



BRITISH NORTH AMERICA





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J. C. Wilson
1884

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Yours truly
John A. M. [unclear]

THE SCOT

IN

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

BY

W. J. RATTRAY, B.A.

VOL. IV.



Toronto:
MACLEAR AND COMPANY.

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PREFACE.

THE lamented death of the author, whose clear, incisive style, vigorous thought, and painstaking research, have imparted so much interest to the preceding pages, leaving the manuscript of the concluding pages of this volume incomplete, renders apology superfluous for all delay in presenting it to the public. Another hand has completed the unfinished task with the honest endeavour to follow, as far as possible, the lines laid down by the author. A generous, and fair-minded public, will make due allowance for the difficulty of undertaking, at short notice, to deal with a subject demanding accurate historical and geographical knowledge and exactness of statement to do even a measure of justice to the work.

It is eminently fit that a book of the nature of the "Scot in British North America" should include some notice, however fragmentary and imperfect, of the writer, whose early decease has left such a void in the ranks of Canadian literature. The personal details that, had he lived, the modesty which was so conspicuous a feature in his character, would have prevented his giving, may now appropriately be supplied. William J. Rattray was born in London, England, about the year 1835, his father being a Scot and his mother English. The family came to Canada about the year 1848, settling in Toronto, where Mr. Rattray, Senr., was, for many years engaged in trade, being highly respected as a man and a citizen. William J. Rattray entered Toronto University about the year 1854, and devoted himself earnestly to study

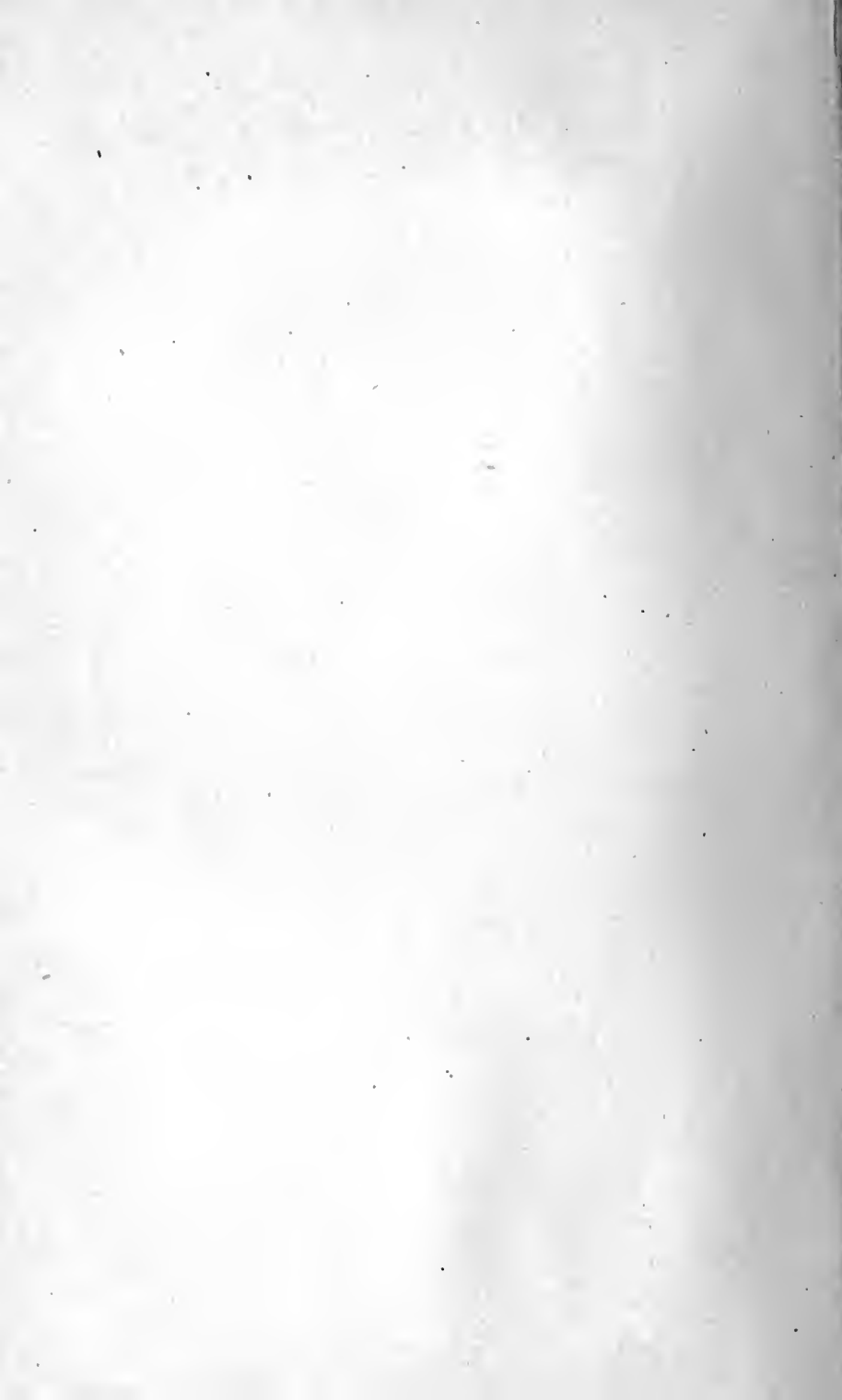
especially in the department of metaphysics and philosophy. He soon developed rare intellectual gifts as a profound and acute reasoner. He became Prize Speaker and President of the Literary Society, and his clear and thoughtful utterances soon won him a brilliant reputation among the young men of his time. On graduating he won the gold medal in Mental Science. Mr. Rattray was for many years before his death connected with the press of Toronto, his most noteworthy work being done on the staff of the *Toronto Mail*. A series of articles which appeared weekly during a period extending over several years, dealing with the conflict between agnosticism in its various forms and revealed religion, excited much attention and were greatly admired by a wide circle of readers. They presented the orthodox side of the question with much force and ability. Mr. Rattray's intellect was an unusually active one. His brilliant natural faculties were cultivated by assiduous study and constant reflection. Essentially a many-sided man intellectually, he displayed equal power and grasp of his subject in dealing with current political and social topics, as in grappling with the deeper problems of life and eternity, which, of late years, engrossed so much of his thoughts. His style was notable for its lucidity, smoothness, and finish, which made everything he wrote readable, and fascinating even where it did not convince. Personally, Mr. Rattray was one of the most loveable of men and though, owing to a somewhat retiring disposition, his circle of intimate friends was not wide, there were many who, having but a slight and passing acquaintance with him, felt a pang of sincere sorrow at his untimely death. He died at Toronto on the 26th of September, 1883, after an illness, the long and insidious approaches of which had considerably impaired his customary mental force. The readers of the "Scot in British North America" can best realize how great a loss Canadian literature has sustained.

