandshire men went over to fight the battles of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War, and brought back these plaintive melodies so constantly used by the plaided people of the mountains, which became a part of their national life, as the name Gustavus is still found in the Highlands. And with the commendation to Him who rules the winds and the waves by their faithful and kind-hearted pastor, the journey is begun, and that ship-load become the founders of a new-world province.

After going around the North of Scotland and past the Hebrides, they land at Sligo, in North-Western Ireland, where they are joined by less than a score of Celts like themselves, but different in language and customs and sympathies. Once more out upon the open Atlantic their prow is turned northward, for they are searchers for a home that must be reached by the dangerous and unpromising route followed by the seekers for the north-west passage. Through

the icebergs drifting southward from Davis Straits they pass successfully, then thread their way through Hudson's Straits, and in the autumn of 1811 reach Fort Churchill on the north-west shore of the great inland sea of Hudson's Bay. Here they must stay the winter. They are provided with daily supplies of food; and anxiously await the spring when they may journey southward to the land of promise, on the Red River of the North; the spot now the centre of the fertile province of Manitoba—the cynosure of many eyes. Lord Selkirk's attempt to colonize this district so early in the present century, and, as we shall see, in the midst of opposing influences, was a daring enterprise.

This region was a part of the fur country, and the undertaking brought the colonizer into conflict with the determined Canadian merchants and traders, and hastened a hand-to-hand encounter between the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company of London, who favoured Selkirk's scheme, and the North-West Fur Company of Montreal, who, from the first, were hostile.

The life of the fur-trader is one of romance; it is out of the ordinary course, and he becomes, in consequence, a man of mark. It affords great opportunities for gain, and so very often the fur-trader becomes wealthy. But this king of the solitudes needs an empire for his operations, an empire in extent, though it must have for his purposes not human beings, but foxes, as its inhabitants. The beaver is one of his most valued subjects; but the beaver hates and flees from the face of man. From long journeys and dreary wastes, and undisturbed and lonesome spots, civilized

man shrinks; but the native trapper, clad with leathern coat and leggings, stalks on snow-shoes gleefully from place to place, to gather the "catch" from his traps. The trader himself speeds as if in sport over the frozen plains in winter, with dogs as his horses, dragging the sliding cariole, in which he is encased in fur, and a native runner behind him, as his driver, brings up the rear. Although the trading-post, far from standing in sepulchral silence, is the abode of merriment and jollity, yet for all this the trader seeks to keep the territory a solitude, that he and his dependents may rejoice in it undisturbed. Not to the same extent has this exclusive disposition been the characteristic of all the fur-traders. The Hudson's Bay Company has, on account of the conditions of its licence to trade, been more inclined to improve the native, and to foster civilizing influences, than the companies originating in the new world itself. The early French Canadian fur-trader modestly regarded the northern half of the North American Continent as little enough for his sole use. In the days of Champlain and Frontenac, and Beauharnois, Canada and New York State were held as the heaven-bestowed gift of the trapper; and since that time Oregon and Columbia, and Minnesota and the Mississippi country have been tenaciously withheld from the settler as long as possible. Nevertheless, the colonizer, armed with plough, and axe, and hammer, has steadily encroached on the trapper's retreat, until what we may call the fur-trader's isothermal, has receded fully twenty degrees to the northward; and a country has been reached which, from its rocky

conformation and severe climate—lying, as it does, north of Lakes Winnipeg and Athabasca, and producing the finest varieties of fur—may well be regarded as reserved by nature for the trapper alone. At the time of which we write, the fur-traders from Montreal came as far south as parallel 49°, after they had passed the Grand Traverse from Lake Superior; and they were as tenacious of their hold of the country through which they passed, as a fur preserve, as they were enterprising and successful in their trade. They looked with intense jealousy on rivals from any quarter whatever, and had at one time, it is said, 5000 *employés* between the Atlantic and Pacific. These daring forest and prairie-rangers were exceedingly formidable in case of disagreement; the more so, that the law in the wilderness solitude was simply the pleasure of the strongest in arms. The elysium of bears, and wolves, and foxes, must not be invaded by the unwelcome feet of rival merchants, much less of settlers and colonists.

It will be our task to follow out, to some extent, these North-Westers in their efforts to retain the country for themselves. Suffice it now to say that in the second decade of this century, the distinguished nobleman of whom we write, with every appearance of right that legal opinion and firm belief in the justice of his claim could give, undertook to settle his colony in the very heart of the fur-traders' country, upon land obtained by him from the Hudson's Bay Company, but which unquestionably had for years been traversed by the energetic agents of the Company from Montreal. The fiercest of struggles re-

sulted, and bloodshed and litigation were the outcome. The events of that troubled period, from 1811 to 1820, are a series of complicated issues. The historic materials of the time are evidently given on both sides as the product of such violent partisanship, that the most thorough research and calmest judgment are necessary to gain the truth. It is to the interest of no one now to keep back the facts. Sixty years may well suffice to have let the fires of party-spirit die away.

The motives which Lord Selkirk had in founding the colony on the banks of Red River, underly the whole discussion. The Nor'-Westers did not hesitate to accuse him of the grossest cupidity; and their spokesman wrote, warning all against "land-jobbing speculators, a class of persons well known in America, and of whom Lord Selkirk, from the magnitude of his operations, may be styled the chief." Sheriff Ross, a writer in thorough sympathy with Lord Selkirk, in his work on Red River, after suggesting various possible motives, ends by concluding that the Christianization of the Indians was his aim, though he has not shown how the noble earl hoped to accomplish this. A late writer has said, "His lordship's real object in forming the colony on the Red River, appeared at the time to be the hope of getting a number of hardy men raised in the country, inured to the climate, and devoted to their patron's interest, to enter into the Hudson Bay Company's employ, and become servile tools in carrying arbitrary measures for the destruction of the North-West Company." The historian of Minnesota states Lord Selkirk's purpose to have been to effect the "colo-

nizing of British emigrants in these distant British possessions, and thus check the disposition to settle in the United States." In regard to all these reasons for Lord Selkirk's project, it must be said they are insufficient. Sad, indeed, would it have been, had any British peer been so unworthy of his order as to make the miseries of hundreds of the starving peasantry of his native country a means of gain. Most unlikely is it that he would take families containing women and children, by a route subject to the rigours of an Arctic climate, to rear a native race of Hudson's Bay trappers, when hundreds of Orcadians and North countrymen could be got for low wages, and shipped by whole vessel-loads to trap and hunt. Not the sending out of but a single Highland catechist (Sutherland) with his colonists, would have been his method, had Indian civilization been his object. Had Lord Selkirk only desired to check the tendency towards American emigration, with less expense and toil, he could have colonized the fertile lands of Upper Canada, then open to settlement. Why will men not take the simplest explanation when it amply meets the case? Lord Selkirk organized a colony for the good of the colonists, who were in miserable circumstances in their native country; placed his colony where it would be unaffected by contact with what he considered hurtful influences; and spent time and thought, and money—even his own life being worn out in the struggle—to advance the interests of his people. Why will men attribute sordid, impure, interested motives, when pure patriotism or noble philanthropy are simple expla-

nations, lying ready to hand? Those so hard to convince that human actions may be unselfish, are surely not the truest lovers of their kind. Baltimore and Penn stand worthy of remembrance as new-world philanthropists; and Selkirk, if we rightly read his life, may with them make up an honourable trio.

Public sentiment has recognized Lord Selkirk as worthy of honour. The name of Selkirk has been indelibly fixed in the Canadian North-West. The metropolitan county of Manitoba bears his name; the spot below the rapids of the Red River has also been named after him. Fort Daer, remembered by the Selkirk refugees in their early winterings, situated in the angle of the Red and Pembina Rivers, on the south side of the latter, bore one of their patrons titles. In the city of Winnipeg the site is still pointed out at the base of the peninsula of Point Douglas, of Fort Douglas, commemorative of the family name of the colonizer.

In estimating truly the character of a man, about whom there is conflicting evidence, his life must be taken as a whole. It is only by seizing the salient points of a character under varying circumstances, and at different times, that we truly interpret it. To this end the leading features of Lord Selkirk's life, before he had any connexion with the Hudson's Bay Company, and, indeed, of his early manhood, as well as of his family history, may, with profit, be considered.

Thomas Douglas—fifth Earl of Selkirk, Baron Daer and Shortcleugh, Fellow of the Royal Society—was born in June, 1771, and lived an eventful life of forty-

nine years. The family-seat of St. Mary's Isle, in Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, at the mouth of the Dee, on a peninsula, formerly isolated by the sea from the mainland, and looking out upon the Solway Frith, knew him but comparatively little in his adventurous career. He was an author, a patriot, a colonizer, and a philanthropist. Of a perfervid race, he was distinguished for enthusiastic devotion to his projects. The intrepidity of the Douglasses, the perseverance of the ancient family of Marr, and the venturesomeness of the house of Angus, were all his inheritance by blood descent. Nineteen generations back, and not less than 700 years before his time, Theobald, the Fleming—the Selkirk ancestor—had scorned the quieter pleasures of home, and gone to seek his fortunes among the Saxon peoples of old Northumbria, had bought himself a new home with the sword, and the lands of Douglas were granted to him because he had won them honourably. The same spirit and daring, we shall see, survived in his descendant. The men of five or six centuries ago had need of persistency and grip. The surnames given to them in those days of hauberk and steel, tell well enough the kind of work men did, for Theobald's great grandson was Sir William Douglas, the hardy, and Sir William's grandson was Archibald, the grim. Sir William had the hardihood to join the unlucky Wallace, and for so doing the English conqueror harried his lands, seized his cattle, and carried off his wife and helpless bairns. The following pages will show whether the persecuted but persevering Earl of Selkirk was not a

worthy scion of his race. Did Lord Selkirk, in his times of greatest difficulty, need the inspiration to be got from an ancestral succession of noble deeds, there was no lack of them.

It was one of that great house of Douglas, James, the second Earl of Douglas, who, following in the footsteps of his race, in keeping alive the fiery feuds of the Border, gained the name given him by Fordun, "the pluckiest of soldiers, and to the English ever the most obnoxious." Penetrating to the gates of York, he brought the fierce wrath of Hotspur upon him at Otterburne, and though signally defeating the English, he fell in the hardest of the fighting, mortally wounded, and thanking God that "few of his ancestors had died in chambers."

To this same family also belonged the good Sir James. It was his good fortune to have lived in the auspicious days of Bruce, who reckoned him the mainstay of the kingdom, and his friend. In Scott's "Lord of the Isles," said this great warrior,—

> Dead were my heart, and deaf mine ear,
> If Bruce should call nor Douglas hear.

Sir James was foremost at Bannockburn; he headed 20,000 of an army on a sally into England; with 200 horsemen he forced his way through the English camp to the royal tent at Stanhope Park, and well-nigh secured the person of King Edward. It was this Douglas also to whom King Robert, in dying, gave the solemn charge that his heart should be borne to Jerusalem, and laid within the holy sepulchre. By so brave and devoted a friend the charge could not be disregarded. The journey was undertaken in person.

Spain was reached, but in a conflict with the Moors his life was lost. It happened thus: seeing the Saracens, to whom he was opposed, flinching, and likely to break into confusion, he threw the casket before him, and into the midst of the enemy, exclaiming, "Pass thou onward as thou wert wont, Douglas will follow thee or die." The chances of war were adverse; the warrior never reached the Holy City, and the mutilated body and his master's heart in the silver casket were carried back to Scotland again.

And if these examples were not enough, there stands the figure of the Earl of Selkirk's ancestor—ten generations back—Archibald, well-known as "Bell the Cat."

> I mean that Douglas, fifth of yore,
> Who coronet of Angus bore,
> And when his blood and heart were high,
> Did the third James in camp defy,
> And all his minions led to die
> On Lauder's dreary flat.

It was he who was courageous enough to warn the infatuated James IV. against trying the odds of war on the disastrous field of Flodden. The sturdy old man, stung to the quick by the undeserved reply of the king, "Angus, if you are afraid, you may go home," left the field with tears of indignation—but left his two sons, to whom he was dearly attached, to perish in upholding the abused theory that "the king can do no wrong."

With such heroic blood in his veins the fifth Earl of Selkirk was born—being the seventh son of Dunbar, fourth Earl of Selkirk, who had resumed the name of

Douglas. Thomas Douglas early showed the ability and industry of his race. His name is found upon the class books of the various Professors of the Edinburgh University from the year 1786 to 1790, and while pursuing his academic career there, he is known as one of a band of illustrious young men earnestly engaged in literary and learned pursuits. "The Club," numbering some nineteen in all, included among its members the young Walter Scott, about the same age as Selkirk, as well as others who afterwards rose to prominence and fame. It is further interesting to note the influences surrounding the early years of the young noble in the connexion of the House of Selkirk with the poet Burns at this period. The father of Thomas Douglas was not among those who refused honour to the peasant bard. On one occasion the poet being at St. Mary's Isle, and being asked to say grace, extemporized the lines found in his works, and well-known as the

SELKIRK GRACE.

Some ha'e meat and canna eat,
An' some wad eat that want it;
But we ha'e meat, an' we can eat,
An' sae the Lord be thankit.

One of Burns' amusing poems, in which the intensely realistic mind of the poet shows itself in an interview between Lord Daer, the brother of young Douglas, and Burns, may be referred to. Dugald Stewart, the well-known Edinburgh Professor of moral philosophy, was spending his summer near Ayr, in the year 1786. Among the guests of the professor was Lord Daer. A

real lord from such an ancient house as that of Douglas filled the ploughman poet's mind with misgiving. But the genial and generous interest found in this representative, as in all of the Selkirk family, disarmed the prejudice of the poet, and drew forth encomiums even from so hard a critic.

This wot ye all whom it concerns,
I, Rhymer Robin, alias Burns,
  October twenty-third,
A ne'er to be forgotten day,
Sae far I sprachled up the brae,
  I dinner'd wi' a lord.

Yes, wi' a lord—stan' out my shin—
A lord—a peer—an earl's son—
  Up higher yet my bonnet.
And sic a lord—lang Scotch ells twa,
Our peerage he o'erlooks them a'
  As I look o'er my sonnet.

I sidling shelter'd in a nook,
An' at his lordship stealt a look
  Like some portentous omen ;
Except good sense and social glee,
An', what surprised me, modesty,
  I marked nought uncommon.

I watch'd the symptoms of the great,
The gentle pride, the lordly state,
  The arrogant assuming ;
The fient a pride, nae pride had he,
Nor sauce, nor state, that I could see,
  Mair than an honest ploughman.

Then from his lordship I shall learn,
Henceforth to meet with unconcern
  One rank as weel's another.
Nae honest, worthy man need care
To meet with noble, youthful Daer,
  For he but meets a brother.

Among those who belonged to the Club of Carruber's Place were some, afterwards so well known, as William Clerk of Eldin, Sir A. Ferguson, Lord Abercrombie, and David Douglas, afterwards Lord Reston.

For the young nobleman it means much to be associated with kindred spirits such as these—of healthy mind and generous culture. Adverse circumstances and the desire for distinction give stimulus sufficient to the poor and friendless scholar, but it needs some of the attrition of mind gained from such surroundings, to give the young man of family and position motive for energetic effort. The young *littérateurs* met together in a room in Carruber's Close, Edinburgh, off the High Street, and from this resort they often adjourned to an oyster tavern in the neighbourhood. It speaks well for the morals of these young men to find one of them—no less than Walter Scott himself—declaring about this time, "depend upon it, of all vices drinking is the most incompatible with greatness." Of the warmth and cordiality of this association we get a glimpse in the fact that when any member of the club received a promotion or appointment, it was a rule that he should give a dinner to his associates. Oh, for the sunny days of youth again! Youth fires youth to generous impulse, and it would have been strange indeed if hopes and plans and bright ideals for the regeneration of the world and society had not found place among the discussions of the club.

Scotland was at this time in a critical state. The country was emerging from a state of backwardness,

almost of barbarism, and entering on some phases of improvement and civilization. In such transitions much individual suffering ensues. The wheels of progress crush the weak, the imbecile, and the luckless. The Scottish highlands from being simply wild wastes, with here and there collections of cottars' huts, were in many places being subdued and thrown into wide stretches for the better cultivation of pastoral pursuits. These were woeful days for the peasantry. Of these events young Douglas, not yet come to his title, was an interested spectator. He saw the Highlander as the embodiment of the picturesque. The Highland chief was the most absolute of rulers. The Highland regiment in the garb of the mountaineer, with intense devotion to their mother-tongue, with enthusiastic pride in their family history, as "Evan's, Donald's fame, sounds in each clansman's ears," with their proud, lofty, and independent bearing, appeals to the young and the romantic. The romantic environment of the Celt, coupled with the misery of the change of life forced upon him, appealed irresistibly to the heart of Thomas Douglas. In an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1805, appears the following statement, "Without any local connexion with the Highlands he (Douglas) was led very early in life to take a warm interest in the fate of his countrymen in that part of the kingdom. During the course of his academical studies his curiosity was strongly excited by the representations he heard of the ancient state of society, and the striking peculiarity of manners still remaining among them; and in the year 1792 he undertook an extensive tour through

this wild region, and explored many of its remotest and most secluded valleys." The noble youth of twenty-one was filled with patriotic ardour for their relief. How beautiful a thing is the fresh outburst of youthful hope and sympathy ere the sordid bands of years and affairs swathe and close up the soul! With this tender-hearted Scottish noble the dreams of youth did not fade away as years advanced, for no sooner had he come into his title and estates than he set about preparing plans for the relief of the Highland peasantry. The death of his brother in 1797 brought him the title of Baron Daer and Shortcleugh; and on the death of his father, in 1799, he succeeded to the estates and the peerage as Earl of Selkirk—the title given four generations before, in 1646, to a branch of the house of Angus. But Napoleon was now in his high career. The excitement of the time checked any movement for the benefit of the homeless peasants.

Selkirk seized the first opportunity of pressing on a member of the British Government the crying need of interfering to help the expatriated cottars to find a resting-place in the new world. Eighty years ago governments did not regard themselves bound as now to succour the suffering, and the strongest appeals produced no results. The compassionate nobleman, with great energy, undertook to settle a colony of these Highlanders in Prince Edward Island upon waste lands given him by the Government. To ensure success he undertook the personal oversight of this enterprise. The mournful band of pilgrims, to the number of 800, following the dictates

of prudence rather than of feeling, broke up their homes, if any option still remained, and though uncertain, were greatly encouraged by his lordship's interest and care.

In August, 1803, the colonists reached their future home, and by the middle of September had become settled on their lots, four or five families building houses in a little knot together. The same month Lord Selkirk came to Montreal. The next year was one of earnest industry with the settlers: they were all encouraged to labour, for the rewards were for themselves. On being visited in that year by their generous patron, they were engaged in securing their harvest; and the land cultivated in that year averaged two acres for every working hand. The settlers had also constructed rude boats, and with these secured a harvest from the sea. The experiment instead of being a failure, as prophets of evil had predicted, had succeeded in the highest extent. Five thousand people in Queen's County, Prince Edward Island—the descendants of that band of 800 pilgrim fathers—are to-day among the most prosperous of the inhabitants of the island.

In 1805, Lord Selkirk determined to bring the matter of a more extensive emigration before the British Government and nation in a more popular form. This he did by publishing an octavo volume of over two hundred pages, in which he discussed the deplorable state of the Highlands, spoke strongly of the need of promoting emigration; and to show that his projects were feasible, gave an account of the Highland Colony taken by him to Prince Edward

Island. So well was this literary enterprise accomplished, that afterwards even one of the earl's most bitter opponents in his North-Western colonization scheme says, "I was delighted to find a Scotch peer writing with so much intelligence and felicity of style." The book drew forth most favourable notices, and the leading critic of the time, Lord Jeffrey, says, "The candour with which the first obstacles are described, the practical and profound judgment with which the various measures and arrangements appear to have been combined, and that love of benevolence, without ostentation and yet thoroughly systematic, which pervades the whole design, renders it the most pleasing and useful history that has been given to the world of the establishment of a new colony."

But the public spirit and generous sympathy of Selkirk may be further seen in the warm interest taken by him in the welfare of Britain in the perilous times through which she was passing. Men's aims, sympathies, and bent of mind may be well gauged by the part they play in times of national exigence.

Those who live for selfish objects—for mere money-getting or pleasure-seeking, or even chiefly for literary pursuits—care little what befalls the State; intelligent patriotism is an almost unfailing evidence of a large heart. The early part of the nineteenth century was a time of deepest anxiety to the British patriot; Napoleon with "Europe-shadowing wings" was at his height; 1807 brought his climax of greatness. In August of that year he had created his brother Jerome, King of Westphalia. The diadem on the brow of a humble Corsican adventurer, and placed

there by the mighty soldier of fortune simply as one of his gifts, struck terror to the heart of every European sovereign. England quaked, and courageous hearts dwelt on plans of defence—on saving the State. Captain Birch of the Royal Engineers, wrote an octavo volume, and Lord Selkirk another, and the matter is so much a matter of moment that the *Edinburgh Review* discusses the books and deals with the subject bulking so largely before the public mind. To Lord Selkirk as a coastman looking out into Solway and the Dee, from his seat near Kirkcudbright, the question was one of every day. So insignificant a freebooter as Paul Jones had, in the days of Selkirk's early childhood, dashed in upon that coast and ravaged the family seat. Peasant ballads may still be heard commemorating that event.

Ye've all heard of Paul Jones,
  Have ye not? Have ye no?
Ye've all heard of Paul Jones,
    Have ye no?
Ye've all heard of Paul Jones;
  He was a rogue and a vagabond,
  He was a rogue and a vagabond,
    Was he no?

He enter'd Lord Selkirk's hall,
  Did he not? Did he no?
He enter'd Lord Selkirk's hall,
    Did he no?
He enter'd Lord Selkirk's hall,
  Stole the gold and the jewels all,
  Stole the gold and the jewels all,
    Did he no?

The plans suggested by Lord Selkirk were comprehensive and well considered. He would have a

system of militia introduced, whereby training would be given for three months to begin with to every able-bodied young man between eighteen and nineteen years of age, and then three weeks in each succeeding year to be spent in camp till the soldier be twenty-five. The critics of the time were able, of course, to point out weaknesses, but the success that has attended this system, as worked out by the Prussians in their overwhelming victories in the Austrian-Prussian war of 1866, and the Franco-Prussian war since, is a favourable commentary on the plan proposed by Lord Selkirk in 1808. It was immediately after the publication of this work that the distinguished honour of Fellow of the Royal Society was conferred upon the author.

But the ever-active mind of the earl would rise to higher things—and these nothing less than founding an empire in the heart of North America. After planting his Highland countrymen in Prince Edward Island by the sea, in 1803, he had, in visiting Montreal, heard of the fertile lands of Upper Canada, and started a small colony in the county of Kent, at a place called Baldoon; but this was simply doing what individual settlers could accomplish for themselves. He would start unhampered by old conditions and pre-existing enactments, he would found a colony on the virgin soil to work out a destiny of its own. While sojourning in Montreal in the year 1803, there was much that appealed to his love of the picturesque and the daring, and confirmed the views he already had as to the North-Western country. He met the North-Western fur-traders, he saw their baronial

hauteur and their lordly gatherings, but he heard moreover of the adventures of the voyageurs. That after passing many hundred miles by fell and flood, running rocky cascades, and portaging around rapids too fierce to be faced, they arrived at a land—the Manitoba of to-day—where the green grass waved over hundreds of miles, where the rivers were thronged with fish, where the buffalo careered, and where bountiful Ceres gave forth her treasures simply for the asking. He contrasted this with rocky glades, and sterile lands, and contracted holdings, and the imagination of the enthusiast was fired, and the heart of the colonizer satisfied. A great obstacle met him on the threshold. One of the great monopolies of modern times—the Hudson's Bay Company—held the country. For well-nigh 140 years this company had carried on its work with exclusive powers, got originally from easy-going Charles II., who had given away what neither he nor any of his ministers—keen and shrewd as they were—knew aught about. So huge an obstacle would have convinced most men that further progress towards the ideal was impossible. The organizer of the Prince Edward Island Colony of Highlanders, with his increased experience, with ample means, and urged on by the continued cry of misery of his unfortunate countrymen in the Highlands, was equal to the emergency.

He undertook a scheme of magnificent proportions—a scheme which while showing him to be a high-minded and honourable man, also presented him as a philanthropist of enthusiastic purpose and brilliant conception. This was to purchase and settle with

colonists a region half as large again as all England and Wales in the very centre of the North American continent. The features of this great undertaking are of the greatest interest. Not that the colonizer fully accomplished the great plan he so well conceived; for difficulties unforeseen and unexpected beset his path-way, but that he greatly dared and nobly suffered will be fully shown as we give the details of the enterprise, crowded into the short space of nine years allowed him by Providence for his work.

CHAPTER II.

THE COURIERS OF THE WEST.

REFERENCE has been made already to Selkirk's visit to Montreal, and the account he then heard of the great interior of North America, several years before the first detachment of his tearful colonists left the fishing-town of Helmsdale in their great journey to their homes by way of Hudson's Bay. At that time with characteristic shrewdness, and with the strong imagination peculiar to the men who have founded states and empires, realizing in thought what it has taken many years—perhaps centuries—to accomplish, Lord Selkirk saw the greatness of future empire in the prairies of Rupert's Land. He heard the story told of how the Montreal traders reached the interior. He heard the hardy voyageur tell of leaving Montreal, of his threading the Ottawa, and by portage and lake, and river, passing through Nipissing, the French river, and entering Lake Huron, the "sweet sea" of the early discoveries. He heard the daring trader and hardy voyageur tell of adventures among the savages. He met the gathered fur merchants in their wild wassail in the hospitable halls of some leading partner in Montreal, and was allowed to listen to the voyageur

as he related to his children, Jacques and Emile, and "la petite Marie," in the village of Lachine, or Ste. Anne's, and to his "bonne femme Henriette," the wild scenes of the West, till they shouted with glee at his escapes, and panted and sighed as he portrayed his dangers and hardships. It may be worth our while to know more of this great route, along which gather the stories of two centuries.

The remote west was first Michilimackinac, and Baie Verte, and Sault Ste. Marie; and many is the old man's tale carried from that well-known region. But the spirit of adventure could not rest content with unknown regions yet beyond. Sometimes armed with vice-regal authority from the Chateau St. Louis, at Quebec, and sometimes in quest of unauthorized gain, the explorer and his band pushed on through the great Lake Superior, penetrated the lands on its farther shores, made rude maps to record their wanderings, and claimed the country as a part of "La Nouvelle France." Past where Fort Wiliam was afterwards built on the Kaministiquia—through Lac Lapluie (Rainy Lake) and river—over Lac du Bois, (Lake of the Woods)—and down the river Ouinipique (Winnipeg) into the lake of the same name—they reached the borders of the fertile prairie solitudes, which eighty years afterwards were to be the destination of the colonists with whom we started by the way of Hudson's Bay. The buffalo now took the place of the jumping deer of the woods; and the "grizzly" to the far west, as the rocky mountains were being reached, was met instead of his less dangerous cousin the black bear. The rivers had now the

sturgeon and the gold-eye—the trout had stayed behind in his sparkling brooks. It was a new world that Verandrye and his sons fell upon, as armed with full authority from Quebec, they first of white men from Canada penetrated this region, and even leaving Lake Winnipeg, ascended the Red River—thence up the Assiniboine, still up the Souris, and reaching what is since known as the "Great Divide," saw the country of the Missouri. And it was a still vaster region they beheld when west of Lake Winnipeg, they ascended the mighty Saskatchewan even to the foot of those towering rulers of the far west, the Rocky Mountains, which for the time proved themselves too strong for even such kings of adventure as the Verandryes to cross. A new west was now known, and henceforth Michilimackinac is but on the verge of the land of romance to the early trader.

Such were our thoughts as we sat on the verandah of Pierre, the story-teller, in the village of Ste. Anne, on the Ottawa, one beautiful evening in the month of July. We had that evening come up the twenty-two miles from Montreal by the Grand Trunk Railway. It was the historic character of the little village that had brought us—my friend whom, on account of his fondness for research, I was accustomed to call the historiographer and myself—from Montreal to spend a night in the old "last spot" of the voyageurs as they passed on their long trip to the north-west. We had taken our evening meal at the neighbouring hotel, and then sauntered down to our friend Pierre's, of story-telling fame. Pierre was now well advanced in years, but in his early life he had often threaded the mazes

of the fur-trader's route. Several of his grandchildren, if not his great-grandchildren, we observed, gathered around us or occupying the open windows that looked out upon the verandah, and were plainly fond of the tales "le bon vieillard" delighted to spin. The historiographer, having lit his pipe, which he said added greatly to his powers of contemplation and enjoyment, was sitting in an arm-chair, similar to that in which "le grand-père" was seated, and settled down into a state of evident satisfaction as the old man began his story.

OLD PIERRE'S STORY.

"AH! messieurs, those were good days in the far back time when my brothers Jean and François and myself were leading the canoes up the Uttawa"—and he gave the accent on the second syllable—"up the Uttawa for the great Captain Macdonell. As our jolly voyageurs struck the water with their paddles, the boats would spring faster than the jumping deer that went flying away from us on the shore as we turned a point on the pretty river. The sturgeon and the pike heard our paddles, and they fled away. Poor Jean and François! They are dead now twenty-five years, and Père Menager buried them over there in the graveyard, for there is the voyageur's sleeping-place. They both asked to be laid in the shadow of the church spire of the sweet Ste. Anne. But when they were alive and dressed with their *bonnet rouge* and the blue capote on a Sunday morning, while they were

here, and with a handsome silk scarf around their middle, they were the dashing lads! Jean was older than François—but François could run, and leap, and lift, and strike a mark with the arrow, and fire a musket, and guide a canoe as well as any voyageur from Lachine to Baie des Puants. Ah! yes, to face the Indians, to know the forests, to live on little food, to build our cabins, to cut down trees, and find his way a hundred leagues in the woods without a guide, with no provision other than what his gun supplied—no one could outstrip my François.

"I remember well when François and myself led a brigade of boats from Montreal—our thirteen boats—and a hundred good voyageurs in them all the way to the Sault Ste. Marie. We had many dangers on that journey, for the English and French traders were molesting each other. We slept with only one eye, when we camped at night. It was as if we were under the gun continually. We had got our canoes all ready—and those were the good canoes—not made of paper, as you see them now. The good birch bark is all gone now—as tough as leather, it would yield when we struck a rock, and be as good as ever afterwards. We had a heavy load, powder and shot to trade for peltries, and blankets for the warriors, and red cloth and shawls and beads and needles and thread for the squaws; and boxes of tea and bundles of tobacco;—and in each canoe a box of tomahawks for the young braves; but our good canoes would each carry as much as eighty hundredweight. At Montreal"—and he gave it the common patois, Mōreal—"we loaded up. It was the hardest work of the year, for we couldn't sing

our songs, nor have our jokes, nor tell our tales of the west, but the keeper of the stores with book and pencil kept strict account of all our bales, and how many each boat carried. And at the end, before we started, every man got, what the good père said he would have been better without, a bottle of rum, and for the night the young men spent their time cheery enough, and they danced and sang with the demoiselles of the village near the river, and told their stories of the voyage. It was their last look of the village for a long time and of their sorrowful sweethearts. But next morning by sunrise all were alive, and the boats were dressed out gaily, though our hearts were sad enough. But as the paddles struck the water, the sound brought back the scenes of the west, and we joined together in a song to cheer us. From Montreal we came up the little river St. Pierre, that you may have seen running from the marsh on the island for four miles or more, and then by a channel dug out wide enough to carry a single canoe to the upper end of the island, a little above where the great Lachine canal now receives the largest vessels, which fear to run the rapids under the guidance of the old Caughnawaga pilot. Ah! the voyageur is still the only man to run the rapids!"

Old Pierre was evidently about to launch out into a eulogy of the voyageurs again, when my friend the historiographer, who had never heard of the canal used in the early times, interrupted him, saying, "But, you are romancing, Pierre, about the old canal for your canoes."

"Non, monsieur! For miles we took our canoes up the small canal, the eight or nine men of each canoe

with ropes dragged their boats up the channel and reached the upper end of the island. It was slow work, and weary work, too: but by-and-by we reached the mouth of the Ottawa, and soon left the rapids far behind us, as we struck our oars, and sang some *chanson de voyage*. As we came up the stream yonder, we moored our boats at the old warehouse on the street. Here in our little village we are under the care of Ste. Anne, the guardian of the voyageurs."

Just at the time the old story-teller reached this point our attention was attracted by the singing from the boats upon the open river before Ste. Anne. The white cottages on the other side of the river looked like blocks of marble in the moonlight, and twenty or thirty boat-loads of children, young men and women, and a number of the tourists frequenting the hotel as summer quarters, gave an appearance of life and beauty to the glassy stream. Their songs resounded far and near. Here the heroic; there the romantic; now full of the laugh of joyous children, now sighing with the notes of unrequited love, anon the hymn of calm delight as the praises of Ste. Anne were sung. It was as the strains of one of these songs reached us that the old man spoke of the patroness of the parish, and of the voyageur's village of Ste. Anne, and he went on :—

"Ste. Anne has long been the saint of the quiet people hereabouts. They relate that more than a hundred years ago, a priest, who had gone with the voyageurs, lay upon the spot where yonder church stands, drawing near death. At the portage, above the village, he had been assisting the voyageurs with

their boats through the little canal made to avoid the rapids, like that near Lachine. A portion of the land on the water's edge had given way, and the good father having lost his foothold, had fallen under the earth and stones, and was raised up with his leg badly broken. Able to get but poor attendance, he had laid himself down to die on the spot where stands the old church. The thought entered his mind to pray to Ste. Anne. To his surprise Ste. Anne appeared, whereupon he promised that should he recover he would erect a church to the saint. Of course," said the old voyageur, with a knowing nod of the head, "good Brebex recovered, and built the old church of Ste. Anne many, many years ago. Our voyageurs always had a parting service in that old church, and gave handsome gifts to their guardian on the rivers and and lakes of the Far West. Once I heard my father tell of a brigade of boats running against the rocks, driven by the swift current, and it seemed as if all must be dashed to pieces, and the bodies of all aboard be crushed and broken, but by supplication to our saint the dangers were averted, and their lives were saved. Not always, however, did we all escape. Near one of the rapids in the Ottawa there were to be seen not less than twenty crosses, showing that as many voyageurs had perished in the devouring flood. Away, then, away from Ste. Anne's."

At this juncture the historiographer, who had allowed his pipe to go out, in his attention to the voyageur story-teller, now fully aroused with his story, could not help interjecting that "it gives new life to Tom Moore's expression, 'We'll sing at Ste. Anne's

our parting hymn,' in his 'Canadian Boat Song,' to listen to the singing on the water, to hear the manner of the voyaging, and to rest upon the very spot. That old church, I am told, was built in the year 1773.

"I saw, a few days ago," continued our historical friend, "an old man who had seen Moore on his voyage as he came down the Ottawa from Bytown, as the city of Ottawa was then called. The poet came in the open boats with the voyageurs, and the weather was very hot, so that as an inexperienced traveller the Irish bard was not in the most poetical of moods, with a roasted face and fevered body. He stayed a short time with an old nor'-wester officer at the Carillon Rapids, and was soothed to a happier mood by the peaceful air of Ste. Anne's. Yonder," said our learned friend, pointing to a two-storey house of large size, and supporting a pavilion roof, all bearing marks of some age, "is the house, so one of my tourist friends told me, lived in at the time by one Fraser, with whom the poet sojourned while at Ste. Anne's."

But Pierre, whose poetry was that of action only, seemed to care little for the foreigner who had written the song, even so nearly recognized as national as the "Canadian Boat Song," and rather resented the interruption of my friend.

"Bon voyage," resumed the story-teller, "and the boats glide up the stream, while the oarsmen, as their paddles strike the water, keep time to the lively strains of 'La Claire Fontaine.' And soon we are on the Lake of Two Mountains with its Indian villages. The Indians give their friendly cheer as we

pass, for they are good friends of the voyageurs. The young men are strong, and the canoes fly through the water.

"Ah! you think your steamers are swift, and you laugh at the speed of the voyageurs, but I have seen the day when with my crew of ten men we could give the steamboat a good push."

The historiographer gave a knowing look as he heard the characteristic boasting of the veteran boatman.

"But by-and-by," continued Pierre, "we reached the Carillon Rapids, and we drew up the boats within the friendly enclosure and left them there for the night. It was at this place that the great Captain Macdonell lived, and the voyageurs here unloaded their bales and drew up their boats, and made ready for the heavy work of the portage. It was a busy scene, the boatman's encampment, when the loads were all drawn up and covered with the tarpaulin. These goods must be well secured, for through many a weary mile, through rain and dew and sunshine, had we to carry them to the Indian country. Then we lit the fires, and got our tea and dried provisions. Sometimes we cooked the fish we had caught, as we had drawn along behind our canoes the line and the trawling-spoon. Ah! we poor voyageurs were very like the silly fish that saw our spoon glancing and glittering in the water, but didn't see the cruel hooks that were behind it. We loved the voyageur life and followed it for years, and spent our money freely, and bought our handsome scarfs and coats and moccasins, and had our jolly gatherings; but cruel fate caught us

at last, and many of us died with nothing more to leave than the good memory that we were honest and agile voyageurs."

The old man's eyes were filled with tears, and indeed he had well-nigh lost the thread of his story, when I recalled him to the subject by inquiring whether the great Captain Macdonell had lived in the house still pointed out to tourists at the foot of the rapids at Point Fortune. The mention of Macdonell had the desired effect.

"Yes, monsieur, he was one of the partners; but no man could run the canoe, or portage a load, or heave a stone with the captain. At first he had lived in a house just behind the stone one on the water's edge. There he lived with the Indian wife he had brought from the Cristinaux country, and she was a good woman too. She was kind to the poor voyageur. Many a time she gave medicine to the sick boatman, and tended with her own hand some of the men who had come by accidents on the long journey. She was always fond of laugh and joke; and though the captain knew about books and many things we poor men did not know, yet he was kind to Otchagissa, his wife, for she had been married to him by old Père Menager in lawful wedlock, she was the mother of his children, and he loved her for her goodness. But he was a mighty man when I knew him first, our commander. He was tall—more than a handbreadth above six feet he stood in his moccasins—and he walked as straight as a rush till he was an old man. He was an old nor'-wester, and many a rough encounter had he met in his youth. He was a

noted hunter of the moose, and it needs a man quick on foot, keen in scent, sharp of ear, and tough and strong to stand the strain of hunting that antlered king of the woods. He hunted after the Indian fashion : he would call the mate by imitating the cry of the male deer ; and as for hunting the red deer, ah ! it was nothing to him. But it was on the voyage that his great strength was shown ; he could draw a boat at the 'décharge'—that is where we only portage the load and drag the canoe up the rapids—all alone up the swiftest rapid. He would carry his two large bundles over a portage of 1000 yards and never stop to rest. Sometimes, too, we used to spend the time when we were waiting for supplies at the Kaministiquia in games and sports. The Indians were the best runners ; but when it came to wrestling, the captain used to come and try it with the best of us. It was a good thing that *le capitaine*, our commander, a Scotchman and a gentleman, would come to strive with us men of the river, but he would do it, and could beat the best of us. He was the leader among the partners, too, when they met in Montreal or at Lachine. I was with him then, and Jean and François, for he had a great liking for us. We had seen him through many hardships, and he often promised to make us happy in our old days, and, ah ! well, he did give me this house and little piece of ground for myself and my children when my voyaging days were done. But, *allons !* It was a great day after the partners had met together for the year, and after their hard work and great speaking about the trade of the year was over. They had a

time of feasting, and the wine was poured out very freely. The captain was always the first among the partners. Ah! but it was a rare sight to see their sport. When they had been feasting long into the morning, they would sit down upon the carpet, and one would take the tongs, and another the shovel, and another the poker, and so on; and they would sit in regular order, as in a boat, and rowing, they would sing a song of the voyage, and loud and long till the early streaks of the east were seen would the rout continue. All the men and servants and attendants were allowed in to see this great *fête* of the year; and, perhaps, the partners sometimes stayed too long in their merriment. But when the captain returned to his home at Carillon it was all work and the voyage that filled his mind.

"His neighbours there used to tell a strange story of our good friend. When he disliked the men who met him in trade he was cross and surly to them. One day three traders had met and tried to take advantage of him—two of them English, and the other an Irishman. He had met them some miles below the Carillon, and had given them rough treatment. He had started to go home, and as it was getting dark the three traders thought to overtake him and give him a beating. They got a pony and cart after his departure, and hastened after their man. He was between fifty and sixty years old then. They overtook him where the road ran along the side of a hill. They had come close to him before he saw them. They made a sudden dash upon him. The strongest of the three he seized and hurled to the ground.

One of the others he struck down by a stunning blow, while the third took to his heels. Then the angry old man took the horse and cart, and lifting them both, threw them over the fence down the side of the hill, and never stopped to see what should become of them. Ah! he was a Hercules! But one day a stronger foe than these met him, and in the struggle *le capitaine* was beaten, for who can fight and gain the day with death? It was death that met him on a December day, when his hairs had all become grey, and the icy grasp was too strong for him. He sleeps now in the churchyard, at the bottom of the hill in the village of St. Andrew's; his wife and children lie beside him in that quiet spot, and the people say yet, as they speak of the great captain, ah! he was an honest man; he hated what was mean and low; and he gave every man his due! I would like to see his grave," said the old story-teller, "before I die, but perhaps his enemy may seize me too, before I can make the voyage, for Jean and François are both gone now, and the way to the Carillon would be long without them.

"Now farewell to Carillon, and by portage and décharge we go. We pass the roaring Chaudiere—the Calumet—Portage du Fort—through Lake Nipissinly, camping and carrying and pushing on. Sometimes we had long nights of story-telling. François and myself had many stories of the early French travellers that we had heard of around the village fires; of brave Champlain, who had gone by the same route and foolishly got drawn into the Indian wars—of La Salle, whose accounts were always

the best—and of Hennepin, whose stories were the biggest—and of the good fathers Brebœuf and Marquette. But always as we told the stories, camped on a point on the lake or river, and on the edge of the dense, gloomy forest, it made the hearts of the voyageurs quake with fear. There was the story of the 'Wendigo,' that we had been told by the Indians. Our men would not push on after the sun was set for fear of him. Some said he was a spirit condemned to wander around continually, on account of dreadful crimes he had committed; others said the Wendigo was no spirit at all, but an Indian who had got the taste for human flesh, and who continually prowled about the camping-places of the traders, seeking to catch some unlucky wight alone or to seize some one asleep. There were not wanting those who had heard of some of their companions disappearing for a time into the woods, and who had never been heard of again. There is no doubt the Wendigo made the camping-spot a much less pleasant place than it otherwise would have been. I think the partners too, must have talked much of him so that we would not waste much time in fishing or hunting at the rapids and currents, and told the dreadful story to make us push on more rapidly. Long ago one of them said about the enemy of the voyageur on the river,—

> Il vit sur le rivage et dedans la rivière,
> Il écrase les gens d'une dent meurtrière,
> Il se nourrit des corps des pauvres voyageurs,
> Des malheureux passants, et des navigateurs."

Our friend the historiographer came to the rescue,

and said that though from his translation it would be very evident that poetry was not his forte, he would willingly give us the meaning of the old story-teller's verse.

The historiographer's crude translation being finished, which we deem it best in his interests not to reproduce, Pierre resumed his story :—

"Many of the partners of the company were Ecossais, but it was the French Canadians who did the work of the voyageur, and some of my countrymen rose to be partners too. The French trader was before the Scotchman. I have heard my grandfather tell of the gentlemen from France who led the way up the rivers to Michilimackinac and the Sault de Ste. Marie.

"My grandfather was a voyageur, and lived to be of great age, and told me the stories of the wild Indians of those days, and our brave French Canadians who were a match for them. There was a great man of whom he used to speak much, Monsieur de Langlade. M. Langlade's father was Augustin de Langlade, the son of a nobleman, and his mother was Madame Villeneuve, the widow of M. Villeneuve, a merchant of the west. The young Charles de Langlade was born in the far western wilds at Michilimackinac; and grew up to know the ways of the Indians and to be a great captain and fur-trader. The savages loved him as being born in their country, but when he became a great trader they feared to offend him. My grandfather told me that about the time when the English and French were fighting bitterly in Acadie, Charles de Langlade and his father left the old fort at Michilimackinac, and went to trade with

the savages at Baie Verte (Green Bay), which was at that time called Baie des Puants (Bay of ill smells)."

At the mention of this savoury name the historiographer exhibited much interest. "That is the name —Puant," said he, "given by the French to the peculiar little animal of exceedingly bad odour, Mephitis Americana—the Skunk." The historiographer having given his explanation, one would have thought the poor old Frenchman would have been overcome by the learning of our pedantic friend, had his features not indicated some amusement, arising no doubt from the set of the historiographer's nose while speaking of the Puant. "The same name," continued our learned friend, "is in its Indian form found in that of the great metropolis of the West—Chicago; but it is a popular error to suppose that the Indian tribe known as Les Puants, who gave their name to the bay, are so called from any bad odour about them, for the Jesuit Relations state that these Indians, probably the Potawotomies, call themselves so because they state their ancestors came from the shores of a sea far away to the south whose water is salt and of bad odour, and they are thus called the people De l'eau Puante."

The subject was one having nothing specially attractive about it, and so the story-teller after waiting deferentially, something after the manner of Boswell, to hear the wise sayings of his learned friend, resumed,—

"Charles de Langlade, who was only sixteen or seventeen years of age at the time of the family removal to their new home at Green Bay, had a great name for

one so young. My grandfather told me that when Langlade was a child about seven years of age, there was a war raging between the Ottawas, many of whom lived at Michilimackinac, and another tribe allied to the English. Twice the young men of the Ottawas had gone forth to attack a village of the enemy, and each time had they been driven back. The French officer at the fort urged them to make the attack again. The Ottawas were not willing. At last their chief said that he had had a dream; that in the dream he saw a fight; that the young Langdale was there; and that in his dream the Ottawas seemed to win the day. The dream gave the young men courage on its being told them. They must be accompanied by the child Langlade, and they would go upon the war-path once more. The father Langlade, at first unwilling, at last agreed, but only on a pledge given by the boy that he would never disgrace his father by being a coward. The Ottawas were now ready to go forth; they advanced with the terrible war-cries of the savages; inspired by the recollection of the dream and the presence of the boy, they gained the day, and brought home many scalps of their enemies. The young Langlade was now held in great honour; they said he was no doubt preserved by a mighty Manitou. No wonder, when the youth went with his father to Baie Verte the savages there looked with surprise upon the boy. Most of the Indian bands about their new home received the Langlades with honour, but one tribe headed by chief Tepakeneni several times threatened the stores of Langlade, unless the trader would give them

abundance of presents. Young Langlade was not slow to answer the uncivil savages in their threats. 'My friends, if you have come to fight us, let us measure weapons on the prairie on the other side of the river, where we will gladly give you that amusement.' The savages, well acquainted with the bravery of the youth, were very careful not to take up the gauntlet. Ah! messieurs, my grandfather would get warm as he told us of the attacks, and war-deeds and bloodshed of those wild times.

"He used to tell a terrible tale about a man of French origin, who came to Baie Verte to work at his trade, that of a blacksmith. An Indian had one day given the blacksmith Amiot an axe to mend. He came a few days afterwards, offering as pay for the mending of the axe a pelt, as was the custom. The blacksmith, forgetting all about the Indian having left the axe, denied there was such a thing of his there. The savage replied warmly, and claimed his hatchet, with loud exclamations. Out of patience at last, Amiot seized the Indian by the neck, and burnt him terribly with the red-hot tongs. The Indian, mad with rage, dealt in return such a blow with his axe, that the blacksmith was struck senseless to the earth. The savage came to Langlade, told him what he had done, and that he had done it in self-defence. Langlade went to the aid of the wounded man, who had recovered his senses, but was found to have received a frightful gash in the head. Like a good Samaritan, he had him taken to a neighbouring house, where an Indian girl waited on him. But the worst is still to tell. One day, when Amiot had got

past danger, a brother of the cruel chief Tepakeneni asked permission to see the blacksmith. No sooner had he entered the house, than he fell upon the half-recovered man, and dealt him a fatal blow with his knife. The Indian girl asked the murderer why he had so acted, when he replied with a jest, that he had taken pity on the sick man, and wished to put him out of pain.

"These were the times and the people among whom Charles de Langlade passed his life in the far West. He was a great warrior, too. My grandfather, who had seen war also, used to tell of that brave man's many mighty deeds in battle with the English and their friends, the Iroquois, sometimes as far south as Fort du Quesne (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania), and even under the walls of Quebec, with the great soldier Montcalm. But I never saw the line-of-battle, and I can't tell all my grandfather told of the deeds of our heroes. Langlade, I remember hearing, came down by the voyageur's route at the time when our people were at war with the English colonies, south of us, and brought a great body of warriors—Sioux, Sacs, Foxes, Menomonees, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, and Saulteaux—all the way to Montreal, where they had the grand war-dance.

"Ah! but the days are different now: the steamers have driven away the beaver, and the savages are only one for ten to what they were, and the coureurs des bois, the name they gave to us voyageurs, have ceased to make the woods around our lakes and rivers re-sound with their boat-songs."

The old man was now becoming well tired out with

telling his story; and so we thanked him, gave some small presents to the children, and having shaken hands with old Pierre with the feeling that we should never see his face again, walked back to our hotel for the night. On our way thither the historiographer, whose imagination had been fired with the story of the voyageur, remarked that many a strange scene had been witnessed on our inland waters during the past 200 years, and that it is a great mistake to speak of our country as one so young and having no history, when Sault Ste. Marie had been founded by the good father Marquette in 1668.

"By the way," said he, "did you ever examine Baron La Hontan's account of his journeys in the west, just about two centuries ago?" I had to state that I had seen the volumes, but was not very familiar with them. "Well," said he, "the baron, who was a Frenchman, but who had left his own country to enter the service of Denmark, journeyed over the far West, and gives in these volumes, which were very popular in his day, in Europe, as a book of travels, an account of what he saw, and of what also the Jesuit Father Charlevoix says neither he nor any one else ever saw. I leave all matters of dispute between the great Jesuit historian and the adventurous baron," continued the historiographer, "and advise you to read La Hontan's quaint description of the habits of the beaver, the great prize of the fur-traders, and the promoting cause of all these voyages of which we have been hearing from old Pierre."

After consideration we have determined to add a short account of the life of the beaver, as supplied

by our historical friend from the book of the abused, and, we are somewhat afraid, justly abused baron.

"THE BEAVER OF 1690.

"I have spoken of hunting the elk and some other Canadian animals in previous letters, which makes me now naturally pause to give you a description of hunting beavers, which I stated also in a former letter are amphibious animals. On that occasion, also, I sent you a figure of this remarkable animal. However, as the skill and the admirable instinct of these creatures are something surprising, it is well to show you in what these consist, by sending you a sketch of their dwellings, which they can make more artistically than man can.

"Beavers give a subject for thought to the savages of Canada, on account of their superior nature. They say they have too much mind, capacity, and judgment, to allow it to be thought that their souls die with their bodies. They add, that if it were allowed them to reason on invisible things, which are not evident to the senses, they would venture to affirm that the castors are immortal, like ourselves. Without pausing to consider this chimerical opinion, it must be admitted that there are a great many men upon the earth, not to mention some Tartars, peasants of Muscovy, Norwegians, and a hundred other peoples, who have not the hundredth part of the understanding of these animals. The beaver displays so much art in his work that one cannot, without doing violence to his judgment, attribute it to instinct alone, for we

are allowed to doubt certain things which cannot be accounted for, provided they have no connexion with religion. Some of these things one would prefer having seen before believing them, so far are they removed from common sense and reason. However that may be, I run the risk of writing to you several particulars relating to this subject, which may, perhaps, make you doubt the truth of my narrative.

"I will begin by assuring you that these animals form together a society of 100, that they seem to speak to each other, and reason with each other, in low, plaintive tones. The savages say that they have an intelligible jargon, by means of which they communicate to each other their feelings and their thoughts. I have never been a witness of this beaver assemblage but a number of savages and coureurs du bois—people worthy of credit—have assured me that nothing could be more true. They have added that the beavers consult each other as to the best means of keeping up their huts, their dams, and their ponds, and on everything relating to the preservation of their republic. The good people would assure me that these creatures establish sentinels, whilst they cut down large trees for barricades with their teeth, in the neighbourhood of their little ponds or lakes, and that when these sentinels call out at the approach of men or beasts, all the workers throw themselves into the water, and escape by diving down until they reach their huts. I put forward this fact on the authority of a thousand persons, who have no interest in wishing to impose on any one by fables; but here is something I observed myself on this matter, in the hunting-grounds of the

Outagamis, of whom I spoke in a previous letter. The beavers, finding themselves in a flat or prairie, with a rivulet running through it, resolved to make dykes and causeways, which, stopping the water, caused an inundation over all the flat, which was not less than two leagues' width. A dyke is made of trees, which the beavers cut with their large, thick, incisive teeth, and the fallen trees are then dragged to their places by the animals swimming in the water. The pieces of wood, having been ranged across the bottom of the flat, the beavers load themselves with herbs and grass, which they carry on their large tails, and throw among the wood with so much art and industry, that the most skilful masons would have difficulty in making walls with lime and cement, that would be as strong. During the night these wise builders may be heard working with so much diligence and to so good a purpose, that it might be thought it was men at work, did one not know to the contrary. The beaver's tail serves for a trowel, his teeth for a hatchet, the paws for hands, and the feet for oars; indeed, the band of them make dykes of 400 or 500 feet in length, by twenty feet in height, and seven or eight in thickness, in five or six months, though there might be no more than 100 labourers engaged, all told. It should be observed in passing, that the savages never break these dykes. This is from conscientious scruples. The most they ever do is to make a hole in the dyke, as I shall afterwards explain.