December 13th 1883.

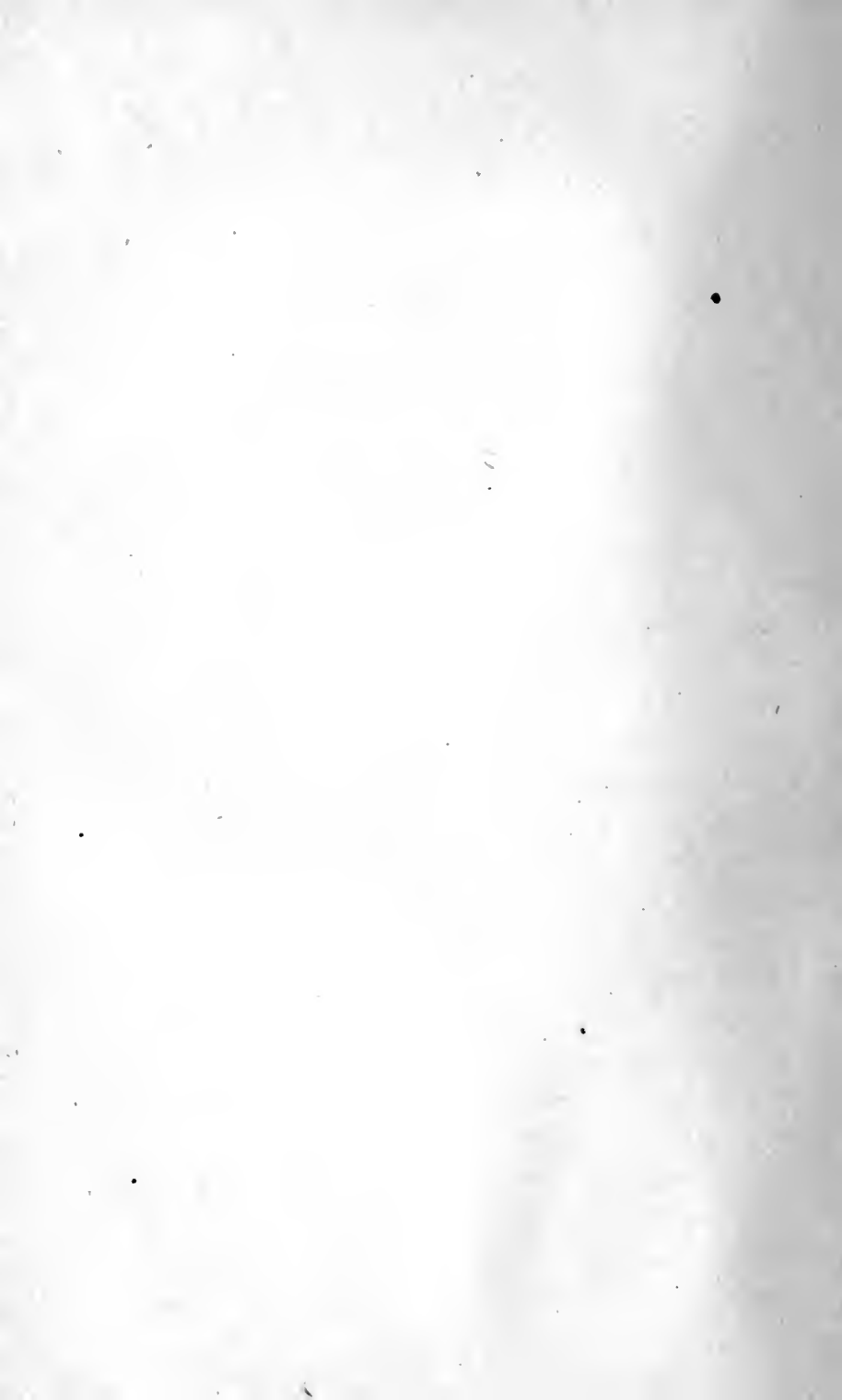


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The following are some of the works consulted in the preparation of this volume : Parkman's *The Old Regime in Canada* ; Parkman's *Frontenac* ; Garneau's *History of Canada* ; Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *General History of the Fur Trade* ; Le Moine's *Maple Leaves* ; Ballantyne's *Hudson Bay* ; Alex. Ross's *The Red River Settlement* ; Hargrave's *Red River* ; Hamilton's *The Prairie Province* ; Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians* ; Macdonell's *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country* ; Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement ; Murray's *British America* ; Alex. Rattray's *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* ; Sir George Simpson's *Overland Journey round the World* ; Withrow's *Popular History of Canada* ; Begg's *History of the Red River Rebellion* ; Begg's *Creation of Manitoba* ; *The Clerical Guide and Churchman's Directory* ; Macoun's *Manitoba and the Great North-West* ; Bryce's *Manitoba, Its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition* ; Grant's *Ocean to Ocean* ; Macfie's *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* ; Dent's *Canadian Portrait Gallery* ; Macdonald's *British Columbia* ; *A Guide to British Columbia* ; John Galt's *Autobiography* ; *The Canadian Parliamentary Companion from 1872 to 1883* ; *Chambers' Encyclopedia* ; *Reports of the Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway* ; &c. Owing to Mr. Rattray's death it is impossible to supply a complete list of the books consulted, or to give more than a general acknowledgement of the many favours received from the friends who have rendered valuable assistance in obtaining information.





PART V.

THE SCOT IN THE NORTH-WEST.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS EARLY HISTORY.