"Besides the talent for cutting trees, that of making them fall upon the water appeared to me quite surprising, for the workers have the judgment and atten-

tion to choose a suitable time, and particularly when a favourable wind is blowing, to make the trees fall easily, and in the ponds where they are wanted. But the work of erecting their huts is a finer thing still on the part of these animals; indeed, surpassing imagination. In doing this, they must have strength and skill enough to make the holes at the bottom of the water to plant six piles, which they are careful to place exactly in the middle of the pond. It is on these piles that they make their little house, built in the form of an oven, made of grass, herbs, and branches of trees, of three stories, so that they may mount from one to the other, when the water rises from rain or from the thawing of the snow and ice. The floors are of reeds, and each castor has a room to himself. They enter their hut under water, where there is a large hole at the first-floor, surrounded with poplar wood, cut in pieces, to be drawn in more easily when they wish to eat; for as this is their ordinary food, they take the precaution to make always a great collection of it, particularly during winter, foreseeing that the frosts must close up the ponds, and confine them for two or three months in their cabins.

"I should never finish, were I to set myself to give a description of the different works of these ingenious animals, the order established in their little republics, and the precautions they take to shelter themselves from the attacks of other animals. The thing I notice most about these animals is, that all the other creatures that are upon the earth have some others to fear, however strong, active, or vigorous they may

be; but those of which I speak have only man to dread, for the wolves, foxes, and other animals, do not care to venture to attack them in their cabins, even though they may have the faculty of swimming in the water. It is certain that those making the attack would not find what they counted on, for the beavers would very easily rid themselves of them with their sharp, incisive teeth. It is only on land, then, that they can be threatened, and that is why they never go as great a distance as twenty steps from the edge of their pond; and when they do make so short an excursion, they have sentinels on the watch, as I have said, who call out to warn the workers when there is the least noise. There remains to me only to explain the nature of the country where the beaver is found."

But at this point we find the historiographer has ceased his translation, and his beaver lore is finished.

CHAPTER III.

CANADIAN FUR-TRADERS AND EXPLORERS.

SELKIRK'S Utopia, we have seen, could be reached by the famous canoe route of the voyageurs, along which so much of legend and story had gathered during the two centuries of its use. Ottawa, Nipissing, Huron, Kaministiquia, Assiniboine, Winnipeg, and Poskoiac, were sonorous Indian names, marking this route as well known in Montreal, when Selkirk visited it, as Quebec or Toronto are known in Britain to-day. It is not only important for us to know the manner of the voyageur's life, which has been depicted in the previous chapter, but also to be acquainted with some of the men whose names have become historic in connexion with this famous canoe route.

A line of inland communication, 5000 or 6000 miles in length, and extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the Atlantic, to the mouth of the Mackenzie on the Arctic Sea, or the mouth of the Fraser on the Pacific, may well excite our wonder. It was a slow process, the opening up of this "watery way," lying like a great serpent across British North America; and it was fully two centuries and a half

from the time the early French discoverers entered the St. Lawrence till Canadian expeditions shot out into the Icy Sea, or the great Pacific. We sketch shortly the discoveries of three of the kings of adventure, who penetrated the continent by this way—*Champlain, Verandrye, Mackenzie.*

The first story carries us back well-nigh 300 years, to Samuel de Champlain, a native of Brouage, on the Bay of Biscay, sent out with an expedition by Henry IV. Champlain's adventurous life was the foundation of much of the interest taken by France in her New World possessions, but it also left a heritage of Indian wars, which at times threatened the existence of the whole colony. It may be interesting to the reader to hear the great adventurer himself narrate his exploits, and, accordingly, we give, simply changed for convenience from his Saintonge French,

CHAMPLAIN'S OWN STORY, 1613.

"The 13th of May, 1613, we set out from Quebec, in order to go to Sault St. Louis (Lachine Rapids), where we arrived on the 21st, and found one of our boats, which had left Tadoussac later than we did, and which had bartered some goods with a small company of Algoumequins, just come from fighting the Iroquois, and having with them two prisoners. The boatmen informed these natives that I had come with a number of men to assist them in their wars; and, furthermore, that I wished to go to their country and make an alliance with all their friends, at which

they were greatly rejoiced. Inasmuch as they wished to return to their part of the country, to assure their friends of their victory, see their wives, and put their prisoners to death in a solemn war-feast, they left their bucklers, made of wood and deer-skin, and part of their bows and arrows, as a pledge of their return, which they promised should be before the middle of the first moon. It was a great disappointment to me not to find it convenient to go with them to their country.

"Three days after, three canoes of Algoumequins arrived, and after much conference I succeeded in obtaining from them two canoes, and only one Indian, although many presents had been given them. Now, having only two canoes, I could not take with me more than four men, among whom was one named Nicolas de Vignau, a most impudent liar, as the sequel of this narrative will show, who had formerly wintered among the Indians, and whom I had sent to make explorations the preceding years. On his return to Paris, in the year 1612, he had reported to me that he had seen the North Sea, that the river of the Algoumequins (the Ottawa) flowed into it, and that one could go and come from Sault St. Louis to that sea in seventeen days. He also reported having seen the wreck of an English vessel on the coast, where eighty men, who had got safe to land, had been killed by the Indians because they wished to take their Indian corn and other provisions by force. He said he had a great desire to show me the scalps of these men which the Indians had taken, according to their custom, together with a young English boy,

whom they had kept. This news caused me great joy, thinking I had nearly found what I had been seeking so long. I conjured De Vignau to tell me the truth, in order to give the king notice, assuring him that if he stated anything false, he was putting a rope round his own neck; whilst, if his story proved to be true, he might expect a handsome reward. He gave me assurances with stronger oaths than before; and in order to play his part the better, he gave me a map of the country, which he had made the best way he could. The confidence, then, that he seemed to have, the simplicity of his narrative, and the chart he had prepared, having a great appearance of truth, led me to trust him. Further, the voyage which the English had made towards Labrador (1610-11) made me believe his account reliable.

"I then reported to the Chancellor, Mons. de Sillery, and acquainted Marshal de Brissac and President Jeamim, and other Seigneurs of the court with the matter. They said to me that I must see the thing in person. This was the cause of my requesting the Sieur Georges, a merchant of Rochelle, to give De Vignau a passage in his vessel, which he did willingly. Thither I went to question him why he undertook this voyage, and inasmuch as he had no need to do so. I asked him if he expected any salary? He answered that he hoped for nothing but from the king, and that he undertook the voyage only to show me the North Sea which he had seen. He further made a declaration to this effect at Rochelle before two notaries.

"As I took leave of the chiefs at Sault St. Louis (the

day of Pentecost, 26th May, 1613, commending myself to their prayers and to those of all in general) I said to De Vignau in their presence, that if he had formerly stated what was not true he ought not to give me the trouble of undertaking this voyage in which so many dangers must be incurred; but he once more assured me that he was willing to risk his life on the truth of his statement.

"Thus, our canoes laden with provisions, with our arms, and goods to make presents to the Indians, I set out from the Isle of St. Helen on Monday, the 27th of May, with four Frenchmen and one Indian. A farewell salute was fired for us from several small pieces, and we did not get beyond Sault St. Louis that day, the bad weather preventing us.

"On the 29th we passed it partly by water, partly by land, where it was necessary to carry our canoes, baggage, provisions and arms, upon our shoulders—no small trouble for those not accustomed to it. Two leagues from the Sault, we entered a lake (St. Louis) which has a circumference of about twelve leagues, and into which three rivers flow; one coming from the west (St. Lawrence) from the coast of the Ochataiguins, distant from the great Sault 150 or 200 leagues, another from the south country of the Iroquois (Chateauguay) of similar distance, and a third (the Ottawa) from the north, which comes from the Algoumequins and Nebecerini (Nipissings) about the same distance.

"This northern river, according to the Indians, has its course further off, and passes through the country of some tribes unknown to them, and distant about

200 leagues from them. This lake (St. Louis) has many large and beautiful islands—prairies where the pleasures of the chase may be enjoyed, venison and game being there in abundance, as well as fish. The country which surrounds the lake is covered with large forests. We pitched our camp at the entrance of the lake, and made barricades because of the Iroquois who lurk in these places to surprise their enemies; and being sure that if we kept close together they would allow us to live as luxuriously as themselves, we kept a good watch all the night.

"The next day I took the latitude of this place, and found it 45° 18′. About three o'clock in the afternoon we entered the river that comes from the north (the Ottawa), and passed a small rapid, separating the Isle of Perrot from the Island of Montreal. This we did by land to lighten our canoes, and remained at an island the rest of the night awaiting the dawn. On the last day of May we passed another lake (Two Mountains) from seven to eight leagues long and three wide, in which there are some islands. The country around is very flat, excepting in some places where there are hills covered with pines.

"We passed a rapid called by the natives Quénechouan (Quinzechiens), full of stones and rocks where the water runs with great rapidity. We had to jump into the water and drag our canoes along the shore by ropes. Half a league further on we passed another sault, making use of our oars, which is not done but by the sweat of one's brow.. Great dexterity is shown in passing these rapids in avoiding eddies and breakers. The Indians do it with a skill which cannot be sur-

passed, seeking turnings and safe places which they distinguish by the eye.

"On Saturday, the 1st of June, we ascended yet two other rapids—the first half a league long, the second one league—where we had great difficulty for the swiftness of the current is too great: it makes a terrific noise, and in descending breaks everywhere into foam so white that the water does not appear at all. This rapid is dotted with rocks and islands, which are here and there covered with pines and white cedars.

"It was among these we had greatest difficulty, for not being able to carry our canoes by land on account of the denseness of the woods we were obliged to drag them through the water by ropes. In drawing mine I gave myself up for lost, for it was caught in one of the eddies, and if I had not luckily fallen between two rocks, I should have been dragged in with it. I had not time to undo the rope which was twisted round my hand, and which hurt me so much, I thought it would have cut me. In this danger I cried to God, and began to pull my canoe which was restored to me by the rebound the water makes in these rapids, and having escaped, I praised God, and asked Him still further to preserve us. Our Indian afterwards came to my assistance, but I was then out of danger. My anxiety to save our canoe need not cause surprise, as had it been lost we should have had to make preparations to remain there or wait for some Indians to pass, which is a poor resource for those who have nothing to dine upon, and are not accustomed to such fatigue. As for the rest of our French, they had not much better luck, for they several times gave them-

selves up for lost, but God preserved all of us. The remainder of the day we rested, having gone through toil enough.

"Having received a few Indians from a company of Algonquins we met, we passed up the river and reached a rapid which falls from a height of six or seven paces. Here there is a quantity of small islands which are only sharp and rugged rocks, covered with low, scrubby wood. In one place the water falls with such impetuosity over a rock that, in course of time, it has hollowed out a wide and deep basin. The water running in this with a circular movement, and foaming and bubbling in the centre, has made the Indians call it Asticou, which means a kettle or boiler (Chaudière). This waterfall makes such a noise that it is heard more than two leagues off. The Indians in passing it perform a ceremony, which we will describe in its place. We had much difficulty in ascending against a strong current, rowing with all our might to gain the foot of this fall. There the Indians took our canoes, and the French and myself our arms, provisions, and other goods, to pass by the sharp rocks which the rapid contains for a quarter of a league. Sometimes we had to embark, sometimes land again, and walk through the coppice for about three hundred paces, then again jump into the water and get our canoes over the sharp rocks with all the trouble imaginable. I took the latitude of the place, and found it 45° 38′.

"Next day (5th of June) we continued our way till we reached a great rapid, where the water descends over a declivity of ten or twelve paces, and makes a won-

derful noise. It is dotted with an infinity of islands covered with pines and cedars. In order to ascend we resolved to leave our maize or Indian corn and a few other provisions, with our less necessary clothing, reserving only our arms and nets to supply us with the means of living as time and opportunity for the chase should occur. Thus lightened we went on, sometimes rowing, sometimes on foot, carrying our canoes and arms past this rapid, which is a league and a half in length. Here our Indians, indefatigable in this kind of work, and accustomed to endure such hardships, helped us greatly.

"Having passed other islands and rapids, our Indians left their sacks with their provisions and the less necessary articles, in order to be lighter for going by land, to avoid several rapids yet before us. There was a great discussion between the Indians and our impostor De Vignau, who affirmed that there was no danger by the rapids, and that we ought to go that way. The Indians said he must be tired of his life, and told me not to believe him, as he did not speak the truth. As I had several times observed him to be ignorant of the way, I followed the advice of the Indians, and with this he found fault, for he sought to make difficulties in order to mislead me and disgust me with the enterprise, as will be seen by the confession he afterwards made.

"We then crossed to the west a river that runs northward (the Gatineau), and took the elevation of this place, which was $46\frac{2}{3}°$ latitude. We had much trouble in making this way by land, being laden for my own share with three arquebuses, as many oars,

my cloak, and some small trifles. I encouraged my companions, who were more heavily laden, and more oppressed by the mosquitoes than by their burdens. Thus after having passed four small lakes and journeyed two leagues and a half, we were so fatigued it was impossible to go further. It was twenty-four hours since we had eaten anything excepting a little roast fish without any sauce, having left our provisions behind, as I before stated. So we rested on the edge of a lake, lighting a fire to drive away the mosquitoes, which molested us greatly—indeed, their persistent annoyance is beyond all description.

"Next day we passed over this lake, and having crossed a country in which fallen pines made travelling most difficult, as we had to pass sometimes under sometimes over them, we came to another lake, six leagues long and two wide, so plentiful in fish, that the native people have their fisheries there. Near this place there is a settlement of Indians who cultivate the land, and harvest Indian corn. The chief, Nibachis, who came with his band to see us, wondered very much how we had been able to reach them over the rapids and bad roads we must have had to pass. After tobacco had been presented, according to their custom, he made an address to his companions, saying that we must have fallen from the clouds, for he could not see how we possibly could have passed; that it was only with great difficulty that the natives could travel over the bad places, giving them to understand that I must be able to attain whatever my mind was set upon: in short, that he believed all that the other Indians had told him of me. Then, knowing

that we were hungry, he gave us fish, which we ate, and after dinner I made them understand, through my interpreter Thomas, how glad I was to meet them; that I was in this country to assist them in their wars; and that I wished to go further to see some other captains for the same purpose, at which they were greatly rejoiced, and promised to help me.

"They showed me their gardens and fields in which there was Indian corn. Their soil is sandy, and better adapted for hunting than for cultivation. When they wish to make land arable they burn the trees, which is done easily as they are only resinous pines. The woods being burnt, they turn over the land, and plant the corn grain by grain as they do in Florida. It was then about four or five fingers high.

"Nibachis equipped two canoes to convey me to see another captain named Tessouat, dwelling eight leagues off, on the shore of a great lake, through which passes the river we had left. We crossed the lake to the west-north-west, and having landed, we made a league to the north-east, through a rather fine country, in which are beaten paths, which make travelling easy. We arrived at the shore of the lake (Des Allumettes) where Tessouat lived, and found him with a neighbouring chief, greatly astonished at seeing me, saying that he thought he was dreaming, and that he could not believe his eyes.

"We crossed to an island, where we saw the cabins of his people, rather badly roofed with the bark of trees. This island is covered with oaks, pines, and elms, and is not subject to inundations like the other islands of the lake. The island is strong in situation,

for at both ends of it, and at the place where the river falls into the lake, are difficult rapids, and the roughness of these makes it almost inaccessible. The Indians are lodged there to avoid the trails of their enemies. It has 47° of latitude, as has also the lake, which is seven leagues long, and from three to four wide, with abundance of fish, but poor hunting.

"On visiting the island I was lost in admiration at the appearance of their burying-grounds. Over their graves they place pieces of wood, crossed at a distance of two or three feet. Along the top of the crosses they place a large piece of wood, and in front they set another upright, on which is carved rudely, as one may suppose, the face of him or her who is there interred. If it is a man, they place a shield, a sword, a hammer, a bow and arrows; if he is a chief he will have a plume on his head, and some other distinction or ornament; if a child, he is given a bow and arrows; if a woman or girl, a caldron, an earthen pot, a wooden spoon, and an oar. Each tomb will have a height of six or seven feet, and a width of three or four. They are painted yellow and red, and some of the carved work is as delicate as sculpture. The dead is buried in his robe of beaver or other skins, which he used in his life, and his possessions—such as axes, knives, pots, and awls—are placed near him, so that he may use them in the country to which he is gone, for they believe in the immortality of the soul. These carved tombs are only accorded to warriors. To the others they give no more than to women, regarding them as useless

people; indeed, very few of their tombs were found among those we saw.

"After having considered the poverty of the country, I asked them how they could spend their time in cultivating such a poor country, when there was so much better, such as at the Sault St. Louis, that they had left desolate and abandoned? They replied that they were forced to do so, in order to be in security, that the roughness of their land served them as bulwarks against their enemies; but that if I wished to make a settlement of French at Sault St. Louis, as I had promised, they would leave their dwellings, and come to lodge near us, being assured that their enemies would do them no harm while we were by. I told them that this year we would prepare wood and stones to build a fort the following year, and that we would also plough the land, whereat they gave a great shout in token of applause.

"This conference ended, I prayed the chiefs and head men among them to repair next day to the open ground, at the cabin of Tessouat, who wished to have a feast for me. They promised to do this, and sent to invite their neighbours to come also.

"At this great feast I made known my wishes to proceed further—to the land of the Nebecerini. This they strongly opposed, setting forth the dangers and difficulties of the journey. After listening to all their representations, I said that I had with me a young man (pointing to my impostor) who had been in that country, and had not experienced any of the difficulties they made, nor found the people so bad as they described them. Then

they began to look at him, especially Tessouat, the old captain, with whom he had wintered, who, calling him by his name, said to him, in his own tongue, 'Nicolas, is what you say about having been in the land of the Nebecerini true?' He was a long time silent, then he said to them, in their language, which he had not hitherto professed to speak, 'Yes, I have been there.' Immediately they cast angry looks at him; and, throwing themselves upon him, as if they would eat him or tear him to pieces, uttered loud cries. Then Tessouat said to him, 'Thou art assuredly a liar; thou knowest well that every evening thou didst lie at my side with my children, and every morning thou didst rise up there, if thou hast been among these people, it must have been in thy sleep. How couldst thou be so impudent as to lead thy chief to believe such lies, and so wicked as to wish to risk his life among so many dangers? Thou art a lost man. He ought to put thee to death more cruelly than we do our enemies. I am not astonished that he importuned us so much for assistance on the assurance of thy words.'

"At that moment I said to him that he ought to reply to these people; and since he had been in these countries he ought to give some information that would make me believe it, and bring me out of the difficulty into which he had led me; but he remained dumb, and utterly dismayed. Then I took him apart from the Indians, and conjured him to declare the truth of the case; that if he had seen this sea, I would give him the reward I had promised him, and if he had not seen it he should tell me, without giving me

further trouble. Immediately he affirmed all that he had previously said, and that he would show it me if the Indians would give me canoes to go.

"Just then Thomas, my interpreter, came to inform me that the Indians of the island were sending secretly a canoe to the Nebecerini to give them notice of my arrival; and, to make use of the occasion, I went to them and said that I had dreamt the night before that they were going to send a canoe to the Nebecerini without informing me, at which I was greatly astonished, as they knew I wished to go there. To this they made reply, saying that I had offended them very much in trusting more to a liar who wished to cause my death, than to so many brave captains who were my friends and who held my life dear. I replied that my man, speaking of De Vignau, had been in that country with one of the relations of Tessouat, and had seen the sea, the wreck and remains of an English vessel on the coast, with eighty scalps that the Indians had taken from the heads of the crew, and an English boy whom they had kept, and of whom they wished to make me a present. On hearing me speak of the sea, of the vessel, the heads of the English and the prisoner, they cried out the more that he was a liar, and clamoured that either he should be put to death, or that he should name the man with whom he had been, and set forth the lakes, rivers, and roads, by which he had travelled; to which he made reply with effrontery, that he had forgotten the name of the Indian, although he had named him to me a hundred times, and only the day before. As for the features of the land, he had described them in a paper he had

given to me. I then showed the chart to the Indians, who questioned him upon it, but he sullenly refused to answer them.

"Being in uncertainty I withdrew to consider, and representing to myself the consistency of the account the English themselves had given of their voyage with the story told by De Vignau, and how unlikely it was that this boy could have invented the whole thing, the chart and all, I began to think that his ignorance prevented him replying to the Indians. Admitting also the account given by the English of their voyage to be true, the North Sea could not be distant from these lands more than 100 leagues of latitude, and 296 longitude, but it might be that the difficulty of passing the rapids and the ruggedness of the mountains, was the reason these people had no knowledge of this sea; indeed, they have always told me that from the country of the Ochataiguins there is only thirty-five or forty days to the sea that they can perceive in three places, but no one has spoken to me of this North Sea but our impostor, who rejoiced me greatly with his account of the shortness of the way.

"While the canoe was getting ready I had him called up before his companions, represented to him all that had taken place, and said to him that there was no more question of dissimulation, that he must say if he had seen these things or not, that I wished to take advantage of the opportunity offered; that I would forget what was past; but if he allowed me to go further I would have him hanged and strangled without mercy.

"After having thought for a little, he threw himself

on his knees and asked my pardon, saying that all he had said, as well in France as in this country, touching the sea was false; that he had never seen it; that he had never been further than the village of Tessouat; and that he had said these things to get back to Canada. Transported with anger, I made him withdraw, being unable to endure his presence—but giving Thomas charge to inquire into everything particularly. To him he further stated his belief that, on account of the dangers, I would not undertake the journey, or that some difficulty would arise to hinder me from going, such as the refusal of the Indians to give me canoes; also that the voyage would be put off till another year; and that being in France, he would get a reward for his discoveries. He also said that if I should leave him in this country, he would go on till he should find it, even if he should die there. These words were reported to me by Thomas, and did not tend to satisfy me, being amazed at such effrontery and wickedness, and being unable to imagine how he had forged this imposture unless he had heard the voyage of the English spoken of, and in the hope of getting some recompense he had had the temerity to bring it forward.

"It was a great grief to me to hear the Indians speak of the malice of this liar, saying that they were glad he had confessed his guilt, and that if I did not wish to punish him, to give him to them and they would promise that he would lie no more. And because they were persecuting him, and their children more than they, I had to restrain them from doing him harm; saying that I wished to take him to Sault St. Louis,

to bring him before those gentlemen to whom he had promised to bring salt water from the North Sea, and that there I would consult as to what should be done with him.

"The season being now advanced I was compelled to turn back. Before leaving I set up on an eminence on the shore of the lake a cross of white cedar, and prayed the Indians to preserve it with all the others they should find along the ways by which we had come; saying that if they broke them evil would happen, but if they preserved them they would not be attacked by their enemies. They promised to do so, and that I should find them safe on returning among them.

"The next year, having returned to the village of Tessouat, we continued our way by land, passing several lakes, where the Indians carry their canoes, until we entered Lake Nebecerini (Nipissing), which has an elevation of 46½° of latitude, on the 26th July, 1615, having made, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, twenty-five leagues or thereabout.

"This done, we arrived at the Indian cabins, and sojourned two days with them. They gave us a good reception and were in considerable numbers. They are a people who cultivate the land very little. Their dress does not differ much from that of the Algoumequins. During the time I was with them the chief of this people and several of the older men among them entertained me at feasts according to their custom, and took the trouble to go hunting and fishing that we might have as many delicacies as possible. These people might be in number from

seven to eight hundred souls, who live chiefly on the lake, where there are many pretty islands.

"Among others, one six leagues in length, where there are three or four small lakes, and a number of meadows, with fine wood containing plenty of game, frequenting the lakes where the Indians go to take fish. The south coast of the lake is very agreeable. There are fine meadows for feeding cattle, and several small rivers which discharge themselves into the lake. Their chief fishery is in a lake very abundant in fish, among others a very good one a foot in length, as also other kinds which they catch for drying to lay up in store. This lake (Nipissing) is in extent eight leagues wide and twenty-five long, and into it flows a river which comes from the north-west, by which they go to trade the merchandize we give them in barter, and return with the skins which they procure from a people dwelling in the North who subsist by hunting and fishing in a country very rich in animals, birds, and fish.

"After we had rested several days with the chief of the Nebecerini we re-embarked in our canoes and entered a river (French River) whence this lake discharges itself, made thirty-five leagues and descended by several small rapids as far as Lake Attigouautan (Huron). This country was more barren than that we had passed through, for I did not see a piece of arable land of the size of ten acres—nothing but rocks and stones, yet not at all mountainous. It is true that near the Lake Attigouautan we found Indian corn, but in small quantity, and here our Indians went to take some pumpkins which seemed

to us good, on account of the scarcity of provisions caused by the improvidence of the Indians, who ate too much at the beginning of the journey, leaving too little for the end—only as much as would allow one meal a-day. It is true that blueberries and raspberries did not fail us in any way, otherwise we should have been in danger of suffering want.

"We met 300 men of a nation we called *Curled Locks*, because of their curling, arranging, and combing the hair better than any of our courtiers, and, indeed, there is no comparison, no matter what irons and fashion the latter may bring to bear upon it. This gives them a very fine appearance. They wear no bandage, and are much cut about the body. They paint the visage in diverse colours, having the nostrils pierced and the ears hung with beads. When they leave their houses they carry a shield. I visited them and became somewhat familiar. On presenting their chief with an axe, he was as much pleased as if I had given him a rich present. I talked to him about the extent of his country, and he drew a figure of it with a bit of charcoal on the bark of a tree. He informed me that they had come to that place to dry the fruit called blueberries, which serve them for sustenance in winter when they can find nothing more. They have no arms but the bow and arrow which they usually carry, and a shield made of boiled leather which they get from an animal of the forest.

"We parted next day, and continued our way along the shore of the Lake Attigouautan, where there is a great number of islands. It is very large, and has

nearly 400 leagues in length from east to west, with a width of fifty leagues. On account of its great extent I named it the calm sea. It is very abundant in several kinds of very good fish, principally trout, which are monstrously large; some pike of similar size and a kind of sturgeon, a very large fish of marvellous goodness. The country that bounds this lake is rugged on the north, and, in some parts, flat and inhabited by Indians.

"We next crossed a bay which forms one of the extremities of the lake, and made seven leagues when we arrived at the country of the Attigouautan, at a village called Otoüacha, on the 1st day of August. Here we found a great change of country, this being very beautiful and the greater part deserted, with high hills and several rivulets which render this place agreeable. I went to visit their Indian corn, which was in a state of advancement considering the season.

"These places seemed very pleasant after the miserable countries through which we had come. Next day I went to another village called Carmaron, distant a league from Otoüacha, where we were received very kindly and where they made us a feast of bread, pumpkins, and fish. As for meat it is very rare.

"The next day I left this village and came to another named Touagouainchain, and to another named Tequenouquiage, the inhabitants of which received us very kindly, making us the best cheer they could with their Indian corn in several fashions. This country is so beautiful and good that it is pleasant to travel through it.

"Thence I was guided to Carhagouha, enclosed with a triple pallisade of wood, of the height of thirty-five feet, for its defence and preservation. Father Joseph was staying at this village, where we were very glad to find him in good health, as he was no less to see us; and on the 12th day of August he celebrated mass, and a cross was erected near a small house which the Indians built whilst I sojourned among them."

Champlain having reached, as we have seen, Lake Huron, turned his steps southward to the fertile lands now the very centre of the Province of Ontario. Parkman in his accounts of the Jesuit missions in the neighbourhood of Lake Simcoe, gives some correct information of the populous Indian country then south of Lake Huron, which in a few years after the days of Champlain was to be dyed with the blood of the missionaries themselves. But in Champlain's century the westward explorer had crossed Lake Huron, had entered Lake Michigan, and founded Michilimackinac, and still further Sault Ste. Marie. It is from these points that our next explorer may be said to start. His story is full of tragical interest.

VERANDRYE, 1731.

Great discoverers have seldom had any sufficient recompense. Poverty has almost always been their lot. Envy has been their invariable reward, but posthumous glory has sometimes gathered round their names. Even this late recompense has hardly been

accorded to the discoverer of Lake Winnipeg, the Saskatchewan river, and the Rocky Mountains.

He lived in poverty till his death, and since then many is the historian to whom the name of Gualtier de Varenne, Sieur de la Verandrye, has been a name unknown. Neither his name nor achievements deserved such a fate.

He began his career as a French officer. In 1697, the year of the Treaty of Ryswick, he was a young cadet. In 1704 he seems to have figured in New France in one of those fierce border raids by which, from the attacks of ruthless men marching hundreds of miles on snow-shoes, the unsuspecting villages along the New England frontier were left in ashes and their inhabitants murdered or taken captive. A year later he is engaged in an expedition into Newfoundland, and next year, 1706, in the Low Countries, he gained much distinction in the Breton regiment, fighting against the English. Though the war of the Spanish succession brought fresh laurels to the great commanders, Marlborough and Eugene, yet it was only by the bravery of privates and junior officers, both English and French, that these fields became glorious.

In the battle of Malplaquet, we are informed, Verandrye gained the rank of lieutenant, having received nine wounds, from which he recovered, contrary to every hope, after having been left for dead upon the battle-field. Disabled for a time, the young officer was compelled to go abroad to obtain a livelihood, and, as ensign, was obliged to serve be-

neath the rank honourably won by him in battle, in order to earn a humble competence.

For seventeen years, as Governor of Three Rivers, the place of third importance in the Colony, chafing under his unjust treatment, he sought redress, but was again and again refused the privilege of going home to France to obtain in the court of his sovereign his just rights. His superiors, wearied by his constant appeals, had at last given him the leave desired; but at this juncture his attention was directed into another channel, and he was induced to go into that great West, ever a land of romance and wonder to the inhabitants of New France, that he might better his fortunes.

The life of the commander of a fur-trading post was one of great responsibility and, in some cases, of danger. He was the custodian of property where there were no laws, where he was surrounded by the needy and the hungry: he traded with the Indians, little accustomed to self-control, and only moderated at all in excesses by the fear of death or injury. On the other hand the commandant of the fur-trader's fort became an acute judge of character, learned the ways of the savages, and frequently had great influence over them.

In such early times as we are describing too, the Indians came from great distances inland where white-men had never trod: and many was the Indian legend, descriptive sketch, or rude map got from the savage visiting at the fort. Verandrye was at one of the very outposts of trade; he had gone to the north-

side of Lake Superior, leaving behind the celebrated posts of Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie; and was in charge of a new fort (Nipigon), a spot now familiar to all tourists along the north shore of the great inland sea.

Varying, but persistent reports came to him of a river flowing west far in the interior. To us it seems hardly possible to make such blunders as were made by the early American geographers; but let any one try still to find his way through the delta of such a river as the Red or Mississippi, or to any inlet of a lake unknown to him, and the wonder will cease. A belief had early been entertained that the far western vast Southern Sea, made known by the discoveries of the Spaniards to the south, was to be reached by some great river running through the Continent. Every one will remember that Champlain named the rapids above Montreal Lachine, thinking it the way to China. Early writers took the Chickahominy in Virginia to be this western river. Frontenac and the Jesuit explorers of his time had the same opinion about the Ohio and Mississippi; while Lahontan gives an account of a great river he had explored, which he calls the Rivière Longue, based on the same theory, though Charlevoix regards Lahontan's visit to this river as entirely apocryphal. The discovery of the grand Western Ocean was the great scheme at Paris under Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV., in New France, and among the western explorers.

The important step had already been taken of establishing a trading-post among the Sioux, with

the hope of gaining knowledge of this western sea. Father Gonor, a Jesuit missionary, was returning eastward from this fort, but without having gained the wished-for intelligence, when Verandrye chanced at the same time to visit Michilimackinac. Verandrye and Gonor, trader and itinerant, were kindred spirits. Both full of the love of adventure, they were of the same opinion that the great sea, so ardently looked for, was to be found rather by passing through the legendary country of the Assiniboels or Cristinaux (Crees) than by the way of the warlike and treacherous Sioux. And now, in the stockaded enclosure of Michilimackinac, was laid out the scheme that was to add a territory of nearly half a continent to New France, and, by right of later transfer, to the British Empire.

Memorials were prepared and entrusted to the good father for presentation to the governor. But the spirit of adventure was roused in Verandrye, and he was impatient to penetrate the unbroken wilds and gain a glory like that of La Salle, Marquette, or Hennepin. Report after report came from the west of a great river (Rivière du Couchant) and the master of the Nipigon fort determined to go to Quebec and in person urge upon the governor the exploration of the country on the rivers leading to Lake Ouinipigon.

Fortunately for New France, the Governor Charles de Beauharnois cherished dreams of discovery and acquirement of new lands for the mother country. Of high standing in the court of France, he desired to go back and present himself to his sovereign as having borne the fleur-de-lys further than British

ensigns had penetrated. His brother had been an explorer.

Moreover, the west was a field of great speculation among the learned, and abundant laurels would be reaped by him who should successfully solve the problem. There were some who held that, far north, America and Asia would be found united into one; others were of opinion that an uninterrupted plain existed westward as far as Asia; and as confirming one or other of these theories there were those who saw unmistakable resemblances between the Tartars of Eastern Asia and the Sioux, the plunderers of the West. Beauharnois accordingly gave heed to Verandrye's representations. The latter had the perseverance and capacity for an enterprise of great moment; and, moreover, had submitted to the governor a map drawn upon birch-bark by an Indian guide named Ochagach, showing the river system of the country north-west of Lake Superior. The usual concession made to great explorers of allowing the fur-trade to pay the expenses was granted to Verandrye: in other words, he might proceed with his hazardous enterprise so long as it cost the Government nothing.

On the 19th of May, 1731, was signed the agreement between the explorer and certain merchants who advanced him his outfit—a red-letter day in the annals of north-western discovery. With Father Messager, a Jesuit missionary, he left Michilimackinac, and on the 26th of August he was ready to cross the Grand Portage at a point forty-five miles further along the coast than the present site of Fort

William on the Kaministiquia. From this starting-point he was to adventure himself in a region perfectly unknown to Europeans. His goal was Lake Ouinipigon. This was the destination named by the Indian guide, and to this point he was bound in his agreement with the governor to go, but whether it was a hundred or a thousand leagues distant no one could tell.

The traveller who in late years has passed over the Dawson route can have no difficulty in following the pioneer who opened the way—a way of some 450 miles of canoe route and portage, taken, it is said, no less than forty times by the late Sir George Simpson, the energetic governor of the Hudson Bay Company. Rainy Lake was in his time the Lac la Pluie and on it was Fort St. Pierre of Verandrye. In the second year of Verandrye's journey (1732), Lake of the Woods was crossed, bearing then the Indian name Lake Minitie, and receiving the French name, Des Bois. On its shores, in honour of their patron Beauharnois, Fort St. Charles was erected. Now, leaving what is known as the Dawson route, they followed the line taken by the Red River expedition under Colonel Wolseley, in 1870, and descended from Lake of the Woods the difficult but picturesque river Winnipeg, calling it after the French minister Maurepas, until they reached Lake Winnipeg (Ouinipigon) the "Ultima Thule," even of Indian hearsay.

And now the rocky region that we have learned in later years to call the Laurentian—extending through from Labrador to Lake Winnipeg—ceases, and the

explorers ascend from Lake Winnipeg the river of the Assiniboels, now the Red River, the name Assiniboine having been since confined to a branch entering the Red River some forty-five miles distant from Lake Winnipeg at a point where to-day stands the city of Winnipeg. With what look of wonder would the daring Frenchman now stand at Fort Rouge, his rude wooden structure erected, it is said, in a small clearing on the south side of the Assiniboine, in the angle between it and Red River, and gaze upon the city of Winnipeg on the opposite shore, with its smoking manufactories and lofty church steeples. The Assiniboine he named St. Charles, after the governor, who for all the assistance he rendered the persevering explorer seems extravagantly rewarded by having any place whatever named in his memory and the traveller will still hear the name of St. Charles used by the Bois-brûlés, many of whom live on its banks. To a branch of this river, the Souris, now (1882) the favourite location of new settlers arriving in the north-west, he gave the name of St. Pierre. Ascending this St. Pierre they reached by following its circuitous windings the Coteau de Missouri, and then the country of the Mandans, since so celebrated by Catlin in his Indian sketches.

Poorly supported by the governor, basely slandered by rivals, pressed by creditors, Sieur Verandrye and his sons did an amazing amount of exploring, and exposed themselves to dangers, not only of the cataract and forest, but of hostile Indian tribes as well. Forming an alliance, and necessarily so, with

the Cristinaux or Crees, would they journey among them, their enemies must become those of the explorers also. Coming and going along the route to Lake Superior, their base of supplies, they were much exposed on the long journey. In 1736, one of the sons of Verandrye, with a party, among whom was a Jesuit father named Arnaud, were surprised on an island in the Lake of the Woods, their bodies mutilated and their scalps torn off by a band of those "Tigers of the Plains," the Sioux, who are supposed to have been attracted towards them by the smoke from their encampment.

One of the greatest exploits of the Verandryes was the expedition in which two of the sons reached the Rocky Mountains by the route we have already indicated, ascending the Souris, crossing the Missouri, and seeking its source in 1742-3. Messrs Clark and Lewis have usually been given the credit of first reaching the Rocky Mountains in their famous expedition of 1804-6. In his first toilsome and romantic journey the eldest son of Verandrye had reached the Mandans on the Missouri, but could not obtain the necessary guides for his enterprise, and was compelled to return to the headquarters of his father. The elder Verandrye, with his usual determination, once more despatched his first-born, accompanied by the younger son, called the Chevalier, and two other Frenchmen—a little band of four to make a journey of hundreds of miles. Passing the villages of the *Handsome Men* (Indians) and the Pioyas, the nations of the Little Foxes and the Bowmen, they entered into a league with the last named, and were on fire to

emulate Balboa and Cortez by gazing upon the great western ocean from the tops of the stony mountains that towered in their pathway. The Snake tribe, a savage race, occupied the mountains, and though the Bowmen were their equals in war, yet, on arriving at the deserted villages of the Snake tribe, the Bowmen feared their enemy had flanked them, and having got in their rear, would fall upon their own villages. Contrary to the advice of their chief, a brave and able man, and to the prayers of the Frenchmen, the Bowmen precipitately returned, and the dream of reaching the summit of the mountains was dispelled.

These four brave Frenchmen made the discovery of the Rocky Mountains sixty years before the much lauded Americans, Clark and Lewis, who had with them an escort of a hundred men and the power of the United States behind them. With the French characteristic love for conquest, the gallant four took possession of the country of the Upper Missouri, in the name of the French king; erected a fort, not, we may be sure, of extravagant size; placed in the earth on the top of a neighbouring cliff, the arms of Louis, and also erected cairns of stones in honour of the Governor of New France.

It was in the year 1743 that M. de la Verandrye, pursued by the calumnies of jealous rivals, returned to the Chateau St. Louis to confront his enemies before the governor. He had been represented as making an enormous fortune and doing little in return, as though the hardships of an explorer's life traversing the wilds of the interior were a work of no difficulty. The unfortunate adventurer but gave

the true state of the case when he said, "If 40,000 livres of debt that I have over my head are an advantage, I can compliment myself on being very rich, and I would have been much more so in the end, if I had continued."

The governor was a true friend of Verandrye in his reverses, but the French ministry had had their minds poisoned against the great explorer. They appointed a substitute, but he accomplished nothing, and, at last, when the successor of Beauharnois, as governor, investigated the matter and reported in Verandrye's favour, tardy justice bestowed on Verandrye a captaincy, and the decoration of the cross of St. Louis.

About this time, and previous to 1748, Verandrye had taken the northern route to reach the Rocky Mountains. Crossing seemingly from Fort de la Reine on the Assiniboine, they had passed by Dauphin and Swan Lakes, as well as probably by Manitoba and Winnipegoosis, to the great Saskatchewan River. They had ascended it for several hundreds of miles to the Forks, to which point they gave the name Poskoiac. They had also marked their progress by erecting small forts, one on Lake Dauphin, and another, called Bourbon, at the furthest point of his discoveries. But now, when the intrepid discoverer was about to pass on to the Upper Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, and to endeavour to cross them to a lake of which the savages told them, whose waters were too bitter to be tasted, death interposed on the 6th of December 1749.

On his sons fell the mantle of their father, and they would fain have carried out the enterprise, but the envy and cupidity of the Intendant Bigot, the cormorant who afterwards devoured New France, interposed, and the noble work of discovery was given to others. M. Marin was sent to explore the Mississippi, and M. St. Pierre the Saskatchewan. Misfortune attends fraud. The Crees were alienated by the new commandant and burnt Fort la Reine. Sickness, fatigue, and disappointment so weakened the expedition that only a few of the men reached the Rocky Mountains, the goal of the enterprise. They, however, in 1752, established there a small fort—Fort la Jonquière.

Thus ended the career of these brave pioneers of the West. A cold-hearted age and a venal government in New France were deaf to the appeals of the Verandryes for pity and recompense. The chevalier —the brave son who with the Bowmen first saw the Rocky Mountains—thus writes, "I, too, am ruined. My returns of this year have been but half gathered; after a thousand inconveniences my ruin is accomplished. My father's affairs and mine being settled, I remain without funds or patrimony. I am simply second ensign. My elder brother holds the same rank as myself, and my younger brother is only a cadette à l'aiguillette, and this is the actual fruit of all that my father, and my brothers, and I have done. My brother who was assassinated some years ago by the Sioux, is not the most unfortunate of us."

A late Canadian writer has well said, in speaking of their discoveries, "These expeditions were fatal to

two of the sons of M. de la Verandrye, to his nephew, and to the Father Arnaud. They cost M. de la Verandrye himself many severe wounds, they overloaded him as well as his family with debts, nor did he receive sufficient recognition from the French authorities. Even down to our day these brave men are greatly misunderstood, and if the names of the discoverers of the Mississippi are encircled, and justly, with a halo of glory, too much are the Varennes de la Verandrye left in the shade, who deserve quite as much as they, the admiration of posterity. It has not even occurred to posterity to attach their name to any important part of the West, in a time when so many obscure names are given to places in the countries of which they were the first and the daring pioneers. When will men consider and repair this act of national ingratitude?"

The region opened up by Verandrye soon became familiar to the energetic fur merchants of Montreal. Brave men carried on the explorations, and in fifty years after the Varennes set foot on the Grand Portage there was a still greater west, or now rather northwest, known beyond the limits visited by them. Going far up the Saskatchewan, and crossing the country northward, a mighty river (the Athabasca) is encountered, running from its sources in the Rocky Mountains six or seven hundred miles into the large lake bearing its name, where its waters commingle with other streams. One of the remarkable rivers of this region made famous in Captain Butler's "Wild North Land"—remarkable as running through an immense gorge of the Rocky Mountains, rising as it

does on the west side of this lofty barrier, and after leaving the mountain range running about the same distance as the Athabasca before their waters join, is the Peace or Unjigah.

On the lake near the junction of the Athabasca and Peace rivers is placed Fort Chippewyan, plainly one of those natural centres, holding their own amid all the vicissitudes of trade—and in 1882 an important point as it was in 1782; for not only does the commerce of the two rivers mentioned meet there, but the east of the lake opens up a communication to Hudson's Bay, and the mighty river leading the waters of the lake to the Arctic Sea is an effluent to the north. Starting from this same Fort Chippewyan, the Arctic and Pacific oceans were both reached in the last years of the eighteenth century. We are now in the company of our third great explorer:

MACKENZIE, 1789.

This adventurer probably surpassed either of those before described in organizing power, and ability to carry on an expedition in a wild and dangerous country. The rapidity of action, and the success of his plans mark him as a man of genius. Born in the highlands of Scotland, early in life Alexander Mackenzie followed many of his countrymen to Canada. While yet a lad he entered the fur-trading service, led to do so by the novelty and excitement belonging to such a life. He was of an inquisitive mind and enterprising spirit, was possessed of a strong constitution and great powers of endurance, and, moreover, had

the ambition to cross through the continent by some new way, hitherto unexplored by the white man. His first years were spent in the Lake Superior region, or in regions further to the east; and here he soon rose to the position of leader among the wild spirits of adventure. The wild life he led during these years was more congenial to him than would have been the charms of society in the crowded city. Frequently in the wilds of the West men are met whose chief happiness it is to struggle with the difficulties of the voyage and to overcome them. To this class belonged Mackenzie.

What the trials of such a life are he himself tells us. "I had to encounter perils by land and perils by water; to watch the savage who was our guide, or to guard against those of his tribe who might meditate our destruction. I had also the passions and fears of others to control and subdue. To-day I had to assuage the rising discontents, and on the morrow to cheer the fainting spirits of the people who accompanied me. The toil of our navigators was incessant, and oftentimes extreme; in our progress over land we had no protection from the severity of the elements, and possessed no accommodations or conveniences but such as could be contained in the burden on our shoulders, which aggravated the toils of our march, and added to the wearisomeness of our way." It was Mackenzie's delight to state "that he had explored those waters which had never before borne any other vessel than the canoe of the savage, and traversed those deserts where an European had never before presented himself to the eye of its swarthy natives."

Mackenzie left Fort Chippewyan on his first grand voyage of discovery in June, 1789, in a canoe made of birch-bark. His crew consisted of four French Canadians, the wives of two of them, and two young Indians. In his second canoe was an Indian, who bore the sobriquet "English Chief," his two wives—no doubt taken along to do the heavy work of the canoe—and the canoe carrying besides two young Indians. The third canoe—a small one—carried the devoted Indian retainers of the "English Chief;" while a fourth canoe, in charge of the Nor'-west Company's clerk, and laden with goods, made up the fleet of the discoverer.

The journey was begun by going northward from Lake Athabasca down the Slave River into the Great Slave Lake; from this lake the great explorer followed the vast river which bears his name down to the Frozen Sea.

The mishaps of the journey were numerous: the scenes met all new: the natives were surprised at the appearance of the bearded stranger; supplies of game and fish were obtained as required upon the way; the usual deception and fickleness were displayed by the Indians, only to be overcome by the firmness and tact of Mackenzie; and about the end of July, the object of search was rewarded in the discovery of the North Sea. Nothing remained for that season but to retrace his steps over his journey of upwards of a thousand miles. Like the hungry steed seeking his own crib, the Indian guides and French voyageurs needed no coaxing on the return voyage, and the destination of Fort Chippewyan was reached in good

time, the whole trip having occupied only one hundred and two days.

On his voyage to the Arctic Sea Mackenzie had found himself very much at a loss in determining his whereabouts from day to day. He had not the requisite knowledge, nor the appliances for taking the necessary observations. With great determination the explorer resolved to overcome the difficulty. Taking leave of his western haunts, he repaired to London, and there spent a winter in obtaining the mathematical knowledge requisite. Supplied with books and instruments, and a sufficient knowledge of navigation and astronomy, he returned to Athabasca, and made all preparations for a still greater enterprise than reaching the Frozen Sea, viz., visiting the Pacific.

It must be remembered that yet no explorer north of Mexico had crossed the Rocky Mountains. Nothing could deter Mackenzie, with his former successful voyage still in mind, and his increased knowledge, from undertaking the venture. It has been already mentioned that the Peace River flows eastward towards Lake Athabasca from the west side of the Rocky Mountains. To ascend this river to its source, and then find some river running westerly to the ocean, was the plan of the adventurer. It was determined to ascend the river as far as possible in the latter part of one season, and then with the first days of spring push forward and complete the journey.

Accordingly, on the 10th of October, 1792, the canoe party left Fort Chippewyan. In three days they had reached Peace Point, where years before the Crees and Beaver Indians had settled their disputes, and given the

name as well to the river which Mackenzie was about to ascend. Journeying constantly up the river, until December gave warning that soon their progress must be stopped, they chose winter-quarters at a place called Deer Mountain, and here in a house erected by themselves passed the winter months. These months of delay were spent profitably in trading with the natives, and before starting on his westward voyage in spring, the explorer despatched to Fort Chippewyan six canoes laden with furs.

His crew for the present voyage was chosen with care from the best materials at his disposal. They were Alexander Mackay, Joseph Landry and Charles Ducette, two voyageurs of the former expedition, Baptist Bisson, François Courtois, Jacques Beauchamp, and François Beaulieu—the last named of whom died so late as 1872, aged nearly a hundred years, probably the oldest man in the north-west at the time. Two Indians completed the party—one of whom had been so idle a lad that he bore till his dying day the unenviable name of "Cancre"—the crab.

As soon as all was ready the expedition started westward, and on the 12th of June, 1793, arrived at the head of the south branch, the source of the Peace River. By a short portage of less than half a mile, a lake was reached from which a small stream proceeded to the south-west. It was determined to descend this. The Indians of the west side of the Rocky Mountains have always been of a more restive type than those to the east. The reception given Mackenzie and his band was by no means cordial; misunderstandings and threats were very common; but

the skill of the leader always brought his party safely through.

Hearing, as they descended this river, which was a branch of one of the great rivers to the south, that the ocean could be reached more quickly by an overland route, on the 4th of July they left the stream and took a course a little north of west. The journey proved one of extraordinary length and difficulty even for such experienced voyageurs, but at last the Pacific Ocean was reached, apparently about the mouth of what is now known as Simpson's River. The natives became exceedingly hostile at this point, making great threats. To protect themselves more effectually, if words should turn to blows, Mackenzie and his party took possession of a high rock on the sea coast, where if it were found necessary they might defend themselves.

Their destination being now reached the overjoyed travellers determined to commemorate the event; and having mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, they inscribed in large characters on the face of the rock, "*Alexander Mackenzie from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.*" A few days taken to rest, and the well-repaid explorers began their return journey. It was a toilsome and discouraging ascent, that of the Pacific slope, which has aptly been described by one of the public men of Canada as a "sea of mountains," but it was by energy overcome, and the speedy descent of the Peace River then undertaken. Of the descent of this Mackenzie joyfully says, "At length as we rounded a point, and came in view of Fort McLeod,

we threw out our flag, and accompanied it with a general discharge of our fire-arms, while the men were in such spirits, and made such an active use of their paddles, that we arrived before the two men whom we left here in the spring could recover their senses to answer us. Thus we landed at four in the afternoon at the place which we left in the month of May. In another month (24th of August) Fort Chippewyan was reached, where the following winter was spent in pursuit of trade."

But Mackenzie has done more than give us an account of the successful voyages which have given him such fame. To him we are indebted for a sketch of the growth of that great Fur-Power, the North-west Company, which must bulk very largely in any statement of Lord Selkirk's life. As we have seen in the sketch of Verandrye the wild inland traders were largely dependent on the good-will and support of merchants at the far-off centre Montreal or Quebec. The adventurous men who penetrated the interior soon followed the habits of their "compagnons de voyage," and became noted as that class of wild and daring spirits the "Coureurs des bois."

In the old French days half a dozen of these traders would gain a certain credit from the merchants, join their stock together, succeed in filling a birch-bark canoe, and depart for far inland regions, to be absent many months. Working their canoes themselves over the long, but rather exciting route they would return in a year or fifteen months with a cargo of peltries. Their accounts settled, then a grand debauch for weeks ensued, and left the unfortunate

traders as dependent on the merchant as ever, and soon they must depart for the interior on another expedition of the same nature.

The poor "runner of the woods" thus worked his year of unceasing toil and watchfulness for the sake of a month or two of gross enjoyment at the capital. Men of this weak moral fibre would, no doubt, be guilty of many excesses among the simple savages of the West. In consequence of the evils thus arising, Jesuit missionaries were commissioned by the French Government to penetrate the wilds with the traders, and strive to ameliorate the unhappy state of affairs. The establishment of military posts along the route tended to give force to the wishes of the government, and restrained the evil passions of the traders. The missionaries, no doubt, succeeded in checking the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, under the threat of severe ecclesiastical penalties, though the ingenious traders succceded at times in evading the ecclesiastical thunders, as they have evaded the civil law so many times since by *giving* instead of *selling* liquor to the Indian. After the year 1759, when the British accomplished the conquest of Canada, the fur-trade up the Ottawa entirely ceased for a number of years.

In 1766 the English began to thread their way along the former French route, and proceeded as far as the Grand Portage, to the north-west of Lake Superior. One of the English traders, Thomas Curry, determined to emulate the French in their furthest expeditions. With four canoes, accordingly, fully manned, he crossed by the route of Verandrye,

succeeded in reaching the former Fort Bourbon, and returned next spring with a heavy load of valuable pelts. Another Montrealer, Mr. James Finlay, soon followed the same route, made a safe journey, and returned after reaching the old post, Nepowee, equally successful.

According to the North-west Company authorities, it was in 1774 that the English traders from Montreal first met with their fellow-countrymen trading from Hudson's Bay, at Fort Cumberland on the Saskatchewan. This they maintain was the first time when the Hudson's Bay Company penetrated the interior. As we shall see afterwards this is entirely disputed by that Company. But now in that year, so near the date when the English colonies further south broke off from the mother country, the two rival currents of trade, Canadian and English, met in the far North-west, and for well-nigh fifty years the struggle went unceasingly on; now in dangerous eddy, then in boiling whirlpool, till at length as one stream they flowed on together in one course. All authorities seem agreed that the Hudson's Bay Company penetrated inland at this time "on account of their finding the Indians intercepted in their way to the sea coast by the Canadian traders." No doubt year by year, a progress inland had been made; and the Hudson's Bay Company, going on the rights given them by their charter, "to use and enjoy the whole, entire, and only trade and traffic, and the whole entire and only liberty, use, and privilege of trading to and from the territory, limits, and places aforesaid, and to and with all the natives and people

inhabiting, or which shall inhabit within the territories, limits, and places aforesaid," would look upon the Canadian traders as invaders of the territory whose streams ran into Hudson's Bay.

The Canadian traders however, just in proportion to the weakness of their right, made up in the strong reiteration of their claim, and from the first, as we shall see, resorted to violence as a means of gaining their ends. The better to carry out their trade the leading merchants from Montreal went in person to the North-west country. Mr. Joseph Frobisher, in the spring of 1775, intercepted the Indians on their way to Churchill at Trading Portage, so called from this circumstance. On account of their furs being pledged to the merchants at Hudson's Bay, from whom they had obtained advances, the Indians were unwilling to traffic with Frobisher. The Montreal trader, however, not inquiring too closely into their obligations to others induced them to trade, and made a successful trip. This he not only accomplished in a succeeding year, but sent his brother westward to Isle à la Crosse in the same latitude.