STRETCHING from ocean to ocean, with “cold and pitiless” Labrador at the eastern extremity, and Vancouver Island for its western outpost, lies a broad belt of land, bounded on the south by Quebec, Ontario and the United States, but unlimited northward, save by the icy ramparts which encompass the Polar Sea. All this vast expanse is British territory and forms part and parcel of the Dominion of Canada. Of the eastern portion little will require to be said, except in so far as the Hudson Bay Company’s trading operations may invite notice. It is almost uniformly bleak and barren, whatever may be its mineral value, and is historically interesting only because it has afforded scope for the adventurous trapper and huntsman. It is with the North-West that we have now chiefly to do, including in that term all that region lying from James Bay to the Pacific. It will be found that, as a field for exploration, trade and settlement, this broad-domain has claims upon the consideration of Britons of which the vast majority

of them have only the feeblest conception. The literature accumulated upon the subject is voluminous enough certainly; and yet it is not too much to affirm that the surpassing value and importance of this noble possession of the Crown are far from being appreciated not only in Europe, but even in the older Provinces of the Dominion. To undervalue what is but partially and imperfectly known, especially if it be distant or demand energy and self-denial to secure, has been a characteristic of many nations otherwise sufficiently diverse in their tempers and tendencies. It is, so to speak, the wisdom of ignorance, quickened into contempt by the languid energy of indolence and satiety. The cynical Frenchman who consoled Louis XV. for the loss of New France by the sneer at those "few arpents of snow," represented a large class not yet extinct. There are not a few men now who are not much better than he, the only difference being that they laugh at his ignorance, and at the same time repeat it along with the sneer, when they speak of the Saskatchewan Valley. The "arpents" are not few, farther west than the courtier dreamed of, but they are only "arpents of snow" after all.