In later years, to defeat the Hudson's Bay traders, who could succeed in underselling those from Montreal, the latter took the unscrupulous means of obtaining control of the Indians by the importation of rum. The most daring and turbulent spirits were now attracted to the Canadian fur-trade ; indeed, the chief qualities sought in those sent out were a love of violence and a thorough hatred of the Hudson's Bay Company.

One of these, the notorious Peter Pond, was selected

by the traders on the Saskatchewan to push his way to the English river, the route of the Knisteneaux (Cristinaux) and Chippewyans to Churchill. Pond, with four canoes reached a point thirty miles from the great Lake Athabasca, upwards of 58° north, and procured twice as many furs as his canoes could carry, compelling him to "cache" one-half of them, which he found perfectly safe in the next year when he returned.

The introduction of strong drink, as an article of trade, while it gave a temporary supremacy to the traders from Montreal, brought its own retribution with it. The Eagle Hills on the Saskatchewan was the rendezvous of the Montreal traders in 1780. They had in the spring of the year before departing, given a plentiful supply of drink to a large band of Indians, at which time one of the traders had given a dose of laudanum in a glass of spirits to an Indian, who had become troublesome. On the death of the Indian, his tribe were so enraged, that an attack was made by them on the traders. One of the traders was killed, as well as several of the men, and the survivors were compelled to flee, abandoning a large quantity of goods and furs. Not long after this event two posts on the Assiniboine were attacked by the Indians, and a number of traders and Indians were killed. Mackenzie, himself an ardent Montreal trader, says, "Without entering into any further reasonings on the subject, it appears to me incontrovertible that the irregularity pursued in carrying on the trade has brought it into its present forlorn situation."

In this year took place the shocking occurrence in

the career of Pond, the unscrupulous trader of Athabasca—already implicated in the murder of a fur-trader named Ross. A Swiss gentleman of most upright character had gone with an outfit to the Grand Portage. His partners and a number of other traders had formed a partnership there, to go to the interior. Pond represented a number of the partners, and Wadin, the Swiss, the remainder. Mistrust and ill-will soon showed themselves between the two. About the beginning of the year 1781, Pond and one of his clerks had been entertained by Wadin at dinner. During the night the Swiss trader was shot and, perishing miserably, was buried next morning at eight o'clock. Pond and his clerk were afterwards tried for murder at Montreal, but escaped conviction from the court deciding that it had no jurisdiction in the locality where the murder had been committed. From such incidents may be gathered the character of the Montreal fur-traders of that early time. We shall see that the North-west Fur Company was a worthy successor in deeds of violence of the several traders who made it up.

It was in 1783-4 that the several merchants of Canada engaged in the fur trade formed a partnership. Thus was originated the famous "North-west Fur Company." The brothers Frobisher and Mr. Simon McTavish were the managers of the enterprise. A meeting was held at the Grand Portage of those interested, but the cupidity of Pond could not be satisfied, and he with another partner, Peter Pangman, came to Montreal to organize a rival concern. Pangman and Pond in turn could not agree, the latter

having proved traitorous; but the former succeeded in gaining the assistance of the prominent merchants Gregory and Macleod, and a rival Canadian Company was organized. Of this company Alexander Mackenzie was a partner. The North-west Company looked on the new company with great dislike, and pursued a hostile policy towards it. Bold and unscrupulous as was their character, Mackenzie says, "They did not doubt, from their own superior experience, as well as that of their clerks and men, with their local knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, that they should soon compel us to leave the country to them. The event, however, did not justify their expectations, for after the severest struggle ever known in that part of the world, and suffering every oppression which a jealous and rival spirit could instigate—after the murder of one of our partners, the laming of another, and the narrow escape of one of our clerks, who received a bullet through his powder-horn in the execution of his duty—they were compelled to allow us a share of the trade."

These rival companies united two years afterwards in 1787. In the year after the union the total amount of the venture was some 40,000*l.*, but by the enterprise of the partners, it was in a decade brought to three times that amount, and surpassed, according to their statement, that of any trading company of the kind in America. The united Company was attended by remarkable success; but this very success, as was to have been expected, raised up new rivals, and gave rise to misunderstandings, even in the Company itself. In 1798 a re-organization

took place, and two rival companies again resulted.

The North-west Company in all its changes retained its special character of violence. Its officers and representative men at Montreal or London seemed the very soul of honour and dignity; but the fur country once reached, the spirit of lawlessness seemed to completely master them: they became the Ishmaelites of the Plains. We may give one instance more—and from one learn all—for though many more are on record and might be cited, it is unpleasant even to read or consider stories of violence, chicanery, or fraud. In the year 1801, Mr. Dominic Rousseau of Montreal, sent a canoe and four or five men, under the charge of Mr. Hervieu, his clerk, to Lake Superior, with an assortment of goods, calculating that he should dispose of them to advantage among the servants of the North-west Company during their annual assemblage at the Grand Portage on Lake Superior. Small as this adventure was, it excited the jealousy of the North-west Company. Hervieu pitched his tent, and opened his shop, at the distance of about a gunshot from their fort or trading-post; but it was not long before he was accosted by some of the partners, and particularly by Mr. Duncan McGillivray, who peremptorily ordered him to quit the place, telling him that he had no right to come there. Hervieu questioned the right of the North-west Company to the exclusive possession of the country, and said that he would not go away unless they showed a legal title to the land. After some altercation, to avoid further disputes, he

agreed to remove his encampment to another spot which was pointed out to him; but before he had time to effect this, Mr. McGillivray returned with Mr. Archibald Norman McLeod, another of the partners, and ten or a dozen of their inferior clerks and servants, and accosted him in a still more arrogant style than before. McGillivray adverted to Hervieu having questioned the title of the North-west Company to the country, told him that he should see their title, and drawing his dagger, struck it into Hervieu's tent, and tore it from top to bottom. McLeod then pulled down the tent altogether; overturned a chest containing Hervieu's merchandize; with the most violent threats ordered him to be gone; and naming a place a little further in the interior, told him that if he were there he would cut his throat. The same gentleman assaulted one Durang, an interpreter in the Company's service, and took from him a tent which he had purchased for his own use from Hervieu. With all the solemnity of a public execution they cut it in pieces, and after publicly exhibiting it in this state, made a bonfire of it, as a warning to the servants of the Company of the consequence of purchasing from the intruder. In consequence of these outrages, M. Hervieu was under the necessity of returning to Montreal, a distance of thirteen or fourteen hundred miles, without having disposed of one-fourth part of his goods, for all of which he could have found a ready sale if he had not been so molested. Indeed, there was a considerable part of what he had sold which the purchasers refused to pay for, after they saw the manner in which he had been treated

by their employers. Mr. Rousseau brought an action against Mr. McGillivray in the court at Montreal, and recovered damages, which were assessed at 500*l.*—a sum which, in all probability, was barely sufficient, if sufficient, to compensate for the direct pecuniary loss which he had sustained. It could not possibly indemnify him for the profit which he had reason to expect, and was a mere trifle to the North-west Company, in comparison with the benefit of maintaining their monopoly and of deterring others from attempting a similar interference.

In the year 1806, Mr. Rousseau again attempted a trading adventure to the Indian country. He entered into partnership with a Mr. Delorme, whom he despatched from Montreal with two canoes loaded with goods for the interior. Mr. Delorme proceeded as far as Lake Superior, and, in order to avoid collision, he there took the old route by the Grand Portage which the North-west Company had then abandoned for the Fort William route. When he had advanced a few days' journey through the intricate and difficult country beyond Lake Superior, he was overtaken by Mr. Alexander McKay, a partner of the North-west Company, with a number of men, who went forward along the route by which Mr. Delorme was to advance, and proceeded to fell trees across the road, at the portages, and on all the narrow creeks by which they were to pass. They so accomplished such a complete obstruction, that Mr. Delorme with his small party found it impossible to open a passage for his loaded canoes. His adventure being thus entirely frustrated, he left his goods, and made his retreat with his men

only. On his arrival at Fort William, the trading-post of the North-west Company, he found Mr. McGillivray, by whose direction these obstructions had been made. To him Delorme presented the keys of the packages which he had left, and remonstrated on the unjustifiable manner in which he had been treated; but his appeal was fruitless. Finding that no redress could otherwise be obtained, Mr. Rousseau brought an action of damages against the Company; but the case did not come to a trial—a compromise having been offered and accepted. Of the North-west partners figuring in this disgraceful manner it may be stated that Mr. McLeod was not only a leading partner but was also a Justice of the Peace for the Indian territories: and also, that Mr. McGillivray was the nephew of the honourable gentleman, the head of the North-west Company, and took the lead at the general meeting of the wintering partners as the acknowledged agent of the Company.

The offshoot of the North-west Company in 1805, was called by the name of the "X Y Company," and included among its partners two such influential men as Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Hon. Edward Ellice. The fur trade had now become a great over-shadowing power in Canada, and being so influential and determined, had far too much to say in the Government and internal economy of the country for the country's good.

The Hon. Mr. Ellice, in his evidence before the Committee of the Imperial Parliament in 1857, said of Canada, at the period in its history of which we are speaking, and at which Lord Selkirk appears upon the scene:—

"The whole of the Canadian Society, every person of eminence and of consequence there, was then engaged in the fur trade, it being the only trade of importance in the country. The trade was carried on with countries that are now (1857) civilized regions, and where large cities are established. It was carried on upon the lakes—Lake Ontario, Lake Erie—through the Michigan Territory, upon the Ohio, the Missouri, the Mississippi, and in all the countries to the north of Canada. I was perfectly acquainted with the details of that trade in 1803, and with the persons interested in it."

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADVENTURERS TO HUDSON'S BAY.

IT was no wonder that the eyes of Lord Selkirk should be turned to the route by Hudson's Bay as a means of reaching the spot he had selected for his colonists: Hudson's Bay and the North-west passage were familiar to the British mind. To the spirit of adventure and discovery spread abroad in Europe by the revival of letters and philosophy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as to the restless disposition of the Anglo-Saxon race inherited from a Norse and Danish ancestry, are we indebted for the discovery of Hudson's Bay.

To gain the Indies and Cathay by a western course was the dream of Columbus; and when that was shown to be impracticable, then to reach the same goal by a north-west track, through iceberg and glacier, was the fond hope cherished by a rare succession of brilliant imaginations, and pursued with ceaseless energy by many of the most daring seamen that the British sea-coast has reared. A most romantic series of voyages with countless scenes of adventure await the patient historian of the north-

west passage; and no more thrilling work could be written than one recounting the adventures of the hardy men who imperilled life—yes, and very often lost it—in pursuing the phantom of a north-west passage. It is not our present purpose to give any complete account of this train of interesting voyages. Suffice it to say, that though there is no north-west passage, that though impassable barriers of ice obstruct the course of the mariner, yet results of great importance, as incidental features of these voyages, have been obtained.

It is to one of these simply that we now refer, viz., the discovery of the inland sea that bears the name of the unfortunate navigator, Henry Hudson. When Sebastian Cabot had, after trial, come to the conclusion that there was no north-west passage, and become in consequence the Governor of the "Russia" Company to seek a north-east passage; when Martin Frobisher had discovered the land named by Queen Elizabeth "Meta Incognita," received from his Royal patroness a chain of gold, and startled the world by bringing home hundreds of tons of worthless sand, supposing it to contain precious gold; when John Davis commanding the two barks, the *Sunshine* and the *Moonshine*, had found the straits that bear his name; when Sir Humphrey Gilbert had written a very judicious discourse on the subject, and Captain Lancaster of the East India service ventured the strange prophecy or haphazard prediction that in 62° 30′ N. would be found the north-west passage; and the expedition of the "Russia" and "Turkey" Companies under Captain Weymouth, had gone and come, and the

looked-for passage seemed as little known as ever, Hudson was employed by a Company of merchants determined to reach the Indies "whether by the north, the North-east, or the north-west."

No company of the time seem so persistently to have pushed their projects as this under which Hudson served. He tried all the three directions mentioned, and though great sums of money were lavished on the voyages by the enthusiastic projectors, the names of the individuals of the Company are not known—all that we know being that Hudson's patrons and employers were some "worshipful merchants of London."

His third voyage, undertaken in 1610, was that in which he sought the north-west after going in the other directions named. His journal was somewhat as follows :—

April 17th. Left Blackwall.

June 1st. Sailed from Iceland.

„ 15th. Sighted Davis's "Desolation Land."

„ 24th. Began entering Straits afterwards bearing his own name.

July 8th. Lat. 60° N. Land south of Straits named "Desire Provoked."

July 11th. Among islands, named by him "Isles of God's Mercy." Called cape on his left hand "Cape Diggs."

After this date Hudson sailed down to the bottom of the bay, and very carefully searched the west side, on which he spent the time till towards the beginning of September. In the beginning of November he found a wintering-place on the south-west coast, and there drew his vessel ashore and prepared for passing

the winter. The first winterers seemed to have endured great hardships, but chiefly from being unprepared. The supply of food was short: in spring they sought for natives along the coast to obtain provisions but found none. On the failure of this search Hudson divided up the provisions on hand among the whole party, and gave certificates entitling the men to their wages should he not survive. Foreseeing the straits to which they would be reduced, the unfortunate commander remarked, in an unguarded moment, that on account of the scarcity of provisions he feared a part of the crew might of necessity be left behind. The strong man, it is said, wept at contemplating the miseries of his starving crew; but a number of the men, alarmed at his remark about dividing the company, conspired against their captain and determined to leave him behind. They remorselessly placed their kind-hearted commander, his son, John Hudson, Mr. Woodhouse, a gentleman volunteer of a mathematical turn of mind, who had accompanied them, the ship's carpenter and five men in the shallop, badly provisioned and badly armed, and left them to their fate.

On their return home the mutineers sought to put the best face possible on the affair. Abbacuc Pricket, the chronicler of Hudson's voyage, maintained that the ship had been aground at Diggs' Island, and that a strong eastward current had set them free, and that no doubt Hudson would yet be found. The Company, full of regret for their faithful servant, were encouraged by the statement of Pricket as to an eastward current in thinking that not only would

Hudson yet be rescued, but that the current spoken of betokened a north-west passage.

They accordingly despatched a famous navigator, Captain Thomas Button, who sailed in May, 1612. Button was provided with two staunch vessels—the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*. Some time in the month of July he had entered the bay, and shortly after discovered the land which runs as a peninsula from the very north of the bay southward, giving it the name "Cary's Swan's Nest." Supposing that the opening for which he sought was near, he sailed south of west, but met with land again, to which he gave the significant name "Hopes Checked." A great storm had caught him in the open bay, and so injured his ships that he was compelled to seek a harbour that he might repair the damage done.

By the middle of August he entered the Nelson river, which he named from the master of one of his ships, who died there—and in a creek running into the Nelson Button found the shelter he sought. Having determined to winter in this haven, he barricaded his vessels and wintered on board his ship, in which he kept three fires. During the winter the crew were successful in capturing large numbers of wild fowl, which gave a large supply of food; it is stated not less than 1800 dozen white partridge and other fowls were caught. The River Nelson was not entirely frozen over till the 16th of February, and began to clear of ice on the 21st of April. At length liberated from his ice-bound inlet, which he called Button's Bay, he explored the west coast more fully, and gave to the country about Nelson river the

name New Wales. Button was even after his return perfectly satisfied that a north-west passage existed, but he certainly had not succeeded in finding it.

London and Bristol were at this time the competitors in the race of discovery. Accordingly, in the year 1631, two expeditions to Hudson's Bay were fitted out—one from each of these points. The expedition from London was placed under the command of Captain Luke Fox. Captain Fox was introduced to King Charles I., and received along with a chart containing the record of all former discoveries a letter to the Emperor of Japan from his Britannic Majesty, which he was to deliver on his reaching Japan by way of the north-west passage, the hoped for object of search.

Fox reached Hudson's Bay in good season, having entered Hudson's Straits on the 22nd of June. On entering the bay fine clear weather greeted the explorers, as well as an open sea free from ice, no snow on the land, but a bold ragged coast, like headlands on the ocean, with tangle and rockweed, and great plenty of fish. Fox spent the summer in visiting the west coast of the bay, but found not the longed for passage, and in consequence had not the pleasure of presenting his letter to the august monarch of the Isles of the Pacific. Not desiring to winter in the bay he journeyed homeward, re-passed Hudson's Straits in the beginning of October, and on the last of that month arrived safely in England.

The Bristol merchants put their expedition under command of Captain James, a good mathematician, but seemingly an inexperienced sailor. He left

England in the same year and same month as Fox, likewise armed with the letter to his Highness of Japan. The design seems to have been that James should explore one coast of the bay and Fox the other, Fox taking the west and north, and James the south and east. The Hudson's Straits were entered about the middle of June, and considerable embarrassment ensued from meeting with ice. A terrible storm overtook the timid mariner and his crew on the 4th of September, and their distress is described as "most miserable in this so unknown a place." Severe weather now overtook them, the rigging froze during the night, the deck was nightly covered by half a foot of snow, they despaired of ever finding a way home again, and to use their own words "they began to prepare to make a good end of this miserable, tormented life." The sheltering bay of a coast island to the south of Hudson's Bay afforded them partial protection at last, and they determined to winter in this island found in 52° N., called by them Charlton Island.

We have seen that Sir Thomas Button wintered in the mouth of the Nelson, but he held to his ships all the winter through; the first residence on the shores of Hudson's Bay: the first edifice erected, however rude, the first hold taken upon the territory by the authorized agents of any European power, so far as we know, was by Captain James, in the winter of 1631. Ill prepared for the weather as to clothing, food, or shelter, the wonder is that any of the company survived to tell the tale. The winterers set to work to build places of shelter for themselves in October. They erected a store-house for their goods,

a cook-house for their food, a central main building for their own shelter, and thus existed. A dreary winter half passed away brought on the dread of all northern travellers—the scurvy, though it is stated that the sea did not freeze in close to the island till the middle of December. The description given of their circumstances and sufferings is sufficiently graphic to bear reproduction.

"At the end of February the dreadful forerunners of scurvy appeared: aching joints, loose teeth, and difficulty of eating; and two-thirds of the crew were soon under the surgeon's care. These symptoms became constantly more severe and general, yet the men were under the painful necessity of going some distance for fuel. The lumberers were sometimes obliged to crawl a mile through the snow on all fours till they came to a tree, then to set fire to the trunk before they could cut it down, and afterwards drag it to the house. In going to the ship the cold was found still more intolerable. The surgeon, who was a sweet-conditioned man, every morning cleaned their teeth, picked the putrid flesh from their gums, bathed their benumbed limbs in water boiled with plants, after which they could endure the fatigue and exposure though they returned as ill as ever. Their house was hung with icicles, the clothes and beds were covered with hoar-frost; the cook's tubs during the night were frozen to the bottom; and when one side was warm the ice on the other was an inch thick. The smoke from the green wood was often intolerable, and made them look like chimney-sweepers.

"But by the end of May a plentiful supply of green

vetches had grown on the island, and the use of these cured the scurvy in a few days. The warmth of spring, we are told, brought clouds of 'bloodthirsty mosquitoes, causing a torture which appeared to them often worse than the cold.' On the 29th of April it rained all day. On the 1st of July James's party took a last view of the island, their wintering-place, and after various mishaps and a continuation of the misfortunes seeming constantly to follow them, about the end of August left the bay and reached Bristol on the 22nd October."

James seems to have been thoroughly prejudiced by his sufferings against Hudson's Bay, and continued ever after an earnest opponent of the schemes for finding a north-west passage. Everything about James's expedition seems marked by childishness and cowardice. But James had gained a claim for his country by his winter residence upon the coast; he had, like William the Conqueror, when he fell upon the shore at Hastings, "taken seisin of the land" for England; so that now Hudson, Button, Fox, and James retain the honour of having discovered, named, dwelt upon, and claimed for England the territory around Hudson's Bay from a quarter to half a century before even the spurious claim that was put forth by the Governor of New France on behalf of his royal master.

The contest for supremacy on the American continent, waged between the French and English during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was most intense. To be the first to visit any region, to claim it in the name of his sovereign, to write a description of

it, and if possible build a fort and remain in possession for a time, was the aim of the early explorer, whether French or English. Accordingly, in a vast region such as North America, it was quite possible for mendacious explorers and greedy governors to concoct accounts of discoveries out of the materials obtained from the enterprise of their rivals. The reports of the period forming the latter half of the seventeenth century are so evidently spurious in a number of instances, that the truth-seeker of nowadays finds himself on slippery ground at every step.

The accounts of the time seem somehow to revolve around two French adventurers, by name Grosseliers and Radisson, who were first in the French service, became treacherous to France, went into the service of England, and deserted the English service, going back to the French. The truth seems to have been almost lost in the fickleness and chamelion-like adaptability of these men. Monsieur de la Potherie, historian of New France, seems to exceed all other writers of the time in his manufacture of history to establish the claims of France to the discovery of Hudson's Bay. Not only does he represent the two adventurers named as acting in a way seemingly opposed to the facts, but he originates a myth as to one Jean Bourdon, a Frenchman, having entered Hudson's Bay in 1656. Monsieur Jeremie, afterwards Governor of the French forts on Hudson's Bay, gives an account equally untrustworthy of Grosseliers having first visited Hudson's Bay under French auspices, and captured some Englishmen. Having been badly treated by his employers in New France, the explorer,

he says, entered the English service to be revenged. The peculiar merit of M. Jeremie's story is, that it differs entirely from that of De la Potherie, though originated for the same purpose of claiming the territory around Hudson's Bay for the French king.

So far as we can unravel the matter it seems to be that Grosseliers and Radisson had been French Huguenot traders in Lake Superior, had heard the Indians tell on coming from the interior of a great salt lake, and possibly of some of the English captains having visited it, as we have seen, that they identified it with the discoveries of Hudson, Button, Fox, and James, which had been heard of in Europe—just as we have seen that Champlain, in 1613, knew of the voyage of Hudson of only three years before—that the two Huguenots returned from Lake Superior by the ordinary canoe route to Quebec, never having seen Hudson's Bay, but knowing it from Indian hearsay; that they were unable to obtain assistance from the Government of New France at Quebec; that they went to Boston in Massachusetts, then to London, and by this means, through the assistance of wealthy merchants in England, the small vessel, the *Nonsuch*, was fitted out in 1668 under the command of Zachariah Gillam, a New England captain, and that Grosseliers and Radisson accompanied this expedition to Hudson's Bay.

As to Gillam's connexion with the two Huguenot adventurers there is no conflict of statement. Gillam started in the year 1668 from Gravesend, but the facts of his voyage are a subject of dispute. The truth seems to be that he sailed on the 4th of June, saw

Resolution Isle on the 4th of August, by the 19th got to Diggs's Island, and on the 29th of September reached the River Nemisco, called by them Rupert's river, in which they wintered. On the 9th of December the river was frozen up, and the ship's company crossed on the ice to a small island full of poplars, all the other trees being spruce. In April, 1669, the cold was almost over, and the Indians came down to them. They saw no grain there, but many gooseberries, strawberries, and Dewotter berries. The Indians about that river are simpler than those of Canada. *Here, and at this time, the first English settlement was made* (51° 20′ N., and 78° W.) *by building a little stone fortress, to which Captain Gillam gave the title of Fort Charles.*

The expedition of Zachariah Gillam returned to Britain in 1669. The adventurers then gained the assistance of Prince Rupert, the patron of all such enterprises, and also that of many of the leaders in public affairs in Britain. Upon the ground of discovery and of their stone fortress at the mouth of Rupert's river they made their claim for organization, and their charter was obtained as the "Hudson's Bay Company" on the 2nd of May, 1670.

Among this company of adventurers to whom King Charles II. granted the charter was, as we have said, the fiery Prince Rupert, who is acknowledged as "our dear and entirely beloved cousin, Count Palatine of the Rhine," &c., and to him, already noted for his adventurous life in the West Indies, and for exploits of a more patriotic kind against the Dutch, was given the honour of having his name

affixed for 200 years to the vast territory of Rupert's Land. Charles's old friend, the Duke of Albemarle, familiar to the reader of English history as the brave and reticent restorer of the king, General Monk, died in the year of the granting of the charter; and his son Christopher stands second on the list of those to whom was given the sole use of the country lying within the "entrance of the straits commonly known as Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines of the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state."

It is not at all strange to read of "old George, the kingmaker," who had filled almost every office, military and civil, leaving his heir with instructions to prosecute so adventurous an enterprise as the trade with Hudson's Bay. Nor does it surprise us to see the ruling spirit of King Charles's reign, Dryden's Achitophel, Lord Ashley, the ancestor of our good Earl of Shaftesbury, among the incorporators, and taking part in this quest of the "Golden Fleece," since he was

> "A man, so various that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome."

Lord Arlington, another of the members of the celebrated "Cabal," is found among the traders, and with fourteen others—nobles, knights, esquires, and citizens—completed the corporation organized under Prince Rupert, the first governor.

The pleasure-loving king deserves well of us, when

we look at his wise and generous policy of encouraging the trader and the voyager, giving up to them the fisheries of "whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fishes," and even the "gold, silver, gems, and precious stones," requiring only yearly to himself and successors, as often as they should enter the territories, the payment of "two elks and two black beavers."

For 200 years since that time the Company has sent out its ships to Hudson's Bay and engaged in an enormous trade. Charles Bayly, Esq., was the first governor sent over to begin the trade. This was in 1670, the year of the founding, and in fifteen years afterwards they had five factories, as they were called, viz. at Albany, Hayes, Rupert, Nelson, and Severn. Shortly after, in the struggles between France and England, Hudson's Bay became the theatre of war, and in these struggles the young Company received its share of trials; its forts were occupied, its trade interrupted, and its energies weakened time after time, until the peace of Ryswick put an end to the difficulties that beset the traders Yet, during all this period ,taking full account of losses, the proprietors comforted themselves every few years with a dividend of fifty per cent.

The trade was for many years chiefly carried on upon the sea-coast. Without leaving their factories on Hudson's Bay, they could obtain for a trifle of goods, or some paltry weapon or trinket, the most valuable furs; and Fort Churchill and the shores of the inland sea of the north became the centre of attraction for the many bands of the Crees and Algonquins of the south and east, as well as of the

Chippewyan nations of the far North-west. There is a grim humour in the motto of the Hudson's Bay Company "Pro pelle cutem" (skin for skin), adopted as embodying the results of a thousand successful transactions. Yet there was evinced on the whole a sagacity and tact in dealing with the savage, even in these early days of the Company, that has been seldom equalled.

For two centuries the Hudson's Bay Company has gone on in its successful career; it has seen the other great company of somewhat its own age, the East India Company, long since pass away; it has had rivals in different parts of the vast territory in British North America, but has outlived them all, having absorbed some, and seen others fade away before it. From the Arctic Sea to 49° parallel it has had sway, and even further south; its posts have extended from the Upper Ottawa to the mouths of the Columbia Fraser Rivers; its power was felt at the far distant Fort Yukon on the borders of Russian America; and from 1670 to within a year of 1870, it held the sceptre of Government, and laid it down to become at the present time an energetic trading and fur company, and one of the largest landed proprietors in the world, having one-twentieth of the land of a vast region of North America.

We have not space to enter into the interesting history of those two centuries, but would write a few lines in answer to two very important questions that have been propounded.

1. Did the English or French explorers first explore the Winnipeg country?

2. Can Hudson's Bay afford a commercial route to the Canadian North-west?

The Canadian traders from Montreal it will be remembered, as stated in a previous chapter, claimed that they were the first to traverse the country north and west of Lake Superior, and that the Hudson's Bay Company only reached Fort Cumberland on the Saskatchewan at the late date of 1774. This statement does not agree with that made by the Hudson's Bay Company itself. That Company has always had opponents, and it has probably been for its advantage that from time to time its affairs have undergone the scrutiny of Parliamentary Committees. In 1749 certain merchants of Great Britain petitioned the House of Commons to inquire into all matters connected with the Hudson's Bay Company's trade. Parliament accordingly required the Company to lay certain books and papers before them, and particularly to inform them what encouragement they had given for the making discoveries of the country up the rivers about the bay, and what discoveries had been made. The Company laid a large amount of information before the committee, of which we have selected an interesting portion suited to our purpose.

In 1690 a young man, Henry Kelsey, was sent on a journey with the Indians, and it will be noticed that the people to whom he was sent—the Assinipoets and Naywatameepoets (the same as the Nardowassis or Sioux)—are those belonging to the plain country west and south of Lake Winnipeg. Henry Kelsey afterwards rose to be a captain, and even Deputy-Governor of the Company at York Factory.

The explorer states in his journal that he got his supplies July 5th, 1691, sent the Stone Indians (Assini is the Indian word for stone) ten days before him, and set out from Deering's Point (where the Indians assemble when they go down to the coast to trade) to seek the Stone Indians; and after overtaking them travelled with them and the Nayhaythaway Indians to the country of the Naywatameepoets, and was fifty-nine days in his journey, including the resting days. He went first by water seventy-one miles from Deering's Point, and then laid up his canoes and went by land 316 miles through a woody country, and then forty-six through a plain, open country, having seen only one river in his journey, shallow but 100 yards over; and after crossing ponds, woods, and champaign lands for eighty-one miles more which abounded with buffaloes and beavers, he returned back fifty-four miles, where he met the Naywatameepoets.

The young explorer seems to have been well adapted for the rough life of the voyage and to have met with many adventures. On his return from this his first expedition, he came back with a party of Indians, dressed after their manner, and with his Indian wife, whom he had got on his journey. Kelsey sought to bring his wife with him into the Factory: to this the governor was opposed, but on the explorer telling him in English that he would not enter the fort unless his Indian wife was admitted with him, he was allowed to enter. Many stories of him were told. Once the Indians in the Interior left him asleep. While he was asleep the fire burned the moss on

which he was lying, set fire to his gun, burning the stock, which he was compelled to replace with his knife.

On one occasion he and an Indian were surprised by two grizzly bears, when the Indian escaped to a tree, and Kelsey, cut off in his retreat, could only secrete himself in a clump of high willows. The bears, eyeing the Indian on the tree, made directly for it, when Kelsey, seeing them from his retreat, fired and killed one of the pursuers; the remaining bear ran towards the place from which the shot proceeded, but not finding its hiding enemy, returned to the tree, when it was brought down by Kelsey's second shot. This action obtained him the name among the Indians of Miss-top-ashish or Little Giant.

From the details given it will be seen that Kelsey, forty years before Verandrye began his journey from Lake Superior, had threaded the watery way from Hudson's Bay, crossed the Assiniboine and Sioux country, seen the buffaloes which are peculiar to the plains, been attacked by grizzly bears which belong to the far West, and discovered under English auspices the country so strongly claimed by the North-westers as theirs by discovery; that, moreover, Kelsey had in behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company taken possession of it, interposed as a peacemaker between its band of hostile Indians, and secured their traffic for his masters, to whom by charter the territory and its trade belonged.

In striking confirmation of this claim of the Hudson's Bay Company, we have given in our map of the Dominion of Canada a fac-simile of a portion of a map published in London in 1748, accompanying

Ellis's voyage to Hudson's Bay, in which the communication between the Interior and Hudson's Bay, Lake Oninipigon, Lake of the Woods, Red Lake, and so on, is marked, but indicating no knowledge of a route between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods. This map was published only fifteen years after Verandrye began his north-west journey from Lake Superior, and is conclusive evidence of a somewhat intimate knowledge of the Interior by way of Hudson's Bay, and of their having penetrated these great wilds before the French ever crossed them.

It is only just that credit should here be given to the energy with which Samuel Hearne, a most successful explorer, penetrated to the Interior from Hudson's Bay, under the direction of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1769 and following years. Hearne has been called the North American Park, and his large quarto volume contains a most absorbing story. He discovered the Coppermine River, and not only was the first white man who saw the Arctic Ocean, but the account of his discovery of it is said to have stimulated Mackenzie to go on his voyage of 1789. Through having lost his instruments, the discoverer of the Northern Sea placed the mouth of the Coppermine some four degrees too far to the north, but otherwise his account seems thoroughly reliable. It was this same intrepid adventurer who penetrated to the Saskatchewan in 1774, as referred to in our account of the North-west Company, and founded Cumberland House.

It but remains to speak of Hudson's Bay as a means of access for commercial purposes to the Interior. The importance of the matter may be seen at a glance. Between Winnipeg and York Factory, at the mouth

of Nelson River on the west coast of Hudson's Bay, is but some 550 miles, and a country chiefly, of a level character. Strange as it may seem this York Factory is several miles nearer to Liverpool than New York. Should Hudson's Bay prove navigable for any considerable portion of the summer months, the advantage thus obtained for the fertile plains of Manitoba and the Saskatchewan country would be immense. The Canadian Government has for several years past been directing the attention of its explorers to this route, and will no doubt in due time be able to give sufficient data on the matter.

To us the facts given in the earlier part of this chapter seem to hold out strong hopes. When the voyages of two centuries ago were made, sailing-vessels could alone be used; then there was no special object in getting to the bay at the earliest possible time, nor in leaving it at the latest date possible, and yet what do these voyages show?

Captains.	Entered Hudson's Straits.	Left Hudson's Straits.
Hudson, 1610 .	June 24th . .	—
Button, 1612 .	July . . .	—
Fox, 1631 . .	June 22nd . .	October 1st.
James, 1631 .	Middle of June .	August (end).
Gillam, 1668 .	Aug. 4th (Straits) Aug. 19th entered Bay . .	—
Bylot (1st voyage), 1615 . .	May 27th . .	—
Do. (2nd voyage), 1616 . .	Entered Davis Straits, May 14th	—
Hudson's Bay Co.'s ship, 1811 .	September 26th .	—
Chappell, 1814 .	—	October 6th.

They show that so early as May in two successive years Bylot entered Davis Straits, the part that must ever contain the floating ice from the north; that in June, Hudson, Fox, and James, all entered Hudson's Straits: that Gillam entered in August, and made with a sailing-vessel the whole length of Hudson's Straits in fifteen days. Most of these explorers wintered in the bay, and having a second season to return to Britain, would not test the lateness of the season. Fox, however, made the journey to Hudson's Bay, and returned in 1631, and left the Straits so late as October. It would seem then altogether probable that from the middle of June till the middle of October, a season of four months might safely be counted on, with the possibility of another half-month at the beginning of the season.

It has been proposed that the strong sealing-vessels of Labrador, whose work in the fishing-grounds is over early, should be employed during the months of summer when they are often laid up; and should a season of four and a half months be found available, the trade between the mother country and this, in one sense, oldest colonial trading spot would assume proportions never dreamt of by adventurous Zachariah Gillam, who in the old colony days took the *Nonsuch* ketch on her important mission.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARL OF SELKIRK—IN HIS WRITINGS.

THE colonizer, who undertook to settle a colony going to its destination by the Hudson's Bay route, and to conduct it inland from the coasts of the bay five or six hundred miles, and this seventy years ago, when the means of transport were so imperfect, must have been a man of determination and strong hope.

It is worth our while to know more of such a man. Through a strange combination of circumstances, the name of Lord Selkirk, even in the New World, where he took so active a part in colonization, is little more than a name. The most ordinary facts about his life, and even about the work he did, are unknown by the people. There is no life of him extant; there is no detailed account of his colonization schemes; the few allusions made to him in passing are often erroneous.

The chief reason for all this is, that in the year after his death the two great fur-trading companies agreed to unite, and it was their interest that nothing should be said of the past. The policy so wonder-

fully successful in keeping in this century a vast fertile region so perfectly unknown, that Captain Butler in 1870 could write of it as the "Great Lone Land," did not find it difficult in the interests of trade to well-nigh extinguish the memory of the great founder of the colony in Rupert's Land.

To show how thorough were the steps taken, see the following instance. The writer has in his hands two volumes of the proof of a work dated London, 1820, the year of Lord Selkirk's death, throwing much light on the troublous period of four or five years preceding that time. So far as known, this is the only set that escaped the "besom of destruction."

Lord Selkirk and his life-work did not deserve such a fate. Not only was he a man of action, but his literary remains show him to have been a man of thought. He wrote on a variety of subjects, and a survey of his writings proves that, far from deserving the abuse that his name has received in Canada whenever occasion arose for reference to be made to it, the colonizer of Red River was a man of generous culture, kind heart, and upright character.

The clue to his life is found in his work published in 1805 on "Emigration and the State of the Highlands." That book lies before us. It is a well-written, well-reasoned book of 280 pages. It shows clearly the condition of the Highland peasantry. It is an evidence of remarkable sympathy on the part of a British peer of oldest family with the poor, helpless cottar, that is delightful in a world where

landlord and tenant seem too often to have opposing interests.

Lord Selkirk, as we have seen, was a landlord of Scotland's most south-westward county, but was so ardent in his devotion to the Highlanders, that he incurred great risks in promoting their interests and planning for their happiness. As we peruse his volume we find that he was no mere sentimentalist—the very opposite. He traces the transition of the Highland people from a state of clanship to one, at the time he wrote, of complete disintegration. The suppression of the rebellion of 1745, broke down the feudal and patriarchal condition of the Highlands.

Before this date the chief was the Augustus, Nero, and Justinian—all in one, of his clan. When he journeyed over the hills on a visit of ceremony, there must be his henchman, the bard, the bladier or spokesman, a gillie to carry his claymore, another to carry him when on foot across the fords, another to lead his horse over rugged byways, another to keep his baggage, that man of great renown, the piper, and the piper's gillie to assist in the honourable drudgery of carrying the pipes, a few gentlemen of equal social position with himself, and a crowd of what would be called elsewhere camp-followers. Dr. Johnson, who saw so little to admire in Scotland, in describing a chief of the island of Col, says, "Wherever we roved we were pleased to see the reverence with which his subjects regarded him. He did not endeavour to dazzle them by any magnificence of dress; his only distinction was a feather in his bonnet, but as soon as he appeared, they forsook their work and clustered

about him: he took them by the hand, and they seemed mutually delighted." The destruction of Jacobitism ended clanship in Scotland.

The wars of Britain drew off to perish on the battle-fields of Spain and the Low Countries the most martial both of chiefs and gillies; and others found their way to Canada to engage in the fur trade from Montreal. When the pride of a Highland chief was broken by having to acknowledge that George was king; and when the centralization of Government took away the absolute power of the chief over his clansmen, he lost his motive for maintaining a lordly retinue. Lord Selkirk traces with great clearness the inevitable sequence of events, and shows, with much of the crushing, logical force of Adam Smith, that increased rents must follow; that these could not be raised but by a system of large farms; that fewer persons would be needed, and fewer would be able to subsist on the same area; that removal must ensue, not from any capricious will of the landlord, but from changed conditions. "Now," says Lord Selkirk, "it is our duty to befriend the people; let us direct their emigration; let them be led abroad to new possessions; give them homes under our own flag, and they will strengthen the empire."

The reader will observe the time when this bold and noble policy was promulgated. It was before the abolition of negro slavery in the West India Islands; it was before the Emancipation Act; and a quarter of a century before the Reform Bill had passed. It marked a man of acute observation, of clear reasoning power; a man having the courage of

his convictions. Lord Selkirk set to work to give assistance to the homeless Highlanders. As a people of strong attachments, their aversion to leave their native heath, the senseless opposition of certain short-sighted proprietors who were unwilling, and, indeed, unable to give a fair livelihood to the peasant, and yet averse to having their dependents lessened in number, increased the difficulty.

Lord Selkirk himself says, "It is, therefore, indispensable that, to overcome these motives, some pretty strong inducements should be held out to the first party who will settle in the situation offered to them. To detached individuals it would be difficult to offer any advantage sufficiently strong to counter-balance the pleasure of being settled among friends, as well as the assistance they might expect from relatives. But if means can be found of influencing a considerable body of people, connected by the ties of blood and friendship, they may have less aversion to try a new situation; and, if such a settlement be once conducted through its first difficulties, till the adventurers feel a confidence in their resources and acquire some attachment to the country, the object may be considered as almost entirely accomplished. All these circumstances, which operate against the first proposal of change, will serve to confirm it when it is brought to this stage of advancement; and no peculiar encouragement will any longer be necessary."

And in looking at his life it is wonderful the comprehension shown by our author of the circumstances of the exile in his new home, and the sympathy extended to him. "Though," says he, "his mental

energy should remain unimpaired, the practical difficulties that await him are sufficient to discourage the most hardy. In every work he has to perform he is unpractised, and has all the awkwardness of a novice. The settler who begins on new lands has little access to the assistance of professed artificers. He must build his own house, construct his own cart, make almost all his own implements. Amidst the variety of these operations, it is well if he be not often totally at a loss and unable to proceed. Winter may overtake him with his house unfinished or, when completed, he may find it insufficient to resist the rigours of the season, and to preserve him from the loss of health. If illness attack him in his solitary residence, remote from medical assistance, his deplorable situation may easily be imagined. His awkwardness, too, exposes him to many accidents: the falling of the trees, which an experienced axeman regulates with almost mathematical precision, often takes a novice by surprise; and it is no rare occurrence that he is severely wounded in the course of his work."

These, and many other drawbacks of the first settler, Lord Selkirk realized and met to as great an extent as possible; and of the Prince Edward colonists taken out by him, he says,—

"I will not assert that the people I have taken out there have escaped all difficulties and discouragements, but the arrangements made for their accommodation have had so much success, that few, perhaps, in their situation have suffered less or have seen their difficulties so soon at an end."

The description of the settlement on Prince Edward Island is very interesting.

Three ships, in 1803, carried the 800 sad-hearted Highland colonists—the majority from the islands of Skye and Uist, and a number from Ross, Argyle, and Inverness. Lord Selkirk, hoping to have preceded them, was disappointed in arriving shortly after the first ship. He found the people in temporary wigwams, covered with spruce branches. An old Acadian village had stood on the place of their choice. Many thickets of young trees had sprung up in the cleared fields, but some spots were still ready for the inexperienced colonists. The settlement was picturesque in appearance. Heaps of baggage were lying on the shore, and at night the camp-fires lit up the woods. The old days of chief and clan seemed restored; it was difficult to get all placed on their own lots; and even along that lovely shore there came the pest of the emigrant, the officious marplot, whose only service, under the guise of sympathy, seems to be to make the settler more unhappy. As in many another colony fever, too, broke out in the settlement. His lordship, with thoughtfulness, had provided a medical man, through whose assistance the disease was soon checked. Provisions were procured by an agent of Lord Selkirk, and though difficulties arose here also, they were trifling compared with those of thousands of other settlers in other lands and later days, who have been driven to live on potatoes alone, or to dig up esculent roots after the manner of the Indians.

The zeal of the settlers was remarkable. A father

and three sons occupied one lot; the father, sixty years of age, insisted on becoming an axeman; the sons had no resource but to hide the axe, and the aged woodman spared the tree for the best of reasons. An elderly widow and her two sons had taken a claim; the young men being absent from home, the octogenarian matron had seized the axe and undertaken to fell a tree; the return of her sons stopped her well-meant efforts in time to prevent the tumbling monarch of the forest from crushing to the earth their humble dwelling.

The settlement continued to thrive; the people gained courage; they began to love their new home; and two years after their arrival our author says, speaking of the general improvement, "One of very moderate property, who had a small possession in the Isle of Skye, traces his lineage to a family which had once possessed an estate in Ross-shire, but had lost it in the turbulence of the feudal times. He has given to his new property the name of the ancient seat of his family, has selected a situation with more taste than might have been expected from a mere peasant; and to render the house of Auchtertyre worthy of its name, is doing more than would otherwise have been expected from a man of his station."

In the new world the poverty-stricken settler has many a time since regained his ancestral competence; and thousands have reaped rewards undreamt of by their forefathers.

Such a man was Lord Selkirk, as seen from this work—a man of reasoning power, not a weakling: a man of knowledge of details, no mere theorist: a man

of deep sympathy, not a man embarking in these enterprises for the sake of improper gain : a lover of his countrymen, and with a remarkable faculty for organizing and carrying out a scheme of large proportions.

Another work of Lord Selkirk, of considerable importance, is lying side by side with the one now described. It is, "On the Necessity of a more Effectual System of National Defence." The book is a reprint in 1860 of the original published in 1808. The editor's note in republishing contains a remark that will frequently be impressed on the reader as the life of Lord Selkirk is followed out. His lordship is described as "a remarkable man, who had the misfortune to live before his time." Half a century after its first appearance his work on Defence seemed worthy of being brought to notice again. It will be remembered that it was immediately after the first issue of this work that the Earl was made Fellow of the Royal Society. In it he shows, in a most fervid appeal, the danger in which England was at that time. "A successful invasion of England," says he, "would not be more remote from the course of ordinary events, than many of those which the history of the last three tremendous years (1805-8) will have to record. Four years ago, Napoleon must have staked both his power and his personal safety on the success of the enterprise : his situation is now such, that the failure of an attempt at invasion would endanger neither. We are engaged with an enemy whose implacable rancour can only be equalled by his formidable power and the singular ability with which all his enterprises

are concerted. The dangers which, in former times, may have deterred men less bent on their purpose, will now be little regarded. We may be certain that no sacrifices will be deemed too great, if they can purchase our destruction; that the lives of 100,000 men will be counted as nothing; and if our enemy be thus determined to despise even hazard, there is no enterprise, however desperate, in which a concurrence of fortunate accidents may not open the road to success."

Lord Selkirk manifests here the same love of country as we have seen him show in his sympathy for his unfortunate countrymen. He had, the year before writing the foregoing, in his place in the House of Lords, given the germ of his plan of providing for the defence of the empire from the despot who was then threatening it. This was, "Every young man between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, throughout Great Britain, should be enrolled and completely trained to military discipline." He estimated that of the population of Britain, then put down as about 11,000,000, upwards of 600,000 were between the ages named, and eligible for this purpose. The training would proceed in a continual succession. For three months officers would train one-fourth of those within their districts; so on with the second quarter, till all would have secured twelve weeks of drill in the year. Once a year a general assemblage would take place at a fixed time, and the trained men be kept in form by the drill required. With due regard to the interests of the agriculturists, the beginning of summer would be selected as the time of general assemblage.

He enters into the question of organization with a minuteness of detail and a clearness of statement quite remarkable in an amateur soldier, and showing that rare grasp and foresight that were his special qualities. When we look at the amazing German system of Kaiser Wilhelm, of united Germany, in his invincible *Landwehr*, we see simply Lord Selkirk's plan in practice. The reserve force in Canada is a like body which, though hitherto not called on, unless to a certain extent in the war of 1812, has in it the possibilities of greatest usefulness. The scheme well reflects the fertility of resource, the power of organization, possessed by the noble writer.

It is not only interesting to notice the part taken by great men in times of national exigence, but also taken by them in the interior economy of the country in the politics of the time. Blind adherence to party is ever a mark of narrowness of vision or of obstinacy of disposition. No political party can look back on an unclouded history; no party but is driven at one time or other to take up untenable ground, by the force of circumstances. We speak not of ideal politics but of existing realities. The force of any popular movement cannot always be confined within the bounds of reason, or of wise expediency. Accordingly, individuals are continually being called upon to reconsider from time to time the conditions of their political allegiance. It marks the honest man, the brave man, the patriot, who is able to exercise his individual opinions, and, should necessity require it, who is able to throw off the trammels of party. We are by no means saying on

the other hand that, in any particular case, the party may not be right and the individual wrong.

We have lying before us a pamphlet marking one of these crises in the life of Lord Selkirk. The family of Lord Selkirk had been a Whig family. This might have been inferred from the views enunciated by him in the work on "Emigration," of which we have already spoken. To advocate emigration, as a movement to be encouraged by the government in 1802, marked an independent mind far ahead of his time. Liberal principles, at the beginning of the present century, had received a terrible shock from the excesses of the French Revolution of the previous decade. It was useless for the Liberal leaders to show the want of connexion between the principles of equality and the frightful lawlessness of the Paris mob. The English mind did connect them; and then, as the outcome of these events, to see a mighty despotism like that of Napoleon rising and threatening Europe, was almost enough to raise a cry for the return of the exiled House of Stuart to Britain.

Besides, Lord Selkirk had, in 1803, visited the United States. The first generation of the Republic had passed away; the enthusiasm of a new-born nation was dying out, and the rancour of political parties was heard on every side: the cry of discontent of a senseless democracy was loud in America, and at this very time Lord Selkirk had published a pamphlet on "Parliamentary Reform," in 1809, addressed to the chairman of the committee at the "Crown and Anchor." In it he states his father and brother to

have been zealous friends of a Parliamentary Reform, and that all his early impressions were in favour of such a measure. "He had thought," he said, "that if the representation were equalized, the right of suffrage extended, the duration of parliaments shortened, bribery could scarcely be applied with effect." With his family he had held such ideas. "But," says he, "I have had an opportunity, which they never had, of seeing the political application of those principles from which we expected consequences so beneficial. With grief and mortification I perceived that no such advantages had resulted as from them I had been led to anticipate." He concludes his letter, "I am no alarmist, but as I firmly believe that amidst violent changes there is more probability of making our government worse than better, I deprecate the discussion to which you wish me to lend my name, as calculated to divide the friends of substantial reformation, and to defeat every valuable, safe, and attainable improvement in the management of our public affairs." Lord Selkirk went further still, and ever since that time his family have belonged to what is now called the "Conservative" party. Whatever different opinions may be entertained as to the course taken, and they will be different, one thing is abundantly plain, that Lord Selkirk was earnest in his desire for the good of his country, and likewise that, far from being the doctrinaire some would have us regard him, he was capable of modifying his theories by the facts of the case.

The philanthropic side of our author we have

already seen in his bearing towards the expatriated Highlanders. He had also a warm side to the Indians of the North-west. Two anonymous pamphlets, entitled "On the Civilization of the Indians in British America," and "Observations on a Proposal for forming a Society for the Civilization and Improvement of the North American Indians within the British Boundary," contain so plainly sentiments similar to those expressed in his work published in 1816, "Sketch of the British Fur Trade," that we are safe in attributing these opinions to Lord Selkirk. The former of these pamphlets is without date, the latter appeared in 1807.

They consist of a plea for the education and Christianization of the Indian. The author is of opinion that the mere proclamation of the Gospel without instruction in the simpler arts of life, is not enough; and in this it is beginning to be felt by all, after many years of experience, that for wandering tribes like the North American Indians, settlement in one place and instruction in simple agriculture ought to go hand-in-hand with religious teaching.

The author of the pamphlet would begin schools in which young Indians might be instructed, not only in ordinary branches, but which would be what he calls "Schools of Industry." He would have certain portions of the country set apart for the Indians alone, he would have the "Legislature applied to for an Act to authorize the Governor of Canada to fix by proclamation the limits of the country reserved for the use of the Indian nations," and he would secure the total suppression of the liquor traffic,

whose ravages among the Indians he describes in startling colours. We ask the intelligent reader to reflect that during the last ten years in which the dominion of Canada has been in possession of the vast North-west territories, the Canadian Parliament has passed an Act totally prohibiting intoxicating liquor in those territories; has set aside reserves for many thousand Indians, and not more than three years ago sent out instructors in agriculture to assist the missionaries in the fuller instruction of the Indian tribes. Interested persons declared Lord Selkirk's Indian plans utopian before 1820; they are all in actual operation in 1881.

So much for the man as seen in his writings. In consequence of the conflict in which he was engaged subsequent to 1812, the works then coming from his pen are more of a specific kind, and do not come within the scope of our present chapter. They were somewhat numerous, and were all written with much force and ability. No one can fail to see in Lord Selkirk a man of thought and of deep sympathy for the sufferings of the civilized and the savage alike, of courageous and venturesome disposition, and of patriotic spirit, a man of great mental activity, and well versed in the affairs of his times.

In the year before Lord Selkirk's death, and when his health was greatly reduced by his troubles, his sister, Lady Katherine Halkett, wrote to Sir Walter Scott, already mentioned as one of the companions of Selkirk's youth and a fast friend of the family, requesting him to lend his aid in placing fairly before the world the misrepresentations of Lord Selkirk's

enemies. The chivalrous Sir Walter was suffering acutely at the time, and was unable to comply with her ladyship's wish. His letter in reply has not been published till now. We give so much of it as bears upon our subject, as a fitting conclusion of the present chapter.

"MY DEAR LADY KATHERINE,—I was most exceedingly indisposed when your ladyship's very kind letter reached me. . . . The bad news your favour conveyed with respect to my dear and esteemed friends, Lord and Lady Selkirk, did not greatly tend to raise my spirits, lowered as they are by complete exhaustion. . . . I am afraid I have already said enough to satisfy your ladyship how ill-qualified I am, especially at this moment, to undertake a thing of such consequence to Lord Selkirk as a publication of his case. . . . It is most painful to me in these circumstances, my dear Lady Katherine, to feel that I should be attempting an impossibility in the wish to make myself master of the very unpleasant train of difficulties and embarrassments in which Lord Selkirk has been engaged. . . . Most devoutly do I hope that these unpleasant transactions will terminate as favourably as Lord Selkirk's ardent wish to do good, and the sound policy of his colonizing scheme deserve; for, as I never knew in my life a man of a more generous and disinterested disposition, or whose talents and perseverance were better qualified to bring great and national schemes to conclusion, I have only to regret in common with his other friends, the impediments that have been thrown in his way by the rapacious avarice of this great Company.

"I have been three days in writing this scrawl. I cannot tell your ladyship how anxious I am about Lord and Lady Selkirk.

"I beg my best compliments to Mr. Halkett, and am always, with most sincere respect and regard,

"Your ladyship's most obedient

"And faithful servant,

"WALTER SCOTT.

"*Edinburgh*, 10*th June*, 1819."

CHAPTER VI.

SELKIRK SETTLEMENT.

So early as the year 1802, Lord Selkirk foresaw the fertile valley of the Red River of the North, and its tributaries, as the home of contented thousands. He had satisfied himself of the natural advantages of the soil, of the satisfactory character of the climate for a successful agricultural settlement, and was not to be deterred by the long and difficult approach to it from Hudson's Bay. To this region he saw the possibility of taking a large body of the discontented and unfortunate population of Scotland and Ireland.

On the 4th of April, 1802, he addressed to Lord Pelham, Secretary of State for the Home Department, a letter and memorial, detailing the practicability of promoting emigration to the locality named in the centre of Rupert's Land. Through the kindness of the Earl of Kimberley, Colonial Secretary (1881) a copy of this letter and memorial lies before us. In these Lord Selkirk says, "No large tract of land remains unoccupied on the sea-coast of British America, except barren and frozen deserts. To find a sufficient extent of good soil in a temperate climate

we must go far inland. This inconvenience is not, however, an unsurmountable obstacle to the prosperity of a colony, and appears to be amply compensated by other advantages that are to be found in some remote parts of the British territory. At the western extremity of Canada, upon the waters which fall into Lake Winnipeg, and uniting in the great river of Port Nelson discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay, is a country which the Indian traders represent as fertile, and of a climate far more temperate than the shores of the Atlantic under the same parallel, and not more severe than that of Germany or Poland. Here, therefore, the colonists may, with a moderate exertion of industry, be certain of a comfortable subsistence; and they may also raise some valuable objects of exportation. . . . Some of the British traders have extended their discoveries into a climate which appears well adapted even for the vine, the successful cultivation of which would save immense sums that go every year from this kingdom into the hands of its enemies. To a colony in these territories the channel of trade must be the river of Port Nelson."

The matter was referred to Lord Buckinghamshire, Colonial Secretary, but the plan failed for the time, not because of any unsuitableness of the country, but "because the prejudices of the British people were so strong against emigration." During the next year, 1803, as we have seen, a considerable colony of Highlanders, despite all obstacles, were led by Lord Selkirk to the New World; and through the wishes of the Government he was under the necessity of taking

them not to the Lake Winnipeg, but to Prince Edward Island. After seeing his colonists safe in Prince Edward Island, he went to Canada and the United States. It was always a ruling motive with Lord Selkirk to preserve to Britain her people who were going in large numbers to the United States. On visiting the United States he found numbers of "families from Scotland and Wales now in New England and the State of New York," who were willing to remove to Upper Canada, if favourable terms could be obtained. At this time choice land in Upper Canada could be had at about seven pence per acre.

A most interesting bundle of documents lies before us, as to this repatriation movement from the United States begun by his lordship, during the portions of the years 1803 and 1804 spent by him in the New World. A few families of the Prince Edward Colony, some twenty in number, had come on to a settlement begun by an agent in behalf of his lordship in Upper Canada, so early as 1802 or 1803. This settlement was in the townships of Dover and Chatham, in the extreme west of the province, and lay above Detroit between Lake St. Clair and the River Thames. To this settlement was given the name "Baldoon," taken from a portion of the estates of his lordship in the south of Scotland.

During the year 1804 Lord Selkirk was in frequent correspondence with the Executive of Upper Canada as to plans for the settlement and advancement of Upper Canada. As any one knows who is at all conversant with the early history of that province, one

of the great obstacles to its settlement was the want of roads, by which new districts might be reached. So greatly was this felt that his lordship, as a man of means, was induced to make a proposition to the government for the carrying out of an excellent scheme for connecting his settlement as well as other western settlements with York (Toronto) by means of a good waggon-road.

His proposal is made on the 30th of August, 1804, to General Hunter, at that time Governor of Upper Canada. He proposes to build the road from the Grand River to Amherstburgh, which he estimates to cost about 20,000*l.*; or should the government prefer it the whole distance from York to Amherstburgh, which would cost about 40,000*l.*, not being much less than three hundred miles. For this, as the colony was poor and unable to raise money, he offers to accept a payment of wild lands on each side of the road to be built. This would have undoubtedly been a great boon to the province, but the executive council, estimating the land at a figure far above the market price, considered the terms offered by Lord Selkirk too high, and missed the rare opportunity of having the highway through the province made.

In the year 1805 a proposal was made by Lord Selkirk from London to take and settle one of the Mohawk townships on the Grand River in Upper Canada, and the government seem to have acquiesced in the proposal; but the troubled state of Europe appears to have directed attention for a time from the scheme. The swampy character of the soil in the Baldoon settlement was found to render the region anything

but healthful, and the colony at that place cannot be said to have succeeded.

But Selkirk, undeterred by the difficulties of colonizing, turned his eyes to the very spot he had first brought before the British Government—the region of Lake Winnipeg—and there he would found a new province—a Selkirk colony—where life under new circumstances would be worked out. A grand conception, surely!

"Visionary!" say the selfish, timid, ease-loving critics, full of sordid, common-place ideas. God be praised that there are men whom such worms of the dust call visionary!

Columbus was such a visionary—"he would be lost in an unknown sea." Penn was visionary—"his colonists must inevitably perish from the Indians unless they used sword and gun to protect themselves." Morse was visionary—"to dream of transmitting thought along a slender wire!" And so with scores of earth's greatest minds. "Monomaniacs," "lunatics," "bores," "narrow," "peculiar," "impracticable," a whole host of like expressions are hurled at the heads of projectors of new things, the propounders of great ideas, the choice minds that can grasp the ideal. But America was discovered; Pennsylvania was founded; the telegraph does work: yes, and Lord Selkirk's state is rising in Manitoba, and the Hudson's Bay route is claiming great attention to-day.

Unable to obtain the co-operation of the British Government in his scheme of North-west settlement, Lord Selkirk now formed the bold project of obtaining through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company

the requisite territory. About the year 1810, he began to turn his attention in earnest to the matter. His plan was to become possessed from the Company of a considerable territory, where he might implant his colony, and carry out his grand experiment. The first thing was to find out whether the Hudson's Bay Company had any right or title to the immense possessions claimed by them. Lord Selkirk submitted the Hudson's Bay Company's charter to the highest legal authorities in London at the time.

Their opinion is given in full.

"We are of opinion that the grant of the soil contained in the charter is good, and that it will include all the country, the waters of which run into Hudson's Bay, as ascertained by geographical observations.

"We are of opinion that an individual, holding from the Hudson's Bay Company a lease, or grant in fee simple of any part of their territory, will be entitled to all the ordinary rights of landed property in England, and will be entitled to prevent other persons from occupying any part of the lands, from cutting down timber, and fishing in the adjoining waters (being such as a private right of fishing may subsist in), and may (if he can peaceably or otherwise by due course of law) dispossess them of any buildings which they have recently erected within the limits of their property.

"We are of opinion that the grant of the civil and criminal jurisdiction is valid, but it is not granted to the Company, but to the Government and Council at their respective establishments: but we cannot recommend it to be exercised so as to affect the lives or

limbs of criminals. It is to be exercised by the governor and council as judges, who are to proceed according to the law of England.

"The Company may appoint a sheriff to execute judgments, and to do his duty as in England.

"We are of opinion that the sheriff, in case of resistance to his authority, may collect the population to his assistance, and may put arms into the hands of his servants for defence against attack, and to assist in enforcing the judgments of the court; but such powers cannot be exercised with too much circumspection.

"We are of opinion that all persons will be subject to the jurisdiction of the court, who reside, or are found within the territories over which it extends.

"We do not think the Canada Jurisdiction Act (43 Geo. III.) gives jurisdiction within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, the same being within the jurisdiction of their own governors and council.

"We are of opinion that the governor (in Hudson's Bay) might, under the authority of the Company, appoint constables and other officers for the preservation of the peace, and that the officers so appointed would have the same duties and privileges as the same officers in England, so far as these duties and privileges may be applicable to their situation in the territories of the Company.

"Signed, SAMUEL ROMILLY.
" G. S. HOLROYD (afterwards Mr. Justice).
" W. M. CRUISE.
" J. SCARLETT.
" JOHN BELL."

This opinion deserves much consideration. Pronounced as it is, by most eminent counsel, not to extricate a client from difficulties, but given at the beginning of an enterprise, from which great consequences were to follow, its force is greatly stronger than it would have been in other circumstances. In the midst of the troubles that afterwards arose on the founding of Lord Selkirk's Colony, the Nor'-westers obtained a legal opinion, in 1816, from Sir Arthur Pigott, Mr. Spankie, and Mr. Brougham, adverse in tone to the one above cited. After reading it through, it must be said that it does nothing more than suggest possible doubts as to the legality of the exclusive privileges conferred on the Company, of the grant to Lord Selkirk, he being a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, and as to the right of exercising jurisdiction—but these are of the most cautious and non-committal character. It is very significant that the North-west Company never ventured to bring its case before the courts of law.

Fortified, one would have said beyond all doubt, by the confident legal opinion given, Lord Selkirk proceeded to purchase a large quantity of the stock of the Hudson's Bay Company. Up to May, 1811, he or his relatives had acquired some 35,000*l.* out of a total capital variously stated as from 105,000*l.* to 180,000*l.* Having finally and legally purchased so large a portion of the stock, a general court of proprietors was called to consider his proposition to settle, within a limited time, a large colony—assuming the expense of transport, of outlay for the settlers, of Government, of protection, and of quieting the Indian

title; truly a large responsibility should the grant be made. The fur trade was largely destroyed in the Red River valley, and no longer should there be any obstacle to the settlement of so fertile and inviting a spot.

The North-western agents in London were thrown into a state of consternation. The starving thousands of Britain, and the fact that an immense region existed fit to sustain them all in comfort, was nothing to them. The empire of wolves and foxes was more congenial. They sought to check the project by buying up the Hudson's Bay Company stock, a thing represented as monstrous on the part of Lord Selkirk, but quite defensible when done for their purpose. Six proprietors—William Thwaits, Robert Whitehead, John Fish, and three avowed Nor'-westers, two of whom had only bought Hudson's Bay Company stock within forty-eight hours of the meeting—protested strongly against the grant. Among other reasons of opposition, it is amusing to see that they objected because the emigrant settlers would be placed "out of the reach of all those aids and comforts which are derived from civil society." Suffice it to say, that while there was this opposition and protest, a great majority of the Proprietors, and the Committee of Directors unanimously, approved of the grant. The district thus disposed of was called Assiniboia. It took its name undoubtedly from the Assiniboel tribe; though an enthusiastic highlander of the time—as seen in "Chappell's Voyages"—maintains it to be derived from two Gaelic words, "Osni" and "boia," the house of Ossian. It is variously estimated to have been from 75,000 to 116,000 square miles in extent. It included the valleys

of the Red River and Assiniboine, and is undoubtedly one of the most fertile districts of North America.

Lord Selkirk then issued the advertisement and prospectus of the New Colony. The document holds forth the advantages to be derived from joining the colony. It is thoroughly in the line of the views expressed in his work on "Emigration." We quote one paragraph as showing the broad and generous character of the proposal at a time when, it will be remembered, British legislation was far from doing equal justice to all the people.

"The settlement is to be formed in a territory where religion is not the ground of any disqualification, an unreserved participation in every privilege will therefore be enjoyed by Protestant and Catholic without distinction."

In the spirit of the legal opinion given, provision was made for the maintenance of peace and order in the New Colony, and Mr. Miles Macdonell, formerly Captain of the Queen's Rangers, was appointed Governor by the Hudson's Bay Company, and nominated to the charge of his colony by Lord Selkirk.

In 1811 the party, gathered from the North of Scotland and West of Ireland, embarked, as we have seen, some seventy of Highland cottars from Sutherland and fifteen or twenty Irish people from Sligo. This band of eighty or ninety persons arrived at York Factory, on Hudson's Bay, too late in the season to proceed further.

Settlers arriving on the shores of Hudson's Bay in the latter part of summer, and having insufficient clothing, could not but suffer, as thousands of settlers

have done in Canada in like circumstances. Rations were issued to them by the Hudson's Bay Company, and all done that could be for their protection. In 1812, the party reached Red River, a number being labourers, specially engaged under a three years' contract to assist in the erection of houses and to prepare for the arrival of subsequent settlers.

During the year 1812, very few persons were allowed to go from Scotland by Lord Selkirk, although a large number of applications were made. Not more than fifteen or twenty went out, and those all of the class that could be useful in preparing the way for others. These arrived at Red River in 1813, so that by the close of that year, about 100 in all constituted the colony.

The reception given to these early settlers was not distinctly hostile. It was, however, far from cordial. The North-west traders were the controlling power in the country. The French Bois-brûlés, a race whom we shall afterwards describe, were in their employ; and the Indians were silent spectators, not knowing how to act in the circumstances, but, on the whole, friendly to the new-comers.

The two winters of 1812-13 and 1813-14, as well as several subsequent winters, were spent at Pembina, a point about sixty miles further up Red River than the settlement, and just at the 49° parallel N., the boundary-line between British possessions and the United States, but not at that time defined. North of this line the country is more wooded and sheltered, and to this day forms one of the advantages possessed by Manitoba over the territory of Dakota, to the south of

it. But this very peculiarity prevented the vast herds of buffalo which frequent the exposed plains from approaching the settlement; accordingly, it was necessary that the settlers, to obtain a sufficient supply of food, should go to the more exposed locality.

Under Governor Macdonell's direction, a fort had been erected at Pembina, Fort Daer, bearing as its name one of Lord Selkirk's titles. This afforded shelter and protection to the settlers. But their life, even at this point, was a hard one. As to speed, the buffalo will distance a fleet horse, and the Selkirk colonists had not a horse among them. Their only mode of getting an occasional buffalo was to creep noiselessly through the snow, among the scanty bushes, and approach the wild herd by stealth. Even this was rendered difficult by threats from the Nor'-westers, who never were guilty, at this time, of open outrages, but who inspired the Bois-brûlés, and the Indians—or, it is said, disguised themselves as Indians—to accomplish acts of violence. They are even accused of having driven away the buffalo out of reach of the settlement. When at Red River in summer fish and buffalo meat were not obtainable, the settlers were at times driven to live upon the roots of a species of wild parsnip and upon other herbs.

During the spring of 1814 they succeeded in sowing a small quantity of wheat, which they had secured at Fort Alexander, a port on the east shore of Lake Winnipeg. Neither horse nor ox had the settlers wherewith to till the soil, but there were no trees requiring to be cut down, and they did the best they could with hoes to prepare the ground.

It was at this juncture that the third brigade or party, the largest yet, arrived in the settlement. They had left the Orkneys in the *Prince of Wales*, sailing-vessel, in June, 1813. The party was made up at starting of ninety-three persons, and was under the command of Mr. Archibald Macdonald, who has written, in a concise and remarkably clear pamphlet, an account of the voyage. Mr. Macdonald remained during the winter with his company at Churchill; and early in April, 1814, after having all the season supplied the people with provisions, went with fifty-one persons to York Factory, no doubt the stronger of them, who it was very important should reach Red River early enough in the season to obtain a crop. They reached Red River on the 22nd of June, and were immediately supplied with thirty or forty bushels of potatoes for planting. The company was in excellent health and spirits. They were favourably impressed with the country, and wrote numerous letters to their friends in Scotland, urging them to join them in their new homes.

Immediately on their arrival steps were taken to give the settlers land, and by the 12th of July each family was put in possession of a hundred acres. Being thoroughly satisfied, they proceeded to build houses, and on the 25th of July, the Governor, Miles Macdonell, started northward, bearing the letters referred to, and intending to bring the remainder of the party from Churchill; while Archibald Macdonald and Peter Fidler were left in charge of the colony, at that time consisting of about 150 souls. Later in the season the remainder of Alexander Macdonald's party ar-

rived, and now the population of the colony numbered about 200.

But this year, 1814, was one of the eventful years of the colony. The attitude of the North-west Company became decidedly hostile, and there could no longer be any doubt as to their intentions. We shall be compelled, in another chapter, to enter more fully into the actions of the North-west Company; suffice it to mention here, as necessary to our narrative, that in January of the year 1814, Governor Miles Macdonell took a step, which was laid hold of to justify open hostility on the part of the North-west Company. The governor issued a proclamation that, on account of the demands of the settlers and the necessity for preparing for others arriving, no provisions should be exported from the country, but that payment would be made by him for all provisions brought to him. Steps were likewise taken to see that the proclamation was not disregarded.

It was after the month of August of this year that a man appeared upon the scene, who figured largely in the events of that and the following year—Duncan Cameron by name. He was put in charge of the North-western Fort, known as Fort Gibraltar, half a mile nearer the Forks than Fort Douglas. He appeared at Red River, sporting a suit of military uniform, gave himself out as a captain in his Majesty's service, and acting by the king's authority vested in him by Sir George Prevost, took every way of ingratiating himself into the good graces of the colonists. He spoke their language—always a recommendation to every well-conditioned highlander—he entertained the

settlers at his table, and sympathized with them in their trials, greatly blaming Lord Selkirk for their troubles. He spoke of the dangers from the Indians and of the great attractions of the new lands of Canada, offering cattle, implements, a free passage, and other inducements, should the settlers leave Red River and accept his assistance in making new homes in the East. By representing the danger and suffering of their present situation, and painting in glowing colours the advantages of Canada, a majority of the settlers were gained over. Several arrests had been made by the Nor'-westers, notably that of the Sheriff Spencer. In 1815, the Nor'-westers robbed Fort Douglas whilst the governor was absent at Fort Daer. Cannon, fire-arms, tools, &c., were carried off, and the settlers were more than ever impressed by the power of the North-west Company.

In June three-fourths of the settlers left the country. Cameron had succeeded well. These numbered about 140, and their descendants may be found in West Gwillimbury, Zorra, and the counties of Elgin and Middlesex, in Ontario.

Three-fourths of the band having thus been led away by guile, force was now resorted to by the Nor'-westers to rid themselves of the remainder. A document was served on them to the following effect :—

"All settlers to retire immediately from the Red River, and no trace of a settlement to remain.

"CUTHBERT GRANT,
"BOSTONAIS PANGMAN,
"WILLIAM SHAW,
"BONHOMME MONTOUR.

"*June 25th*, 1815."

These were servants of the North-westers. Of Cuthbert Grant we shall hear again.

On the 27th June, the beleaguered settlers, some thirteen families, in all from forty to sixty persons, who remained true to Lord Selkirk and the colony, were driven from their homes like the Acadian refugees, and journeyed northward to Norway House (Jack River) on the way to Hudson's Bay. They had been there but a very short time when Colin Robertson and some twenty clerks and servants arrived at Jack River, coming from Canada, and with him they returned, more fortunate than the refugees of Grand Prè, and re-occupied the houses remaining—for most of their homes had been ruthlessly burnt by the North-western banditti. Robertson had been sent by Lord Selkirk to assist the colony, and had arrived with his attendants at Red River to find the settlement destroyed and the settlers dispersed. It was then that he had followed the refugees, and finding them at Jack River, he led them back to the blackened sites of their former homes on 19th of August, 1815.

The colony now consisted of about one-fourth of its original number, but it was soon recruited again. In the month of October of the same year the largest party that had yet arrived at one time landed at Red River, and swelled the numbers up to about three-fourths of the population of the colony before Cameron commenced his insidious arts. With great diligence and hopefulness the settlers now prepared for the future. The desertion of a large party of them tended to make the remainder more determined, and the new arrivals were cheered by hearing of the return

of the exiles a short time before them, and with the prospects of a time of peace on the broad lands of their generous patron.

The winter over at Pembina, the settlers, cheered by the genial spring, were looking forward to a season of work and progress. Rumours had, it is true, reached them of hostile intentions on the part of the Bois-brûlés and Nor'-westers, but these they had hoped would turn out empty threats. The crops had been sown, the green grain was in the fields, and the grass was on the plains, when the threatened attack came. A horde of Bois-brûlés appeared, and before the sun had set a hostile attack had been made on the governor and his body-guard. Governor Semple, who was at that time over the settlement, and twenty men were brutally murdered on the plain, a number of the settlers taken prisoners by the banditti, and again the notice was served upon them in June, 1816, to desert their new homes and seek their native land. What evil genius follows the refugees of Sutherlandshire that neither in old world nor in new can they find rest for the soles of their feet! Almost better to have perished in the sea than, having faced the dangers of the long and toilsome journey, be exposed to the tender mercies of the wild race of reckless fur-traders. Wofully they betake themselves to their boats and hie away to the resort of Norway House, at the northern extremity of Lake Winnipeg, to wait for news from their patron and powerful friend, who, we shall see, was not forgetful of them in their distress.

Such was the stormy period of five years spent by the Selkirk settlers on their journeyings, or on the

banks of Red River. It was a struggle for existence in the fullest sense. Hunger, fear, threatenings, deceit, poverty, bloodshed, were the constant features of their lives. Their brethren who deserted the settlement, taught by the double-faced Cameron, have spoken many an ill thing of Lord Selkirk, their benefactor; some of them with ill-disguised hatred lent themselves as instruments in the hands of his enemies in the legal prosecution that took place in subsequent years; but it is the unanimous testimony of the Selkirk colonists who remained, and their descendants, that no man was ever a truer friend to the settler than the founder of the colony of Red River.

As it is always interesting to get the statements of those who are eye-witnesses, the account of one of the original Selkirk settlers, still living, is subjoined, taken down last year (1881) from the lips of the narrator, who was a lad when he came to Red River from Sutherlandshire in 1815, and who gives his account in his own way.

STORY OF JOHN POLSON, FARMER.

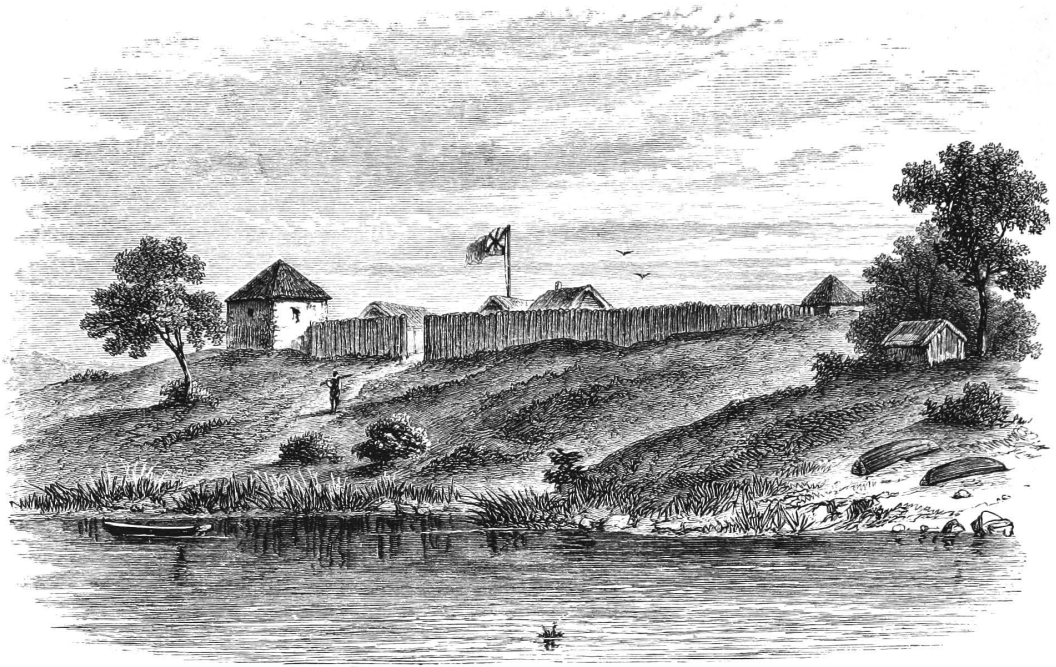
"The early settlement extended from where the City of Winnipeg begins northward to the Frog Plain. There was no settlement across the river on the east side until a good while after 1815. The Gunns and the Mathesons were the first who began on that side. We came out in the fall of 1815, though some came previously in 1811 and 1813. We started, I believe, in the month of June, and came through here in one season. We came by way of Hudson's Bay to York Factory, and did not go to Churchill at all.

We were ten weeks on the sea. The journey from York Factory here took something over a month. I only know of this from having been told it. There were very old persons and very young persons in the party.

"I remember where Fort Douglas stood. It stood just on the north side of the creek, this side north of Alexander Logan's house, in the city of Winnipeg. A large windmill stood there for many years afterwards, though it was not in existence at that time. The fort was near the bank of Red River; a good deal of the land on which it stood has broken away and fallen into the river. Some Indians were buried just there, at Point Douglas, the graves having been sunk very deep. I remember seeing years afterwards the ends of the coffins protruding out of the bank. I do not know that all the ground on which the fort stood is now under water in the river, but a good deal of it has fallen.

"I remember old Fort Gibraltar, the North-west Company's fort. It stood between the old Fort Garry and the Upper Ferry, about where the immigrant sheds now are, I think. The Hudson's Bay Company had also a fort there alongside Fort Gibraltar, for Fort Douglas was the colonists' fort. The present fine fort was built where it now stands, in Governor Christie's time, about 1835, I think. The first house built in it (the old store) stands there still, but they have covered it over again. Governor Christie was a stout Scotchman. He was a long time governor.

"Not only was there this settlement in Kildonan



FORT DOUGLAS, RED RIVER. FROM SKETCH BY THE EARL OF SELKIRK, 1817.

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when we came, but the French were on the other side of the river above the fort; also on this side as far down as Fort Douglas, and where the railway bridge now is. The year we arrived the Selkirk settlers had largely left and gone to Canada; those who did not go had been driven away, but came back before we arrived. There were not many of them. Senator Sutherland's mother was one of those who stayed; her name was Catherine McPherson. She met us here, and lived and died here. She resided at Point Douglas near where the new bridge is when I mind (remember) her. A few of the settlers who came when we did went to Canada also.

"I knew the old catechist Sutherland, who came with the settlers instead of Mr. Sage, a minister who was to have come with us, but who remained behind because he wanted to have another year finishing his studies. The catechist was invested with the authority to marry and baptize. He had a family. A son of his from Canada came to visit us a few years ago. Mr. Sutherland, the catechist, was a very fine man, and a very good man in the opinion of the settlers.

"There were hard times among the few settlers who remained. That was after the murder of Governor Semple, which took place, I believe, the next spring after we came. The Bois-brûlés camped where the old water-mill was, at the creek, at (the present) Sheriff Inkster's—that was where the first shots were fired. I must have seen Governor Semple, but I mind nothing about him. We went with the rest of the people who were sent off to Norway house in 1816, and we passed a winter there. The next winter

we went to Pembina. There had been no crop except, perhaps, a little that had been put down with the hoe, but nothing to keep us. I can just mind a little of the place at Pembina, it was on the far-off side of the little river (the Pembina). The fort was on the south side. I do not remember that it was called Fort Daer. There was a north-western fort on the other side. The vicinity was a large plain, and I have seen it dark with buffalo. That was some time about the New Year. I would go up on the top of one of our little shanties and I could not see an opening in the great black mass of moving creatures. One would just have thought that it was a flock of sheep standing together. The men used to crawl after them, that was their way of hunting.

"In the summer we came down by boat, and began a little farming by the hoe. Here, at Kildonan, it was a wooded place; it was so from the river out to the main road when we came here. The next winter we went again to Pembina; but after that we raised so much that we could do without going. The Indians were harmless, and the people were not afraid of them; they had no reason to be so. The Indians gave all of us white men the name of 'Shagenash.' I do not remember that they used to us the names 'jardiniers,' or 'tillers of the soil.' It would be the Bois-brûlés who would call us by that name.

"I remember well Lord Selkirk, I do not mind about seeing him at starting. He came with a band of men from Canada; I cannot now describe to you the appearance of the man. When he came with his soldiers, I believe they had hard times. I remember

seeing his soldiers, but they had not military clothes. Kaufman (one who became a settler) was one of them. He was a smart little man ; he married a McKay, one of our people. There were after this a few of these Germans who settled about the little river (the Seine) that empties into the Red River at St. Boniface. We have always called the stream German Creek, after them. There were also some Swiss who came to the country ; they came out by Hudson's Bay, by the same route taken by us. Land was given out to them in small lots, and they settled near German Creek. All these left the country after a great flood we had in 1826.

"Coming back to our fort (Douglas) old Mr. (Thomas) Logan bought the whole place where the Selkirk Fort, then called the Colony Fort, stood. The fort was built of standing wood, the lower ends driven into the ground, and was composed of good-sized logs, twelve or fifteen feet high, as palisades. I think it was as large as the old part of the present Fort Garry. There was a store inside of it, also a forge, a carpenter's shop, the master's house, and a great many other buildings. I cannot say how many. The nearest house to it from the end of the settlement was where Neil McDonald's place was.

"As to whether there were any Irish people in the early settlement, I do not mind of any in the ship with us. Bourke (Irish) was here before us, I think. The first I mind of him, he lived across the river a little this side of where the new bridge now is. He married a Sioux half-breed woman. She was half Scotch ; I cannot recollect her name. I think I mind

Andrew McDermott (died 1881) about as early as I mind anything else. He was an Irishman, and came out with the first colonists. The first I mind of him is that he used to go buffalo-hunting. He was a big trader with the Indians. The father of the Bourkes, of whom I have spoken, went to the plains also to hunt. These two were here when I came; I cannot mind of any other Irishman who was here before us. It is likely that there were others, but I cannot say.

"I have heard of Duncan Cameron, the man that coaxed away a lot of the Selkirk settlers to Canada. The North-west Company offered to give a free passage to Canada to any settlers who would go. I don't remember who was governor of the North-west Fort, when we came here. I remember Cuthbert Grant; he was a very stout, heavy man, but not short. I cannot say who was his first wife, but the last was a McGill; she was half Scotch. He had sons and daughters by his second wife. Charles Grant is the only son whom I remember. He went out somewhere to the Pembina Mountain country. Cuthbert Grant himself was half Scotch. The first that I knew of him here was at the time of the troubles. He came with the Bois-brûlés' brigade. I think the settlers have to thank him that things went so easily as they did. He did not go at all by his orders, which were much worse. Though he was opposed to the settlers he was their best friend. I honestly believe Lord Selkirk was a good man, and wished to do good. He could not help the hard times we had here.

"Do you want to know what some of these were? The last spring that we came from Pembina we were beginning to do a little here. Our family had a little shanty on this same road by the river. There was a fire that started just this side of Fort Douglas. It happened to be a time of drought, and the fire burnt everything before it. The people gathered, and were crossing the river away from the fire in a little boat; but the boat had got full, and we had to stop there by the water's edge until the fire passed. When we came back the house was gone, and we had nothing in the world. We were left without a morsel of food, but we got something given us for dinner, and there never was a time when we could not procure something to eat.

"The first crop we put down there was eaten up by grasshoppers, which came very, very thick. We had a patch of barley which was about ripe. There was also some wheat which was not yet ripe. The grasshoppers totally destroyed the wheat and cut off the barley just below the heads, so that these fell to the ground. We gathered thirteen bushels of the heads. The grasshoppers did not eat the grain, as it was so nearly ripe.

"I mind when the Red River was very much narrower than it is now. A man that would throw a little stone well could throw it across the river down at the point." (It is now upwards of 200 yards where the railway bridge spans it.—Ed.) "I don't think it was more than half the width it is now. I have heard of two trees that had fallen in from opposite sides, whose tops met, and on which people could cross. That

was opposite Kildonan church, but I don't mind about it. The river was quite small then, perhaps that accounted for the floods we had. But by-and-by our troubles ended—war and famine and flood and poverty, all passed away, and now we think there is no such place to be found as the valley of the Red River."

CHAPTER VII.

THE INDIANS OF SELKIRK COLONY.

THE picture of the Indians of the continent since the Europeans landed upon American shores, is one marked with colours most lurid and dismal. The historian has generally represented the colonists as the peaceful and industrious victims, while the Indians figure as silent midnight marauders, as cruel and vindictive avengers, and as the diabolical torturers of even women and children taken prisoners by them in war. It is true the Indian is fierce in nature, jealous in disposition, and long in forgetting injuries, but it is also true that he is firm in friendship, and most generous with all that he possesses.

What could exceed the tenderness of the Sioux mother, of whom mention is made by Jonathan Carver, an early traveller on the western prairies? "While I remained among them," says Carver, "a couple, whose tent was adjacent to mine, lost a son of about four years of age. The parents were so much affected at the death of their child, that they pursued the usual testimonies of grief with such un-

common rigour as, through the weight of sorrow and loss of blood, to occasion the death of the father. The woman, who had been hitherto inconsolable, no sooner saw her husband expire, than she dried up her tears, and appeared cheerful and resigned. As I knew not how to account for so extraordinary a transition, I took an opportunity to ask her the reason of it; telling her, at the same time, that I should have imagined the loss of her husband would rather have occasioned an increase of grief than such a sudden diminution of it. She informed me, that as the child was so young when it died, and unable to support itself in the country of spirits, both she and her husband had been apprehensive that its situation would be far from happy; but no sooner did she behold its father depart for the same place, who not only loved the child with the tenderest affection but was a good hunter, and would be able to provide plentifully for its support, than she ceased to mourn. She added, that she now saw no reason to continue her tears, as the child, on whom she doted, was happy under the care and protection of a fond father; and she had only one wish that remained ungratified, which was that of being herself with them."

Or what nobler example of self-restraint need we than that related by Charlevoix of a Huron chief, who was one day insulted and struck by a youth? Those who witnessed this were upon the point of instantly punishing the offender for his audacity. "Let him alone," said the chief; "did you perceive the earth tremble? The youth is sufficiently conscious of his folly."

Few instances can be pointed out in the history of America in which the Indian nations have been the aggressors; and the woes and sufferings of the poor Indian, brought upon him by the white man's avarice and injustice, would be a story long to tell. The "Indian Question" is a question entirely of the white man's making, for invariably when the European on first acquaintance has come, bearing the olive branch, the Indian has gone cheerfully forth to meet him. But to rob the savage of his best land, to limit him to some rocky or sandy reserve, to destroy his reason with intoxicating drink, to pledge faith with him, and then when the coal-mine, or gold, or silver is found upon the territory allotted to him, to drive him from it under the plea that the white man needs it; to pursue this policy for generations and then to be surprised that the Indian resents, that he sulks and is revengeful, is the height of unreasonableness.

The theory that the savage man has no rights in the territory over which he wanders because the civilized man can employ it better, is one that will not bear discussion. I have a garden that, with my rude taste and imperfect methods of cultivation, produces enough for my family, and gives me pleasure; but a more skilled gardener finds me out, and because he can make beautiful roses bloom where I can only produce humble columbines, because through art the luscious peach can be made to take the place of my gnarled old crab-tree, the new-comer must needs dispossess me, must drive me from the garden of my youth, and send me to unknown regions for my pleasure and support. This may be a form of the

new gospel of culture, but one, we venture to think, that will not be a gospel of peace. A Sioux chief once, on being reproached for the cruelties shown by the Indians, went to the root of the matter, when he said, "Among white people, nobody ever take your wife—take your children—take your mother—cut off nose—cut eyes out—burn to death? No! Then *you* no cut off nose—*you* no cut out eyes—*you* no burn to death—very good."

Lord Selkirk's colony had been threatened with dangers from the Indians too numerous and terrible to be mentioned in detail, by the North-westers in London and Montreal, and yet the red man from the first was far more disposed to befriend than to oppose the incoming settler. It is true suggestions were made, as was ascertained afterwards, to almost every Indian band, urging them to destroy the colonists, as invaders of the soil; but the Indian sagamores took time to consider the matter, and their verdict was one entirely favourable to the settlers. The settlement afforded them the means of livelihood, gave them shelter in the severest weather, and held out the hope of better returns for all that the chase could supply to them.

When Lord Selkirk obtained possession from the Hudson's Bay Company of his territory of Assiniboia, there were portions of at least three great Indian nations within its limits. These were the Ojibeways, Crees, and Sioux. The Ojibeways seem to be generically one with the Crees. The Ojibeway nation seems for a long time to have exhibited a tendency to migrate westward. The Indians found to the north

of Lakes Huron and Superior, as far west and north as Lake Nipigon, represent the stock race. But as the movement westward took place, the outgoing adventurers passed gradually through the streams and lakes of the rocky region extending to Lake Winnipeg, left the region of wood and rock, and sought the fertile plains of the Saskatchewan district, and from being entirely fishing and wood-hunting Indians, were hunters on the plains as well. These altered somewhat in habits and language became a separate nation, known as the Knisteneaux or Crees. Though their habits have much changed to meet the new conditions of their lives, the large bones, coarse features, and unwieldy forms of the Crees, mark them out as Ojibeways wherever found. Some of the nation who remained in the low-lying district immediately surrounding Lake Winnipeg, became known as the Swampy Crees or Swampies, and by the Bois-brûlés are called the Muskegons, or "dwellers in the Muskeg," the common Indian word for swamp. More recent migrations still have taken place from the Rocky Ojibeway Fatherland. Ever since the French occupation of the country about Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and the St. Mary River, from 1608 to 1650, this westward movement has been manifesting itself.

The early Jesuit missionaries relate that they met thousands of Ojibeways at Sault Ste. Marie. There seems good reason for receiving some of the statements with caution, but there was plainly a very much larger number of Indians in that district than at the present time, when their numbers are very small. But as showing the movement westward

that had been made, a considerable number of the Indians in the Lake Winnipeg district in the time of Lord Selkirk bore, and their descendants still retain, the name Saulteaux, or people from the Sault.

As to mode of life the Ojibeways live largely on fish, and on the smaller game of the rivers and streams. They are not distinguished for ferocity, but are determined in their wars. They have, on the whole, been peaceful Indians, though more eager to adopt the vices than the virtues of the white man. They are divided into numerous bands, which seem chiefly large families, and make up together a village of larger or smaller size. The lodges, of which their villages are composed, are made of firm ribs of hard wood, covered over with birch-bark sections closely sewed together. These, which are known as "teepees," are somewhat of the shape of an inverted cauldron, and are about five or six feet in height. The fire in the centre of each teepee secures ample fumigation for all articles of dress, and blind Indians and those with sore eyes are common among this tribe, probably from the acrid principles carried in the smoke, which is often that of the willow so common in their country. In summer the fires are outside the dwellings, and serve not only to cook, but also to keep in check the plague of the swamp country—the mosquito. It is an amusing fact that the inevitable mosquito of the forest wilds, and low prairie as well, exhibits a much more kindly disposition to the Indian, or the Canadian and American native-born inhabitant, than he does to the full-blooded, and well-conditioned European foreigner, at least till the new comer becomes acclimated. The Indian camp

is pitched in some sheltered spot on the bank of the pleasant fish-bearing stream, and often at the rapids or shallows, where the fish are more easily caught. Dogs and uncouth children form one of the chief features of an Ojibeway camp.

The Ojibeway nation being one largely given to interior navigation, has, as would be expected, the most perfect means of transport found among the savage nations of America. This is the birch-bark canoe. It consists of a light and strong frame made of tough wood, after a beautiful model, and covered over, as are their teepees, with thin, but supple and close-grained bark. The joints are made secure with pitch, and the canoe thus made is of so great importance in the every-day life of these dwellers on the streams, that they attribute its invention to the great spirit himself. The navigation of a birch-bark canoe requires much skill, and the uninitiated white man looks with envy at the dexterity with which some repulsive-looking squaw wields her paddle, and propels the fickle vehicle which has precipitated him, without warning, into the dangerous current. The lightness of these boats is their great recommendation, as so many portages from stream to stream, or to avoid dangerous rapids, must be made by the Ojibeways on their voyages. The canoe is carried with perfect ease by the Indian or, more frequently, by his burden-bearing squaw, to whom this hero of men relegates such matters of detail as the transfer of canoe, household goods and the papoose, and the oversight of the other helpless children.

As the bands pass on their journey they distinguish many of their resting-places by rude delineations on

the rocks, on trees, or on any object convenient. Carver has given us an account of a most useful adaptation of Indian art in his travels. As he was approaching from the south-west towards Lake Superior, the Ojibeway chief, who at that time was acting as his guide, was afraid lest their small party might be perceived and followed by some warlike band of their hereditary enemies—the Sioux or Nardowassis, with whom the Ojibeways were constantly at war. The chief accordingly stripped some of the bark from a tree at a conspicuous spot near the mouth of the Chippewa River, which they had reached, and having mixed up some charcoal with bear's grease, drew, in a rough style, on the stem of the tree first, the town of the Ottogamies, then a man dressed in skins, intended to represent a Sioux, with a line drawn from his mouth to that of a deer—the symbol of the Chippewas. He then painted a canoe as proceeding up the river, and a man sitting in it with his hat on; this was to represent an Englishman (Carver); and another man was described with a handkerchief tied around his head, paddling the canoe, viz. the French canoe-man by whom Carver was accompanied. He then added some other significant emblems, among which was the pipe of peace at the prow of the canoe. The meaning, the writer says, which he intended thus to convey to the Nardowassis—and which, I doubt not, appeared perfectly intelligible to them—was, that one of the Chippewa chiefs had received a speech from some Nardowassi chiefs at the town of the Ottogamies, desiring him to conduct the Englishmen who had lately been among them, up the river, and that they

required that the Chippewa, notwithstanding he was an avowed enemy, should not be molested by them in his passage, as he had the care of a person whom they esteemed as one of their own nation.

There seems to be nothing of the nature of a system of hieroglyphic writing amongst the Indians. The picture-writing above referred to, and that figured upon their robes is, however, a system of symbolism universally found amongst them. Each family or individual has a mark or sign, usually the rude representation of a bird, beast, or reptile, or even of a heavenly body, which is quite distinctive. These signs generally represent exploits of their military lives, or of deeds of daring in the chase. The symbol adopted by the individual is called his *totem*.

The American Indians have like most nations—civilized or savage—the habit of celebrating all important events in life by feasts or grand ceremonies in which wild dancing and revelry are the chief ingredients. The Indian dance is performed by a greater or smaller number of the warriors of the tribe according to circumstances. It is a wild, irregular series of jumps, in which the dancers succeed each other in a circle. It proceeds by two or three, seemingly by an inspiration, beginning the wild motion in a half-bent attitude, with the body limp and supple; the head is bent downward, the face turned outward in the circle. The face, head, and neck are often covered with paint, and other distinctive objects, such as buffalo horns, bear heads, foxes' tails, elk antlers, according to the fancy of the wearer, surmount the head. A loud, disagreeable, monotonous sound is

produced by two or three players sitting either in the midst of the circle, or near enough to be well heard. These musicians are provided with instruments made of a hoop of wood covered tightly over with tanned deer-skin after the manner of a tambourine. The player beats his instrument with a pair of knobbed sticks, and the dancers are kept in such unison as their sweet wills desire by the beating of the "tom-toms." As the dance proceeds the dancers sing in a low guttural tone something like the following:—"He-he-ye-heyah-ye-he-heyah," &c., interspersing their deep-toned, grunting pæan with cries seemingly in imitation of the yelp of the wolf, the growl of the bear, the bark of the dog, or what ever comes to mind. The general effect sometimes suggests the drone commingled with the loud skirl of the bagpipes. As the fun advances, others, one by one, as if by a spreading infection, enter the circle and follow it round, one warrior as he does so brandishing his tomahawk, another his bow, and still another his club, until all are careering wildly about like howling dervishes, making night or day hideous with their cries. When the brave has worked himself up to a sufficient state of frenzy and perspiration, he unceremoniously leaves the ring, and flings himself down upon the ground outside the circle with a considerable amount of vigour, and a most emphatic *Ugh!*

These dances are carried on in connexion with war, with hunting, with the opening of the seasons, with love, with religion, and most successfully when in the beggar's dance they amuse the whites in their settlements, and obtain provisions in return. One of

the most striking of the Ojibeway ceremonies is that known as the snow-shoe dance. His snow-shoes are to the Indian in winter what his canoe is in summer. They consist of two light oval frames, two and a half feet or more in length, each covered over with a network of thongs of buckskin. In the centre of each of these he places a foot, and though the novice will find the muscles of the leg very sore when he walks far in snow-shoes, and will become afflicted by an inflammation of the part known by the French voyageurs as *mal-de-raquet*, yet the expert using the snow-shoe can cross mile after mile over the soft and yielding snow, when the heavy animal, such as the moose or buffalo, which is being pursued, so cuts through, and is hindered in its flight, that the hunter, thus shod, easily overtakes and destroys his prey. Accordingly, as his snow-shoes are his means of livelihood, the Ojibeway celebrates the "Snow-shoe dance," and it is one of the heartiest and most beautiful of his performances. Dressed in leggings of fur, and with snow-shoes on, the braves career about the object placed in the centre of the dancing circle, which is two erect poles with a pair of snow-shoes fastened upon the top of them. The sight of the soft snow falling down inflames their imagination, they see the hopes of tracing Bruin to his lair, or snaring the rabbit, and even of overtaking with little exertion the worn-out buck struggling through the snow-drifts, and the dance grows fast and furious as visions of plenty flit before the dancer's mind.

The religion of the Northern Indian tribes affords many features of interest. The belief in two ex-

istences or governing powers, in opposition to one another, but both having control over the elements, carries one away to the Asiatic nations, who, while believers in a governing spirit of good, yet make their lives so largely dependent on the workings of a heartless Manicheeism. The Indian tribes give adoration to the great Spirit, Gitche-Manitou, but fear the machinations of the Matche-Manitou, and one would say regard the latter as rather more deserving of consideration than the former. The scarcity of the buffalo, the untimely storm, the severity of the winter, and the parched and barren condition of the plains in summer, are alike attributed to the bad intentions of the Malign divinity. The balmy approach of spring, the plentiful supply of fish and game, preservation from danger in war, or deliverance from exposed and threatening circumstances, the birth of children, and the receipt of many gifts, are proofs of the favour of the Gitche-Manitou. In consequence of this there is the fear of offending the Great Spirit, and calamity is traced to disobedience to his wishes as well as to the baneful influence of the Spirit of Evil.

An Indian, spoken of by a French missionary, had lost his wife and child. He often visited their graves; and, upon one of these occasions, he was heard in the depth of his sorrow to utter aloud, "O! Great Spirit, who governest the sun and the moon, who created the elk, the otter, and the beaver, be appeased, and do not any longer continue enraged against me. Be content with the misfortunes I have suffered. I had a wife—Thou hast taken her from me. I had a child whom I loved as myself: it is gone, for so was Thy

pleasure. Is that not enough? Bestow on me henceforward as much good as I now experience evil; or, if Thou art not satisfied with what I now suffer, make me die, for in this state I can live no longer."

Closely connected with their religion is their belief in a species of magic, which is wide spread among the Indian tribes. Some investigators of Indian customs have stated that they found among the Indians no trace of a priesthood; but unless we greatly mistake the matter the "Medicine-Man" of the Indian tribe is a full embodiment of the very features which such observers regard as so objectionable in a fully-organized priesthood. The medicine-man is the custodian of the legends of his tribe: the possession of knowledge is with him, as among men everywhere, a leverage of immense power. His stories of the mighty deeds of their ancestors, of the Gitche Ogemahs, or great chiefs of the past, of the severe famines, earthquakes, and heavenly appearances, of apparitions, pestilences, and destructive wars, are the weapons by which he compels the obedience, and appeals to the fear of the young brave as well as of the old woman of the tribe.

Mystery is the atmosphere in which he lives. His charms, his incantations, his medicine-bags, all play their part in giving him and his family a controlling influence in the affairs of the tribe. Disaster is frequently attributed to the malicious and insidious influence of medicine-men of other tribes, and the most superstitious feeling prevails in the mind of great chief and little child alike in regard to the evil mysterious influence of the "bad medicine" of even a passing stranger.

Catlin, the delineator of Indian character and customs of forty years ago, who did much with pencil and brush to present the features of Indian life from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Superior, gives a remarkable instance of the fear of "bad medicine" which was connected with a melancholy tragedy in the country of the Sioux, on his visit to them and to the red pipestone quarry. According to his usual custom the traveller made with his pencil or brush pictures of all the leading chiefs of the various tribes whom he visited. The Indians universally doubted the wisdom of allowing the artist to take their portraits. They were of opinion that having the portrait taken took away so much from the strength of the person delineated. On the occasion referred to Catlin had succeeded in inducing the leading chiefs to allow him to exercise his art upon them. "Little Bear," a fine, noble fellow, a leading chief, was being painted, and the view taken of him was that of almost a profile of his face, throwing a part of it into shadow. The picture was nearly finished, when an ill-natured and unpopular chief, named "The Dog," came into the wigwam, and sitting upon the floor opposite the sitter, and where he could see the picture, exclaimed, with surly contempt, "'The Little Bear' is but half a man!" The chiefs sitting around the room darted glances back and forward, not knowing what results might follow. "Little Bear" exhibited no excitement, except that his lips became slightly curved, as he said in a low and determined tone, "Who says that?" "'The Dog' says it," was the reply, "and he can prove it." After this "Little

Bear" became more and more agitated, his eyes glanced fiercely, his brows lowered with threatening, while fixing his eyes steadfastly on his insulter, he asked, "Why does 'The Dog' say it?" "Ask the painter," was the reply, "he can tell you, he knows you are but half a man, he has painted but one-half of your face, and knows the other half is good for nothing." A warm discussion ensued, angry gibes were thrown back and forward between the two, which ended by the man who had been first attacked saying, "'Little Bear' can look at any one; and he is now looking at an old woman and a coward." Stung to the quick "The Dog" left the wigwam, having the laugh of all the chiefs upon him.

The picture taken, "Little Bear" went to his tent, but was intercepted there by his antagonist, who asked, "What meant 'Little Bear' by the last words that he spoke to 'The Dog'?" "'Little Bear' said it," was the reply, "and 'The Dog' is not a fool—that is enough." Both chiefs hastened to their respective tents. "Little Bear" loaded his gun, and threw himself on the ground to supplicate the "Great Spirit." His wife, seeing his agitation and fearing trouble, silently withdrew the bullet from the gun. At this time the voice of the opponent was heard, "If 'Little Bear' be a *whole* man, let him come out and prove it: it is 'The Dog' that calls him." The wife screamed; but it was too late, the gun was in his hand, and he sprang out of the door to fall, while his antagonist escaped. Strange to say, that side of his face was shot away which had been left out in the picture. The friends of the murdered chief pursued the pro-

voker of the quarrel, who fled from them, wounded; and the whole village was in a state of excitement: the painter was looked upon with suspicion, and the feeling may be judged of by the spirit of a young Oncapapa chief in their council, who said, "The blood of two chiefs has just sunk into the ground, and a hundred bows are bent, which are ready to shed more. On whom shall we bend them? I am a friend to the white man; but here is one whose 'medicine' is too great—he is a great 'medicine-man!' His 'medicine' is too great! He was the death of the 'Little Bear'! He made only one side of his face! He would not make the other—the side that he made was alive; the other was dead, and 'The Dog' shot it off! How is this? Who is to die?" The painter, fearing the cloudy appearance of things, bade the tribe a hasty farewell, and did not feel entirely at ease until he heard that "The Dog" had been overtaken and killed near the Black Hills.

These are some of the salient features of the Ojibeways, Crees, and Sioux with whom Lord Selkirk met and made treaties. Under the influence of Northwester advisers, the wonder is, that tribes so full of suspicion and fear were not induced by misrepresentation to put a speedy end to the defenceless colony. That they acted otherwise will ever redound to the credit of the Indian nations.

II.

THE MOUND BUILDERS.

In the midst of the territory of Assiniboia acquired by Lord Selkirk, are the remains of a prehistoric race.

It is true that the Mound Builders and their mounds have no part in the story of the founder and his colony, but as the presence of these mounds is usually a mark of a country selected by this early race as suitable for comfortable settlement, a short notice may be taken of them.

In the city of Winnipeg, near Fort Garry, there was formerly to be seen a circular mound. Another exists on the second river-terrace, on the banks of Red River, some twelve miles to the north of the foregoing. About two miles above the village of Selkirk, on the east bank of the river, a third mound has been observed, while two miles from Winnipeg, on the banks of the Assiniboine, another could at one time be seen. A group of most interesting mounds are to be found about 250 miles from Winnipeg toward Lake Superior, on what we have already spoken of as the Grand Portage route on the Rainy River. The mound which we shall describe is situated on the west bank of the Red River, about seventeen miles north of Winnipeg.

Most of those mentioned have the following features:—

1. On a prominent point along the river system of the country.
2. Circular.
3. Range from 50 to 150 feet in diameter.
4. Generally some five or six feet in depth at the deepest part: those at Rainy River are said to be of twice that depth.

Much speculation is naturally rife as to the origin, date of construction, and object of these mounds. The mounds found in America farther south, such as

those on the Ohio river, and built in the form of a serpent, a bird or a fox, and hundreds of yards in length, have plainly been for defence in time of war. The general current of opinion in regard to the circular mound is, that sepulture was its purpose. The hope of finding something as to the social condition, habits and life of the aborigines of the country, draws many of an inquiring disposition to take an interest in searching these mounds. The archæologist, too, finds a subject of study in the mound, inasmuch as it speaks to him of a race having the building faculty—a faculty which seems to be seldom found among the Indians of the continent in the present day. The *tumulus* may thus speak of a race now extinct; if this be so, perhaps of a people unconnected with the present Indian population of the continent; perhaps of a people of greater civilization than the present race, who had found their way from that seed-bed of the nations of Europe—its north-west coast.

In October, 1879, the officers and members of the Historical Society of Manitoba entered upon the work of examining the mound, to which reference has been made. It is worthy of note that a certain amount of superstition fills the minds of the Indians and half-bloods in the neighbourhood of these mounds, as to any disturbance of them, a proof that they regard them as burial-mounds. In the case of one of the mounds mentioned, a native intending to erect a small farm-building upon it, having excavated a cellar, came upon human bones in doing so, when he religiously re-interred them, and erected his building elsewhere. Before opening the present mound, the native owners

of the property were consulted, and consented somewhat unwillingly, one in giving his consent saying he did not think it right to open it all.

Members of the society gathered from some of the old native women living in the vicinity

THE LEGEND OF THE MOUND.

"Many years ago," said one of the old women born about the beginning of the century, "her people told her their tribe was living at Nettly Creek (a creek running into Lake Winnipeg, some fifteen or twenty miles away), and the mound was inhabited by people calling themselves 'Mandrills.' They were cave-dwellers, and belonged to a race then very few in number. They had been visited by one of her tribe, and were found to be dying with small-pox; the Indian was alarmed, dreading the scourge of the red man, and avoiding the place went over to the east side of the river, on his hunt for several days, and hunting along the small streams running into Red River from the east. On his return he passed the mound dwelling, when he found that it had fallen in and there was no trace of a Mandrill left. The Indians had never known any of this race in the country since."

This is plainly an unsophisticated story, and as we shall see afterwards is a strange misinterpretation of a few simple facts. The society having procured the assistance of a strong force of excavators, went carefully to work to make a thorough examination. The mound, at one time a short distance from the bank of the river, has now, by the falling in of the soft alluvial

soil of which the bank is composed, only about half the superficial extent it once had. The part now left is nearly semi-circular, and its radius about forty feet. During the present generation, it is stated that bones have been seen projecting from its river-ward face, and have been found in the débris at the bottom of the bank. The earth of which the mound is composed is that of the black surface mould found surrounding it. The situation of the mound is where a low, flattish ridge runs into the river from the plain, and from the gently rising crest of this ridge, the earth for the mound was probably taken. The mound is plainly of artificial origin, though no trace of excavation is to be seen.

Another fact is worthy of notice, viz. that several excavations had been already made in the mound, some of these by observers for the Smithsonian Institution, some from mere curiosity, and one by two young medical students, seeking bones for the purposes of study. The workmen, under the direction of officers of the society, began at the brink and dug away the earth as deep as the original soil, throwing what they removed down the bank. They thus cleared all before them, and the earth was carefully observed as it was removed.

Before proceeding very far it was plain that unless care were taken to see the part of the mound from which the remains came there might be such a confusion as would render all results valueless. Indeed, not only does the observer need a good eye, but a reasoning faculty as well to bring up the various disturbing elements that may enter in. For instance,

the possibility arose that supposing the mound to have been one of early sepulture, later interments might have taken place in it. When the body of a sailor is found thrown up on the sea shore after a storm, the coastmen will bury it beside a stone or near a spot marked by some striking object; so the Indian finding a burial-mound of earlier times, may be disposed to bury his dead upon it. With this thought in the mind of the writer, a close watch was kept to distinguish the original from later and superficial interments.

As expected, a large number of bones was found near the surface of the mound, about a foot beneath it. It may be well to describe these first. The remains did not consist of skeletons in regular order, but seemingly of skulls laid around in a circular form; of a dozen or two of thigh bones placed together, then of other bones of the same part, a new lot of skulls, and so on. From actual count there were enough of skulls to represent upwards of thirty distinct skeletons. The bones seemed to be those of warriors; for in the case of one skull lying face downward, drawn out with care by the writer, there was in the cast of the face, which remained distinctly marked in the soil, the deep red colour evidently retained from the red ochre which had been used to daub the face of the brave going on the war-path. Another skull had on the back of it a deep dinge, with the bone cracked and driven inward, such as would have resulted from a heavy blow from the weighty stone hammer-like weapon, which, swung by the thick leathern handle, is known to have been used

in Indian warfare. Further, this did not seem the original place of burial of the bones, for not only were they arranged, as we have said, in series of the same kind of bones from different individuals, but in one or two instances the eye-sockets in the skulls were filled with a whitish clay entirely different from the soil of the mound. The presumption would seem to be that the remains were those of braves, for they seemed to be of full-grown persons, brought from a distance, perhaps gathered from a battlefield, and the dismembered bones interred in groups. The "femur" bones were in some cases curved, indicating that the Indians thus buried when alive had been plain Indians, and accustomed to ride on horses.

With these bones were buried certain articles showing the state of advancement of the Indians. There were lumps of red ochre, plainly for purposes of painting; there were likewise bits of charcoal mingled with the bones, but no trace of burning was observable on the bones examined. Pieces of broken pottery were also found with the usual markings. These seem to have belonged to pots or vessels used in cookery. The stage of art was rude; the soft clay had evidently been marked with little skill or care, and the work done by hand. Probably, the most interesting objects found among these bones were two tubes, the one about six inches long, the other two, and of about half an inch in diameter. These tapered slightly, and are made of a soft, dark grey, or blackish stone. Their object is not very evident. At one end of each there are raised rings,

and on one, between the rings, the tube is evidently much worn by teeth, the tooth-marks being quite perceptible. They could not have been used as smoking pipes, being straight. Schoolcraft, an authority on Indian customs, asserts instruments of this kind to have been used by the Sagamores for looking at the stars, but the presence of tooth-marks renders it unlikely that these were used for that purpose. Other Indian authorities state that tubes of various kinds were used by the "medicine-men" in removing disease. The conjurer placed the tube on the diseased member, and seizing the end of the tube adapted for the mouth in his teeth, proceeded to suck away the disease. The size and appearance of these tubes would agree very well with such a use.

Leaving this part of the mound with its superficial interments, some of the workmen had a few feet further to the north struck upon a number of flat stones, lying in an imbricated manner in three layers, the uppermost being a foot or more below the surface of the mound. These heavy stones were each two feet square and four or five inches in depth. They were of the Silurian limestone found at the foot of the river bank, where, since, quarries have been opened. The workmen were directed to clear off the earth, and leave the stones undisturbed. This done, a surface some thirty square feet in extent was exposed. Some of the observers, with the legend in mind, suggested that the stones were very much in the position they would have been had the stone chimney of a dwelling been toppled over and covered in the falling ruins of a cave. This, however, was, on closer observation, seen

to be pure nonsense, as so many of the guesses are of hasty disciples of science.

The stones were next removed, and under the centre of them, two feet below them, and some four feet and a half from the surface of the mound an excavator struck directly on the top of a skull. The earth was carefully removed from about it and this proved to be a skeleton in an erect sitting posture, the arm-bones on each side of the skull, and the bones of the legs drawn up, and the knees nearly on a level with the face. The skeleton had plainly never been disturbed, a matter secured by the thirty flat stones lying like a solid cover above the tomb. No traces of swathing around were found, the bones being imbedded in the soil of the mound. The erect, well-postured skeleton, so carefully protected by the flat stone covering, dispelled any suggestion of the skeleton having been entombed by accident. The skull was taken out with great care, but was in a very different state of preservation from those found in the upper interments. It was of a brownish colour, loose in texture, breaking at the touch, and was long and narrow in shape. The skeleton was perfect so far as the larger bones are concerned. The only relics or objects of interest were found on the right side of the skeleton, and on the floor of the burying-place. These consisted of a simple ornament of shell, apparently that of a common unio, somewhat squared and pierced by two circular holes placed symmetrically; and some fifteen small round shells three-quarters of an inch in diameter, seemingly of a species of haliotis. The ornament was plainly a necklace. The bones seemed

to be those of a female, and the presence of the ornament with the absence of all weapons confirmed this view.

There had sat in loneliness, for how many centuries who can say, and of what race or nation who can tell, the tenant of the mound, undisturbed by the ravenous beast unable to penetrate the stony covering, untouched by the ruthless hands of the mere curiosity-hunter, till the votaries of science, with reverent spirit and seeking for knowledge, had come to discover the secrets of the tomb.

Nearer to the brink than the skeleton just described so securely protected by the layers of stone, another skeleton had been found on the low level of the base of the mound. It was lying near the line of excavation made by these persons referred to who, from mere curiosity, had cut into the mound. Stones of the same kind as those covering the upright skeleton were found with this. The remains were seemingly in a sitting posture, but a portion of one leg was wanting, and this near the excavation mentioned. The skull had been twisted out of its original position by the weight of stone lying against it. A second small skeleton, apparently that of a child, was found close beside this, but the confusion produced either by previous diggers or by the pressure of the stones made it impossible to come to any reliable conclusion, except that the flat stones were chiefly above and around the skeletons. These seemed of similar age to the erect skeleton.

No implements, pottery, paint, nor charcoal were found accompanying these remains. The only thing

found was what had possibly been a shell for ornament similar to that described, but it was much broken. It will be remembered that half the mound was gone, so that there may have been other, what we may call base interments in the lost parts of the mound.

Having given a description of the objects found, it now remains to give a theory which may satisfactorily include the facts. In doing so, whatever is said is in a spirit of hesitation. The whole subject of the mound builders is involved in mystery, though a good deal of attention has been paid to it by a number of observers in the United States.

First, then, who were the people who made the earlier interments represented by the two full-grown skeletons and that of the child? The erect skeleton was buried facing the east. This has been taken by archæologists, in discussing Scandinavian and Celtic remains, to indicate a difference between Christian and pagan times. As, however, the eastern view was that towards the river, it would not be wise to make much of this. The other skeletons were in so confused a state that nothing could be inferred from their posture. The absence of all utensils of cookery or means of livelihood, such as are found in the graves of pagan Indians even to the present day, would indicate to some a higher faith than that of the savage who thinks he is but transferred to another hunting-ground when death overtakes him.

The presence of the heavy shells of haliotis in the necklace would point out travellers from the sea. The construction of the mound is very similar to that

of those found in the north of Europe, and the fewness of the bodies buried would seem to indicate either a people in course of transit, or a people dying out, if it be not granted that distinguished individuals were thus buried. In any case, a vast amount of labour must have been spent in these early times even in throwing up one mound. Would it be too much to hazard the suggestion that the remains may have been those of wandering bands of sea-faring adventurers, of whom we are beginning to learn more, as having some six or eight centuries ago visited the shores, and even penetrated the interior of the North American continent? Perhaps the route of Lord Selkirk's colonists by Hudson's Bay had been centuries before opened up by the sea-king voyageurs.

Leaving in the meantime this question, it may be well to look at that of the later remains found in the superficial interments. It would naturally be in connexion with these that the legend given would be told. What are the main points of the story? That the Mandrills lived in the mound as a cave dwelling. Now the cave-dwellers of the Missouri met by Catlin were called the Mandans. They are a tribe now nearly extinct. The Red River country was visited by Missouri Indians, and the Missouri country by Northern Indians, by means of the prairie trail, still known as the Missouri trail. Carver, in speaking of Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine, says, "To this place the Mahahs, who inhabit a country 250 miles south-west, come also to trade with them; and bring great quantities of Indian corn to exchange for knives, tomahawks, and other articles." We have seen that

the early explorers reached the same Missouri country by ascending a branch of the Assiniboine.

The name Mandrill, as also Mahah, is plainly a corruption of the word Mandan. Strange to say, the bulk of the Mandans, who were a dwindling, peaceful race, unable to cope with the wild Sioux, but by far the most advanced of the North American Indians in the arts of building and agriculture, actually perished on the Missouri, within the last half-century, by the small-pox. What more probable than that some outlying colony of Mandans, bringing their customs from the Missouri, had made earth-houses for themselves in the Red River country, and had used the mound as a place of burial? As to the part of the legend referring to the small-pox, it would be most natural to have it attached by association of ideas to the mound, although the deaths by this pestilence may have occurred long after the use of the mound as a burial-place by the Mandans.

As to the mound being inhabited by cave-dwellers, the facts brought out by the excavation entirely disprove such a hypothesis. Sepulture was plainly its purpose. That the connecting of small-pox with the mound is a recent notion, is shown by the presence in the surface of the mound of painted faces, broken skulls, indicating a violent death and not one by the pestilence, while the well-known fear of the Indians for this terrible disease forbids the thought of their laying the bones in systematic order in which they were found. Another question arising is, why may not these superficial interments be those of Sioux, Ojibeways, or Crees, buried in the mound?

The answer is, that these nations have their own distinctive modes of burial, all differing from that of the mound. They either bury their dead by exposing them on raised platforms, or on the branches of trees, or in the case of the Ojibeways, by burial in separate graves dug in the earth, and covered over with sticks some two feet in length, placed together in the form of a roof.

The Mandans would seem to have regarded these mounds as the tombs of their ancestors. Nothing could be more fitting than that their heroes slain in battle should receive an honourable burial in these "sacred spots" of their race. If the Mandans be taken as having a peculiar connexion with these mounds, it may be well to notice some interesting facts regarding them mentioned by Catlin and others. The Mandans were not only far advanced as to living in fixed abodes, in having fortified villages, in cultivating the soil, in the manufacture of pottery—an art said by Catlin to have been confined to them among the North American Indians during this century—and in the practice of religious rites of a more elaborate kind than the other Indian tribes, but many of the tribe had light, whitish hair, and blue and grey eyes. A few Mandans are still said to survive on the upper Missouri, and they bear the name "White Beards." To one acquainted with the Indian nations, it is well-known that a full-blooded Indian, unless a monster, can have only black hair and a dark eye.

The Mandans have been traced, by their mounds for fortification, for burial, for sacrifice, and for observation, along the Ohio, and far up the Missouri. The point at

which the nation dwelt on the Missouri, in 1838, when they were so almost completely destroyed by small-pox, was reached by the Missouri trail from the Red River country. Their possession of the arts mentioned, and more especially the recurrence among them of numerous cases of light complexion, would seem to indicate the mixture of an element of Caucasion ancestry in the tribe. Up to this century they were unknown to the present white population of the continent. A considerable number of writers have, in consequence, considered them the descendants of early European adventurers, absorbed in an Indian alliance.

It is remarkable that many writers on the early history of the American continent have referred to the early expedition of Prince Madoc, of North Wales, with ten ships to the new world, in the twelfth century. Powell, a writer, dating back to 1620, gives an account of this. Hakluyt and others have continued the story, although Woodward, in his "History of Wales," regards it as purely mythical. Whoever may be right, it is well to know what has been said. The Magdawys, or followers of Madoc, have been identified as to name with the Mandans: the canoes peculiar to the Mandans among the Indian nations, which were made of the skins of buffaloes stretched over frames of willows and round in shape like a tub, are said to be exactly the Welsh coracle. Many Mandan words are given resembling the Welsh, among the most remarkable being that for the Deity, in Mandan, *Maho peneta;* in Welsh, *Mawr penaethir.*

We are sceptical as to this Welsh-Mandan alliance.

We see, then, that a theory, somewhat as follows, meets fairly well the facts of the case. That the original mound builders were the people of another continent, carrying with them the custom of mound building, perhaps from some northern European country: that they extended along the Red River valley and that of the Missouri, as well as up the Ohio: that they used their mounds for burial after the manner of the European nations; that the superficial burials in the mounds are those of a race extending to our own time, who may be descendants of the earlier mound-building race absorbed by an Indian nation, but retaining mental and physical traces of a foreign ancestry: that this race is the tribe of Mandans, who have become almost extinct during the present century from small-pox.

This theory, it will be observed, gives a fair explanation of the oft-repeated claim of a considerable European emigration to America centuries before Columbus; it accounts for the possession of higher features of civilization by savage nations in the very interior of America; it agrees with the various facts revealed by the opened burial-mound, and explains the main points of the legend given by the Saulteaux half-breeds of the Red river. We leave it with our readers. We do not pin our faith to it. To any one who questions it, it is fair to say, advance a theory better explaining the facts, and we shall gladly withdraw the one offered.

CHAPTER VIII.

BOIS-BRÛLÉS AND NOR'-WESTERS.

A LITHE, cunning, turbulent, but adventurous and lively race were the Bois-brûlés of those early times. They were chiefly the descendants of the French voyageurs of the North-west Company, who had taken Indian wives and settled down on the shore of some lake or river in the Fur country. Some of the Scotch partners, too, from Montreal, had become enamoured of the country, and had cast in their lot with this half-blood race, who now, in 1812, the time of the arrival of the Selkirk settlers, had begun to speak of themselves as the "New Nation." Grant, McKay, McLeod, McGillivray, and many other Highland names, are found among these hunters and trappers of the western solitudes. By what name they should call themselves seemed to have been a subject of considerable interest among these mixed bloods of the prairies. The name then and now most in favour among them, is that of the French word "Metis," of which the word half-breed is a fair translation, and is now used in Acts of the Canadian Parliament as the legal title of this race.

At the time of which we write, the Metis or Bois-brûlés, were almost entirely connected with the North-west Company. The Hudson's Bay Company had, up till this time, been exclusively an English Company. They had traded with the Indians entirely; and hardly a trace, at least in the interior of their territories, could be found of admixture of European and Indian blood. Since that date there has been a great change. The Hudson's Bay Company employed, subsequently to 1821, a large number of Orkneymen in their service. These, after the manner of the early French voyageurs, intermarried with the Indian women, and founded a race of Scotch half-breeds, also known as English, *i.e.* English speaking half-breeds. In the year 1869, in which the Hudson's Bay territory was transferred to Canada, these Orkney half-breeds equalled in number those of French extraction, and together they summed up at that time 10,000 souls. The English half-breeds are far less volatile and more industrious than their French fellow-countrymen.

It is only with those of French origin that we are at present concerned, as the Orkney men had not, to any extent, begun to come to the Red River country previous to the union of the North-west and Hudson Bay Companies in 1821.

How strange the sight of a race sprung up at this early date in the interior of the continent, combining the characteristics of the French and the Indian. Chateaubriand, who travelled in America, has indeed pointed out a fact noticed by many other observers, that of all the Europeans the French are most in sympathy with the Indians, and this arises

from their liveliness, their dashing bravery, their love of the chase, and even of the savage life, though the English have far surpassed the French in management of the Indian tribes. There can be no doubt that the French half-breeds are of greater stature, are more restive under restraint, more inclined to the wandering life of the Indian, and more given to the hunt and to the use of arms than those of Orkney descent.

The Bois-brûlés, as the French half-breeds were commonly called, were admirably adapted for the purposes of the Nor'-Westers, and indeed had a passionate attachment to the Company. The Company, recognizing the power it gave them with the Indians, to have as agents those having Indian blood in their veins, encouraged the idea of an autonomy—a nationality among them.

One of themselves had risen to be a ruling spirit among them, and though his name would not have betrayed his origin, Cuthbert Grant had all the ascendency of a chief over this singular people. On him was afterwards conferred the title, of rather vague meaning, of "Warden of the Plains;" and he was evidently one of those men, found in all ages and countries, born to rule, and who, in spite of governments and in the absence of government, under monarchy, republic, or absolutism, give the cue, direction, and force to the ideas of the community or mass. Happily, he seems to have been humane.

Cuthbert Grant was known far and wide among the hunters and trappers of the north-west; and regions, hundreds of miles apart, were then, on account of the sparse population, brought into close connexion.

He had been educated in Montreal, had risen to be one of the most enterprising and energetic agents of the Company, and had been placed in charge of many of their expeditions.

At that time, as we have seen in the account of the Selkirk settlement, herds of buffalo came east to the Red River at Pembina. On the high plains within fifty miles of Red River, the writer has seen the horned skulls of buffalo lying scattered here and there along the route of the traveller. The pursuit of the buffalo was one of the savage sports most congenial to the plain hunter, and one of which indeed, he was passionately fond ; and a description of one of their hunting expeditions might be here aptly introduced as illustrative of the manner of life of those children of the prairies. In these excursions the hunter is usually accompanied by his wife and children, to assist in the skinning of the buffalo when taken, in cutting up the meat and drying it into pemican. The family, with its camp equipment, travels in a vehicle, which goes by the name of a Red River cart, composed entirely of wood—not a scrap of iron about wheel or axle. This primitive conveyance is drawn by a pony or single ox, and the perpetual creaking or rather screaming sound produced by the large wooden wheels as a train of these carts proceeds slowly over the trail to the hunting-grounds, would be exquisite torture to the cultivated musical ear, or to the nervous system that has not been accustomed to it from childhood.

On arriving at the hunting-ground the hunter proceeds to select a good horse—an indispensable requisite in the buffalo chase. The breed of native

horses found in Red River is evidently the same as that introduced into America by the Spaniards, herds of which are found in the pampas of South America, in Mexico and Texas, and in the plains of the Mississippi. In the plains of the West herds of these wild horses roam, and many of them attain the age of ten or twelve years without ever having been housed or lassoed.

At the date of which we write (1812) these horses were not very numerous in the Red River valley, but there were enough to serve the purpose of the half-breed in running the buffalo hunt. The hunter, having mounted his horse, on which is tightly girthed a saddle, after the Mexican model, seeks out the herd, peacefully grazing on one or other of the plains, which are thirty or forty miles in extent, without a tree or any obstruction. Having approached unseen as closely as possible, the party put their horses to full speed, and soon succeed in overtaking the furious mass of escaping fugitives. The horse is as full of the spirit of the chase as his rider.

The hunter grasps the reins in one hand, and in the hurry of the attack often gives rein altogether to his steed, who is well aware that the whole requirement is to follow close on the heels of the flying herd amidst the clouds of dust thrown up by the hurrying feet. In the hand that is free the horseman grasps his gun, his powder-flask is swung to his belt, and the bullets used are taken out of his bag, eight or ten at a time, and make a familiar mouthful for the fierce hunter.

The herd reached, he singles out a fat buffalo, fires

at full speed, and rarely fails to hit in front of the flank, and lay low his victim. He does not stop to secure his prey; but leaving the carcase lying where it fell, in the meantime urges his horse forward, reloads at the gallop, fires again, and so on till six or eight buffaloes are secured by each one of the party. Each hunter then traces his way back, and claims his own, very few mistakes or disputes ever occurring, so keen is the eye of these children of the prairie.

The camp is then moved forward to the scene of the chase. The women and children engage in their part of the work, and in an incredibly short time all is secured. Occasional instances are told of more being slain than are needed, or than can be carried away, and in such a case the skin is taken off, the tongue, always regarded as a delicacy, is cut out, and the remainder left a prey to the wolves; but the sentiment of the Indian and the half-breed alike is decidedly averse to such dealing with the bounty of the Gitche Manitou. The hunt over, the buffalo skins (which have always been a great export commodity of the West) secured, and the meat dried and put into skin bags as pemican, the hunter's expedition returns. The motley cavalcade, with its spoil, journeys over many miles, like the caravans of Eastern merchants, till they reach their simple homes, where each family is eagerly welcomed by the members that have been left behind, who receive with joy a share of the pemican, or a *morceau* of buffalo tongue, and regard with beaming dark eye the display of buffalo skins, which are to contribute not so much to their material comfort as to their luxury and finery.

Such is a phase of half-breed life in a period that will soon be spoken of among them as the "good old times," for almost every nation under heaven is sending to the Far West its complement of settlers, who, with their more peaceful habits, are fast encroaching on the realm of the plain hunter. But it may easily be imagined how the pursuit of the buffalo, familiarity with the chase on horseback, and meeting the wild Indian on the plains in their expeditions, tended to keep alive the fierce, martial, and barbarous disposition of the Bois-brûlés.

But like all semi-savage races, the Bois-brûlés are fickle. They must be appealed to by flattery, by threats, or by working upon their animosities or well-known dislikes, would they be led in any particular direction. The Nor'-westers, like all colonists who are in the habit of dealing with partially civilized nations, were well aware of their weaknesses and of the best mode of dealing with them. When not impelled by any strong motive, or excited in any enterprise, the indolent habit of the Indian subdues their changeable natures. In fact, improvidence is a characteristic of even the best among these unique people.

Sheriff Ross has given a most graphic picture of the more shiftless and unreliable class of the Metis, which the writer can verify in its leading features as a true representation. It is an account of the doings of one Baptiste l'Esprit, and is of a time somewhat later than the early days of the settlement. Baptiste would represent the barnacle of more highly-organized society.

On the approach of spring Baptiste, poor fellow,

tired of the settlement, and fond of change, wishes to see the plains—wishes still more to see the buffalo, but is in want of everything—has nothing of his own. Unfortunately for Baptiste his character is known; it is no easy task for him to get the needed outfit on trust. He fails in one case, but still confident in his own cause tries another; and at last, by dint of asking and of fair promises, he gets a horse to hire from one, a cart from another. Baptiste has to pay a high price in proportion to the risk. A man of means gets a horse and cart for 2*l.* a trip, but Baptiste promises 4*l.* But he is still in want of ammunition; and this, and his axe and knife, some necessary clothing, and some food, he must get from some merchant by going into debt for them. After a month's preparation, and before Baptiste is half ready, the time for starting arrives. The others are off; Baptiste must start too—ready or not ready.

A day after the rest off goes Baptiste, helter-skelter with his horse and part of his family; but if no horse, as frequently happens, they tramp it on foot, for to the buffalo they must get, cost what it will. Fifteen days' anxious travel, and 180 miles behind him, our hero gets to the buffalo. Glorious sight! But here all is bustle—no one idle but himself. What is he to do? No runner, no hunter himself. Baptiste goes to one; goes to another; waits many days; asks, begs, lingers about, but shows no disposition to assist any one; he cannot work.

Days pass, weeks pass, the summer passes; Baptiste eats, sleeps, smokes, and all is right; but no load—nothing to pay the hire of his horse and cart. At

last, a move is made for home: Baptiste is roused from his apathy; his cart is still empty. He now becomes perfectly irresistible in his demands; he goes now to this one, then to that other, and so on. They upbraid him and denounce him. The prairie is a place of activity and perseverance. The half-breeds are generous; but Baptiste is no favourite; nevertheless, he could sing a good song; tell a good story; some pity his family; charity stretches forth her hand, and now the cart is loaded in a trice: Baptiste, the while, as proud as if he had done all himself, quite satisfied, happy as happy can be. After a six weeks' jaunt, the last to start, the last to camp, yet Baptiste, fat as a seal, and sleek as an Esquimaux, arrives to resume the delicious enjoyment of indolence again. And so on, from hand to mouth, Baptiste lives like his Indian ancestors, and dies much the same, only that the sign of the cross is made over him.

Such were the half-breeds with whom the North-west traders had to do: some daring, some lazy, some vacillating, all poor, and all ready for any rash enterprise if that magnet were used to encourage their backwardness—the rum-cask of the trader.

The Nor'-westers were, from the first, averse to the establishment of Lord Selkirk's colony. On the 22nd of May, 1811, at the very time the scheme was originating, one of the leading partners of the North-west Company then in England, stated to Mr. Miles Macdonell, that he was "determined to give all the opposition in his power, whatever might be the consequences;" that "such a settlement struck at the root of the North-west Company, which it was in-

tended to ruin." If other people did not clearly see their own interest, he did; that the settlement "must at all times lie at the mercy of the Indians," who would not be bound by treaties, and that "one North-west Company's interpreter would be able at any time to set the Indians against the settlers to destroy them."

It is stated by different writers, that no sooner had the settlers arrived than efforts were made to stir up the Indians against the colonists; and, failing in this, the agents of the North-west Company had induced the Metis to disguise themselves as Indians, and, on the way to Pembina, rob one man of the gun his father had carried at Culloden, a woman of her marriage-ring, and others of various ornaments and valuable articles.

No specially hostile acts were observed during the years 1812 and 1813.

We come now to the celebrated proclamation of Governor Miles Macdonell, which undoubtedly had something to do with hastening a collision.

The following is a copy of the document itself:—

"PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas the Governor and Company of the Hudson's Bay have ceded to the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and successors for ever, all that tract of land or territory bounded by a line running as follows, viz.:—

"Beginning on the western shore of Lake Winipic, at a point in 52° and 30′ north latitude, and thence running due west to the lake Winipiquarish, otherwise

called little Winipic; then in a southerly direction through the said lake, so as to strike its western shore in latitude 52°; then due west to the place where the parallel of 52° north latitude intersects the western branch of the Red River, otherwise called the Assiniboini River; then due south from that point of intersection to the height of land which separates the waters running into Hudson's Bay from those of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; then in an easterly direction along the height of land to the source of the River Winipic (running by such last-named river, the principal branch of the waters which unite the Lake Serginagus), thence along the main stream of the waters, and the middle of the several lakes into which they flow, to the mouth of the Winipic River, and thence in a northerly direction through the middle of Lake Winipic to the place of beginning; which territory is called Assiniboin, and of which I, the undersigned, have been duly appointed governor:

"And whereas the welfare of the families at present forming settlements on the Red River, within the said territory, with those on their way to it, passing the winter at York or Churchill Forts in Hudson's Bay, as also those who are expected to arrive next autumn, renders it a necessary and indispensable part of my duty to provide for their support. In the yet uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resources derived from the buffalo, and other wild animals hunted within the territory, are not deemed more than adequate for the requisite supply; wherefore, it is hereby ordered, that no persons trading in furs or provisions within the territory, for the honour-

able the Hudson's Bay Company, the North-west Company, or any individual or unconnected traders or persons whatever, shall take out any provisions, either of flesh, grain, or vegetables, procured or raised within the said territory, by water or land-carriage, for one twelvemonth from the date hereof; save and except what may be judged necessary for the trading parties at this present time within the territory, to carry them to their respective destinations, and who may, on due application to me, obtain licence for the same. The provisions procured and raised as above, shall be taken for the use of the colony; and that no losses may accrue to the parties concerned, they will be paid for by British bills at the customary rates.

"And be it hereby further made known, that whosoever shall be detected in attempting to convey out, or attempting to carry out, any provisions prohibited as above, either by land or water, shall be taken into custody and prosecuted as the laws in such cases direct; and the provisions so taken, as well as any goods or chattels of what nature soever, which may be taken along with them, and also the craft, cattle, and carriages, instrumental in conveying away the same, to any part but the settlement on Red River, shall be forfeited. Given under my hand, at Fort Daer, Pembina, the 8th of January, 1814.

"By order of the Governor.

"(Signed) MILES MACDONELL, Governor.
" JOHN SPENCER, Secretary."

Here, then, is the loudly denounced and oft-spoken of proclamation.

Were the question asked, "Did the governor act wisely?" subsequent events afford an answer in the negative. It is, of course, easy to criticize after the event. No doubt Governor Macdonell, armed with the opinion of the legal gentlemen we have already quoted, regarded himself as fully authorized. No doubt there was need for preventing the starving multitude of settlers being driven away every winter to Pembina. No doubt it was the difficulty under December and January weather of their getting sufficient food from the buffalo that urged the governor to take the strong step he did at Pembina, of obviating the recurrence of the suffering he was then witnessing. Further, it was well-known that instructions had been given the Nor'-wester agents, in their western posts (as shown by the evidence of Pritchard, at that time one of their *employés*) to buy up all the provisions possible and prevent the settlers getting them.

All these things can be urged and have great weight, but the fact that the idea of law was yet new, that the feeling of the Nor'-westers was hostile to a certain extent, and that they had the turbulent Bois-brûlés thoroughly under their control and ready to carry out any plans of attack, should have caused great caution on the part of the governor, so newly created in his chair of authority. Further, all laws of non-intercourse, embargo, and the like, are regarded as arbitrary. Expedience would have dictated a more conciliatory and less drastic policy; especially when he was not possessed of a force sufficient to carry out his commands.

But if the question be transferred to the region of abstract right, the case is different.

The légal opinions given certainly justify the governor in the steps taken. He proposed what is usually considered the right of government, to take possession of supplies if life is at stake, and not only so but to recompense in full for the amount taken. But it was a claim of supremacy; it meant the diminution of Nor'-wester influence over the Bois-brûlés and Indians, and must be resisted at all hazards.

The Council of Nor'-westers that met at Fort William in the summer of 1814, was presided over by the Hon. William McGillivray, the principal partner of the North-west Company. Mr. Pritchard gives evidence that he received direct information from Mackenzie, one of the North-west agents, that the following plan had been devised to accomplish the ruin of the settlement:

"The intention of the North-west Company was to seduce and inveigle away as many of the colonists and settlers at Red River as they could induce to join them; and after they should thus have diminished their means of defence, to raise the Indians of Lac Rouge, Fond du Lac, and other places, to act and destroy the settlement; and that it was also their intention to bring the Governor, Miles Macdonell, down to Montreal as a prisoner, by way of degrading the authority under which the colony was established in the eyes of the natives of that country."

Who shall say after that, that the spirit of the Nor'-westers since the days of Peter Pond, had been in any way ameliorated? Had they a grievance, the

courts of England, where they had much influence, were open to them. But no! Indian and Bois-brûlés must be stirred up, like the letting out of water, to end no one could tell where; and the words of Simon McGillivray, a Nor'-wester partner, in writing from London in 1812, "Lord Selkirk must be driven to abandon the project, for his success would strike at the very existence of our trade," are seen carried out into action. The smoking homesteads of 1815, and the mournful band of threescore persons taking the route down Red River, across Lake Winnipeg, and seeking Hudson's Bay, as if the broad continent had no room for even so small a band of peaceful and industrious settlers, tell their own tale.

We have seen how the refugees returned to their devastated homes. Fortunately the crops sown by them had not all been destroyed; and under Colin Robertson, and with their new friends from Scotland, they settled down to endure in the following year, as we have mentioned, the fear and uncertainty of continual threatenings, at last to have the crisis reached in atrocious acts of bloodshed, and to be again driven from their unfortunate settlement.

CHAPTER IX.

BLOODSHED IN 1816.

CUTHBERT GRANT again appears upon the scene: and along with him figure also the leading chiefs of the Nor'-westers. The return of the settlers to their homes, in 1815, had filled the minds of their enemies with rage. The contempt of the wild hunters of the plains for the peaceful tillers of the soil can hardly be conceived. They despised them for their manual labour; they named them by way of reproach, "the workers in gardens;" and their term "pork-eaters," formerly applied to the voyageurs east of Fort William, was now used in derision to the Scotch settlers. During the whole winter the fiery cross of the Nor'-westers had been flying; and they looked forward to a grand gathering in the spring at "The Forks," to give a final blow to the infant colony.

The expeditions were to come both from east and west. Fort Qu'Appelle, some 350 miles west of Red River, was the rendezvous of the force expected from the west. The Bois-brûlés wherever found during the whole winter throughout the territories, at the

most distant posts, exhibited signs of unmistakable hostility. A party of these warlike Metis were reported as coming from the far-off Fort des Prairies, on the Saskatchewan ; while from the east, a leading partner, McLeod, was coming all the way from Fort William, with a strong band to assist in the complete extinction of the colony.

Of the western levies Grant was, as has been already said, the ruling spirit. He was the leader of the "new nation." On the 13th March, 1816, he writes from the River Qu'Appelle the following letter to one of the partners, showing the intentions for the spring :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received your generous and kind letter last fall, by the last canoe. I should certainly be an ungrateful being, should I not return you my sincerest thanks. Although a very bad hand at writing letters, I trust to your generosity. I am yet safe and sound, thank God, for I believe it is more than Colin Robertson or any of his suite dare to offer the least insult to any of the Bois-brûlés, although Robertson made use of some expressions which I hope he shall swallow in the spring. He shall see that it is neither fifteen, thirty, nor fifty of his best horsemen, that can make the Bois-brûlés bow to him. Our people of Fort des Prairies and English River are all to be here in the spring ; it is hoped we shall come off with flying colours, and never *to see any of them again in the colonizing way* in Red River ; in fact, the traders shall pack off with themselves also, for having disobeyed our orders last spring, according to our arrangements. We are all to remain at the Forks to

pass the summer, for fear they should play us the same trick as last summer, of coming back; but they shall receive a warm reception. I am loth to enter into any particulars as I am well-assured that you will receive a more satisfactory information (than I have had) from your other correspondents; therefore, I shall not pretend to give you any; at the same time begging you will excuse my short letter, I shall conclude wishing you health and happiness.

"I shall ever remain,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"CUTHBERT GRANT.

"J. D. CAMERON, ESQ."

After the settlers had returned in 1815, Colin Robertson had organized the colony on his own authority, there having been no opportunity of communicating with Lord Selkirk; and during the same year a new governor, Robert Semple, had arrived. Governor Semple, seemingly of Pennsylvanian origin, had gone in early life to England. He was an author of some note, an officer of experience, and moreover a man of amiable and generous disposition. Too good a man he was for the lawless region to which he was sent. He was appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company as their governor, and with all the powers conferred by their charter.

And now, as soon as spring is open, the movement is begun. Governor Semple had dismantled the Nor'-wester Fort, on account of the alarming rumours heard by him, but more especially because of definite information obtained from the letters intercepted by Colin Robertson during the winter. We shall allow

eye-witnesses of the events to tell their own tale, given as they are with greatest accuracy at Montreal, in 1818.

The first is the account of a gentleman who had been a lieutenant in the Canadian Voltigeurs—the corps that had so distinguished itself in the war against the United States in 1812-15. At the close of the war he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a trader. He gives a very clear account of the expedition coming from Fort Qu'Appelle against the colony.

STORY OF PIERRE CHRYSOLOGUE PAMBRUN.

"I had been for some time under the orders of Mr. Semple, and on the 12th of April, 1816, I left Fort Douglas under his directions, to go to the Hudson's Bay Company's house on River Qu'Appelle. I set out with as much provision as would last us six days, when we would get to Brandon House, about 120 miles west of Red River. To this place, according to my instructions, I was to go first, and from thence, if prudent, to the Hudson's Bay fort at Qu'Appelle. On the 1st of May I left Qu'Appelle with five boat-loads of pemican and furs. As we were going down the river on the 5th of May, near the Grand Rapids, I made the shore in a boat, and a party of armed Bois-brûlés immediately came and surrounded me, and forced me to give up the boats and the furs, and the pemican. The pemican was landed, and the boats taken across the river. I was kept a prisoner for five days. Cuthbert Grant, Peter Pangman, Thomas

McKay were of the party who made me a prisoner. I was taken back to River Qu'Appelle, to the North-west Company's post. I was kept there five days. Mr. Alexander Macdonell was in command at this station, and I asked him why I had been made a prisoner, or by whose orders I had been arrested? He said it was by his own. There were about forty or fifty Bois-brûlés at this fort. Cuthbert Grant frequently said they were going to destroy the settlement, and I was told Mr. Macdonell said the business of the year before was a trifle to what this should be. Cuthbert Grant frequently talked with the Bois-brûlés about going, and they sang war-songs, as if they were going to battle.

"On the 12th I left Qu'Appelle. We drifted down to the place where I had before been stopped, and the pemican, which had been landed from our boats, was re-embarked by the North-west people. When we got to the forks of the River Qu'Appelle we encamped. The people who were taken with me had been liberated some time before, and had gone away. I had been left a prisoner. The next morning after we had encamped, that is, the people in the two boats which went with Mr. Macdonell, a number of Indians who were in camp at some distance were sent for, and they came and went into Mr. Macdonell's tent, who made a speech to them; a party went also on horseback from Fort Qu'Appelle armed, but I was in one of the boats with Mr. Macdonell. In going down the river, they talked freely of breaking up the settlement and taking Fort Douglas; and the people frequently told me that Mr. Macdonell had said the

business of the year before had been nothing to what this would be. Mr. Macdonell's speech to the Indians was to this effect :—

"'MY FRIENDS AND RELATIONS,—I address you bashfully, for I have not a pipe of tobacco to give you. All our goods have been taken by the English, but we are now upon a party to drive them away. Those people have been spoiling fair lands which belong to you and the Bois-brûlés, and to which they have no right. They have been driving away the buffalo. You will soon be poor and miserable if the English stay; but we will drive them away if the Indians do not, for the North-west Company and the Bois-brûlés are one. If you' (addressing the chief) 'and some of your young men will join, I shall be glad.' Mr. Macdonell spoke in French, and Pangman and Primeau interpreted.

"The chief said, 'That he knew nothing about it, and should not go himself; if some of the young men went, it was nothing to him.' Mr. Macdonell then said, 'Well, it is no matter, we are determined to drive them away, and if they make any resistance, your land shall be drenched with their blood.'

"The next morning the Indians went away, and the party drifted down the Assiniboine River to the Grand Rapids. From there, about thirty started, among whom was Mr. Macdonell, Cuthbert Grant, and a number of Bois-brûlés. I was left behind and still a prisoner, but in the evening a spare horse was brought by two of them for me, and I accompanied them on horseback to the North-west Fort near Brandon House. When I approached, I saw a crowd

assembled about the gate. I suppose there were from forty to fifty persons assembled. Their arms were down by the gate, and as I entered it, a number of them presented their guns at me, making use of insulting language. I complained to Mr. Macdonell of this treatment, and asked him if it was by his orders; and he said he would speak to them about it, but I do not think he ever did. I saw at this fort, tobacco, carpenter's tools, a quantity of furs, and other things, which had been brought over from Brandon House—our fort near by.

"About the 24th or 25th of May, the party was separated into smaller divisions, and chiefs appointed. The property was embarked, and the whole set off to go to Portage La Prairie; a part went by water, but the Bois-brûlés generally went by land on horseback. Having arrived at Portage La Prairie, the whole of the pemican and packs were landed, and formed into a sort of breastwork or fortification, having two small brass swivels there, which the year before had been taken from the stores of the settlement.

"On the morning of the 17th of June, being at Portage La Prairie still, which is about sixty miles from the settlement, the Bois-brûlés mounted their horses and set off for it; they were armed with guns, pistols, lances, and bows and arrows: Cuthbert Grant was with them, and a number of his race. I remained behind, so did Mr. Alexander Macdonell, and others; about thirty or forty men stayed to help guard the pemican. The object of this expedition was to take Fort Douglas, and break up the settlement. If the settlers took to the fort for protection, then the whole were

to be starved out. The fort was to be watched strictly at all times; and if any of them went out to fish, or to get water, they were to be shot, if they could not be taken prisoners. I certainly had, from all I heard, very serious apprehensions for my friends. I do not remember that Cuthbert Grant said anything particular on the morning he went away."

"SEVEN OAKS."

One of the persons who figured largely in the events subsequent to the year 1816 is Mr. John Pritchard. An Englishman, he had been in the employ of the North-west Company, but he had left that service and become a settler at Red River. He was consequently well-acquainted with the inner workings of both Companies at this most eventful time. His account of the "affair of Seven Oaks" is given with the same fidelity as the former, and bears the marks of being true and dispassionate.

JOHN PRITCHARD'S NARRATIVE.

"In May, 1816, I was living at Red River, and in that month and long before, from the Indians and free men who lived in our neighbourhood, I heard of its being intended to attack us. I heard this as early as March, and in May and June the report became general. In consequence of this information, we were constantly upon the look-out; day and night a watch was kept for the express purpose of giving the earliest notice of their approach. On the evening of the 19th of June, I had been upstairs in my own room

in Fort Douglas, and about six o'clock I heard the boy at the watch-house give the alarm that the Bois-brûlés were coming. A few of us, among whom was Governor Semple—there were perhaps six altogether—looked through a spy-glass, from a place that had been used as a stable, and we distinctly saw armed persons going along the plains. Shortly after, I heard the same boy call out, 'that the party on horseback were making to the settlers.'

"About twenty of us, in obedience to the governor, who said, 'We must go and see what these people are,' took our arms. He could only let about twenty go, at least he told about twenty to follow him, to come with him; there was, however, some confusion at the time, and I believe a few more than twenty accompanied us. Having proceeded about half a mile towards the settlement, we saw, behind a point of wood which goes down to the river, that the party increased very much. Mr. Semple, therefore, sent one of the people (Mr. Bourke) to the fort for a piece of cannon, and as many men as Mr. Miles Macdonell could spare. Mr. Bourke, however, not returning soon, Governor Semple said, 'Gentlemen, we had better go on,' and we accordingly proceeded. We had not gone far before we saw the Bois-brûlés returning towards us, and they divided into two parties, and surrounded us in the shape of a half-moon or half-circle. On our way, we met a number of the settlers crying, and speaking in the Gaelic language, which I do not understand, and they went on to the fort.

"The party on horseback had got pretty near to us, so that we could discover that they were painted and

disguised in the most hideous manner; upon this, as we were retreating, a Frenchman named Boucher advanced, waving his hand, riding up to us, and calling out in broken English, 'What do you want? What do you want?' Governor Semple said, 'What do *you* want?' Mr. Bourke not coming on with the cannon as soon as he was expected, the governor directed the party to proceed onwards; we had not gone far before we saw the Bois-brûlés returning upon us. Upon observing that they were so numerous, we had extended our line, and got more into the open plain; as they advanced, we retreated; but they divided themselves into two parties, and surrounded us again in the shape of a half-moon.

"Boucher then came out of the ranks of his party, and advanced towards us (he was on horseback), calling out in broken English, 'What do you want? What do you want?' Governor Semple answered, 'What do *you* want?' To which Boucher answered, 'We want our fort.' The governor said, 'Well, go to your fort.' After that I did not hear anything that passed, as they were close together. I saw the governor putting his hand on Boucher's gun. Expecting an attack to be made instantly, I had not been looking at Governor Semple and Boucher for some time; but just then I happened to turn my head that way, and immediately I heard a shot, and directly afterwards a general firing. I turned round upon hearing the shot, and saw Mr. Holte, one of our officers, struggling as if he was shot. He was on the ground. On their approach, as I have said, we had extended our line on the plain, by each taking

a place at a greater distance from the other. This had been done by the governor's orders, and we each took such places as best suited our individual safety.

"From not seeing the firing begin, I cannot say from whom it first came; but immediately upon hearing the first shot, I turned and saw Lieutenant Holte struggling." (Several persons present at the affair, such as a blacksmith named Heden, and McKay, a settler, distinctly state that the first shot fired was from the Bois-brûlés, and that by it Lieutenant Holte fell.) "As to our attacking our assailants, one of our people, Bruin, I believe, did propose that we should keep them off; and the governor turned round and asked who could be such a rascal as to make such a proposition? and that he should hear no word of that kind again. The governor was very much displeased indeed at the suggestion made. A fire was kept up for several minutes, after the first shot, and I saw a number wounded; indeed, in a few minutes, almost all our people were either killed or wounded. I saw Sinclair and Bruin fall, either wounded or killed; and a Mr. McLean, a little in front, defending himself, but by a second shot I saw him fall.

"At this time I saw Captain Rogers getting up again, but not observing any of our people standing, I called out to him, 'Rogers, for God's sake give yourself up! give yourself up!' Captain Rogers ran towards them, calling out in English and in broken French, that he surrendered, and that he gave himself up, and praying them to save his life. Thomas McKay, a Bois-brûlé shot him through the head,

and another Bois-brûlé dashed upon him with a knife, using the most horrid imprecations to him. I did not see the governor fall. I saw his corpse the next day at the fort. When I saw Captain Rogers fall, I expected to share his fate. As there was a French Canadian among those who surrounded me, and who had just made an end of my friend, I said, 'Lavigne, you are a Frenchman, you are a man, you are a Christian. For God's sake save my life! for God's sake try and save it! I give myself up; I am your prisoner.' McKay, who was among this party, and who knew me, said, 'You little toad, what do you do here?' He spoke in French, and called me 'un petit crapaud,' and asked what I did here? I fully expected then to lose my life. I again appealed to Lavigne, and he joined in entreating them to spare me. I told them over and over again that I was their prisoner, and I had something to tell them. They, however, seemed determined to take my life. They struck at me with their guns, and Lavigne caught some of the blows, and joined me in entreating for my safety. He told them of my kindness on different occasions. I remonstrated that I had thrown down my arms and was at their mercy. One Primeau wished to shoot me; he said I had formerly killed his brother. I begged him to recollect my former kindness to him at Qu'Appelle. At length they spared me, telling me I was a little dog, and had not long to live, and that he (Primeau) would find me when he came back.

"I then went to Frog Plains (Kildonan) in charge of Boucher. In going to the plains, I was again

threatened by one of the party, and saved by Boucher, who conducted me safely to Frog Plain. I there saw Cuthbert Grant, who told me that they did not expect to have met us on the plain, but that their intention was to have surprised the colony, and that they would have hunted the colonists like buffalo. He also told me they expected to have got round unperceived, and at night would have surrounded the fort, and have shot every one who left it; but being seen, their scheme had been destroyed or frustrated. They were all painted and disfigured, so that I did not know many. I should not have known that Cuthbert Grant was there, though I knew him well, had he not spoken to me.

"Grant told me that Governor Semple was not mortally wounded by the shot he received, but that his thigh was broken. He said that he spoke to the governor after he was wounded, and had been asked by him to have him taken to the fort, and as he was not mortally wounded, he thought he might perhaps live. Grant said he could not take him himself, as he had something else to do, but that he would send some person to convey him on whom he might depend, and that he left him in charge of a French-Canadian and went away; but that almost directly after he had left him, an Indian, who, he said, was the only rascal they had, came up and shot him in the breast, and killed him on the spot.

"The Bois-brûlés, who very seldom paint or disguise themselves, were on this occasion painted as I have been accustomed to see the Indians at their war-dance; they were very much painted, and dis-

guised in a hideous manner. They gave the war-whoop when they met Governor Semple and his party: they made a hideous noise and shouting. I know from Grant, as well as from other Bois-brûlés and the settlers, that some of the colonists had been taken prisoners. Grant told me that they were taken to weaken the colony, and prevent its being known that they were there—they having supposed that they had passed the fort unobserved.

"Their intention clearly was to pass the fort. I saw no carts, though I heard they had carts with them. I saw about five of the settlers prisoners in the camp at Frog Plain. Grant said to me further, 'You see we have had but one of our people killed, and how little quarter we have given you. Now, if Fort Douglas is not given up, with all the public property, instantly and without resistance, man, woman, and child shall be put to death.' He said the attack would be made upon it that night, and if a single shot were fired, that would be a signal for the indiscriminate destruction of every soul. I was completely satisfied myself, that the whole would be destroyed, and I besought Grant, whom I knew, to suggest, or let them try and devise some means to save the women and children. I represented to him that they could have done no harm to anybody, whatever he or his party might think the men had. I entreated him to take compassion on them, I reminded him that they were his father's countrywomen; and in his deceased father's name, I begged him to take pity and compassion on them, and spare them.

"At last he said, if all the arms and public property

were given up, we should be allowed to go away. After inducing the Bois-brûlés to allow me to go to Fort Douglas, I met our people; they were long unwilling to give up, but at last our Mr. Macdonell, who was now in charge, consented. We went together to the Frog Plain, an inventory of the property was taken when we had returned to the fort, the fort was delivered over to Cuthbert Grant, who gave receipts on each sheet of the inventory, signed Cuthbert Grant, acting for the North-west Company. I remained at Fort Douglas till the evening of the 22nd, when all proceeded down the river—the settlers, a second time on their journey into exile.

"The colonists, it is true, had little now to leave. They were generally employed in agricultural pursuits, in attending to their farms and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company in their ordinary avocations. They lived in tents generally and in huts. In 1816 at Red River there was but one residence, the governor's, which was in Fort Douglas. The settlers had lived in houses previous to 1815, but in that year they had been burnt down in the attack that had been made upon them. The settlers were employed during the daytime on their land, and used to come up to the fort to sleep in some of the buildings in the enclosure. All was now left behind. The Bois-brûlés' victory being now complete, a messenger was despatched westward to tell the news far and near."

PAMBRUN RESUMES AND CONCLUDES HIS STORY.

"On the 20th June a messenger arrived at Portage La Prairie from Cuthbert Grant. When Mr. Alexander

Macdonell saw him approaching Portage La Prairie, he went out and spoke with him, and presently gave three cheers. Upon this the other gentlemen asked 'what the news was?' Mr. Macdonell said in French, 'It was good. Twenty-two English are killed, and among them Semple and five of his officers.' He then announced it to the people, and said in French, 'Sacré nom de Dieu, bonnes nouvelles, vingt-deux Anglais de tués.' The gentlemen present all shouted with joy, especially Lamarre, Macdonell, and Sieveright. Pangman, commonly called Bostonais, inquired whether there were any killed on their side? but was answered, that one had been; and on hearing who it was, said it was his cousin; and then exclaimed, 'My cousin is killed, and I will be revenged. The affair shall not end here. They shall all be killed; for so long as these English are let go out of the river, they always will be coming back, as they did last year; and so sure as they return, they will always cause a disturbance and mischief.'

"Upon this, two men, Latour and Montour, were ordered to get horses, and immediately despatched on horseback to the Red River, with directions to detain all the settlers till Alexander Macdonell should arrive. We then pursued our journey by land, towards Fort Douglas, to within about thirty miles of it; the remainder of the way I went by water.

"When I arrived at Fort Douglas, I found all our people were gone, I met none of them there at all; the fort and property were in possession of the Bois-brûlés, the same Bois-brûlés as I had before seen leave Portage La Prairie for Fort Douglas.

"Cuthbert Grant was there, and a number I have

before mentioned. There were altogether about forty-five in the fort: there were none in the settlement.

"I asked Mr. Alexander Macdonell to let me go to the spot where the accident had occurred, which he did, and I went by myself. The limbs of the persons who had been killed were out of the ground, and many of their bodies in a mangled condition. After this, I heard Grant say that he had fired upon Governor Semple and upon McLean. The general account of the Bois-brûlés was, 'that Grant was a brave man, and had conducted himself well in the engagement.' They did not seem to be sorry for, or to hide what they had done. After these events I was sent to Fort William."

THE EASTERN LEVY.

To see the full intention of the Nor'-westers to utterly destroy the Colony, it will be well to give in the words of an eye-witness an account of the Expedition organized at Fort William to proceed to the destruction of the Red River Settlement, and for the purpose of meeting the force from the west, intending to reach the rendezvous at Frog Plain, and thence to attack Fort Douglas. It will be remembered that Cuthbert Grant's expedition endeavoured to pass the fort unseen, but on being discovered, were led on to the attack by Governor Semple's unfortunate appearance on the plain, with so small a body of attendants. Their intention plainly was to wait till the force from Fort William had arrived, and then to make the attack. As it happened they had the opportunity of accomplishing the work alone, and it was not until

three or four days later that they were joined by the war-party from Lake Superior, an account of whose journey is now given in the words of a narrator well able to give it, as having been a non-commissioned officer in the disbanded De Meuron Regiment, to which further reference will be made.

CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF FREDERICK DAMIEN HUERTER.

"A short time before our regiment was reduced, I obtained my discharge by order of Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond, and engaged myself at Montreal, in April, 1816, for three years, as a clerk in the service of the North-west Company, at the yearly salary of 100*l.* Before I left that place, I was told by Mr. Archibald Norman McLeod, a partner of the said Company, that I must by all means take with me to the Indian country the regimentals that I had, saying, 'We shall have occasion to show a little military practice in the interior.' I embarked at Lachine, the 2nd of May, with Alexander Mackenzie, commonly called the Emperor, and other clerks of the North-west Company; there was also with us Charles Reinhard, late a sergeant in De Meuron's regiment, and who had engaged himself a clerk with the North-west Company at 80*l.* a year. We embarked in three large canoes, navigated by fourteen men each. At Coteau du Lac Mr. McLeod embarked in the canoes with Lieutenants Missani and Brumby of De Meuron's regiment, and their servants, who were privates of the same regiment.

"On the 31st of May I arrived at Fort William,

where I remained three days, and was desired along with Reinhard, to go into a store to choose arms for ourselves, which we accordingly did. At Fort William the large canoes were changed for five North canoes, and I set out before the rest in a loaded canoe, and was overtaken by the brigade next day, when I joined them. At a portage about three days' journey from Fort William, we came up with a loaded canoe, navigated by two Iroquois and two French Canadians, one of whom, named Laverdure, was a man between sixty and seventy years of age, who was too weak to work as hard as the others, and to carry over the portages. Our commander, McLeod, asked him why he did not carry over the portages? and when the man complained of being too old and infirm, knocked him down and kicked him severely, calling him at the same time abusive names. Lieutenant Missani at length took McLeod by the arm and spoke to him.

"At the portage near the fort, near Rainy Lake, the gentlemen stopped a little while to dress, when Lieutenant Missani came to me and told me that it was McLeod's desire Reinhard and myself should put on our regimentals, which we accordingly did. After we were dressed McLeod said to me, 'The fort at Rainy Lake is a great place of resort for Indians, and it is important that you all appear in regimentals to show them that you belong to the king.' At the fort McLeod made a speech to a great assemblage of Indians. I understood that he ordered the Indians to follow him to Red River. I saw two large kegs of liquor and some tobacco, which were given to the Indians on the occasion. Upwards

of twenty Indians followed us. Going down River Winnipeg, we arrived at the entrance of the river into Lake Winnipeg on the 18th of June.

"Here we were ordered to make ball-cartridge, which we did. I again here put on my regimentals at the request of the officers. At this point there were two brass guns, three-pounders; these and a number of muskets were put in order. We were ordered to drill the voyageurs. A French Canadian, Forcier, positively refused to take a gun, and most of the men were very reluctant, saying they had been engaged as voyageurs, not as soldiers. We took the guns with us, and our canoes being delayed by weeds and otherwise, we reached Netley Creek on the Red River, about forty miles from the settlement, on the 21st. We were here assured that a party of forty from Swan River, and about eighty Bois-brûlés from Qu'Appelle, would meet us, and then the first attack would be made.

"We started on the 23rd of June for the colony, *i. e.* four days after the attack upon Governor Semple's party, though yet we knew nothing of this.

"On that day we had gone but a short distance, when we met seven or eight boats conveying a number of men, women, and children, who, as I soon heard, were the settlers and others driven from the colony, under the charge of the sheriff of the colony. We at once prepared for action. The colonists were ordered by our commander to stop. I then first heard of the rencontre in which Governor Semple and twenty of his people had lost their lives. The whole party were stopped and ordered ashore. McLeod then

ordered me and others to make a strict search for papers among the baggage belonging to the colonists, to open all trunks, boxes, and packages, and to take possession of all letters, papers, or account-books whatsoever. No key being found for the trunks of the late Governor Semple, McLeod ordered them to be broken open, which was accordingly done with an axe. On the 24th, the expected brigade arrived from Swan River. On the same day the settlers were liberated, and allowed to proceed on their way down Lake Winnipeg. Charles Grant was sent after them to see that they had actually gone on their journey.

"On the 26th I went up the river to Fort Douglas. There were many of the partners of the North-west Company with us. At Fort Douglas the brigade was received with discharges of artillery and fire-arms. The fort was under Mr. Alexander Macdonell, and there was there a great gathering of Bois-brûlés, clerks, and interpreters, as well as partners of the Company. On our arrival Archibald Norman McLeod, our leader, took the management and direction of the fort, and all made whatever use they chose of the property it contained. The Bois-brûlés were entirely under the orders and control of McLeod and the partners. McLeod occupied the apartments lately belonging to Governor Semple. After my arrival, I saw all the Bois-brûlés assembled in a large outer room, which had served as a mess-room for the officers of the colony.

"At this time such of the Bois-brûlés as were not actually at table with the partners were called into the governor's apartments, where I saw McLeod

shake them heartily by the hand, give them each a dram, express the happiness he felt at seeing them, and thank them for what they had done, and for their attachment to the North-west Company. The next day all the servants and *employés* of the Company were assembled behind the principal building in Fort Douglas, where McLeod made a speech, in which he told the Bois-brûlés and others who had been engaged in the affair of the 19th of June, that he was very happy to see them assembled there, that they had defended themselves and their land well, that the English had no right whatever to build upon their land without their permission. After his speech McLeod said to me, 'What do you think of these fellows, Mr. Huerter? Do you think his lordship' (Lord Selkirk) 'will ever get the better of them?' McLeod went, accompanied by Alexander McKenzie and all the partners, and the Bois-brûlés and others, on horseback a short distance up the river to the Forks, where he made a speech through an interpreter named Primeau, to two Saulteaux chiefs, named Peguis and L'Homme Noir, and their bands, in which I heard him reproach them for having refused to take up arms against the colony when called on to do so, and for having allowed the English to take Duncan Cameron, and send him away a prisoner. He called them a band of dogs, and threatened to punish them very severely if they ever dared to befriend the English again.

"I rode the same day to the field of 'Seven Oaks,' where Governor Semple and so many of his people had lately lost their lives, in company with a number

of those who had been employed on that occasion—all on horseback. At this period, scarcely a week after the 19th of June, I saw a number of human bodies scattered about the plain, and nearly reduced to skeletons, there being then very little flesh adhering to the bones; and I was informed on the spot that many of the bodies had been partly devoured by dogs and wolves. This spectacle, at which I was greatly shocked, was viewed with every mark of satisfaction, and even of exultation, by the persons by whom I was accompanied on this occasion. All were laughing heartily at the jests which each strove to pass. The Bois-brûlés were eagerly contending to point out to the approbation of their masters their particular feats on the 19th of June, which were listened to with pleasure; but I particularly remarked that the approbation of McLeod, McKenzie, and Macdonell seemed to be the principal object of the desire of the Bois-brûlés and others, and was lavishly bestowed on such as pointed out to them the deeds of cruelty by which they claimed distinction. François Deschamps, an old French-Canadian, was praised by the partners as a person who had distinguished himself by his zeal in their service. This Deschamps is generally reputed and believed to have committed acts of cruelty in murdering the wounded, who were calling for quarter. In recounting the deeds of this man to his partners, Mr. Alexander Macdonell remarked, 'What a fine, vigorous old man he is.'

"There was a scene of great rejoicing the same evening at the fort, the Bois-brûlés being painted and dancing naked, after the manner of savages, to the

great amusement of their masters. On the 29th of June most of the partners and the Northern Brigade set off for the Rapids at the mouth of the Saskatchewan. The departure of the Grand Brigade was signalized by the discharge of artillery from Fort Douglas."

THE TRIUMPH.

The Bois-brûlés to this day celebrate their victory at "Seven Oaks," on the 19th of June, 1816. We give their song of triumph as a specimen of Bois-brûlés' literature, and with it a translation for the benefit of the English reader. The bad French and grandiloquent strains make it something of a curiosity.

CHANSON ÉCRITE PAR PIERRE FALCON.

Voulez-vous écouter chanter un chanson de vérité:
Le dix-neuf de Juin, les Bois-brûlés sont arrivés
Comme des braves guerriers,
Ont arrivons à la grenouillière,
Nous avons fait trois prisonniers
Des Orcanais! Ils sont ici pour piller notre pays.
Étant sur le point de debarquer,
Deux de nos gens se sont écriés,
Voila l'Anglais qui vient nous attaquer!
Tous aussitôt nous nous sommes devirés
Pour aller les rencontrer.

J'avons cerné la bande de grenadiers,
Ils sont immobiles! ils sont démontés!
J'avons agi comme des gens d'honneur,
Nous envoyâmes un ambassadeur.
Gouverneur! voulez-vous arrêter un petit moment,
Nous voulons vous parler.

Le gouverneur qui est enragé,
Il dit à ses soldats—"Tirez!"

Le premier coup l'Anglais le tire,
L'Ambassadeur a presque manqué d'être tué
Le gouverneur se croyant l'Empereur,
Il agit avec rigueur,
Le gouverneur se croyant l'Empereur
À son malheur agit avec trop de rigueur.

Ayant vu passe les Bois-brûlés,
Il a parti pour nous épouvanter
Étant parti pour nous épouvanter
Il s'est trompé ; il s'est bien fait tué
Quantité de ses grenadiers.

J'avons tué presque toute son armée
De la bande quatre ou cinq se sont sauvés,
Si vous aviez vu les Anglais
Et tous les Bois-brûlés après !
De butte en butte les Anglais culbutaient
Les Bois-brûlés jetaient des cris de joie !

Qui en a composé la chanson ?
C'est Pierre Falcon ! Le bon garçon !
Elle a été faite et composée
Sur la victoire que nous avons gagné !
Elle a été faite et composée
Chantons la gloire de tous ces Bois-brûlés.

SONG WRITTEN BY PIERRE FALCON.

Come listen to this song of truth !
A song of the brave Bois-brûlés,
Who at Frog Plain took three captives,
Strangers come to rob our country.

When dismounting there to rest us,
A cry is raised—the English !
They are coming to attack us,
So we hasten forth to meet them.

I look'd upon their army,
They are motionless and downcast ;
So, as honour would incline us,
We desire with them to parley.

But their leader, moved with anger,
Gives the word to fire upon us;
And imperiously repeats it,
Rushing on to his destruction.

Having seen us pass his stronghold,
He had thought to strike with terror
The Bois-brûlés: Ah! mistaken,
Many of his soldiers perish.

But a few escaped the slaughter,
Rushing from the field of battle;
Oh, to see the English fleeing!
Oh, the shouts of their pursuers!

Who has sung this song of triumph?
The good Pierre Falcon has composed it,
That the praise of these Bois-brûlés
Might be evermore recorded.

A REFLECTION.

The joy of the Bois-brûlés was but the froth of the seething cauldron of plot and threat, and stratagem and malice, that the Nor'-westers had been preparing for months. Poor, simple beings! pushed forward to do the dangerous work, while the leaders kept at a safe distance, and then praised and rewarded them.

Dressed in the garb, and ornamented after the manner of Indians, the better to hide the plot and to cast the blame upon the simple savages, the Bois-brûlés had their imaginations fired to emulate the deeds of cruelty attributed to their savage ancestry, while the Indians themselves remained silent spectators of the violence.

However much the partners at Montreal, or the wintering partners in the country, sought to escape the responsibility, a perusal of the narratives of

Pambrun, Pritchard, and Huerter, can leave no doubt as to the fact that the destruction of the colony was a well-considered and deliberately executed plan. From west, and east, and north, the North-west partners came with threatenings of destruction, and accompanied by their Bois-brûlés. In every case efforts were made to enlist the Indians in the enterprise. The most perfect understanding is seen to exist as to the time of meeting, as to the place of rendezvous, and as to the mode of attack.

It is true the rencontre before Fort Douglas took place a little sooner than was expected, but it is the weakest justification possible to represent the affray, so far as the Nor'-westers are concerned, as accidental, or to spend time in discussing who fired the first shot. The upright conduct of those in charge of the Selkirk colony, their close adhesion to the law, and their avoidance of everything, except the plainest measures of self-defence, that might irritate their opponents, contrast strongly with the lawless, violent, and vindictive conduct of the Bois-brûlés, and with the unscrupulous measures of the Nor'-wester partners, whose behests the Bois-brûlés so well executed. Surely a Nemesis must pursue such craft and such cruelty!

CHAPTER X.

LORD SELKIRK TO THE RESCUE!

THE sad story of the beleaguered and excited colonists reached the ears of Lord Selkirk through his agents. The trouble threatening his settlers determined the energetic founder to visit Canada himself, and, if possible, the infant colony. Accordingly, late in the year 1815, in company with his family—consisting of the countess, his son, and two daughter—he reached Montreal. The news of the first dispersion of the colonists, their flight to Norway House, and the further threatenings of the Bois-brûlés, arrived about the time of their coming to New York. Lord Selkirk hastened on to Montreal, but it was too late in the season, being about the end of October, to penetrate to the interior.

He must winter in Montreal. He was here in the very midst of the enemy. With energy, characteristic of the man, he brought the matter of the protection of his colony urgently before the Government of Lower Canada. In a British colony surely the rights of property of a British subject would be protected, and surely the safety of hundreds of loyal people

could not be trifled with. As we shall see in a later chapter, the high-minded nobleman counted without his host; he had but to live a few years in the new world of that day to find how skilfully the forms of law can be adapted to carry out illegal objects and shield law-breakers.

So early as February of that year (1815), dreading the threatenings even then made by the Nor'-westers, he had represented to Lord Bathurst, the British Secretary of State, the urgent necessity of an armed force, not necessarily very numerous, being sent to the Red River settlement to maintain order in the colony. Now, after the outrageous proceedings of the summer of 1815, and the arrival of the dreary intelligence from Red River, Lord Selkirk again brings the matter before the authorities, this time before Sir Gordon Drummond, Governor of Lower Canada, on the 11th of November, and encloses a full account of the facts as to the expulsion of the settlers from their homes in 1815, and of the many acts of violence perpetrated at Red River.

Nothing being gained in this way, his lordship determined to undertake an expedition himself, as soon as it could be organized, and carry assistance to his persecuted people, who he knew had been gathered together by Colin Robertson, and to whom he had sent as governor, Mr. Semple, in whom he reposed great confidence. We have seen that during the winter of 1815-16, peace and a certain degree of confidence prevailed among the settlers, more than half of whom were spending their first winter in the country. Fort Douglas was regarded as strong

enough to resist a considerable force, and the presence of Governor Semple, a military officer, was thought a guarantee for the protection of the people. During the winter, however, Lord Selkirk learned enough to assure him that the danger was not over—that, indeed, a more determined attack than ever would be made as soon as the season of 1816 should open. He had been sworn in as a Justice of the Peace in Upper Canada and for the Indian territories; he had obtained for his personal protection from the governor, the promise of a sergeant and six men of the British army stationed in Canada, but this was not sufficient.

He undertook a plan of placing upon his own land in the colony a number of persons as settlers, who could be called upon in case of emergency, as had been the intention in the case of the Highland colonists, to whom muskets had been furnished. The close of the Napoleonic wars had left a large number of the soldiers engaged in these wars out of employment, the British Government having been compelled to reduce the size of the army. Among the brave regiments which had rendered Britain so famous on her continental battlefields, were several enlisted for her service in Switzerland. Two of these regiments, one named "De Meuron," and the other "Watteville," had been sent to Canada to assist in the war against the United States. This war being now over also, orders came to Sir Gordon Drummond to disband the two regiments in May, 1816. The former of the regiments was at the time stationed at Montreal, the latter at Kingston.

From these bodies of men Lord Selkirk undertook to provide his colony with settlers willing to defend it. The enemies of Lord Selkirk have been very free in their expression of opinion as to the worthlessness of these soldiers, and their unfitness as settlers. It is worthy of notice, however, that the Nor'-westers did not scruple to use Messrs. Missani and Brumby, as well as Reinhard and Huerter, of these same corps, to carry out their own purposes. The following order, given by Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, however, effectually disposes of such a calumny :—

"*Quebec, July 26th,* 1816.

"In parting with the regiments 'De Meuron' and 'Watteville,' both of which corps his Excellency has had the good fortune of having under his command in other parts of the world, Sir John Sherbrooke desires Lieutenant-Colonel De Meuron and Lieutenant-Colonel May, and the officers and men of these corps, will accept his congratulations on having, by their conduct in the Canadas, maintained the reputation which they have deservedly acquired by their former services. His Excellency can have no hesitation in saying that his Majesty's service in these provinces has derived important advantages during the late war from the steadiness, discipline, and efficiency of these corps.

"J. HARVEY, Lieut.-Colonel, D.A.G."

Testimony to the same effect is given by the officer in command of the garrison of Malta, on their leaving that island in 1813 to come to Canada.

These men offered the material for Lord Selkirk's purpose, viz. to till the soil and protect the colony.

Like a wise man, however, he made character the ground of engagement in the case of all whom he took. To those who came to terms with him, he agreed to give a sufficient portion of land, agricultural implements, and as wages for working the boats on the voyage, eight dollars a month. It was further agreed that should any choose to leave Red River on reaching it, they should be taken back by his lordship free of expense. Early in June, 1816, four officers and about eighty men of the "De Meurons" left Montreal in Lord Selkirk's employ, and proceeded westward to Kingston. Here twenty more of the "Watteville" regiment joined their company. Thence the expedition, made up by the addition of one hundred and thirty canoe-men, pushed on to York (Toronto), and from York northward to Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay.

Across this bay and Lake Huron they passed rapidly on to Sault Ste. Marie, Lord Selkirk leaving the expedition before reaching that place to go to Drummond's Island, which was the last British garrison in Upper Canada, and at which point he was to receive the sergeant and six men granted for his personal protection by the Governor of Canada. At Drummond's Island a council was held with Kawtawabetay, an Ojibeway chief, by the Indian Department, Lieut.-Colonel Maule, of the 104th regiment, presiding. Kawtawabetay there informed the council that in the spring of 1815, two North-west traders, McKenzie and Morrison, told him that they would give him and his people all the goods or merchandise and rum that they had at Fort William, Leach Lake, and Sand Lake, if he, the said Kawtawabetay and his

people, would make and declare war against the settlers in Red River. On being asked by the chief, whether this was at the request of the "Great chiefs" at Montreal or Quebec, McKenzie and Morrison replied, it was solely from the North-west Company's agents, who wished the settlement destroyed, as it was an annoyance to them. The chief further stated that the last spring (1816), whilst at Fond du Lac Superior, a Nor'-wester agent (Grant) offered him two kegs of rum, and two carrots tobacco, if he would send some of his young men in search of certain persons employed in taking despatches to the Red River, pillage these bearers of despatches of the letters and papers, and kill them should they make any resistance. The chief stated he had refused to have anything to do with these offers. On being asked in the council by Lord Selkirk, who was present, as to the feelings of the Indians towards the settlers at Red River he said, that at the commencement of the Red River settlement, some of the Indians did not like it, but at present they are all glad of its being settled.

Lord Selkirk soon hastened on, and overtook his expedition at Sault Ste. Marie, now consisting of about two hundred and fifty men all told, and these being maintained at his private expense. They immediately proceeded westward, intending to have gone to the extreme point of Lake Superior, near where the town of Duluth now stands, and where the name Fond du Lac is still retained. The expedition would then have gone north-westward through what is now Minnesota to Red Lake, from which point a descent could have been made by boat, through Red Lake

River and Red River to the very settlement itself. This route would have avoided the Nor'-westers altogether.

Westward bound, the party had little more than left Sault Ste. Marie, during the last week of July, when they were met on Lake Superior by two canoes, in one of which was Miles Macdonell, driven forth from Red River, and who brought the sad intelligence of the second destruction of the colony, and of the murder of Governor Semple and his attendants. His lordship was thrown into the deepest despair. The thought of his governor killed, wholesale murder committed, the poor settlers led by him from Highland homes, where life at least was safe, to endure such fear and privations, was indeed a sore trial. To any one less moved by the spirit of philanthropy, it must have been a serious disappointment, but to one feeling so thorough a sympathy for the suffering, and who was himself the very soul of honour, it was a crushing blow.

He resolved to change his course, and to go to Fort William, the headquarters of the Nor'-westers. He now determined to act in his office as magistrate, and sought to induce two gentlemen of Sault Ste. Marie, Messrs. Ermatinger and Askin, both magistrates, to accompany him in that capacity. They were unable to go. Compelled to proceed alone, he writes from Sault Ste. Marie, on 29th July, to Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, and after speaking of his failure to induce the two gentlemen mentioned by him to go, says, "I am therefore reduced to the alternative of acting alone, or of allowing an audacious crime to pass unpunished.

In these circumstances I cannot doubt that it is my duty to act, though I am not without apprehension that the law may be openly resisted by a set of people who have been accustomed to consider force as the only true criterion of right."

One would have said, on looking at the matter dispassionately, that the Governor-General, with a military force so far west as Drummond Isle in Georgian Bay, would have taken immediate steps to bring to justice the offenders.

Governor Sherbrooke seems to have felt himself powerless, for he says in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, "I beg leave to call your lordship's serious attention to the forcible and, I fear, too just description given by the Earl of Selkirk, of the state of the Red River Territory. I leave your lordship to judge, whether a banditti, such as he describes, will yield to the influence, or be intimidated by the menaces of distant authority." It may be well afterwards to contrast this statement of the governor's with subsequent despatches. It must not be forgotten that while "the banditti" was pursuing its course of violence in the far-off territory, and as we have seen thoroughly under the direction and encouragement of the North-west Company partners, the leading members of this Company, who held, many of them, high places in society and in the government in Montreal, were posing as the lovers of peace and order, and were lamenting over the excesses of the Indians and Bois-brûlés. By this course they were enabled to thwart any really effective measures towards restoring peace at the far-away "seat of war."

The duplicity of the North-west Company may be judged from the following extracts from a letter of the Hon. John Richardson, one of the partners, and likewise a member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, addressed to Governor Sherbrooke. He says, on the 17th of August, 1816, "It is with much concern I have to mention that blood has been shed at the Red River, to an extent greatly to be deplored: but it is consolatory to those interested in the North-west Company to find, that none of their traders or people were concerned, or at the time within a hundred miles of the scene of contest." What a commentary on such a statement are the stories of Pambrun and Huerter given in a previous chapter! What a cold-blooded statement after all the plottings and schemes of the whole winter before the attack! What a heartless falsehood as regards the Indians, who, under so great temptations, refused to be partners in so bloody an enterprise!

The resolution of Lord Selkirk to go to Fort William in the capacity of a magistrate, and as the only magistrate, was one involving, as he well knew, many perils. He was not, however, the man to shrink from a daring enterprise having once undertaken it. It may be well to have a fuller account of the character and strength of Fort William, as it was in these eventful days. The tourist of the present day, who, sailing out of Thunder Bay, enters the mouth of the Kaminestiquia River, near the spot where stands the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, now being built from that point to Red River, sees a few buildings gathered together, and the

chief are surmounted by an Union Jack, with the large letters H. B. C. across it. That is Fort William : but how unlike the Fort William of other days !

We are fortunate in having a most graphic description of the fort at the period with which we are dealing. It is given by a French trader, named Franchére, who, in 1810, left New York in the employ of the Astor Fur Company, rounded the cape, and came up the Pacific Coast to seek for peltries. On his return journey he crossed the Rocky Mountains, floated down the Saskatchewan, crossed Lake Winnipeg, and passed homeward by way of Lake Superior in 1814. He informs us that Fort William was built in 1805, when the North-west and XY Companies united, and was so named in honour of the Hon. William McGillivray, head of the North-west Company. Fort William, he says, has really the appearance of a fort, from its palisades fifteen feet high, and also that of a pretty village from the number of buildings it encloses. In the middle of a spacious square stands a large building elegantly built, though of wood, the middle door of which is raised five feet above the ground-plot, and in front of which runs a long gallery. In the centre of this building is a room about sixty feet long and thirty wide, decorated with several paintings, and some portraits in crayon of a number of the partners of the Company. It is in this room that the agents, the clerks, and the interpreters take their meals at different tables. At each extremity of the room are two small apartments for the partners.

The back part of the house is occupied by the kitchen and sleeping-apartments of the domestics.

On each side of this building there is another of the same size, but lower; these are divided lengthwise by a corridor, and contain each twelve pretty sleeping-rooms. One of these houses is intended for the partners, the other for the clerks. On the east side of the fort there is another house intended for the same purpose; and a large building in which furs are examined, and where they are put up in tight bales by means of a press. Behind, and still on the same side, are found the lodges of the guides, another building for furs, and a powder-magazine. This last building is of grey stone, and roofed in with tin. In the corner stands a kind of bastion or point of observation.

On the west side is seen a range of buildings, some of which serve for stores and others for shops. There is one for dressing out the *employés;* one for fitting out canoes, one in which merchandise is retailed, another where strong drink, bread, lard, butter, &c., are sold, and where refreshments are given out to arriving voyageurs. This refreshment consists of a white loaf, a half-pound of butter, and a quart of rum. The voyageurs give to this liquor-store the name "cantine salope."

Behind is found still another row of buildings, one of which is used as an office or counting-house—a pretty square building well-lighted: another serves as a store; and a third as a prison. The voyageurs give to this last the name "pot au beurre." At the south-east corner is a stone shed roofed with tin. Further back are the workshops of the carpenters, tin-smiths, blacksmiths, and their spacious courts or sheds for sheltering the canoes, repairing them, and

constructing new ones. Near the gate of the fort, which is to the south, are the dwelling-houses of the surgeon and resident-clerk. Over the entrance-gate a kind of guard-house has been built. As the river is deep enough at its entrance, the Company has had quays built along the fort, as a landing-place for the schooners kept on Lake Superior for transporting peltries, merchandise, and provisions from Fort William to Sault Ste. Marie, and *vice versâ*.

There are also on the other side of the river a number of houses, all inhabited by old French Canadian voyageurs, worn out in the service of the North-west Company without having become richer by it. Fort William is the principal factory of the North-west Company in the interior, and a general rendezvous of the partners. The agents of Montreal and the proprietors wintering in the north nearly all assemble there every summer and receive the returns, form expeditions, and discuss the interests of their commerce. Most of them were there at the time we arrived.[1]

The *employés* wintering in the north spend also a portion of the summer at Fort William. They form a great encampment to the west, outside the palisades. Those who are only engaged at Montreal to go to Fort William or to Rainy Lake, and who do not winter in the north, occupy another space on the east side. The former give to the latter the name, "Mangeurs de lard." A remarkable difference is observed between the two camps, which are composed

[1] It was at this meeting, in 1814, that the plans were laid for sending Cameron to Red River, and destroying the Colony by "fair means or foul."

of three or four hundred men each. That of the "Mangeurs de lard" is always very dirty, and that of the winterers neat and clean.

To this place, then, with the prospect of meeting several hundreds of the desperate men of the North-west Company, Lord Selkirk made his way. So confident was he in the rectitude of his purpose, and in the justice of his cause, that he pushed forward, and without the slightest hesitation encamped upon the Kaministiquia, on the south side of the river, in sight of Fort William. The expedition arrived on the 12th of August. A demand was at once made on the officers of the North-west Company for the release of a number of persons who had been captured at Red River after the destruction of the colony, and been brought to Fort William. The Nor'-westers denied having arrested these persons; and to give colour to this assertion, immediately sent them over to Lord Selkirk's encampment.

On the 13th and following days of the month of August, the depositions of a number of these persons were taken before his lordship as a Justice of the Peace. The depositions related to the guilt of the several Nor'-wester partners, their destroying the settlement, entering and removing property from Fort Douglas, and the like; and were made by Pambrun, Lavigne, Nolin, Blondeau, Brisbois, and others. It was made so clear to Lord Selkirk that the partners were guilty of inciting the attacks on the colony, and of approving the outrages committed, that he determined to arrest a number of the leaders. This was done by regular legal process—by warrants served

on Mr. McGillivray, Kenneth McKenzie, Simon Fraser, and others, and the arrests effected, but the prisoners were allowed to remain in Fort William.

In one case, that of a partner named John McDonald, resistance having been offered, the constables called for the aid of a party of the De Meurons, who had crossed over from the encampment with them in their boats. The leaving of the prisoners with their liberty in Fort William, however, gave the opportunity for conspiracy; and it was represented to Lord Selkirk, that Fort William would be used for the purposes of resistance, and that the prisoners arrested would be released. The facts leading to this belief were, that a canoe, laden with arms, had left the fort at night; that eight barrels of gunpowder had been secreted in a thicket, and that these had been taken from the magazine; while some fifty stand of arms, fresh-loaded, had been found in a barn among some hay. These indications proved that an attempt was about to be made to resist the execution of the law, and accordingly the prisoners were placed in one building and closely guarded, while Lord Selkirk's encampment was removed across the river, and pitched in front of the fort to prevent any surprise.

A further examination of the prisoners took place, and their criminality being so evident, they were sent under an escort to York, Upper Canada. Three canoes, well-manned and containing the prisoners, left the fort on the 18th of August, under the charge of Lieutenant Fauche, one of the De Meuron officers. The journey down the lakes was marred by a most unfortunate accident. One of the canoes was upset

some fifteen miles from Sault Ste. Marie. This was caused by the sudden rise of the wind. The affair was purely accidental, and there were drowned one of the prisoners, named McKenzie, a sergeant and man of the De Meurons, and six Indians. The prisoners were taken to Montreal and admitted to bail. The course taken by Lord Selkirk at Fort William has been severely criticized, and became, indeed, the subject of subsequent legal proceedings. One of the Nor'-wester apologists stated to Governor Sherbrooke, "That the mode of proceeding under Lord Selkirk's orders resembled nothing British, and exceeded even the military despotism of the French in Holland."

No doubt it would have been better had Lord Selkirk obtained other magistrates to take part in the proceedings at Fort William, but we have seen he did try this and failed. Had it been possible to have had the arrests effected without the appearance of force made by the De Meurons, it would have been more agreeable to our ideas of ordinary legal proceedings; but it must be remembered he was dealing with those, called by a high authority, "a banditti." Could Fort William have been left in the hands of its possessors, it would have been better; but then there was clear evidence that the Nor'-westers intended violence. To have left Fort William in their possession would have been suicidal. It would probably have been better that Selkirk should not have stopped the canoes going into the interior with North-west merchandise, but to have allowed them to proceed was only to have assisted his enemies—the enemies, more-

over, of law and order. Thousands of pounds' worth of his property stolen from Fort Douglas by the agents of the North-west Company, and the fullest evidence in the depositions made before him that this was in pursuance of a plan devised by the Company and deliberately carried out; several hundreds of lawless voyageurs and unscrupulous partners ready to use violence in the wild region of Lake Superior, where, during fifty years before, they had committed numerous acts of bloodshed, and had never been called to account; the worrying reflection that homeless settlers, and helpless women and children were crying, in some region then unknown to him, for his assistance, after their wanton dispersion by their enemies from their homes on the banks of Red River: all these things were sufficient to nerve to action one of far less generous impulses than Lord Selkirk.

Is it at all surprising that his lordship did not act with all the calmness and scrupulous care of a judge on the Bench, strong in his consciousness of safety, supported by the myriad officers of the law, and surrounded by the insignia of justice? The justification of his course, even if it be interpreted adversely, is, that in a state of violence, to preserve the person is a preliminary to the settlement of other questions of personal right. One thing at least is to Lord Selkirk's credit that, as soon as possible, he handed over the law-breakers to be dealt with by the Canadian courts, where, however, unfortunately, another divinity presided than the blind goddess of justice.

Let us now see where we are in our story. Lord Selkirk is at Fort William. The Nor'-wester partners

have been sent to the East. It is near the end of August, and the state of affairs at Fort William does not allow the founder to pass on to his colony for the winter. He is surrounded by his De Meuron settlers. During the months of autumn the expedition is engaged in laying in supplies for the approaching winter, and in opening up roads toward the Red River country. The winter was passed in the usual manner of the Lake Superior country, shut out from the rest of the world. The winter over, Lord Selkirk started on the 1st of May, 1817, for Red River, accompanied by his body-guard. The De Meurons had preceded him in the month of March, and, reaching the interior, restored order.

The colonizer arrived at his colony in the last week of June, and saw, for the first time, the land of his dreams for the preceding fifteen years. In order to restore peace, he endeavoured to carry out the terms of the proclamation issued by the Government of Canada, that all property taken during the troubles should be restored to its original owners. This restitution was made to a certain extent, though much that had been taken from Fort Douglas was never recovered. The settlers were brought back from their refuge at Norway House, and the settlement was again organized. The colonists who survive still relate, with great satisfaction, how Lord Selkirk cheered them by his presence. After their return to their despoiled homesteads a gathering of the settlers took place, and a full consideration of all their affairs was had in their patron's presence.

This gathering was at the spot where the church and

burying-ground of St. John's are now found. "Here," said his lordship, pointing to lot number four, on which they stood, "here you shall build your church; and that lot," said he, pointing to lot number three across the little stream called Parsonage Creek, "is 'for a school.'" The people then reminded his lordship that he had promised them a minister, who should follow them to their adopted country. This he at once acknowledged, saying, "Selkirk never forfeited his word;" while he promised to give the matter attention as soon as practicable. In addition, Lord Selkirk gave a document stating that, "in consideration of the hardships which the settlers had suffered, in consequence of the lawless conduct of the North-west Company, his intention was to grant gratuitously the twenty-four lots which had been occupied, to those of the settlers who had made improvements on their lands before they were driven away from them in the previous year."

Before the dispersion of this public gathering of the people, the founder gave the name, at the request of the colonists, to their settlement. The name given by him to this the first parish in Rupert's Land, was that of *Kildonan*, from their old home in the valley of the Helmsdale, in Sutherlandshire, Scotland. In more fully organizing the colony, his lordship ordered a complete survey to be made of the land, and steps to be taken towards laying out roads, building bridges, erecting mills, &c.

It will be remembered, as already stated, that at the inception of the Colony scheme to Red River, in 1811, the Nor'-westers had threatened the hostility of the

Indians. It may be mentioned as a strange fact that, to this day, it is a trick of the Bois-brûlés, taking their cue from the Nor'-westers, when making any demand, to threaten Government with the wrath of the Indians, over whom they profess to exercise a control. We have already seen that the Nor'-westers' boasting as to their influence over the Indians was empty. In the publications of the Nor'-westers of 1816-20 a speech is sometimes set forth, of an Indian chief, "Grandes Oreilles," breathing forth threatenings against the infant settlement. It is worthy of notice that even this resource is swept away by the author of the speech, a Nor'-wester trader, confessing that he had manufactured the speech, and "Grandes Oreilles" had never spoken it.

Within three weeks of his arrival at Red River, Lord Selkirk carried out his promise of making a treaty with the Indians. This all the Indians were most willing to do, as on many occasions during the troubles, they had, by giving early information as to the movements of the Nor'-westers, and by other means, shown their sympathy and good feeling toward the settlers. The object of the treaty was simply to do what has since been done all over the North-west Territories—to extinguish the Indian title. The treaty is signed alike by Ojibeway, Cree, and Assiniboine chiefs. The Assiniboines are a tribe generally considered to belong to the Sioux stock. Lord Selkirk afterwards made a treaty, on leaving the Red River, with the other Sioux nations inhabiting his territory. The chiefs met at Red River by his lordship, and those whose names are attached to the treaty, are, giving their

French names in some cases as shorter than the Indian, Le Sonent, Robe Noire, Peguis, L'Homme Noir, and Grandes Oreilles. His lordship seems to have had a most conciliatory and attractive manner. It is worth while closing this chapter by giving extracts from the speeches of these Indian chiefs, taken down at the grand council at which Lord Selkirk smoked the pipe of peace with the assembled warriors.

Peguis, the Saulteaux chief, always the fast friend of the colonists, said, "When the English settlers first came here we received them with joy. It was not our fault if even the stumps of the brushwood were too rough for their feet; but misfortunes have since overtaken them. Evil-disposed men came here, calling themselves great chiefs, sent from our Great Father across the big lake. But we believe they were only traders, pretending to be great chiefs on purpose to deceive us. They misled the young men who are near us (a small party of Bois-brûlés encamped in the neighbourhood), and employed them to shed the blood of your children, and to drive away the settlers from this river. We do not acknowledge these men as an independent tribe. They have sprung up here and there like mushrooms, and we know them not.

"At the first arrival of the settlers, we were frequently solicited by the North-west Company to frighten them away; but we were pleased to see that our great Father had sent some of his white children to live among us, and we refused to do or say anything against them. The traders even demanded our calumets, and desired to commit our sentiments to paper, that they might send them to our great Father; but

we refused to acknowledge the speeches which they wished to put into our mouths. We are informed that they have told a tale that it was the Indians who drove away and murdered the children of our great Father, but it is a falsehood.

"As soon as I saw the mischief that happened I went to Lake Winnipeg with a few friends to wait for news from the English, but I could meet none. We have reasons to be friends of the colony. When there were only traders here, we could not get a blanket, or a piece of cloth, without furs to give in exchange. Our country is now almost destitute of furs, so that we were often in great want. From the people of the colony we get blankets and cloth for the meat we procure them. The country abounds with meat, which we can obtain, but to procure furs is difficult."

Next, L'Homme Noir, a chief of the Assiniboines, who had come from a long distance, addressing Lord Selkirk, particularly declared, "We were often harassed with solicitations to assist the Bois-brûlés in what they have done against your children, but we always refused. We are sure you must have had much trouble to come here. We have often been told you. were our enemy; but we have to-day the happiness to hear from your own mouth the words of a true friend. We receive the present you give us with great pleasure and thankfulness."

After this, Robe Noire, an Ojibeway chief, spoke in like terms; when the veritable Grandes Oreilles, to whose spurious war-speech we have already referred, said as follows:—

'I am happy to see here our own father. Clouds have overwhelmed me. I was a long time in doubt and difficulty, but now I begin to see clearly.

"We have reason to be happy this day. We know the dangers you must have encountered to come so far. The truth you have spoken pleases us. We thank you for the present you give us. There seems an end to our distress, and it is you who have relieved us.

"When our young men are drunk they are mad; they know not what they say or what they do; but this must not be attended to; they mean no harm."

Long after, Selkirk was remembered and beloved by these Indian tribes, who spoke of him as the "Silver Chief."

So much for the founder's work in his colony in 1817. His affairs urgently required his attention elsewhere. In the language of a writer on the period, "Having thus restored order, infused confidence in the people, and given a certain aim to their activity, Lord Selkirk took his final leave of the colony." With a guide and a few attendants he journeyed southward, passing through the country of the warlike Sioux, with whom he made peace.

There is treasured up still a small note-book, with, in his own writing, an itinerary of his journey from the Red River colony. Familiar names, such as Rivière Sale, Rivière Aux Gratias, Pembina, and the like, appear with their distances in leagues. Among other memoranda is one "lost on the prairie," and the distance in leagues estimated as lost by the misadventure. Every traveller over the

Manitoba prairie will take a feeling interest in that entry. Passing through the Mississippi country he seems to have proceeded eastward to Washington; he next appears in Albany, and hastens back to Upper Canada, without even visiting his family in Montreal, though having been absent from them for upwards of a year. In Upper Canada his presence is urgently needed to meet the artful machinations of his enemies.

CHAPTER XI.

JUSTICE WITH EYES UNBANDAGED.

IT is the privilege of British subjects in the present day, and Canadians among the rest, to boast of the uprightness and incorruptibility of the Bench, guaranteeing free and fair treatment to all classes of the people. Few things are more essential to the existence of our system of free government than this. It need make neither Briton nor Canadian blush to admit that it has not always been so in our history. To understand the ordeal through which Lord Selkirk was compelled to pass it will be necessary to notice briefly the political and social condition of Upper and Lower Canada at the time, and the various influences bearing upon the administration of justice in the country. Representative government was a thing unknown in either of the provinces.

In Lower Canada the peculiar events of the conquest of 1759 must be taken into account. A people foreign in law, language, and customs, had been conquered by Britain. It is true the revolution in France had cut them off historically from the French of Europe. Moreover, the voice of religion sought to warn against any connexion with the social or

national life of old France which had become Atheistic. Undoubtedly this influence tended to make the task of governing the French people by British authority an easier one than it would otherwise have been. But early in this century the lesson had not yet been learned of giving colonial self-government. The remarkable spectacle was accordingly seen in Lower Canada of a British governor and council selected from the chief British residents of Quebec and Montreal. It was a sort of British garrison in a neutral country. The inevitable result was to create a strong class feeling among the British residents. As each adventurer rose, became a merchant of some standing, and regarded himself as one of the governing class, he was admitted as one of the confraternity, whose special duty it was to govern the French people and retain the province for Britain. For their very self-preservation it was necessary that this governing body should hold firmly together in business, in society, and in opinion.

In a small colony the existence of a trade such as that carried on by the North-west Company, whose headquarters were at Montreal, was the greatest feature of commerce. In a country where money was scarce, where avenues to wealth were few, the large returns of the fur traders gave them power over the people practically unlimited. Men who were actively engaged in the fur trade were appointed members of the Executive Council; judges on the bench were related by marriage to leading partners; officers of the law saw the only hope of preferment for their sons in the Fur Company.

It has been already noticed, as said by Hon. Edward Ellice, that the government was largely influenced by the North-West Company; and this was not so much from any deep designs of that Company to obtain a control as from the social and political conditions of the country. In large numbers consists the safety of a people; a cabal can hardly be made if a million people have an equal voice; but the handful who led Lower Canada, socially and politically, were an oligarchy of necessity.

The state of things in Upper Canada was different, though, as we shall see, various causes led to a somewhat similar result. It was not yet thirty years since a beginning of settlement had been made in Upper Canada. The story of its occupation is one of great interest. The loyalists who left the United States had settled in large numbers in different parts of the province. A considerable number of officers who had served with distinction in the revolutionary war were given grants of land in Upper Canada. No effort had been made to give the people a free government, and the war of 1812 had tended to throw the administration into the hands of an executive in York; and the system was already being inaugurated which, within thirty years, forced an uprising of the people to tear off the bands of tyranny which were being more and more firmly woven round them.

At York an official class were grasping power as they best could. The Robinsons, Powells, Boultons, Sherwoods, Smalls, and other well-known names—names undoubtedly connected in many ways with

the best interests of Upper Canada—were exhibiting that remarkable tendency of human nature expressed in the proverb: "Nous avons l'avantage, profitons nous."

There was one active brain then in York that did more of the planning than any other to bring about the consolidation of a strong governing class in Upper Canada. It was under the cassock of a minister of religion that the active heart was beating, and in a head destined to wear a bishop's hat, that the working brain was found. No figure is a more prominent one for thirty years after the war in Upper Canada than John Strachan, rector, then Archdeacon of York, and afterwards first bishop of Toronto.

To begin higher education in Upper Canada, a choice had been made in Scotland, under the direction of the Governor of Upper Canada, of a young man, just through his college studies, to undertake the work. The choice hesitated for a time upon one who afterwards rose to the loftiest height in his native country, Thomas Chalmers; but, at last, for better or for worse, John Strachan was selected. Some time after his arrival he joined the Church of England in Canada, and became, as we have said, one of the ruling spirits of the Western province.

At this time the Governor of Upper Canada was subject to the Governor of Lower Canada, who was also Governor-General. Accordingly, the governing bodies of the two provinces were brought into hearty sympathy. They regarded each other as joint-upholders of British principles in the face of the seething democracy on the south, and the war had

led to a unity of action which tended to combine them in feeling.

The North-west Company was, through its retired agents and its extensive commercial operations in Upper Canada, an important element even then, though it will be noticed that this influence was confined more to York, Kingston, and the eastern part of the province than to the more westerly districts.

Under such influence—that of a strong governing class—all things social and judicial fell in Upper and Lower Canada. When affairs are carried on to further the interests of individuals or classes, cabalry and combination are inevitable; it is only when the broad principles of justice are laid down that life and liberty are safe, and that even-handed justice is dealt out. When the law becomes inefficient to carry out the purposes of the cabal, a parliament made up of place-men may be relied on to supply the deficiency, whatever it may be.

It is a dreary path upon which we enter, that of the legal persecution by which Lord Selkirk was followed for several years after the unfortunate events of 1816, at Red River, by these coteries in Montreal and York. We have already seen the determined character of the opposition of the Nor'-westers to Selkirk's scheme, from the very first. It was important for the interests of the Nor'-westers that public feeling in Canada should be strongly turned against Lord Selkirk, inasmuch as, for convenience sake, all matters requiring legal adjustment in the Indian territories or in the North-western part of

Upper Canada, had been placed by Imperial statute under the jurisdiction of the courts in Upper and Lower Canada.

One of the first to sound the trumpet of alarm as to the danger to the privileged oligarchy, was the energetic rector of whom we have made mention. In a pamphlet of some extent and much heat, published by John Strachan, D.D., Rector of York Upper Canada, 1816, a most determined attack was made on Lord Selkirk. It is most remarkable to see a colonist, interested, we would have said, in the increase of the population of his adopted province, stating his objection to the scheme of emigration proposed by Lord Selkirk, in his work of 1805, and showing that some means of interior improvement might be tried for the relief of the Highlands to prevent their people emigrating to America. After accusing Lord Selkirk of designs of the most grasping and heartless character, he proceeds in true Nor'-wester style to show the objections to the Red River settlement. He raises, of course, the bugbear of the Indians; states the imminent danger from their attacks, though, as the evidence we have adduced shows, they were continually friendly; he then gives the oft-repeated cry of the sterility of the country and its unsuitability for settlement; and to cap all, this advocate of British connexion says, "If the Red River colony succeed, it must ultimately belong to the American Republic." Subsequent events have shown that the Selkirk colony has preserved to Britain the present North-west, considered so valuable to the Dominion of Canada. The pamphlet is the

work of the special pleader; and the Rector of York has given another ground for the unsatisfactory remembrance in later times of his many actions in the interests of that unjust and tyrannical system of government which toppled to its fall in 1837, and fell before the breath of an incensed people.

The very unjust letter of Dr. Strachan naturally drew forth a rejoinder. A strong appeal had been made to the public by the publication of a number of affidavits made by the dissatisfied colonists, lured away, as we have seen, by Duncan Cameron, for the North-West Company. These men were partisans, and the inevitable trials and hardships of new settlers were painted in highest colours.

Archibald McDonald, whose interesting narrative has already been noticed, wrote a series of letters, showing the mis-statements of the doctor's pen. In answer to Mr. McDonald four letters appeared in the *Montreal Herald*, over the signature "Adam McAdam," reiterating and intensifying the statements of the redoubtable doctor, in fact, very much in the same tone of thought and expression. An animated newspaper war was waged in the columns of the *Herald*, beginning in May, 1816, and continuing till November of that year, in which an anonymous writer, named "Manlius," was the champion of Lord Selkirk. And after the McAdam letters ceased, a series written by "Mercator," appeared, dealing with the legal claims made byLord Selkirk, and making his lordship responsible for the outrages taking place in the North-west.

The letters of "McAdam" and "Mercator" abound with the most incendiary appeals; and his lordship,

instead of being the philanthropic promoter of settlement at Red River, was represented as the greedy, vindictive and unscrupulous invader of the rights of that meek and docile flock—the North-west Trading Company.

It was among a people stirred up to such a pitch of excitement that Lord Selkirk found himself thrown, in the year in which he arrived from Britain in Montreal, on his way, as we have seen, to Red River.

In the next season, after the arrest at Fort William of the Hon. William McGillivray and the other traders, and their despatch to York by Lord Selkirk, North-west fury was at its height. A plan was determined on by which they could secure the arrest of Lord Selkirk, who still remained at Fort William. The solitude of the Upper Lakes in those early days must have been something oppressive, and the great distances gave easy opportunities for fraud. The Nor'-westers sent a messenger to Drummond Island, who, failing to get a warrant for Lord Selkirk before a respectable magistrate, there got a drunken doctor, named Mitchell, to issue the missive. This was committed to the care of one Robinson, and to a Nor'-wester dependent named McRobb. It was duly served along with another legal document upon Lord Selkirk and upon several others of his party, early in November, at Fort William.

His lordship took no notice of the affair, and on this has been founded probably the only charge of any importance in the whole matter. For a peer of the realm to refuse to acknowledge the majesty of the law was surely a great crime. We are fortunate in

having before us a letter of Lord Selkirk to Governor Gore, never before, so far as we know, published, and in not containing which, the official blue-book of 1819 does a great injustice to Lord Selkirk.

The letter gives a candid explanation of his conduct.

"*Fort William*, 12*th November*, 1816.

"SIR,—A few days ago a canoe arrived here, bringing two clerks of the North-west Company, accompanied by a man who gave himself out as a constable charged with the arrest of several gentlemen here, and myself among the rest. On examining his warrant, I observed it to be in several respects irregular, and founded on the recital of an affidavit full of the grossest perjuries. It was signed by Dr. Mitchell, of Drummond's Island, whose notorious habits of intemperance made it in the highest degree probable that his signature had been obtained surreptitiously. The constable when asked whether he had any letters or credentials of any kind, could produce none: which confirmed the idea of his being an impostor.

"I could not suppose that after the information which had been transmitted to your Excellency, you would have sanctioned so strong a measure as the arrest of a magistrate (Governor Gore had not seen the warrant.—ED.) without some direct statement of your disapprobation; and that, at all events, a person sent by competent authority on such a mission would have had some document to show that he acted by orders from Government. We (Lord Selkirk and eight of his party named in the warrant) were particularly struck with the circumstance that, though the warrant was issued in Drummond's Island, the Commandant of the

garrison there had sent no orders on the subject to the military guard which had been detached from thence to accompany me, and who would certainly have been instructed to support the execution of the warrant, if it had not been improperly obtained. Under these circumstances I trust it will not be ascribed to any disposition to resist the regular execution of the law if the gentlemen concerned did not think fit to go 500 miles across such waters as Lake Superior, at this season of the year, in compliance with a form of process which there was every reason to believe irregular and surreptitious.

"I have, &c.,

"SELKIRK."

This would seem a reasonable view, the more that a short time before Lord Selkirk had taken the deposition of a constable Reinhard, in the employ of the North-west Company, in which the man had confessed to having murdered a prisoner, Keveny, who had been placed in his charge, on his way from Red River. It is worthy of notice, however, that afterwards, when this matter of resisting arrest was brought before the courts of Upper Canada, and the constable himself examined, the grand jury threw out the bill against Lord Selkirk.

This case withal afforded the North-west Company an excellent opportunity of influencing Governor Sherbrooke and the Colonial Secretary against Lord Selkirk. The governor had, it will be remembered, spoken of the Nor'-westers as "a banditti;" but the charge against Lord Selkirk of resisting arrest gave the opportunity to Lord Selkirk's enemies of representing

to Lord Bathurst the enormity of the colonizer's crimes without giving him the privilege of reply.

Presuming the affidavit to be true, knowing nothing of the history of the warrant, and urged on by his Executive Council under Nor'-wester influence, Governor Sherbrooke gave a one-sided version of the facts to Lord Bathurst. The Colonial Secretary seems to have been perfectly unaware of the difference that might be between a legal document issued in a lawless portion of Upper Canada, by a magistrate, dispossessed of his faculties, and a warrant issued in England, hedged in by every precaution to protect the liberty of the subject. With remarkable zeal this same official who had provided arms and ammunition, at Lord Selkirk's request for the protection of the Red River settlers, now orders "the necessary and usual measures for arresting his lordship; and should these usual methods be unsuccessful you will not fail," he says, "to communicate to me the result of these measures, in order that I may in so extraordinary a contingency submit to the consideration of Parliament, whether the urgency of the case does not require the adoption of some special measure of severity with respect to his lordship." So completely had the Colonial conspirators hood-winked both the Governor-General and the Colonial Secretary.

Look for a moment at the two pictures at this time. On the one hand, Lord Selkirk, who hated bloodshed, quietly resting at Fort William, having sent down to the courts of Canada the Nor'-westers arrested, and calmly awaiting the spring that he might carry succour to his scattered colonists. On

the other, the North-west Company, bringing every agency to bear upon the government to prejudice the colonizer to deceive the Governor-General and Colonial Secretary, and planning further means of injuring and, if possible, ruining their enemy.

It was now urgently represented to the government by the Nor'-westers that the interior was in a state of violent agitation, and that steps should be taken to restore order. This was the preliminary to the further step of sending a commission to deal with the matter. Having so great an influence over the executive of Lower Canada, and Lord Selkirk not being present to claim his rights, they well knew that a commission favourable to their interests could be obtained.

That Governor Sherbrooke and Governor Gore both saw the shameful bent of their intentions appears in the correspondence as to the selection of proper commissioners, who would do justly by all parties. Governor Sherbrooke writes to Governor Gore at York, asking him to nominate two commissioners, and says, "The extensive influence and connexions of the North-west Company pervading almost the whole society here, I find it extremely difficult to select two persons impartial enough to be intrusted with such an important mission, and I, therefore, with the fullest confidence, leave the selection of them to your Excellency, in the hope that the same causes may not operate in your government to embarrass your Excellency's choice."

Governor Gore in reply states,—

"I lament extremely to be obliged to state to your Excellency that, although I have given the subject a

most serious consideration, I cannot propose any two persons of Upper Canada, as fit to be intrusted with the important mission referred to in your Excellency's despatch."

Accordingly, urged on by his executive council, whose members distinctly saw their advantage, Governor Sherbrooke, instead of obtaining imperial officers, as he should have done, deliberately handed over Lord Selkirk's interests to men whom his own words show he could not trust.

The North-west Company had now everything according to its liking. The commissions of all magistrates, that of Lord Selkirk, and those of Hudson's Bay Company and North-west Company officers alike, were immediately revoked, and great powers conferred upon Hon. Mr. Coltman, a member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, and his fellow-commissioner, Mr. Fletcher, the legal adviser of the commission.

The proceedings of this commission may be briefly noticed; for, while the farce is being played, it is worth while to see the attempt to give a sober appearance to its proceedings.

It was late in the season (1st of November), but the commissioners started on their journey. They were carried from Montreal to York in a canoe belonging to the North-west Company, while one of the partners and a clerk of the Company accompanied them to give assistance and advice. The commission journeyed North from York to the Nottawasaga River; but it was the 23rd of November before they reached that distance, and the ice had set in. They now met

persons, however, who might have been useful to them. Mr. John Pritchard, whose very clear statement of the murder of Governor Semple we have given, was here on his way, in charge of three prisoners, two Nor'-wester partners, and a man named Perrault concerned in the Semple affair. The commissioners took full advice from Pritchard as to the impracticability of their proceeding further that season; but though he had actually been present at the affair of Seven Oaks took no deposition from him, and never asked a question upon the subject. On the contrary, deposition after deposition was taken from the mouths of faithful Nor'-westers. Further still, Grant, one of the Nor'-westers referred to, a prisoner under a charge of felony, was given bail at York, and actually sent out with the official documents of the commission, along with a clerk, one of the principal witnesses against Pritchard's prisoners, to be conveniently absent when the courts sat. What justice would be meted out by a commission beginning its operations thus may well be imagined.

As soon as practicable, in 1817, the commissioners proceeded to the interior. Mr. Coltman, being a merchant of Quebec, had, as his legal adviser, Major Fletcher to deal with such emergencies as might arise. An emergency soon arose. About one hundred settlers for Lord Selkirk's colony, under the command of Mr. Archibald Macdonald, about half of them belonging to the disbanded De Meuron regiment, arrived shortly after at Sault Ste. Marie on their way to the Red River. Fletcher seized several cases of arms in their possession, and delayed the pas-

sage of the settlers in so high-handed a manner, that he was, after a short time, disregarded in his office as commissioner, even by the Government.

Coltman hastened on his journey, hoping to overtake Lord Selkirk. The latter had left orders that Fort William should be turned over to the North-west Company, which was accordingly done, and the guns and other stores were all found in good order. Colonel Coltman arrived July 5th, at Red River. He had met near Fort William the man Bourke, one of those among Semple's party at Seven Oaks. His information, however, was not sought any more than was that of Pritchard, at Nottawasaga.

At Red River the De Meurons had, under Captain D'Orsonnens, as we have noticed, pushed on in the dead of winter and captured Fort Douglas; and Lord Selkirk on his arrival had gathered his scattered settlers to their homes again. It was before the departure of Lord Selkirk, of which we have previously spoken, that several high-handed actions of Commissioner Coltman took place. He met at the mouth of River Winnipeg, McLeod and Alexander McDonell, who we have seen were chiefly responsible for the expedition of June. He did not issue his warrant against them for many weeks after, and then he laments to the governor that the one had escaped into the interior and the other to Europe.

Another witness, Huerter, whose story we have given in a previous chapter, presented himself before Commissioner Coltman, but his deposition was refused.

Colonel Coltman showed his remarkable zeal for his party also in the recognizances demanded for

appearance before the courts in Montreal. Several partners of the North-west Company, charged as accessories to murder, were given bail in the amount of 500*l.*; but from Lord Selkirk, accused simply of an offence amounting to misdemeanour, the enormous bail of 6000*l.*, besides two sureties of 3000*l.* each, in all 12,000*l.*, was required and given. The illegality of this was pointed out to Mr. Coltman by Mr. Gale, Lord Selkirk's legal adviser, but all to no purpose.

So much for the proceedings of the so-called impartial commission so ingeniously planned by the executive of Lower Canada. Commissioner Coltman's report is an elaborate document, and chiefly remarkable as an excellent example of special pleading.

The Earl of Selkirk having left the Red River country in the summer of 1817, came, as we have seen, through the country of the Sioux, and eastward from the Mississippi, and reached Albany in the State of New York. From this part he hastened to Sandwich, in Western Canada, the circuit town for the western districts. Here he found four accusations made against him by the North-west Company:—

1. Having stolen eighty-three muskets at Fort William.

2. Having riotously entered Fort William, August 13th, 1816.

3. Assault and false imprisonment of Deputy-Sheriff Smith.

4. Resistance to legal arrest.

The first charge was so contradictory that the magistrates dismissed it; but the other three could

not be dealt with on account of the absence of witnesses, and so bail was accepted from him of 350*l.* for his appearance. Colonel Coltman's bail, amounting in all to 12,000*l.*, was to present himself at Montreal. At Montreal the court admitted it had no jurisdiction, but, with singular high-handedness, bound Lord Selkirk to appear in Upper Canada for the same amount, 12,000*l.*; as was remarked by one at the time, he must "appear in a separate and distinct colony, at an indefinite time, an indefinite place, and before an indefinite court," under this immense penalty. It will be noted that one of the judges sitting at the time of this renewal was brother-in-law of a prominent Nor'-wester partner.

The trials then proceeded in Upper Canada, at Sandwich, in September, 1818, in which the charge was brought against his lordship and others, of "a conspiracy to ruin the trade of the North-west Company." In this charge was included Mr. John Pritchard, who had been brought a prisoner by the North-west Company to Fort William, but who was mentioned in the indictment evidently to prevent his being a witness. The Attorney-General, John Beverly Robinson, insisted on his right to attend the Grand Jury to marshal and examine witnesses. To this the Grand Jury objected; but they were overruled by Chief-Justice Powell. Day after day the Grand Jury refused to give an answer to the Chief-Justice. The Chief-Justice, in a most summary manner, adjourned the court; the Attorney-General entered the grand jury-room and carried off the bill of indictment.

Whatever be the real explanation—and different ones have been given—it is very plain that Chief-Justice and Attorney-General had not the confidence of the somewhat independent Grand Jury of Sandwich. The Earl of Selkirk, supposing the trials over, allowed his witnesses to return to the Interior, and went to England.

Immediately after this trial, and in the month of October, a Bill was introduced into the legislature to allow the transfer of any cause from one district to another. Chief-Justice Powell was also speaker of the Legislative Council; the Bill was introduced under his auspices, and, as originally framed, shamelessly provided that offences *heretofore* committed should be under the operation of the Act. This word "heretofore" was struck out, and the Chief-Justice and Attorney-General afterwards, however, gained their end equally well by interpreting the Act to have a retrospective force. After this a Bill was preferred before the Grand Jury, in York, of the same purport as that which had failed in Sandwich. The chief Nor'-wester agent and partner was admitted as interpreter before the Grand Jury, and a Bill found.

Subservient juries were empanelled in York, and before them Deputy-Sheriff Smith obtained a verdict against Lord Selkirk of 500*l.* for resistance to arrest, and McKenzie, a North-west partner, a verdict of 1500*l.* for false imprisonment at Fort William. It is possible that Lord Selkirk in these cases overstepped his authority at Fort William. But, as has been well said by an advocate of Lord Selkirk,

"Resistance to legal process is an offence which requires to be punished, and particularly if committed by a person of Lord Selkirk's rank and influence; but resistance to legal process is, with all its aggravations, a trivial offence when compared with the robberies and murders which were perpetrated in Red River; and surely when the Colonial Secretary was explicit about the minor offence he cannot be less so about these more heinous offences."

This might well suffice to show the unequal odds against which Lord Selkirk struggled to get justice. But in the efforts to bring to justice those who had been engaged in the destruction of his colony the same adverse power everywhere manifested itself. Bills of indictment were found in Montreal against no fewer than forty or fifty partners, clerks, and servants of the North-west Company for murder, robbery, arson, and other capital crimes; and yet not more than eight or nine cases could be brought to trial, and these, among the least concerned. They were sent away to distant courts, or the indicted managed to escape arrest. Then obstructions were caused by the removal of the trials, involving enormous expense of witnesses, &c.

Some were sent to Quebec, 200 miles below Montreal; others to York, upwards of 300 miles west; while the same witnesses were required for both places. These removals were made under earnest protest of Lord Selkirk's counsel. His lordship objected to York as being a place where the jury could not know French, but his objections were disregarded. The Attorney-General assisted in prosecuting, preventing

Lord Selkirk's lawyer, who was cognizant of all the circumstances, from interfering; and thus a half-hearted prosecution was secured, and the offer of Lord Selkirk's counsel thrown aside. It is almost incredible, the success of the North-west Company, in securing the escape from the hands of law of its partisans. Cuthbert Grant and others, charged with the most serious crimes, were shamefully allowed to leave prison in Montreal upon entering into small recognizances.

A most shameful case of conspiracy is that of George Campbell. He had been concerned in the Seven Oak's massacre. The Grand Jury at Montreal had found him guilty of robbery, arson, and malicious shooting of the settlers. His case was thought too bad to admit of being bailed. He pretended to be sick, and was removed to the hospital, though no certificate from the regular surgeon was got. A Nor'-wester medical man signed the necessary document, purporting that Campbell was in a dangerous fever. The two puisne judges—one having a son in the Nor'-wester service, the other married to a sister of a partner—went to the gaol, and signed an order for Campbell's removal; while, according to law, no one but the Chief-Justice of Lower Canada could sign such an order. Campbell was taken to the hospital carefully wrapped in a blanket: on the second day he obtained leave from his sick-nurse to walk out and see his wife: he escaped, and betook himself to the United States.

The chief criminals being thus secured from danger of arrest, or the cases removed by legal process to

a convenient distance, a number of trials took place in York, during the month of October, 1818, his lordship, the Chief-Justice of Upper Canada, with others on the bench. The evidence was taken and was printed by both sides, with notes and comments. The events of the death of Semple were clearly brought out, but the jury failed to find a verdict of guilty against the prisoners. We shall follow no further this dismal train of events.

These years, from 1816 to 1819, of this terrible ordeal through which Lord Selkirk passed, may well deter philanthropic souls from prosecuting enterprises of benevolence for their fellow-man. It is true his opponents found him a most determined and skilful antagonist. Had he been a man of less force of character, the first year's operations in 1815, when his colony was destroyed, would probably have left the country to the hands of the enemy; but the blood of heroes of yore was in his veins, and he must conquer or perish.

That the Nor'-westers saw their defeat was plain from the proposals made by Mr. Coltman, on his return, to Lord Selkirk. His lordship was led to believe by proposals twice repeated, that should he consent to a compromise, even a financial settlement might be aimed at, by which the great expense at which he had been would be made good. But his mind revolted from a course, in "which" as he saw, "he would be binding himself to throw a veil of obscurity over a tissue of unparalleled crimes; in which he should be assisting to procure impunity for incendiaries and murderers; in which he would become the

instrument of establishing the right of the strongest, as the only law of all the Northern territories of the continent, fencing them out as beyond the pale of legal protection, and destined to remain for ever a haunt of banditti." As a noble-minded and consistent man, Lord Selkirk shrank from "a line of conduct" which could not fail to be interpreted as an admission, that he had brought forward charges destitute of foundation, and had been actuated by corrupt motives, to abuse his authority as a magistrate.

It is an inspiring thing to see a man, wearied out by several years of turmoil, with the proposal made by which peace would be restored and the rights of his colony secured, still so full of rectitude and honour, as to spurn the offers that looked towards bringing him to the level of the crooked policy of his adversaries. Posterity will not willingly let die such examples of coherence to truth.

It is with a real wail of sorrow that Lord Selkirk makes his complaint in October, 1818, to the Duke of Richmond, the new Governor-General of Canada. "To contend alone and unsupported, not only against a powerful association of individuals, but also against all those whose official duty it should have been to arrest them in the prosecution of their crimes, was at the best an arduous task; and however confident one might be of the intrinsic strength of his cause, it was impossible to feel a very sanguine expectation, that this alone would be sufficient to bear him up against the swollen tide of corruption, which threatened to overwhelm him; he knew that in persevering under the existing circumstances, he must necessarily submit

to a heavy sacrifice of personal comfort, incur an expense of ruinous amount, and possibly render himself the object of harassing and relentless persecution." No wonder that years of such distressing labour brought his lordship to an early, though, as we have seen, not dishonoured grave.

We bring this melancholy chapter to a close. It may well make a lover of truth heart-sick to follow the devious ways of those in power in Canada at the time. A dishonourable justiciary, partisan Executive Council, and a pliant governor, make the Canadian of to-day hang his head with shame. To the present generation of Canadians the shameful events of this time are but little known; they are, however, only of the same sort as, in that later period, ending with 1841, were meted out to all who became obnoxious to the self-constituted rulers of Upper Canada, who are still looked upon with mingled feelings of derision and contempt as the "Family Compact." Happy the country that has escaped from such a yoke.

CHAPTER XII.

FIFTY YEARS OF PEACE.

1820—1870.

ON Lord Selkirk's return to Britain in 1818, the sound of the battle still followed him; and in June, 1819, a friend of his, Sir James Montgomery, brought the matter before the House of Commons, moving for all the official papers in the case. This motion was carried, and the Blue Book of 1819 was published with a vast amount of information on the subject.

The letter of Sir Walter Scott, of June, 1819, refers to the very poor health of Lord Selkirk, and his enforced stay upon the continent. Worn out by the troubles through which he had passed, his lordship did not rally, but died at Pau, in the south of France, 8th of April, 1820, attended by his devoted countess, and his young daughters. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year gives a sketch of his life, evidently penned by the hand of a loving friend.

"The mortal remains of this excellent man were interred at Orthes, in the Protestant cemetery. Few

men were possessed of higher powers of mind, or were more capable of applying them with more indefatigable perseverance. His treatise on emigration has long been considered a standard work, and as having exhausted one of the most difficult subjects in the science of political economy. His lordship is also advantageously known to the public as the author of some other literary productions, all of them remarkable for the enlargement and liberality of their views, the luminous perspicuity of their statements, and that severe and patient spirit of induction, which delights in the pursuit, and is generally successful in the discovery of truth."

"To his friends the death of this beloved and eminent person is a loss which nothing can repair. His gentle and condescending manners wound themselves round the hearts of those admitted to his society, and conciliated an attachment which every fresh interview served to confirm. With those connected with him by the ties of kindred and the sweet relations of domestic society, his lordship lived on terms of the most affectionate endearment; indeed, seldom has there existed a family the members of which were more tenderly attached to each other than that of which his lordship was the head, and few families have experienced a more severe succession of those trials, by which the Almighty chastens the heart and disciplines the virtues of His creatures. His lordship was eminently exemplary in the discharge of every social and private duty. He was a considerate and indulgent landlord, a kind and gracious master; to the poor a generous benefactor, and of

every public improvement a judicious and liberal patron."

The latter years of the life of this lamented nobleman were employed in the establishment of an extensive colony in the western parts of British America. In the prosecution of this favourite object he had encountered obstacles of the most unexpected and formidable character. With these, however, he was admirably qualified to contend; as to the counsels of an enlightened philosophy and an unmovable firmness of purpose, he added the most complete habits of business and a perfect knowledge of affairs. The obstructions he met with served only to stimulate him to increased exertion; and after an arduous struggle with a powerful confederacy, which had arrayed itself against him, and which would, long ere now, have subdued any other adversary, he had the satisfaction to know that he had finally succeeded in founding an industrious and thriving community. It has now struck deep root in the soil, and is competent, from its own internal resources, to perpetuate itself and to extend the blessings of civilization to those remote and boundless regions." We add nothing. These are fitting words with which tenderly to leave the foreign grave of the founder of the Red River colony.

The colony lived and grew for fifty years with varying fortunes, but, on the whole, in a state of peace, though the turbulence of the Bois-brûlés was a thing always to be counted upon, and which on several occasions broke out into a flame. The Hudson's Bay Company and the North-west Company had been re-

duced to the verge of ruin by the troubles of the previous years, and now, in March, 1821, largely through the intervention of the Hon. Edward Ellice, an understanding was reached by the two Companies, by which not only were hostilities ended, but a union secured under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. The heirs of Lord Selkirk still maintained his rights; and in 1821, Mr. Halkett, a relative and one of his executors, visited the settlement and set in order many of its affairs. For several years afterwards the colony was still supported by the heirs of the founder, purchasing what was required and supplying the colonists.

About 1824 this system was changed, and the colony was then thrown completely upon itself. An incident of the former time shows how cumbrous and expensive an enterprise it would have been to continue. In 1820 an expedition was fitted out to bring seed-wheat for the colonists from the Mississippi River and Prairie du Chien in Illinois, being at that time the nearest depôt. The journey was accomplished in boats, there being only one portage where the head-waters of the Red and Mississippi rivers join. This expedition cost Lord Selkirk 1040*l.* sterling.

It was not, however, until the year 1835 that Lord Selkirk's heirs gave up their control to the Hudson's Bay Company. The expenses incurred by Lord Selkirk in his expeditions in supporting the colony, and in his harassing law-suits, were estimated at a considerable amount, and this sum was assumed by the Hudson's Bay Company on condition of the territorial claim of Lord Selkirk being surrendered to them.

During the earlier years of the colony, various schemes of a tentative kind were begun by the

managers of the colony. Some of these were of a nature to have succeeded, others were thoroughly visionary, but all were unsuccessful from being intrusted to men unable to carry them out.

Mr. John Pritchard, of whom we have already heard, was manager of one of these—the "Buffalo Wool Company." This Company Bubble rose for a while, but soon burst, leaving the partners in debt 4500*l.*, and their capital gone.

Another enterprise was the "Hay-field Farm," under a Scotchman named Laidlaw. This, too, failed, costing the promoters 2000*l.* Another project was entered on by the Hudson's Bay Company, that of the Experimental Farm, to teach the people the art of farming. An inexperienced manager was appointed, and, as before, in six years the dead loss to the Company was 3500*l.*

While this experiment was being tried by the Company, the settlers combined in a new enterprise—the "Assiniboine Wool Company." This was abandoned in favour of a plan of the Company to raise flax and hemp. Premiums were given for the best crops of flax. An excellent yield was obtained, and the premiums awarded; but the settlers worked for no higher end, and the flax was left to rot in the fields. The same result followed with the growing of hemp.

These failures go to show at least one thing, that the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was to encourage the colony, and to assist the settlers. That so many schemes failed may perhaps account for the opinion so steadily held by a class of the old Hudson's Bay Company people that the country was useless. The waving wheat-fields, thriving cattle, and progres-

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, GOVERNOR, HUDSON'S BAY CO., 1821-57.

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sive state of the province at the present time show that Lord Selkirk's original conception of the country was the true one, and that the opinions of the hair-brained theorists on the one hand, or of the broken-down and discouraged victims of these schemes on the other, were unreliable.

On a union of the two Companies in 1821, a young Scotchman, a clerk from the London Office of the Hudson Bay Company, was selected to fill the important part of Governor. It was a great responsibility for this young and inexperienced man, George Simpson, to undertake the management of so great a concern; to reconcile men who had been in arms against one another, and to bring their trade from the brink of ruin to a successful issue. That for some forty years he should have remained at the head of the Company, and should have received the honour of knighthood from his sovereign, speaks volumes for his executive ability and success. He was the virtual ruler of about half of North America, and, though an autocrat, held the reins of power to the last with unslackening grasp.

With the self-possession of an emperor, surrounded by his voyageurs and clerks, he hastened along the old Ottawa and Lake Route, through the Grand Portage, or by Fort William and Lake of the Woods. It is stated that he traversed this difficult and tedious route at least once a year during his career. Small in stature he was of indomitable perseverance, though somewhat impatient in temper.

It is related that on one occasion, while passing through Lake of the Woods, and urging his crew too much, a powerful French voyageur, his right-hand

man, became so incensed at his unreasoning demands, that he seized him by the neck, plunged him over the side of the boat into the water, and then drew him dripping in again, to be for that voyage a more considerate and reticent master.

During his whole career, however, the management of the Red River Colony was the one thorn in his side. In 1835 a council was selected from the Red River residents, of which Governor Simpson was president. On his visit once a year all cases of difficulty had to be brought up, and it is presumed that it would have been considered a sad day for the colony had there been no complaints to make or grievances to redress. Indeed, the right of private audience with the governor on the most trivial concerns was one apparently highly valued by every settler. Governor Simpson was admirably adapted for this primitive state of society. In one case a little sympathy was all that was required, in another, sternness; now he must have the skill to see through a cunningly devised story, and again a slight *douceur* from the Company bound with unbreakable chains some colonist to its wheels. A respectful reception must be given to some rising agitator among the people; and a grant of unoccupied land, freely bestowed when sought, on which the faithful pastor might build a church for his struggling flock. Hard enough is the task of those in authority under constitutional government, but it would require as much skill to govern successfully without law 5000 mixed Highlanders, Bois-brûlés, English half-breeds, Hudson's Bay Company retired officials, the population of the Colony in 1835, as to control half a million where government is fully established.

The Hudson's Bay Company did all in its power to preserve order, her Majesty's Government was induced to send out some 300 men of the 6th regiment of foot, in 1846. On their withdrawal, upwards of fifty pensioners were sent out in 1848, who were settled within easy call of Fort Garry. Mr. Adam Thorn, a man of high legal qualifications, was appointed Recorder, and continued in office from 1839 to 1854.

It is not worth our while to consider whether the governor and Assiniboia Council over-stepped the bounds of their authority, or whether the people were unreasonable in their demands. It would not have been surprising during these fifty years if both parties had been found wanting in these respects. In the opinion of the writer some simple form of municipal self-government at an early period would have been beneficial. Government without representation should last as short a time as possible in the history of a young province; and scarcely any example in the British colonies can be pointed out where the plan of throwing the responsibility of self-government on the people themselves has been a failure.

In a former chapter reference was made to the presence in the colony of a Highland Catechist, James Sutherland, commissioned to marry and baptize for the settlers, and for some years the only religious teacher in the wide extent of Rupert's Land. He seems to have been a man generally respected and useful, and the colonists greatly regretted his removal, in 1818, through North-west influence. To the people from Sutherlandshire, the want of a minister and the absence of a school were a constant cause of dissatisfaction. Intensely attached to their native land, as all

the Highlanders are, the trials of leaving home seemed all the harder to bear, that they had not the consolations of religion nor the means of education for their children to which they had been accustomed.

Lord Selkirk had given the promise that one of their own ministers should follow them in 1817. The troubles of the times had prevented the fulfilment of this promise, and it was not surprising that they should urge the matter on the attention of Lord Selkirk, as we have seen they did on his visit to the colony. His legal difficulties in Canada no doubt further delayed the matter. It is generally thought that to Mr. John Pritchard, who entered his service and was largely concerned as a witness both in Canada and in England, had been intrusted the duty by his lordship of carrying out the promise.

After the colony had been for about two years deprived of the services of Mr. Sutherland, a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. West, arrived in the year 1821. He had been appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company after Lord Selkirk's departure for France on his last illness. His appointment took place in October 13th, 1819, at a salary of 100*l.* per annum, and it is stated by Mr. John Halkett that he was also commissioned by the Church Missionary Society. He seems to have been a man of most amiable and generous disposition, but he could not speak the language of the people of Sutherlandshire, nor did he belong to the Church of their fathers. With their decided views this became a great disappointment, indeed, and much discontent prevailed.

The settlers had already begun the erection of a temporary place of worship, and on the arrival of Mr.

West this was completed, though without that cheerfulness which would have been desirable. The first Protestant church erected in Rupert's Land seems to have been finished somewhere about 1823. Mr. West, finding some unwillingness to accept his services, paid visits which were highly appreciated by the Indian tribes up the Assiniboine. About 1823, after Mr. West had returned to his native country, a devoted missionary, the Rev. David Jones, came to the Red River settlement. He found the settlers in the same spirit of sullenness. They maintained in their houses the form of worship handed down by their fathers, and thus preserved among their children an adhesion to their ancestral faith.

To those acquainted with the Highland character it is not surprising that they assumed so firm an attitude with regard to religious concerns. His religion is the atmosphere of his every-day life to the Scottish peasant. If his sky be clear and unclouded in this respect, he is happy and contented even in poverty. If clouds overshadow him, he is discontented and impracticable in everything. The Rev. Mr. Jones, with much wisdom, made the best of a difficult case. He adapted the service of the Church of England to the ideas of the settlers; made use of the rugged version of the Psalms to which they were accustomed, and so sought to win their affections. This he did to a considerable extent, and accomplished much good by his labours.

The people with remarkable tenacity, however, continually petitioned the Hudson's Bay Company to give them a clergyman according to their own ideas. So persevering were they that even twenty-five years after, in 1845, they state in an affidavit,

"Over and over again have we applied to every governor in the colony since its commencement; to Mr. Halkett, also his lordship's kinsman, and to the Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land; and time after time petitioned the men in power among us; but all to no effect."

No doubt the Hudson's Bay Company, being traders, were hard to move in this matter, which appeared to them of far less moment than it did to the settlers concerned. At length, in 1851, their church in Canada became interested in the colony, and by a sort of poetic justice, the country whose people had so strongly opposed the formation of the settlement, became the means of supplying them with the institutions of religion.

An earnest young man, a native of Dumfriesshire, Scotland, who had received his education at Toronto, undertook the work of founding the Presbyterian cause in the Red River district. This self-denying man, now the Rev. John Black, D.D., of Kildonan, journeyed forth, taking some eight weeks on the journey from Canada, and through the fortunate assistance of Governor Ramsay, of Minnesota, reached his destination in safety.

Their minister is to the Highlanders of later times the chief of the clan; and now, with all the instincts of clanship, the Highland colonists gathered round their new leader, and with surprising fidelity and self-sacrifice undertook his support. Their new minister could not speak their native tongue, but thirty years had sufficed to make Gaelic less necessary. It is worthy of notice that Mr. Black, the pioneer missionary to the Highland colony, as well as Lord

Selkirk, its founder, were both men from the extreme south of the Scottish Lowlands. Ever since the day of his arrival their devoted minister has, in many particulars, come up to the standard of Goldsmith's picture of the faithful pastor, while he has an honourable reputation as an accurate scholar and a man of excellent parts. A stone church and a manse were erected on the site at Frog Plain, given by the Hudson's Bay Company, in lieu of the one bestowed by Lord Selkirk for that purpose, but on which the Rev. Mr. Jones had erected the church at St. John's.

Dr. Black, the pastor of the Selkirk settlers, has, since his coming, now thirty years ago, "borne his faculties so meek," that all classes regard him with respect, for he did much to soothe what might have led to feelings of the greatest bitterness, so that the Hudson's Bay Company, from being averse to the wish of the settlers to have a minister of their own, afterwards cheerfully made an annual grant for his support. School and manse, and church in the midst of the parish of Kildonan, are now the cynosure to the eyes of the Kildonan settlers and their descendants, scattered as they have become east and west of this cradle of their people.

A strange picture has it been, indeed, to the traveller from Canada of the last few years to come to the new province of Manitoba and find a people with a separate history, separate traditions, and a separate life, even from the native population around them. This feeling of the colony of being a different people from the natives of the country has never been lost; and though there are representatives of four generations of people living, yet the people of

Kildonan, in 1870, were almost as thoroughly the pure Selkirk settlers in blood, as when they crossed the ocean to Hudson's Bay.

Visitors to St. Paul, Minnesota, the former depôt from which the Selkirk Settlement was supplied, give descriptions during the half-century of which we speak, of this strange people, coming to St. Paul with their scores of Red River carts, speaking a dialect of their own, with many distinctive customs, but withal possessing much greater intelligence than the pioneers of the border States, appearing once a year, each to bring a load of fur from the north, and to take back his quota of freight. They had their own history, could tell of how in the spring times of 1826, 1852, 1861, the Red River broke over its bounds, as the St. Lawrence so often does at Montreal, or the Missouri, or the Mississippi, or most American rivers do. They could tell of how they had suffered from clouds of grasshoppers coming over from Kansas, Iowa, and Dakota to devour their crops. It was unavailing to tell them the Red River having widened so much was not likely to act badly again, and that grasshoppers disappear before settlement. They seemed careless about new settlers coming to Red River, and rather gloried in reciting their misfortunes than their blessings. Yet during this period, they were prosperous: the Highland refugees had found happy homes: the settlement was thrifty, well-doing, and contented.

The dream of Lord Selkirk is fulfilled; and, as we shall see in the remaining chapters, his vision of the future is opening up in vistas grander than any of the Selkirk colony other than himself ever conceived.

CHAPTER XIII.

TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS.

1871—1881.

It has been a common subject of surprise to those visiting Manitoba that the knowledge of its fertile soil and many advantages should have so long remained a sealed book to the people of the Eastern provinces and the mother country. In the opinion of the writer this did not entirely arise from the long and wearisome route by which it must be reached. The coalition of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-west Company was a peace concluded in the interests of the fur trade. The sufferings incurred by Lord Selkirk and his colonists warned others from attempting colonization; and it seems to have been a tacit understanding in the newly-organized Hudson's Bay Company that the colony was a difficulty to be dealt with as best could be done, but not to be increased.

It is surprising the extent to which the policy of a company comes to be impressed on its employés. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have always been a remarkably honourable and capable

class of men. Few organizations of modern times can show an equal record in this respect; but the thorough belief that the North-west was unfit for extensive settlement, was received by them without thought or investigation.

It is perfectly astounding to read the evidence given before the British House of Commons' Committee, in 1857, by Sir George Simpson and others, as regards the agricultural capabilities of the North-west. So greatly are we the creatures of hearsay, especially when the traditions we receive further our interests!

Sir George Simpson had, in 1847, published a large two-volume work, entitled, "A Journey Round the World." In this work he gives an account of the country from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, as he had passed over it in 1841. He seems at that time to have expressed a favourable opinion of many parts of it. Yet, when called before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1857, his answers form an amusing contrast with his previous statements. We may well ask, "Under which king, Bezonian?" Mr. Roebuck, with keenness, began the colloquy:—

Q. I have a book in my hand, published by you, I think, in 1847?

A. Very possibly.

Q. How long had you then been governor of that country?

A. Twenty-seven years.

Q. And I suppose that in those twenty-seven years you had acquired a good deal of experience?

A. Yes.

Q. Are we to take this book as the result of your experience of twenty-seven years?

A. I think you may.

Q. And all you state there was your view after twenty-seven years' experience of that country?

A. I think so.

Q. So that if you had died at that moment, which I am very happy to see that you did not, we might have taken this book as your view of that country?

A. Yes.

Q. Has anything happened since that time to alter your view of that country?

A. No; I do not know that I have materially altered my view in regard to it.

Q. I know that this passage has been read to you before, but its matter has struck me very much, from its poetry as well as otherwise, and I will read it again, and ask you why, if you have changed your opinion, you have changed it? "The river which empties Lac la Pluie into the Lake of the Woods is, in more than one respect, decidedly the finest stream in the whole route. From Fort Frances downwards, a stretch of nearly 100 miles, it is not interrupted by a single impediment, while yet the current is not strong enough materially to retard an ascending traveller; nor are the banks less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation, resembling, in some measure, those of the Thames, near Richmond. From the very bank of the river there rises a gentle slope of green sward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm, and oak. Is it too much

for the eye of philanthropy to discern, through the vista of futurity, this noble stream, connecting, as it does, the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steam-boats on its bosom, and populous towns on its borders?"

A. I speak of the bank of the river there.

Q. The land was very fertile then, you say?

A. The right bank of the river, which I speak of: indeed, both banks, the lip of the river.

Q. You say, "Nor are the *banks* less favourable." You allude to both banks?

A. Yes; I confine myself to the banks: the back country is one deep morass, extending for miles.

Q. So anybody reading that passage would have very much mistaken the nature of the country, if he had thought that that was the description of it?

A. Not as regards the banks: I confine myself to the banks.

Q. Does a traveller usually give such descriptions of a country as that?

A. Yes; I, as a traveller, did so.

Q. Then we may take that as a specimen of your view of the country?

A. You may.

Being questioned on the same subject by Mr. Gordon, a member of the committee, the following were the question and reply:—

Q. Do you see any reason to alter the opinion which you have thus expressed?

A. I do see that I have overrated the importance of the country as a country for settlement.

Chairman.—It is too glowing a description, you think?

A. Exactly so.

But more remarkable still are the two sides of the shield presented in regard to the Red River settlement.

Mr. Roebuck again returns to the charge:—

Q. Supposing it were erected into a territory, do you suppose that that country could be self-supporting?

A. I think not.

Q. Why?

A. On account of the poverty of the soil. Along the banks of the river I have no question that a settlement might be self-supporting: a population thinly scattered along the banks of the river might support themselves, but a dense population could not live in that country: the country would not afford the means of subsistence.

Q. You are here to tell us that the country is very barren, and could not support a population?

A. It could not support a large population, and moreover, there is no fuel: the fuel of the country would be exhausted in the course of a few years.

Q. Why is there no fuel? are there no woods?

A. No woods! all that prairie country is bare of woods.

Q. And yet I see the country upon this map marked green, and they tell me that that signifies the woody country?

A. Yes, that is the woody country.

Now read another part of Sir George's unfortunate journal. The witness, in the midst of his difficulties

on that score, might well have said, oh that *my* enemy would write a book!

Mr. Gordon again began :—

Q. Will you allow me to remind you of one other sentence in your interesting work? It is at page 55 of vol. i. "The soil of Red River settlement is a black mould of considerable depth, which when first tilled produces extraordinary crops, as much, on some occasions, as forty returns of wheat; and even after twenty successive years of cultivation, without the relief of manure or fallow, or of green crop, it still yields from fifteen to twenty-five bushels an acre. The wheat produced is plump and heavy; there are also large quantities of grain of all kinds, besides beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese, and wool in abundance.

Mr. Bell, a member of committee further brought up the unwelcome book.

Q. I find that in your journal of a journey from the Red River settlement across the Rocky Mountains you constantly describe the country in this way: "Picturesque country, lakes with gently sloping banks, the greensward crowned with thick woods;" then you say, "Beautiful country, lofty hills, long valley, sylvan lakes, bright green, uninterrupted profusion of roses and blue-bells, softest vales, panorama of hanging copses."

A. Yes, there were a great many flowering shrubs.

Q. Then you say that within a day's march of Carlton, on the Saskatchewan, in lat. 53°, there were large gardens and fields, and an abundance of potatoes and other vegetables?

A. Yes.

Q. About Edmonton, as to the pasturage, your remark is that it is luxuriant, and that the barley is very productive?

A. Yes, it is very good.

Who can wonder that hundreds of honourable men honestly believed the country unfit for settlement when Governor Simpson, who had visited the Red River settlement some forty times, could give such evidence, though as we have seen he could contradict himself with a most charming *naïveté?* But it is to be said in behalf of Sir George himself, that having visited the country for well-nigh thirty years, and seen advancement so slow, he may have doubted the country coming to anything; and as we have seen, he was probably blinded by his interests as a fur-trader.

The writer, on going to Red River settlement ten years ago, was informed by the farmers with painful iteration that settlement back from the rivers was an impossibility: there are now not less than 50,000 settlers in Manitoba living on the plains and prospering. It is the somewhat Chinese fashion of living in the flowery land of self-interest, and contending that all the world beyond is a wilderness.

But during these fifty years, while the Chinese wall of prejudice was being built higher and higher around the North-west, in Canada a dream of empire was moving the bosoms of her statesmen; the scattered provinces, which a later writer has contemptuously called a fringe along the north of the American Republic, were seeking to be united, and the project included the union of British North America in one

great state. The project would have been a weak one, indeed, without the North-west. Claims of the most extravagant kind were now put forth by Canadian statesmen. They revived the old Nor'-wester contention which had been consigned for half a century to the "tomb of all the Capulets" by claiming that Canada possessed to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. "The wish," was probably "the father to the thought." Deputations from Canada brought the matter before the Imperial Government. These urged that the Hudson's Bay Company had no legal right to the territory they had held for well-nigh 200 years; they, in fact, gave forth all the arguments of "Mercator" in his celebrated letters of 1817.

The Hudson's Bay Company, confident of its rights, was, however, beginning to feel that the government of this troublesome colony would become more and more difficult, and so at length came to terms with the Canadian Government, agreeing to surrender the territory to Canada on the payment of a stipulated sum of money, being allowed the retention of certain other privileges. In 1869 the country was transferred to Canada. The transfer was managed with a singular want of skill. Some one had blundered! The intemperate boastings of a few Canadians, who had already made the Red River settlement their home—they were about fifty in number all told—roused the old spirit of turbulence of the Bois-brulés, who had grown from being some 200 in number in 1816, to 5000 at the time of which we speak. They were stirred up by their leaders to resist the Canadian occupation, just as they had been roused against the

settlers of former days. The false plea used was that their land was to be taken from them by the Canadian Government. This spirit of Pierre Falcon's "chanson" was alive again, and Fort Garry was seized by these wild children of the prairies.

The Selkirk colonists were passive as in 1815 and 1816. The English half-breeds showed a strong wish to resist; and the few Canadians were boiling over with rage. The Canadians were arrested by the Bois-brûlés, who, having the fort, controlled the guns, and the prisoners were closely confined in the fort under armed guards. The prison discipline seems to have been of a rather severe character. The neutrality of the Selkirk colony and the English half-breeds was equally annoying to the handful of Canadians, on the one hand, who denounced them for their inactivity, and to the Bois-brûlés on the other, who were most anxious to gain their assistance in making common cause against the intruders.

With the object apparently of aweing the other inhabitants into submission, a Canadian, named Scott was barbarously shot by the Bois-brûlés, under the guise of a public execution. But how greatly do men miscalculate the effects of their actions! The people were awed, it is true, but when the news reached Canada, the hearts of the Canadians were set on fire. The martial spirit which had taken so strong a hold of Canada, during the Fenian attacks, was revived, and the whole volunteer force of the country was ready to follow in the track of the De Meurons of upwards of fifty years before, to avenge the wrong. Only a few regiments were required, however, and

they succeeded in doing their work fortunately without bloodshed.

The Scott murder, and the Red River expedition of 1870, under that distinguished officer, now General Wolseley, did more than all other agencies for the filling-up of the Canadian North-west. The country was brought vividly before the imagination of the Canadian people.

It is not our purpose to give a full account of the marvellous progress that has taken place during this eventful decade. To the writer the past ten years seem like a dream. In the rapidity of change there has hardly been the time for anything to seem real. The conclusions of one year as to the country have had to be abandoned the next as development took place. The vast extent of the region grows on the mind by degrees. One's idea of distance changes; it seems no more to overtake a hundred miles than it formerly did to go twenty. The most fondly cherished delusions of the unfitness for settlement of certain opening regions have to be abandoned as flourishing settlements rise; and the railway is making such a transformation as to make the "oldest inhabitant" wonder whether he may not be in an enchanted land.

Where Forts Douglas and Gibraltar were, now stands the city of Winnipeg. An unsightly Indian village of log houses, of not more than 300 people in 1871, is replaced by a busy city of 12,000 or 14,000 inhabitants, and the street of log hovels has become the chief business street of the rising city, and been built up with handsome brick buildings.

The tide of population has rolled westward. Portage La Prairie, from which Alexander Macdonell sent on his band of desperadoes to destroy the settlement, is a thriving town upon the Canadian Pacific Railway, now of 2000 people. Three or four miles down Red River, from Fort Daer, at Pembina, but on the east side of the river, stands Emerson, of nearly equal size. Not many miles from the old Brandon House, of which Pritchard speaks in his narrative, is the new town of Brandon, where the Canadian Pacific Railway crosses the Assiniboine. This place is only a few months old, but seems to promise to be of some importance. Settlement is now rushing on more than 250 miles west of Winnipeg, and the advance-guard will soon have reached Qu'Appelle, the rendezvous of the Bois-brûlés in 1816.

The Bois-brûlés' supremacy is past; the peaceful arts of civilization will now be allowed to flourish. The boundless plains so long left to the wandering buffaloes are now everywhere being covered with thriving settlements. Upwards of 70,000 people have entered Manitoba during these ten years, and this in face of the fact that it is only about two years since the advent of the railway made access to the country easy. Agriculture and cattle raising are the staple occupation of the incoming population. Wheat, it has been demonstrated, can be profitably raised and exported, even with the railway facilities hitherto enjoyed. The Selkirk colonists have not been slow to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by the development of the country. Their

young men and women have, in many cases, intermarried with the incoming Canadians, and many of the most enterprising have left the old home in Kildonan, and settled in the new townships opening up east and west of them. It is a fact worth noting also that a number of the grandchildren of the band of colonists, led away from Red River by Duncan Cameron, in 1815, have come as settlers, of their own accord to the land deserted by their fathers.

The new settlements rise with extraordinary rapidity, and within a very few years the church and the school-house dot the plain where formerly nothing but a sea of waving grass was to be seen. At present not less than 200 places over the wide plains have the regular ordinances of religion—the settlement and the religious advantages being all the growth of these ten years. Nor are these settlements left to lawlessness, and to the preying of the strong upon the weak. The establishment of law has been one of the most marked changes in the country. This was the weak point of the otherwise beneficent rule of the Hudson Bay Company régime for the previous fifty years. During that time the noisy and the turbulent had their own way; perhaps, in some cases, they may have had right upon their side, but rescues from prison had been made, and the so-called law of the country was paralyzed in the face of mob-law. All that has ceased. The arm of the law is omnipotent now. The celebrated trial before the present Chief-Justice of Manitoba, of two leaders of the Bois-brûlés' rebellion of 1869; their being found guilty by a jury of their countrymen of murder, and

their imprisonment or banishment, was the turning point in the state of the country. Crime had been called by its true name; public confidence restored; and the law seen to be strong enough to vindicate itself.

And during the last ten years a vast advance has taken place in the condition of the Indian tribes of the whole North-west. When the writer went to the country there was still uncertainty as to them: bands of surveyors were stopped as trespassers by them, but now treaties have been made with the Indians over the whole extent to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and settlers are as safe 500 miles west of Winnipeg as in the centre of the Selkirk settlement. The Indian now, as he always did, respects the great mother (Queen Victoria): all causes of disagreement with the whites are removed. The Scotch bonnet of the Hudson's Bay Company employé is a means of access to the most secluded Indian encampment, and Canada's faith is held in high esteem by the Indian natives, in marked contrast to their feeling towards the Government of the United States.

At Humboldt, a telegraph-station of the Canadian telegraph, some 500 miles west of Winnipeg, in the open prairie, and 100 miles from the nearest settlement, two young women have in perfect safety kept the office for the past two years. Gathered in reservations, the Indians are at many points being instructed in agriculture, and have in a number of instances already raised good crops. It is a penal offence to give liquor to an Indian, and could the writer of the Indian pamphlets of 1807 see the progress made, his heart would be satisfied.

The local legislature of Manitoba has paid its best attention to public schools for the education of the people. It was found impossible to induce the Roman Catholics to unite in a general system of public education. They were given separate schools, but as they have not increased to so great an extent by immigration, and now constitute not more than one-tenth of the population, and moreover have chiefly settled together, in groups, there is virtually, for the whole province, a General School System now connected with the excellent municipal code introduced some two years ago. To-day 100 school-houses are dotting the plains where five years ago there were not ten, and this is but the beginning.

The Province of Manitoba has built up during these past years a comely structure of higher education. The origin of the three colleges of the country, indeed, dates back into the former period of Hudson's Bay Company rule. The three colleges have grown out of the three elements constituting the settlement during that time—the Selkirk settlers, the English half-breeds, and the Bois-brûlés.

The Roman Catholic Church was begun in the country so early as 1818, when Lord Selkirk was the means of having sent from Montreal a priest as chaplain to his Roman Catholic Colonists. But this element being small, especially after the departure of the De Meurons, since 1826, the Roman Catholic Church has paid much attention to the people who have figured so prominently in our story—the Bois-brûlés. The influence of religion and education were surely much needed among them, and by patient

effort they have been much improved. St. Boniface College—the name of the German saint, St. Boniface, being in memory of the German De Meurons—has continued to improve, and during the past year a handsome building has been erected, which will enable the church to make the most of this element of the native population, and also of the French Canadian immigration, amounting to some thousands, that has come in.

The Church of England, when the Selkirk colonists refused to receive its ministrations, devoted its attention to the English half-breed population, who had become as numerous as the Bois-brûlés. The English half-breeds proved far more tractable than the wild plain-hunters, subsisting more from agriculture; and the work done by the Church of England among them has been of a most excellent kind. Handsome churches, in many cases stone, have been erected for them by money from England, and clergymen maintained, and school teachers paid largely by friends from the same source. It was to meet the wants of this part of the population, and also to give education to Indian lads and others from the interior, that St. John's College was begun. The advantages reaped by the better class of the English half-breed population from St. John's College have been very great, and it still continues to be largely availed of by them as well as by others.

Manitoba College, of which the writer is the Head, was begun in 1871, in the heart of the Selkirk settlement. For four years it was carried on at Kildonan, engaged in educating the descendants of the Selkirk

colonists, but the increasing flood of Canadian and British population coming to the province, made it necessary to extend its advantages to them. Accordingly the college was, in 1874, moved to the city of Winnipeg, four miles from its first position, into a central point for the country, and having all the advantages of the rising city. It has since done a good work, not only in educating the young men of the Selkirk colony, but is doing the large part of the work in Higher Education for the incoming English-speaking element. It is this year erecting a building at a cost of 8000*l.*, to be a part of a whole when complete to cost 25,000*l.* A strong effort is being made to endow its chairs: and opening as it does its doors to those of every creed and class, a long vista of usefulness is opening up before it. The vigorous people of the Selkirk colony, as well as others coming to make the North-west their home, will turn their eyes to Manitoba College. These three colleges are working together in the utmost harmony.

At a public meeting of Manitoba College, held in the year 1875, in Winnipeg, it was urged by different speakers that efforts should be made to combine the three colleges in one University organization. The idea was welcomed by all, and in 1877 an Act was passed in the Legislature constituting a Provincial University for Manitoba, and giving the three colleges equal representation in the University Council. The University Council is thus made up of Bishops and Presbyterian Elders, priests and presbyters blended together in the most unique manner.

The course for the B.A. degree, is now fully orga-

nized both for the Honour and Ordinary degree. The colleges do all the instruction in their own halls, the University holds its Annual Examination, at which all the students appear in the distinctive costume of their several colleges. The Fourth Examination was held in May of last year, 1881, when thirty-two students in all, educated by the several colleges, presented themselves at the several University Examinations. Seven students passed the final examination for, and received the degree of B.A. Each of the colleges also has a separate faculty in Theology, in which good work is being done in sending out missionaries well adapted to the country and fitted to endure the hardships to which missionaries in a new country must be exposed.

Nor has the material advancement of the province been less gratifying. An enterprise of the greatest magnitude, the Canadian Pacific Railway, has, during the past year, been placed on a sound footing for completing the iron band across the continent. Of this line 600 or 700 miles in the North-west have been already built. The bold scheme of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific by a trans-continental railway on British soil, was one that long staggered the bravest of Canadian politicians ; but the energy and skill shown during this year by the powerful company that has undertaken it has produced a feeling of strong confidence. A point, upwards of 200 miles west of Winnipeg, has now been reached by the railway ; and less than three years, it is told us, will see it at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, nearly 1000 miles further west.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, instead of pursuing the fur-traders' policy of exclusion, is most anxious to encourage settlers along its line. Had good Dr. Strachan, or incredulous Sir George Simpson, survived to see the developments of to-day, as men of energy, they would have been the first to withdraw their confident statements as to the unsuitableness of the country for extensive settlement.

Hitherto the largest element of the incoming settlers has been from the provinces of Ontario and Nova Scotia, though all the other provinces of the dominion are represented. Two large settlements, numbering thousands of Russian Mennonites, have settled in communities, and form a most industrious and inoffensive portion of the population. Several thousands of repatriated French Canadians, as already noted, who had left the province of Quebec to seek their fortunes in the United States, have left that country, and are now settled in Manitoba. Several thousands of the old Danish colony of Iceland, whose fathers were really the pioneers of western enterprise, 1000 years ago, have left their rocky island, and are now comfortably settled in Manitoba; and reports are, that on account of volcanic action, the whole island of Iceland must be deserted by its inhabitants, and that their eyes are turned towards the broad acres of the North-west. A large number of people from England and Scotland have found their way to the North-west. The writer has had the opportunity of meeting a large number of such in search of new homes.

In all parts of Manitoba at present can Scotch and English settlers be found, who came there three or

four years ago, or less, with very scanty means, who are to-day possessors in fee-simple of large farms, and are on the highway to affluence.

One remarkable feature of settlement in the North-west is the large number of those "well-connected," who are making Manitoba a home. Persons connected with the British nobility, relatives of principals and professors of college, sons of Canadian cabinet ministers, sons of wealthy capitalists, country gentlemen from Britain, who have been compelled by adverse circumstances to seek the New World, officers of the army and navy, all come up to the mind of the writer, as having been seen by him engaged in farming in his visits to different parts of the country; and a settler of three years' standing, one compelled to emigrate by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, has lately been chosen a member of the Provincial Legislature. In one settlement, 100 miles west of Winnipeg, are no less than four or five retired clergymen, of different churches, who have been unsuccessful in spiritual husbandry, and have become tillers of the soil.

Entering settlers' houses the passing visitor will see pieces of furniture of value, silver plate, and articles of luxury, hidden away in a corner, or upon a rude shelf, supported by the bare logs of the settler's dwelling. These are treasured remains of former ease. The man accustomed in London or Glasgow, as teller, to pay out money, or keep the ponderous ledger in a counting-house, now becomes an adept in holding the plough, or driving the reaper as he mows down his acres of golden wheat. Many young men

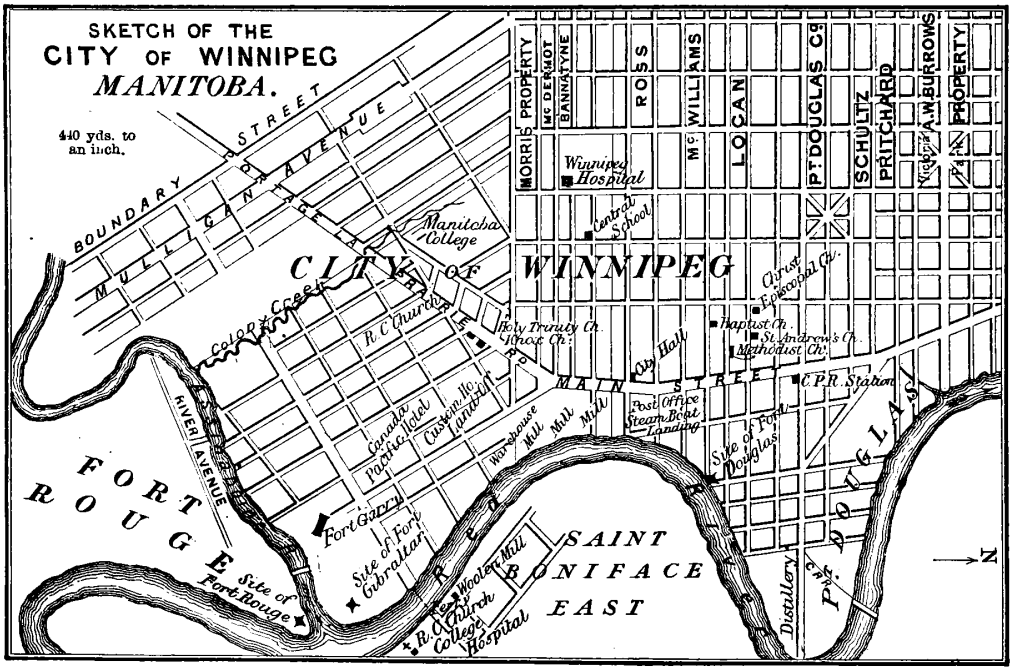
of capital have invested in land, and have gained immense returns for their money, by the rapid increase in value incident to the opening up of the country. For poor man, and for capitalist alike, Lord Selkirk's Utopia is becoming the means of comfort and advancement.

Our good friend, the historiographer, who has a mind for details, insists on supplying a fuller account of the city of Winnipeg, which he calls "the Canadian Chicago." As we heartily approve of his description, we insert it with pleasure.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHER'S ACCOUNT OF WINNIPEG.

"To the traveller coming by way of Chicago and St. Paul, through the United States, to visit Winnipeg, the St. Paul and Manitoba Railway, running from St. Paul, conducts directly to the desired destination. As the journey northward is made in some sixteen hours, the boundary-line of the British possessions is crossed at Emerson. A run of a little more than three hours brings the train to St. Boniface, from which, by the fine iron bridge at Point Douglas, the traveller is in a few minutes deposited at Main Street Station, Winnipeg. The journey from St. Paul to Winnipeg is accomplished without change of carriage. To one coming up by Lake Superior the course hitherto has been to leave the Lake steamer at Duluth, take the Northern Pacific Railway to Glyndon—a small station on the before-mentioned St. Paul and Manitoba Railway—from which the same route as above described conducts to Winnipeg.

"The probabilities are that during the present sum-



WINNIPEG, 1882.

mer a *third* route will be opened up, and that by leaving the Lake steamer at Fort William, and taking the Canadian Pacific Railway, which is hastening to completion between Fort William and Winnipeg, the latter point may be gained entirely through Canadian territory. To the visitor who wishes to go west of Winnipeg, the Canadian Pacific Railway is now running to the newest districts some 150 miles, and by the end of the present season (1882) several hundred miles further will, no doubt, be completed. Any one desirous of visiting the south-west of Manitoba, will be able during this season by either one of two lines which are being built, to leave Winnipeg and go in the direction sought. The sight-seer about Winnipeg may now cross the Assiniboine to Fort Rouge or Winnipeg South, by a fine iron bridge, completed last year; and a bridge being built from the city to St. Boniface will soon supersede the ferry at present used to cross Red River. The city reached, it will surprise the stranger to look upon a place which ten years ago had only 300 people, which now contains a population of from 12,000 to 14,000, and which some of its shrewdest inhabitants forecast as likely to reach 100,000 in the next ten years. That this should be so is but an index-finger, pointing out the fact that there lies tributary to Winnipeg a country of great resources and 'illimitable possibilities.'

"The name Winnipeg, given to the place in the year of its incorporation, 1873, had been borne by the cluster of houses half a mile, or thereabout, north of Fort Garry, for several years previous to that time. Little love was lost in those days between the youth-

ful village of Winnipeg and the matronly Fort Garry; so that when the Act of Incorporation was sought, including both Fort Garry and Winnipeg in one place, the name 'Assiniboia,' was first inserted in the Bill of the Local Legislature, but the irate inhabitants of the ambitious village would have nothing but 'Winnipeg,' and so it has since been. A City Charter was given to the young city of 2200 people, for the people then were sanguine as to its future, and would leap over the intervening grades of 'village' and town, as unworthy of notice.

"As to situation, Winnipeg lies on a perfectly level plain, at the junction of its two rivers, but sufficiently above the river-beds to give fair drainage: its level above the sea, of which the nearest point is at Hudson's Bay, is between 600 and 700 feet. Winnipeg is irregular in its plans of streets, and thus differs from the series of endless square blocks which Europeans regard as so monotonous in cities of the New World. The cause of the irregularity dates back to the early survey in Lord Selkirk's time. It was important that the settlers should be close together, and enjoy a river frontage. Accordingly, narrow strips of land, from 132 to 220 yards in width, were laid out. The lines bounding these were as nearly as possible at right angles to the river. In consequence of this, where the river takes a circuit, as it does at Winnipeg, the boundary-lines converge to a centre, like the spokes of a wheel—no two being parallel. When the city was spoken of, each proprietor followed his own 'sweet will' as to laying out his property, and as a result, too many of the streets follow the devious windings of the river, while blocks

of buildings seem as if pitched about by the young Titans in their rough play. A laborious City Council has attempted, with patriotic spirit, to make some of the 'crooked places straight,' so that from north to south, two long streets serve as arteries—Main and Princess—with numerous short streets parallel to them. Main Street is 132 feet wide. The plan of streets from east to west is, on the whole, good; and Broadway, Portage Avenue, Notre Dame, and Logan Streets, are most deserving of notice. Connoisseurs from the Old World profess to prefer our 'irregularities' to the 'Dutch Garden' system so constantly found in new cities of the West. Along Main Street, from north to south, a large main sewer runs, with branches, in several directions, and emptying into Red River.

"Main Street, built up for about a mile—and the central or chief business portion of it for, say half a mile—contains many fine brick buildings, and good fronts, comparing favourably with those of Chicago and Toronto. Where these best portions of the street are, sites are sold at as high a rate as 200*l.* per lineal foot of frontage. In all directions, even south of the Assiniboine, buildings are rising rapidly, and a resident, absent for a few months in summer, sees at the end of the season several new streets built up, which only existed on paper at the beginning of the year. New streets are in constant course of construction, crossings being made, and wooden pavements built along them in rapid succession. The streets are not sufficiently improved to resist heavy rains, but Main Street is to be dealt with this year,

though there is some difficulty in deciding whether stone blocks, gravel, or wooden blocks, will best suit the climate and the resources of the city.

"The city buildings are commodious, and faced with stone, though built of brick, the chief material available at present for the better class of buildings. They consist of City Hall, city offices, police-offices and cells, market and Fire Hall. Protection from fire is secured for the city by two steam fire-engines, with the usual brigades for rescue and salvage. The fire-engines are supplied from large tanks, sunk at convenient distances throughout the city, but this resource will be superseded by the waterworks, now being put down, which are to get their water-supply from the Assiniboine. At present, Main Street is the only thoroughfare that is lighted, and that with petroleum lamps, but the pipes are now being laid for gas, and soon the city will present a more metropolitan appearance. The wonder is, that the city aldermen have been able to keep up so well with the demand for every improvement pressing on the heels of its forerunner. The means for city improvements are obtained by a levy on the municipality. The city has also borrowed some 90,000*l.* for permanent improvements. The total amount of property as assessed within the city limits for 1881 was between 1,800,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* No doubt districts now outside the bounds of the city, such as St. John's, St. Boniface, St. James', and Fort Rouge, will soon be included within the limits. Property two miles from the business centre is now selling at 100*l.* per acre.

"As to business, Winnipeg presents many features

of interest. It is the distributing-point for districts 1000 miles west—400 miles north—and 250 east. The writer has met business men, from the points thus divergent, in the course of an afternoon's walk, on the streets of Winnipeg. Traders' outfits, settlers' waggons and their multifarious contents, Red River carts laden with freight for the merchants in the interior, agricultural implements, such as threshing machines, reapers, ploughs, &c., vast quantities of lumber, railway stores; supplies for railway contractors, surveying parties, sportsmen, the mounted police, travellers, land-seekers and settlers, may be seen going in all directions by railway, steamer and ordinary road from Winnipeg. The trade of Winnipeg raises it to the fifth place among the cities of the dominion of Canada.

"Steamers run from its piers southward past the villages and towns on Red River to the boundary-line, northward to the Lake Winnipeg lumber districts, to the Icelandic settlements and Hudson's Bay Company posts, and to connect at the mouth of the Saskatchewan with the steamers which run a 1000 miles up that mighty river—while a large trade is done by the steamers on the Assiniboine, which run 250 or 300 miles westward from Winnipeg.

"The North-west Territories' mail, starting once in three weeks, is made up at Winnipeg, and consists of a great waggon-load of crowded mail-bags, carrying the news to the scattered population of the interior—who, like Siberian exiles, are pining for its tardy arrival. This will soon cease as the railway is expected to reach the Rocky Mountains in 1882 or 1883.

Winnipeg, as being the centre of the commercial life of the country, has the Merchants', Ontario, Montreal, and Imperial banks, and numerous exchange offices and private banks. It is likewise the seat of the Dominion Savings' Bank and head of the Post-office department for the North-west, possesses as well the Dominion Lands' office, Hudson's Bay Company land office, Canadian Pacific Land offices, and numerous real estate agencies. These attract large numbers of investors of money and capitalists, and also of those in possession of land. One of the leading features of Winnipeg at present, as a land-market, is the land sales.

"Is a new town or 'city' begun—it may be at any spot on the railway, or off the railway—on the top of a mountain or surrounded by swamp—on the banks of a river or in the midst of an unsettled prairie—in fact 'anywhere,' the usual thing to do is to come to Winnipeg, employ the real-estate agent, who has an elaborate plan of the new town mapped out, highly coloured, with numerous parks, squares, city buildings, &c., marked upon it. This plan is exposed on the street, or even carried up and down Main Street, during the whole afternoon, with the fact proclaimed in large letters that 'To-night, the last opportunity will be afforded, &c., &c.' Night come, a crowd is gathered together, an auctioneer mounts his rostrum, and lots, corner lots and other lots—25 feet × 120 feet, or twice that size at most, are sold at from 10*l.* to 30*l.* in places hitherto unknown, and 100*l.* to 150*l.* in places better known. The result of this is that real estate agencies multiply, business is by them a constant suc-

cession of surprises and startling incidents; and large sums of money are made by simply turning over property. It is useless to advise caution, to speak of inflation, to point to a future time of reckoning. 'For several years,' is the reply, 'we shall have railway construction, an influx of settlers, and development of the country. We have sufficiently discounted the future.'

"All the modern appliances of business are found in this busy centre, including a widely extended telephone Exchange. The ranks of ordinary business are fully recruited, by business men from all the eastern towns and cities, and a lively competition goes on of which the general public gains the benefit. The 'prices of the Indian country' are a thing of the past, and business is here as elsewhere in danger of being overdone.

"Lawyers are 'thick as leaves in Vallombrosa.' They do a large business, but with a commendable desire to protect the community from being utterly overrun, they require lawyers from other provinces or parts of the Empire to serve a year before being admitted to the privileges of the profession. The medical profession is also decidedly over done. There are said to be between twenty and thirty doctors in actual practice.

"The city has some forty hotels, and these have not been found too many for the vast flock of visitors and immigrants during the past year. The hotel accommodation has not hitherto given general satisfaction—no doubt from the great number of travellers seeking attention; but better buildings are being erected, and

improvement will no doubt be observable during the present season.

"Taking into account the age of Winnipeg, and the mixed class of people going to a new country, the social advantages of the city are of no mean character. Winnipeg is the seat of government for the province of Manitoba. Here live the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, his ministry, many of the members of the local legislature, the judicial, customs', land, emigration and financial officials of the Dominion Government, and many persons in different departments of life, who have been accustomed to the advantages and refinements of the capitals of the British Islands, and of the several provinces of the dominion. The opening of Parliament is a notable social event, when a large number of the prominent people turn out to view the spectacle. His honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, in Windsor uniform, has his passage to the House heralded by salutes of artillery; he is received by a body of local military: he enters, preceded by the mace, supported by a brilliant staff, and delivers the speech in behalf of her Majesty: parliament is opened. It is a part of the Lieutenant-Governor's duties to set the example in things social, and that a large number avail themselves of his receptions and entertainments is noticeable. Concerts, lectures, and even the stage afford amusement to the population during the year. It was observable that the entertainments given in connexion with his Excellency, the Governor-General's visit during the past summer were such as would scarcely have been looked for out of the old centres of society and population.

"As a rendezvous for gentlemen, the Manitoba Club, which has during the past year erected very fine premises, is largely used; and many strangers look back with pleasure to its hospitable amenities.

"As in the other cities of the Dominion, so in Winnipeg, national, benevolent, commercial and reformatory, and athletic societies flourish. The St. Andrew's Society is the strongest and most prosperous national society, but the St. George's, St. Patrick's, Orange, and St. Jean Baptiste Societies are vigorously maintained. The Masonic Lodges are numerous and strong; the Oddfellows and Foresters are also found. The Temperance and Bible Societies, and the Sunday-School Association, all non-sectarian organizations, have always held a prominent place in Winnipeg affairs, while the Board of Trade, Sanitary Association, Rifle Association, Curling Club, Lacrosse and Snow-Shoeing and Cricket Clubs have all of them ardent supporters. The Arts and Industrial Association is an organization that has done much good work in collecting and exhibiting the products of the country. A large sum in premiums is annually given to exhibitors.

"One of the most generally supported Institutions of Winnipeg is the General Hospital. This has existed for the last ten years in one form or another. It is supported by voluntary contributions, and by a government and city grant. During the past year the insufficiency of its buildings was felt so pressingly that a movement was begun for the erection of a new building. A few of the directors carried on a vigorous canvass, and between 4000*l.* and 5000*l.* was

subscribed in a short time. Plans have been called for, and the building—a fine and commodious edifice —will be erected during the present summer. Another hospital under Roman Catholic control, and receiving annually a grant from the government, is situated in the suburb of Winnipeg across Red River—St. Boniface. Once a year a collection is taken up in the churches throughout the province, in behalf of the General Hospital, on some day agreed on as 'Hospital Sunday,' and very considerable amounts are thus obtained.

"As to education Winnipeg is fortunate. The University of Manitoba, to which the several colleges are affiliated, is under the patronage of the provincial government. It receives a small grant from the Government, and holds its council meetings, examinations, and other gatherings in the education offices or City Hall. It has at yet no buildings of its own, but the time cannot be long delayed when it will be provided by the government with buildings of its own, not unlikely on the block of land on which the new government buildings are being erected near Colony Creek. Manitoba College is the only college within the city limits, but St. John and St. Boniface Colleges are in the neighbourhood of the city, in the suburbs bearing their respective names. The three colleges work together harmoniously under the protecting ægis of the Provincial University.

"A system of secondary schools is being organized. The public or primary schools of the city are on an excellent plan.

"The following table exhibits their standing,—

Name.	No. of Teachers.	No. on Roll, 1881.	Census of Children between 5 and 16.	
			In 1880.	In 1881.
Central . .	10	503	1084	1617
Carlton Street . (Junior school)	2	125		
Louise Street . (Junior school)	1	44	For 1882 six additional teachers are to be employed.	
Argyle Street . (Junior school)	2	135		
Dufferin Street . (Junior school)	Being built.			
	15	807		

"The whole system of city schools is consolidated under one inspector, who devotes his whole time under the direction of the City Board of twelve members to organizing and improving the schools. Besides these schools there is a Roman Catholic Boys' School, and St. Mary's Academy—a seminary for girls.

"Among the newer and higher means of improvement that have sprung up with such rapidity in the North-west is the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. It is an incorporated association, receiving a small government grant, and devoting itself to the development of historical interest in the region 'north and west of Lake Superior.' It has a good membership, and has begun a Public Library with some 3000 volumes. It is maintained by members' dues, voluntary subscription, and a city grant also.

The newspapers and periodicals of the day are kept, and a secretary is always in attendance.

"Few new countries have received so much attention as to their religious interests as Manitoba. Winnipeg may be called the religious centre of the country. Near it live the Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Church of England Bishop; it is the seat of the Presbytery of Manitoba and of the district meetings of the Canada Methodist Church. On Sunday its streets present as quiet and orderly an appearance as the best cities that can be named. It has a large church-going population. It has eleven places of worship within the city limits, with an aggregate accommodation for some 6600 persons. These are well attended. They are one Roman Catholic, two Church of England, two Presbyterian, two Canada Methodist, one Methodist Episcopal, one Baptist, one Congregationalist, and one Icelandic Lutheran. There are also St. Boniface Cathedral, St. John's Cathedral, and Kildonan Presbyterian Church outside the limits, to which a number of city people go on account of old associations. These contain accommodation for 2000 persons. All churches are on the same footing in the eye of the law, and receive no government aid.

"A very vigorous Young Men's Christian Association is carried on with a paid secretary. This society has cheerful rooms, well lighted and heated, has newspapers and books, and is of great use to strangers in finding them employment, and supplying reliable friends. Meetings for young men are held frequently, and services maintained, in the General Hospital, Gaol, Immigrant buildings, &c.

'It would, no doubt, be an unpardonable omission were no account given of the Fourth Estate—the Press. The newspaper first found a 'local habitation' in Red River settlement in 1859. Two enterprising young Englishmen in that year began the *Nor'-wester.* Its name was significant: its infant days were troublous: in fact, its raison d'être seemed to be to change the existing order of things. It was, however, the only means of communication among the people, and was on the whole a benefit. It reached the end of its first stormy decade to face the bad days of the rebellion of 1869. The rebellion brought more sorrow, and its material was seized and made use of to issue rebel sheets: the *Newsletter* and another with the suggestive Bois-brûlé name, *New Nation.* These were short-lived, as was the rebellion, and in the early days of Manitoba's Provincial existence the *Manitoba* and the *Liberal* were the representatives of two fiery shades of opinion, which though now things of the past, kept their partisans constantly up to fever heat. The *Metis*, a French sheet, was also in existence then, and still lives. Various unsuccessful newspaper ventures have been made in the city; but now the *Free Press*, weekly and daily, has nearly reached a ten-years' existence, and the *Times*, weekly and daily, passed a two-years' course. They are both good papers: the former 'Liberal' the latter 'Conservative,' and any one desiring a full acquaintance with the country could hardly obtain it better than by enclosing 10*s.* to either of them at Winnipeg, and obtaining the weekly edition for a year."

Thus ends the sketch.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ATTRACTIONS OF MANITOBA.

IT must be remembered that Manitoba is yet in the years of its youth. It is to be what the willing hands and fertile brains of thousands, who are not yet its inhabitants, shall make it. It is a land not completed; but it is waiting to afford comfortable homes to hundreds of thousands of people who may seek it out and settle in it. Its resources have not been developed. Some would call it a land crude, unsettled, unfinished. That is precisely what it is.

But it is its being this that makes it a field where thousands of the industrious of other lands, and more eastern portions of the American continent, who cannot find room at home, can have full scope. It is a land for the young, who laugh at difficulties, and despise hardships. Its hardships, it is true, are not to be compared with those of regions where the forest must be hewn down before a harvest can be reaped; they are as nothing to those endured by our forefathers, when there was no railway to convey in what was needed, or carry out the surplus product of the soil.

Its hardships are simply those of settling in a new

home, away from the associations of early youth, with dear friends hundreds or thousands of miles away, with a dwelling for a time necessarily small, rough, and inconvenient, and with a hundred things to be done on account of the newness of settlement, that having been done at home, escaped our notice. In a new country there is need for resource, for activity of mind, and activity of body: but where there is youth there is hopefulness, and where we are called on to "lay the foundations" of everything our sympathies are enlisted and powers drawn out, as they would not be in an old country. In all this there is satisfaction.

In going to a new country you must give up society; but then you may assist in building up a new society, in which you may form a more important factor than in the one you have left.

The youth, who with good parts finds no "opening" in the old world, and in the disappointment of his heart and the largeness of his ambition begins to think himself "de trop" as a member of the human family, finds his services sought for, and his abilities appreciated in a new community, if he have but the sense to do the thing that community needs and for which he is fitted. It is not maintained that every new country, held up before the world as open for settlement, may justify statements like the foregoing. Greenland, for example, which its early discoverer called by that name, saying it was well to give a new land a good name in order to attract settlement, will remain a long time—till indeed the world is much fuller than it is at present—before it will attract colonists. While South America is constantly sending

back the cry of disappointed settlers. But in Manitoba we believe the conditions are present for the industrious obtaining success in life. What these conditions are may well form a conclusion for this book, dealing with the fulfilment of Lord Selkirk's vision of nearly eighty years ago.

FERTILE SOIL.

Countries like Scotland, Norway, the New England States, or such a province as Quebec, may be good schools for the cultivation of frugality and economy; but their soil is sterile, and to gain a livelihood is difficult. As has been remarked, it is well these and other similar countries were settled before the rich prairies of the west were discovered, else they would have been left to the owl and the pelican. The geologists tell us no country, such as the above, lying on the primary rocks can be noted for agriculture, and it is to Manitoba and the North-west with its rich alluvial land, on a clay subsoil lying on rocks of the Silurian and later limestones, that the farmers of the British Isles are now looking for scope.

It is the future wheat-field of the world. All parts of it are not of equal fertility, by any means, for it extends over an area 1200 miles from east to west, and several hundred miles from north to south. There is an immense parallelogram of rich land—five times the size of England and Wales together—still to be possessed by the enterprising settler. Some of this land is light and useful for grazing purposes, other portions are wet and swampy but available for growing grass for hay, while great stretches, one would say roughly more than half of it, are fit for agriculture.

The waving fields of grain through which the writer

has gone remained impressed on the memory. From forty to a hundred acres of yellow wheat, seemingly as dense as it can be, waving slowly back and forward on a summer's day, is a most beautiful sight. The yield is large, not less than from thirty to fifty bushels per acre as a rule, and the excellence of the grain should be noticed. It is a full, hard kernel. The wheat from the Red River valley commands a higher price at the mills in Minnesota than that of any part of the United States. It is, in fact, used to "tone up" flour manufactured from other wheat. The oat crop is a most plentiful and profitable one. Barley grows to great perfection, and in a region 1500 miles north-west of Winnipeg Professor Maconn saw it at its best. At the exhibitions of agricultural products held in 1879-80 in the eastern cities of the Dominion, the specimens of roots and vegetables, especially of potatoes, were looked upon with wonder by even the dwellers in Ontario.

Not only so, but the potato matures at Fort Churchill, nearly 600 miles due north from Winnipeg on Hudson's Bay. It is related that it was formerly believed at Churchill that potatoes would not ripen. A Hudson Bay Company officer with an Irish wife found his way to Churchill. The dame must have her potatoes. She obtained a few for seed, and planting these in pots succeeded in ripening a small crop under glass. Encouraged by the success, in the next year she started the potatoes under glass, and transplanting them to the open air was equally successful; when in the third year, becoming more confident, she planted them as in her native Ireland, and also succeeded, since which time Churchill has

no longer the reproach of being unable to grow potatoes. This incident is a good example of the manner in which popular fallacies of the most authorized kind are dispelled by accident or experiment.

The great depth of the prairie mould of Manitoba, as well as the level nature of the country, are explained by the theory that a great inland lake or sea till a comparatively recent day covered the land, and that a vegetable mould has been there accumulating for centuries. Whatever the cause, it is a fact that, in many places a black vegetable mould, three or four feet in thickness, awaits the labour of the agriculturist. In the Selkirk settlement, farms have been almost continually cropped for threescore years without the use of manure.

FREE LAND.

The vast extent of land, and the desire to have it utilized, has induced the Canadian Government to make most liberal terms with actual settlers. The country is surveyed into square blocks, a mile on each side, and with a road completely round each block. The square, which is called a "section," is divided into four equal parts each half a mile square. One of these smaller blocks, called a quarter-section, and containing 160 acres, is given to each head of a family, or youth above eighteen years of age. It becomes his own, in absolute possession, on his paying the entry money of 2*l.* and living upon and improving as he is able the place for three years. Now this is the land as it comes, and the settler has his choice of any not previously taken up, one-half being in the possession of the Railway Company.

The advantage to the settler may be seen at a

glance. He has no rent to pay, no improvements such as manuring, rotation of crops, or anything of the nature of a restriction. Whatever he can obtain from the land is all his own. If he wants more land than his 160 acres, he can purchase it at 10*s.* an acre. The cheapness of land enables large families to settle down together; and it is no uncommon thing to find a family of three or four grown up sons, and as many married daughters, living side by side, and occupying an eighth or a sixteenth of a township, possessing among them several thousands of acres.

One of the encouraging features of the country is the rapidity with which landed property increases in value. The land obtained as a homestead may in five years increase to the value of 2*l.* an acre, and if near where a town or village rises may be worth twice or thrice that amount. The settler is wise to select land along the line of railway, or of a projected railway. Free access to the fish of the rivers and the game of the prairie is the settler's privilege, and many a savoury meal does the new colonist obtain from the duck or prairie chicken shot within half a mile of his own door, or from the gold-eye, pike, or sturgeon should he settle near a stream.

EASY SETTLEMENT.

The family that has determined to adventure itself in the North-west should have at the least 100*l.* on arriving in the province. It is true many of those who are to-day in possession of comfortable homes in Manitoba came to it without 10*l.* No doubt many more will come and succeed by close economy and willingness to work just as those who have come

before. But it is easy to see that certain implements are needed to begin farming, and food must be had till a crop has been obtained from the soil. A family with 100*l.* or 200*l.* will be able to take immediate possession of land, provide the means of tilling the soil, erect at once a dwelling, and procure supplies for a year. Sometimes, it is true, by extraordinary energy a man may break up and sow a small piece of ground in his first summer, from which half a crop may be obtained. It is not advisable to be cumbered with too much household stuff, as carriage is expensive, and much furniture useless in a primitive prairie house.

Those who succeed best arrive in Manitoba about the end of April, and as soon as possible select land. By the time this is done the weather is suitable for camping, and a tent is procured, which is pitched upon the new homestead. The settler first of all breaks up the soil, say ten acres, *i. e.* with a pair of oxen or horses and a plough turning over a broad but very thin furrow, that the June rains and summer sun may reduce and loosen the sod of the prairie. As soon as this is done, with the help of his neighbours, whom he helps in return, a house is erected from logs obtained in the nearest bluff or wood, and this is covered with long grass cut from some swamp, used as thatch. Probably before he has his house completed it is necessary for him to stop, and proceed to cut the hay for his oxen and the cow or two he has acquired, to keep them through the winter. And indeed, when his own house is being erected, he must not forget a log enclosure for these faithful servants, on whom he so much depends. If he has been able to obtain a mower his hay will be soon cut and cured, and ready

for winter use—and this from grass already grown for him in Nature's meadow. It is not unlikely that November will have come before the farmer has all things fairly completed ; but he will have time, if industrious and moderately skilful, to have family and cattle safely housed, and ready for the first winter.

Of course, if he have money to obtain assistance, he may lighten his work, though in a country where it is so easy for each man to have a farm of his own, labour is scarce. If the settler have means, his house may be as much better and as much more commodious as he may choose to have it.

CLEAR SKIES.

During the summer, if the settler have time to observe the sky, he will notice the extraordinary amount of sunshine he enjoys. The month of May is usually pleasant, the month of June wet—not unlike the rainy seasons of the tropics—but in July the dry, warm weather sets in, and the growth is a thing enormous. The days are long, there seeming to be only two or three hours of darkness, so that if regions farther south have a longer summer, their days being shorter they have no more sunshine. During the month of June the rain, for which Colorado and other western states where irrigation is necessary would give untold treasures, is attended by thunderstorms and lightning. The cause of this is not far to seek. The large mass of heated air full of vapour is suddenly acted on by other masses, currents of different temperatures and the like, and the breadth of surface is so wide that the crash is correspondingly great. But so long as no damage is done—and accidents by stroke of lightning do not seem more numerous than

in other countries—the grandeur of the scene may be looked on without fear.

During the dry season in July and August the growing grain might at times seem to need showers of rain, but the want is supplied by the copious dews that are characteristic of the country. By some these are attributed to the gradual coming out of the ground of the frost of winter, which had frozen the earth to a depth of several feet, and now in slowly coming out as the heat of summer advances proves a boon to the growing vegetation. To this cause, also, is probably attributable the fact that the nights in Manitoba are usually cool, however warm the day may have been, and thus conducive to the comfort of the sleeper.

In the day likewise there is in the air a strength and stimulation noticed by all visitors, producing an elasticity of step quite wanting in some of the more damp and sultry climates. It is a fact well vouched for, that in the western buffalo-country the buffalo meat is cut from the carcase in strips and hung out in the sun, where, instead of rotting as in moister climates, it dries up and is preserved without a particle of salt. The writer has seen the same, in the case of strips or slices of sturgeon, drying in the sun in front of the houses of the Bois-brûlés. If sunshine be an element of happiness, surely Manitoba need have few weeping Niobes.

BRACING CLIMATE.

On the American continent there may be said to be three varieties of climate chiefly prevalent. There is the southern, which in winter is balmy, has roses in bloom, and to a visitor seems that of a garden of

delights. But then there is the greater part of the year in which the heat becomes intense, in which fever-breeding miasmata make life a precarious thing, and when poisonous reptiles and myriads of noxious insects render the south undesirable. To us, who belong to northern climes, these things seem intolerable, and we flee away from even Florida or Texas, or Missouri or Colorado.

There is next the middle climate. This is the border-land, where alternations of heat and cold are frequent, where even in summer there may be days hot and cool alternating, where winter is not steady or continuous, but of great variety. One day may be cold, the snow abounding, and the country seem ice-bound; the next may be wet, the ground muddy, the streets sloppy. To this climate would belong New York, Western Ontario, Illinois, and so on.

The third climate is the northern, found in Quebec, Minnesota, and Manitoba. In this there is a distinctly marked summer, and an equally well-marked winter. The summer is naturally much less warm than farther south, being almost always endurable. There is no need of giving up out-door labour in the middle of the day, the spring and fall seasons are shorter, and free from the trying weather found in these seasons further south, while the winter is steady. It is not denied that a part of the winter is severe. During the month of December low degrees of temperature are frequent, but there is this difference between it and the other extreme of heat found in the south. Comfortable houses and warm clothing can defy the cold, while the heat must simply be endured where the atmosphere is a vapour bath.

Every climate, as we have seen, will have its drawback, but the freedom from change of the Manitoba winter is the great compensation for the severity of the climate. The winter season freezes the earth and the rivers, gives the agriculturist a rest from the severe toil of summer, covers the earth with a coating of snow not more than enough to make good sleighing, being about a foot and a foot and a half on an average, and gives the opportunity for enjoying his leisure with the hilarity and enthusiasm caused by the clear sparkling weather and the dry state of the air. The sleighing, moreover, enables the farmer to do with ease much of his work, such as disposing of his grain, obtaining materials for building and fencing, and laying in his year's supply of firewood. His cattle are housed in winter, and the winter so keeps up their tone and general health, that while cattle hitherto have been allowed to be exported from Canada to Britain as not liable to disease, those from the southern regions, as in the United States, are excluded, being more subject to pleuro-pneumonia and the numberless other ailments found where the climate is relaxing.

For man and for beast there is a necessity for a part of the year being spent in a less enervating climate than that of the middle and Southern States, and hence it is that the immense exodus takes place from these regions to the Canadian Lakes, the St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain, and the White Mountains, in the summer season.

The dryness of the winter climate in Manitoba is well illustrated by the fact, that the air is so surcharged with electricity that on touching a metallic

object with the finger a distinct spark may be seen, and a slight shock experienced. This peculiarity of the Manitoba air is no doubt the quality that makes the North-west a suitable place for those affected by throat and lung diseases. The drying and restorative nature of the air has brought about recovery in numerous cases of the kind referred to.

The health of the people is a marked feature of the Canadian North-west, and while in the month of August there may exist a tendency towards a sluggish state of the liver, that this is so slight in comparison with the prairies of Kansas, and, indeed, of all the Western States where fever prevails, is no doubt the result of the bracing northern air enjoyed by Manitoba.

It is no new thing for the northern nations to possess strong frames and vigorous health. It was only when the robust nations of Germany and Scythia spread with the prowess gained from their northern clime over southern Europe, that they were destroyed by effeminacy and by the enervating effects of a relaxing climate.

The winter may be said as a general thing to set in in Manitoba about the middle of November, and to be over about the end of March. During that time the snow is so dry and crisp, that the Indian or Bois-brûlé may go without wetting his moccasins, which are made of the softest and most porous deer-skin. Occasionally a season may come when the winter is softer, but this is its usual character. Snow-shoeing, taboganing, skating, and curling, are pursued to the full during the Manitoba winter, while the jingle of the sleigh-bells of scores of handsome turn-outs on a pleasant afternoon in the winter months on the chief

streets of Winnipeg, speaks of a scene of great joy and picturesqueness.

FUEL AND WATER.

In a climate where winter is a reality, fuel is an object of prime importance. To the person who has Manitoba in his mind as a prairie country—and to whom one of its principal advantages is continually represented as its being a prairie—it is natural the question of fuel should be one of anxiety. It is well to say that anything like the state of things in Iowa or Dakota, in some parts of which farmers have been compelled to burn Indian corn as fuel, is a thing unknown. Manitoba fringes on a timber region to the east, has a wooded region to the north, and has its railway system about to be pushed in less than three years to the vast forests of the Rocky Mountains.

Moreover, bordering on these wooded regions, it is natural that what we may call "outliers" or detached portions of wood, what the Bois-brûlés call "wood islands," should here and there dot the prairies. The tops and flanks of ridges, the banks of rivers, low-lying tracts of country, and, indeed, wherever natural obstacles or bodies of water prevent the ravages of prairie fires, are covered with trees—mostly oaks or poplars. From these, wood lots which are usually surveyed into blocks, and given or sold at a trifle to real settlers, the farmer obtains the wood for his house and also his fuel. In few cases does the settler require to go six or eight miles for wood, while in many cases it is at his door. Wood, in large quantities, is brought into Winnipeg by railway from the east, and sold at a cost of 16*s.* to 20*s.* per cord of 128 cubic feet. On a vast plain are settled the Mennonites,

who brought with them from the steppes of Russia a fashion of manufacturing fuel from a mixture of earth, straw, and farmyard manure. Though they to some extent adhere to this class of fuel, yet the substantial oak trees of the Pembina Mountains, not too far away, offer them a more substantial substitute, of which they have not been slow to avail themselves. No doubt coal will become the chief fuel on the prairies as the woods disappear, and it is a matter of satisfaction that two railways, the Canadian Pacific and Manitoba South-western, are approaching the Lignite coal-beds of the Souris, where a fuel can be obtained from seams several feet in thickness, and of illimitable extent, and exposed on the banks of the Souris River. At Edmonton, on the Saskatchewan River, large exposures of excellent coal have been found, and mining to a considerable extent has taken place during the past summer. It is a matter of interest, likewise, that to the east of Winnipeg large beds of peat have been found that may be worked if it be found advisable.

Having now dealt with three of the so-called elements of the ancient philosophers, Earth, Air, and Fire, there remains that one indispensable to man, Water. In almost every part of Manitoba and the North-west, springs of water are obtained by digging wells from 15 to 70 feet deep. With a familiar acquaintance with all parts of Manitoba, the writer can only recall one plain, and that some half-dozen miles across, where any difficulty has been found in obtaining a plentiful supply of water. This water is invariably clear, cold, and wholesome. In some places it has been found that after a few months the water in some wells has a

metallic or slightly smoky taste. This is got by allowing the drainage through the surrounding soil to enter the well. Small quantities of magnesium-chloride, magnesium-sulphate, and similar salts are distributed through the soil, probably showing a salt-water origin to the prairie levels. If surface washings be allowed to run into the wells the water will contain the slightly saline taste. That this is the cause is shown by phenomena seen in the wells of Winnipeg.

Several wells in Winnipeg have been found that are flowing wells. They are really Artesian wells, got by digging some 70 feet to the rock. The water of these wells is excellent. The cause of this is that the constant outflow prevents the admixture of saline elements from the soil. The simple remedy for wells becoming "salt," is the use of the "Abyssinian tube," or some similar method, by which the water, pure at its source, may be retained in a state of purity. There is no such thing known in Manitoba as water poisoned by the presence of decaying organic matter. The water of the rivers, when filtered to free it from the mud, which is an invariable feature of prairie rivers, is sweet and wholesome. Waterworks obtaining their supply from the Assiniboine River are, during the present year, being built, and pipes laid for the City of Winnipeg.

BUILDING MATERIAL.

Very much of the comfort, and certainly much of the attractiveness, of a country depends on the means afforded for the construction of buildings. The most easily worked material for temporary houses to be erected, by those of limited capital, is wood or sawn timber. Average "lumber" is obtained at Winnipeg at

the rate of 6*l.* per thousand feet of superficial measurement. No doubt this price will be reduced so soon as the Canadian Pacific Railway is open to Lake Superior, which will be in 1882. As soon as towns grow past their infancy of two or three years a demand rises for better buildings.

Brick is brought into requisition. Excellent brick, of whitish colour, is obtainable, not unlike the cream-coloured brick of Milwaukee, in Winnipeg, at from 2*l.* to 3*l.* per thousand. The brick dwelling is fine in appearance, dry and warm, and becomes a favourite so soon as capital sufficient is brought into the country to erect a better class of buildings. As an amusing instance of popular fallacies being completely destroyed, the writer remembers the day when sapient inhabitants of the country maintained vehemently that the clay of Manitoba would not make brick. To-day all who examine it admit the Winnipeg brick to be surpassed for hardness and beauty by that of few places on the continent.

Lime of the best quality is obtained by burning the Silurian limestone, found in many parts of the country. Sand is got from the hills in all parts of the province. The boulders of granite distributed over the ridges of the country work in well as a building stone, especially for foundations, and many buildings in Winnipeg are now being faced by the native limestone, which works very readily.

The native cut-stone being used in the facings for the new Manitoba College, was much admired by the Governor-General on the occasion of his laying the corner-stone of the college. Over such a vast area as the Canadian North-west there will

doubtless be discovered new quarries, containing as the country does a wide geologic range. The rapidity with which the towns—first of canvas-covered houses, then of wood, and these to be replaced by brick and stone—grow up in the North-west is amazing. Let no man despise thy youth, may well be said to the shabby little village of temporary houses, as it dubs itself with the ambitious name of city, and within a decade rises to deserve the name.

BUSINESS ACTIVITY.

It was long a reproach to Canada that her commercial men lacked the energy and business talent of their cousins across the borders. It was no wonder that Canadians should have contracted ideas. Till ten or fifteen years ago the British Provinces were isolated: their trade was necessarily on a small scale: a "pent-up Utica" bounded their vision. But now Canada is half a continent. Her business men have scope, and she has a country wide enough to hold millions of the people of Europe. Accordingly, since confederation a new variety of Canadian has arisen. The business man of Winnipeg is entirely different from the Halifax or Quebec merchant.

He is rapid, enterprising, confident. A new type of Canadian is said by those who visit the North-west to be arising there, with the "push" of the American, and the conservative tastes and customs of the British people. Capital is flowing with great rapidity into the North-west. Two years ago money could be invested at twelve per cent. on good security. Now money is plentiful at eight per cent. Every variety of company, business, and institution is springing into life.

The Hudson's Bay Company, like a sleeping giant with unbounded resources, is rising to the contest, in maintaining its own against strong competitors in trade. The building of railways and the influx of capital are producing great competition in rival business centres, and have stimulated to an enormous extent the value of real estate. No doubt this is but the feverish excitement of early youth, and that a more sedate age will follow soon—perhaps too soon for some who have forgotten that grey hairs sometimes come prematurely—may be safely asserted. It is, however, an agreeable thing to live in an active age, and to take part, with enthusiasm even, in the activities of life.

RAILWAY FACILITIES.

The railway is the pioneer of settlement. Regions where settlers have preceded the railway are dull and lifeless, when no means of carrying off the produce of the soil exist. There is plenty of wheat, but no money. The settler who is compelled to drag his load of grain 100 miles over the prairie to a market-town, finds in the time wasted, the actual expenses of living on the road, and the deterioration of beasts of burden and vehicle, that he has absolutely nothing when he returns home. 200 miles from a market-town, his case is hopeless. In some instances the influx of new settlers creates a market; but the railway gives new life to a community so soon as it reaches it, and if it be built in advance of settlement, is a most powerful instrument in settling up the country.

It is accordingly a wise thing to get a railway, even if a large price has to be paid in obtaining it. The North-west will soon be a net-work of railways

In this is its hope. The railway, if properly built, will find the snow-fall of the North-west, which, as already noticed, is much less than that of eastern provinces of a moister climate, no obstacle. The railway, from Winnipeg to the boundary of the province on the south, of sixty miles, has never had the slightest difficulty with snow at times when trains were blocked by snow all the way from Montreal to Chicago.

Even Dakota and Minnesota, being higher up at the sources of the Red River, seem to have more snow than Manitoba, and much amusement was depicted on the faces of a body of immigrants from Ontario to Manitoba, who, having been in a snow blockade in Minnesota last year for a day or two, when they arrived at Winnipeg found that no snow had as yet fallen. The railway can be built with great rapidity and cheapness on the prairie; and with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, so strong financially, Manitoba and the North-west territories will no doubt be "gridironed" with railways by the end of the century, if not before.

GOOD MARKETS.

Business energy and railway facilities naturally produce good markets. The cheapening of freights, however, must be the means of giving the farmer the highest prices for his produce. For years to come, no doubt, with the immense immigration flowing into the North-west a large home-market will be found. The prices of all classes of produce are but now adjusting themselves, for it is plain that competition in buying *i.e.* among the middle men, is needed before the farmer will get his own. Railways have been only two years in active operation, and yet it is surprising

the rapidity with which business centres are being opened, and produce of every description purchased.

The Winnipeg market is as well stocked and well conducted a market as need be, though nothing like what it may be expected to become. The opening up of the Lake Superior branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the connexions expected with Lake Superior by two eastern competing lines—the one by the Duluth Railway projected, the other by the South-western and Northern Pacific—will secure to the farmer the highest price for whatever he may obtain from the soil. As already pointed out, the Hudson's Bay route will in time claim the attention which its shortness deserves, and connect the Saskatchewan farmer very intimately with the markets of Europe.

RELIGIOUS ADVANTAGES.

Lord Selkirk's scheme of perfect religious equality and toleration is that still subsisting in Manitoba. One of the results of this is a friendly feeling subsisting between the different churches. Denominational rancour is one of the greatest hindrances to progress in a new country. It is satisfactory that there is no bone of contention to disturb the prevailing harmony. No church is given any place of precedence, except what its own energy and usefulness to the community at large secures for it.

There is thus a great incentive to the different religious bodies to overtake the religious instruction of the people. From present appearances the chief work in the evangelization of the North-west is to be done by the three great Protestant bodies—the Church of England, the Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

The Roman Catholic Church would have a considerable field should there be an increase in the immigration from Ireland or from the province of Quebec. At present, indications of a large immigration from either of these points are not bright, though a province to relieve the distress of Ireland, carved out of the North-west, is proposed, which, strange to say, was the remedy for the relief of Ireland suggested by Lord Selkirk to the British Government in 1802.

The Church of England in Manitoba holds strongly still to its connexion with England, not having affiliated itself with the Church of England in Canada. It is chiefly of the Low Church or evangelical type, and has adopted the popular form of government of having a Synod made up of representatives from all its churches. There is not only a Bishop at Winnipeg, but also a Missionary Bishop at Prince Albert on the Saskatchewan, and another in the far distant Mackenzie River. The Church Missionary Society has done, and is still doing, a good work among the Indians, but finds the unsettled habits of the tribes a great hindrance to permanent good. The English half-breeds of Red River are principally connected with the Church of England. Her work has been most beneficial among these people, and most of them are able to read and write, while many of them have a good education.

The Presbyterian Church is in hearty connexion with the church in Canada, which is a union of the three Presbyterian bodies found in the Scottish Fatherland. The ministers of this church are chiefly natives of Canada, educated in the theological schools of Canada, and thoroughly in sympathy with the

ideas of the Canadian people in obtaining the North-west. The Canadian Presbyterian Church contributes about 3000*l.* annually towards the spread of religion in the North-west. While it is strong in Winnipeg, it is thoroughly aggressive, and aims at having its pioneer missionary first on the ground in every new settlement. The Selkirk settlers, and a large part of the incoming population from Canada, Scotland, and the North of Ireland, belong to this church.

The Methodist Church here, as elsewhere, is active and devoted. Its first work in the North-west was among the Indian tribes both at the foot of Lake Winnipeg and in the far West on the Saskatchewan. For upwards of thirty years these Indian Missions have been in active operation. It was not till about the time of the transfer of the country to Canada that this church began operations in the Red River country. Since that time it has vigorously carried on its work, and is indefatigable in following the settler to the most distant points. The Baptist and Congregational Churches have also made a beginning in the country; the Icelanders are Lutherans, while the Mennonites have a form of religion of their own.

The religious condition of Manitoba forms a pleasing contrast to that of many of the Western States. In the great West of the United States population outstripped the efforts of the churches. Many communities were there for years without a religious service being held in them. In Manitoba such is not the case. In many cases the Christian Missionary is on the ground the same season in which the settlement is begun. To the families emigrating to Manitoba it will be a consolation to

know that their children will be brought up amongst Christian influences, and that they do not leave all good behind when they adventure themselves in so new a land.

FREE SCHOOLS.

The want of the means of education often deters—and very reasonably so—families from seeking homes in new countries. In order to meet the educational wants of so new a province as Manitoba, a very flexible school system is required. The wisdom of the Legislature has fortunately provided this. So soon as a group of settlers in any part of Manitoba have among them enough of children to make an average of ten, they may, on petition to the Educational Bureau, be recognized as a school district. This done they obtain a grant from the Government for their school: they have likewise the power under the Education Act to tax the district for such amount as is needed to maintain the school. They elect three trustees from among themselves, who have power to erect the school-house at such expense as the rate-payers choose, to engage a teacher, and obtain school requisites.

Regular licensed teachers, chiefly those who have come from the older provinces of Canada, where there is a surplus, can be obtained at a cost of about 80*l.* a year. In the cities and towns powers are given for carrying on whatever number of schools may be needed; and in Winnipeg the system of central and ward schools, regularly graded, is very good. The elements of an excellent English education can be obtained free of cost. When the province of Manitoba was set apart, one-eighteenth of all the land was

reserved as an educational endowment; so that the educational future of the province is thus amply secured. A magnificent fund will at length be created as the land, increased in value, is sold and devoted to the support of this priceless boon.

The time has now come when in the towns a system of secondary education must be organized. Winnipeg, Portage La Prairie, and Emerson, may well be provided with this class of higher education. This will be a means of preparing for the colleges which, as we have seen, are affiliated to the Provincial University. It seems to be the desire of all who have to do with the educational system of Manitoba to say with the Laureate :—

"Let knowledge grow from more to more."

FREE ELECTORATE.

The possession of a liberal franchise is one of the safeguards of modern society. Power placed in the hands of men gives a sense of responsibility. The laws of Manitoba wisely give a very wide extension of political privileges. The whole province is divided into municipalities, each of which elects a warden and six councillors annually. To this Council is given the power of taxation for local improvements, certain duties connected with schools, the care of the poor, bonuses to railways and public improvements, though in regard to these last the voice of the rate-payers must be taken. The care of public morals, the public health, taxation of wild land, the improvement of the highways, and many other matters, are under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Councils. The cities and towns have a municipal organization of their

own. There is likewise a Local House of Parliament holding its sittings at Winnipeg, consisting of thirty-one members, having power to legislate in provincial matters.

Responsible to this house is a cabinet of five ministers; and the Lieutenant-Governor, who is resident at Winnipeg, opens the house after the British form. The house is presided over by a speaker, who is preceded by the mace; and the other parliamentary usages of the British Houses are in vogue. The elections for the municipalities and the Local Legislature are conducted by open vote—those for the Dominion by ballot. Manitoba, as a province of the Dominion of Canada, likewise has the right of sending four representatives to the Canadian House of Commons meeting at Ottawa, and has also two appointed representatives in the Canadian Senate.

As the population of Manitoba increases, her representation at Ottawa will increase. The system of universal suffrage pursued in the United States does not prevail in Manitoba, but the property qualification required is so low that no one of industrious habits need be excluded. Any British subject resident for a year in the province is entitled to all the privileges of the native born Canadian. The restriction in the franchise is for the purpose of protecting the country from a floating population, who have no responsibility, and would care nothing for the safety of the country. In the United States many of the wisest citizens would prefer the Canadian system, as protecting the community from the "rascal" element more or less prevalent everywhere. All representative positions are open to all classes of the community irrespective

of creed or any other limitation. A law similar to that in Britain prevails in regard to the purity of elections.

PURE JUSTICIARY.

One of the great advantages of the province over the neighbouring States is in the administration of justice. In the United States the judges are elected by the people directly. Accordingly, if the judge be elected by the Republicans, he is expected to deal out hard measure to the Democrats, and *vice versâ.* The result of this is simply frightful. Such a thing as gaining fair play from a judge of adverse political opinions is not counted on in many parts of the United States. This gives rise to a vast amount of trickery and collusion in business.

The judges in the Manitoba courts are appointed by the Government of Canada, and the Canadian of the present day looks with great pleasure on the high character and impartiality of the bench of Canada. It is the English law which prevails. The dignity of the court is maintained by the use of a suitable costume, and the authority of the bench is paramount. The appearance of American courts, where the lawyers appear in grey clothing if they choose, and assume the most "free and easy" manners, is absolutely distressing. It is related to have occurred in Kansas that a court-crier, in adjourning the court, did so in the following words, "O yes! O yes! O yes! This whole outfit will adjourn till to-morrow morning." It has only been by aiming at the high ideal maintained by British statesmen in appointments to the English bench, that our Canadian leaders have so changed the state of

affairs, which we have seen to have existed in the days of Lord Selkirk's troubles.

BRITISH CUSTOMS.

The traveller, on crossing the line at Emerson, as he enters Manitoba from Minnesota, is reminded not only by the appearance of the Union Jack that he is again on British soil, but by many other things as well. The dress of the people is more English, their manners and customs, and their speech. It is true, living in such constant intercourse with the people of the United States, the inhabitants of Manitoba have no easy task in keeping to that "well of English undefiled," in which they rejoice. But there is easily observable a great divergence in tone and language between those who use what they themselves call the "American language," and the people of Manitoba, who speak the English tongue.

While true to their Canadian nationality, the strong attachment for British institutions among the people of Canada's youngest province, is seen in the vigorous, maintenance of their national societies. The most active of these is the St. Andrew's Society. This is maintained to assist their indigent fellow-countrymen, and cultivate Scottish literature and customs, not only by Scotchmen, but as the constitution provides, by the "sons of Scotchmen" as well. Burns' Anniversary, the Caledonian games, and St. Andrew's Day Festival, are maintained with the *perfervidum ingenium* characteristic of the nation.

Nor is the St. George's Society to be outdone in its celebration of the customs of "Merry England." Much kindness has been shown by this society to the

large number of English immigrants who have in the last few years found their way to the North-west. The St. Patrick's Society and the Orange Society both flourish, notwithstanding the chilly winds of the Northern prairies; but it is a matter of great moment that they are on friendly terms with one another, and can see each other on their respective days flaunt their characteristic colours without any propensity to reduce each other to the unfortunate condition of the "Kilkenny cats."

The Selkirk settlers undoubtedly had much to do with the continuance of British ideas in the country, while the Hudson's Bay Company, in its constant importation of English goods, Scottish employés from the Orkneys, and officers from all parts of the British Isles, did an immense service to the British crown and people. So late as 1870 business was carried on in the North-west in sterling currency, and British merchants had agents doing business among the Selkirk colonists and half-breed population. In no part of the British empire will a more hearty "God save the Queen" be heard at the close of a public meeting than in Winnipeg or Portage La Prairie.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

The immense saving to the resources of a country that would be made were the extended use of intoxicants given up, is demanding the attention of all statesmen of the present day. A nation spending its millions on strong drink is heavily handicapped in competing with a nation where liquor is not used. It is true there may seem to be an apparent stringency in compelling the exclusion of liquors, and restricting

individual liberty in this respect. We do not touch on the abstract question. We have no time to argue it.

But in the North-west territories a law prohibiting the importation of intoxicants is in force. In two counties of Manitoba—Marquette and Lisgar—a local option law has been passed, prohibiting the sale but not the use of intoxicants; while in another portion of Manitoba, added during the past year and comprising some five-sixths of the province, the same law as is found in the North-west territories prevails.

It is well to state, that some ten thousand people who had lived in the territory under the Prohibitory Liquor Law, were so well pleased, that they with remarkable unanimity refused to be included in Manitoba unless the Prohibitory Liquor Law was retained. The people of Marquette and Lisgar adopted by popular vote what is known as the "Canada Temperance Act" in these counties; and it is well-known that there are hundreds of instances of men who have been addicted to the use of strong drink who are now living sober, industrious lives in these districts of Manitoba. The city of Winnipeg, and the two counties of Selkirk and Provencher in Manitoba are the only three places in the whole Canadian North-west where liquor is allowed to be sold.

To the young seeking new homes this is a great safeguard, and many a father and mother are found willing to give up even a preference in favour of strong drink for their children's good. As said an Englishman in the county of Marquette, when voting for the Prohibitory Act, "I can't go to Winnipeg without becoming a slave to strong drink, but I want to be protected here, and to keep my children from

following my bad example." The law makes provision for exceptions of liquor used for religious, medicinal, or mechanical purposes. New lands have the opportunity of adopting social as well as material improvements unhampered by the shackles of custom.

LAST WORDS.

Surely with all the room, and the resources detailed, the Canadian North-west can maintain in comfort many millions of people. It is to be hoped that the religious, educational, and social development of this region will keep pace with the growth in population. It will be an immense advantage for the country if the means of improvement are afforded to the people as they fill up this vast territory.

It would need a philanthropist with as large a heart as Lord Selkirk, to plan for the retention of the blessings of civilization to as great an extent as possible to these pioneers of civilization on the prairies. For years, at first, the settler will have his energies fully taxed in building his house, in breaking up his land, and in obtaining a livelihood. It will require all the assistance of large-hearted philanthropy to prevent him and his children becoming utterly materialized. The writer has too often seen this process going on in the case of men and families of education, good morals, and social cultivation.

To prevent this, the church, the school, and the college, are the means lying most ready to hand. Self-governing communities have the lesson very soon impressed upon them that they must become self-supporting in all respects; but the overwhelming tide of settlement pouring into the Canadian North-

west makes a powerful appeal to the lover of his kind to endow a college or a chair, to erect a school or build a church, according to his taste, or even to do some less great but no less deserving thing should his resources be limited, to provide these strangers in a distant land with the means of culture left behind them when they ventured forth to secure new homes for themselves.

Would that there were more of the class of men like Lord Selkirk, of large-hearted sympathy, to assist the settlers in a new land with the means of comfort and enlightenment. As to Lord Selkirk, numerous statements may be found in the works of his friends, that he lived before his time—lived fifty years too soon. From this we dissent entirely. There can be no true philosophy of history which could suppose that Lord Selkirk's work was without its effect. To us it seems as clear as noonday, that his colony, founded with the greatest difficulty, passing through a baptism of blood in its earlier years, subject to privations of the severest description, was the means of retaining for Canada a heritage of greatest value—in fact, of keeping open for her the only means of national development.

The one thing that will prevent the absorption of Canada, by the omnivorous American Republic, is the possession of a vast territory where her surplus population may find a home, and build up a British American State—as free in all respects, and more wisely conservative in many ways, than the United States. When it is considered that up to the time of the acquisition of the North-west by Canada, there had gone of the surplus population of Canada to the

one state of Minnesota 50,000 people, the danger that was threatening us may be seen—but that is now past.

The Selkirk colony had remained thoroughly British. The Indian races are warmly attached to the British crown, and are so because the wise policy recommended by Lord Selkirk has prevailed. The Hudson's Bay Company, after its union with the North-west Company, did not pursue the rum-selling policy to the Indian previously followed by the latter Company. It exercised a wise and paternal system of rule over the Indian tribes; and the Canadian Government has fallen heir to a just and conciliatory method of treating its Indian subjects. Lord Selkirk's policy of emigration, as a relief for the over-populated Highlands and western districts of Ireland, as well as of other parts of the British Isles, though so unpopular early in the century, has now been received by all; and well it might have been, for despite all prophecies as to the decay of Britain and her dreaded depopulation, Britain has never known a half-century of such development as the last has been.

She is now the banker, manufacturer, and trader of the world: one of the European confederacy of nations, and so engaged in trade, that she cannot keep a vast standing army after the manner of the other great European nations; nevertheless, by a system of citizen-soldiery, supplementing her standing army, she retains her island safely, is the most influential nation in all parts of the world, while she is now as always the friend of the weak and the unfortunate. No man need be commiserated as having lived before his time, when every scheme and

project advocated by him has seen a successful fulfilment within a century of his death.

No! not fifty years too soon! It is true he suffered a wearisome persecution. It is true he may have had heartburnings at the baseless charges hurled at him before the British public, whose opinion he valued as a high-minded and sensitive man; but that he broke down single-handed a system of organized terrorism in the heart of North America; that he established a thriving colony; the good he did; the vision he cherished; and the untainted and resolute soul he bore;—these are his reward.

Only those are crown'd and sainted,
Who with grief have been acquainted,
Making nations nobler, freer.

In their feverish exultations,
In their triumph and their yearning,
In their passionate pulsations,
In their words among the nations,
The Promethean fire is burning.

Shall it then be unavailing
All this toil for human culture?
Through the cloud-rack, dark and trailing,
Must they see above them sailing,
O'er life's barren edge, the vulture?

Such a fate as this was Dante's,
By defeat and exile madden'd;
Thus were Milton and Cervantes,
Nature's priests and Corybantes
By affliction touch'd and sadden'd.

But the glories so transcendent,
That around their memories cluster,
And, on all their steps attendant,
Make their darken'd lives resplendent
With such gleams of inward lustre.

THE END.

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