It was Lord Salisbury, if we mistake not, who uttered some pungent remarks concerning the right and wrong use of maps a few years ago. There is need of a similar caution elsewhere than in Eastern concerns. To some men it would appear to be not merely inexplicable, but preposterous, that the climate and fruitfulness of a continent, throughout its entire breadth should depend upon anything except the parallels of latitude. They are astonished, if not incredulous, when told that the isothermal line which passes

below the city of Quebec reaches the Pacific Ocean at almost the sixtieth degree of north latitude, and therefore, that all their preconceptions regarding the North-West are far astray. In European countries, especially in the British Isles, there is no room for tracing these broad climatic laws. It seems startling, therefore, to be told that in and about the Province of Manitoba, seven hundred miles north of Toronto, as fine, if not finer, wheat is grown than in any part of the rich peninsula of Ontario; and further, that this fertile breadth of one hundred miles, hemmed in between the northern lakes and the boundary line, expands, like the cornucopia, as it stretches to the Rocky Mountains, until it measures three or four hundred miles. Even north of that fertile belt, about far-distant Hudson Bay, "houses" and "factories," cereals are cultivated regularly and with assured success. Another point deserves notice. It is constantly urged by the pessimists that, whatever the natural advantages of the North-West may be, it can never compete with the American line of overland travel, either for traffic or permanent settlement. Now, in the first place, there is the superiority of the country itself to be taken into account. The American Desert is almost entirely south of the boundary line; in fact it only impinges slightly upon British territory and need not be taken into account. There is no salt solitude on the banks of the Assiniboine, the Saskatchewan, or any of the other generous streams which water our central America. Broad prairie, navigable waters—lake and river—and what our neighbours lack, coal almost the entire way from Manitoba to Victoria. The mineral wealth of the North-West has only been vaguely guessed at; but it is known

that not only in the "fertile belt," but far north, upon the Mackenzie River, even beyond the Arctic Circle, gold, iron, copper, lead, and coal have been found in exhaustless abundance. There is another advantage in the climate, notwithstanding the fact that the extremes of heat and cold exceed those of the older Provinces, though not those of Minnesota. The atmosphere is dry, and the temperature in any given season more equable than in other parts of the Dominion. The snow-fall is less heavy, and there is not usually that distressing interchange of frost and thaw, ice and slush, which are so trying elsewhere. Those who have passed the winter in the west as well as the east, express their decided preference for the climate of the former. So lightly does the icy finger of the north press upon the fertile country that horses and cattle are often pastured all the winter upon the long grass on the prairie, without shelter and yet without risk. The facilities for the construction of a transcontinental railway are as much in our favour as the fertility and well-watered character of the land. Most of the country is comparatively level, or, at worst, rolling prairie, and the engineering difficulties are few, until the Rocky Mountains are reached. Even there, the passes are at a lower elevation, the snows less threatening, and the work necessarily less expensive. Add to this, that, through this rich and fertile region, lies the shortest route from Europe to China and Japan, and the reader may form some conception of the glorious future in store for the Canadian North-West.

The pioneers in discovery here were, of course, the French of Old Canada; but it is to Scotsmen especially, that the world owes the complete exploration of the territory, and

the first efforts put forth for its settlement and civilization under the British *régime*. The successors of Champlain, La Salle, Marquette, Joliet, and De La Vérendrye—the first white man to lift his eyes upon the snow-tipped summits of the Rocky Mountains—were almost all of them Scots. Some indications of Scottish energy are embalmed in the maps and charts of the country; yet they inadequately represent the courage and enterprise displayed in the early days by those *avant-couriers* of trade and exploration. The river nomenclature is usually supposed to afford the best indication of the race earliest at work in any country; and, if that be taken as a mark of Scotch priority, the evidence is conclusive. The Mackenzie River—longer than the St. Lawrence, including its great chain of lakes—traced by him whose name it bears to the delta through which it struggles, by various mouths, into the frozen sea, the Fraser River of British Columbia, the Simpson and the Finlay—all afford silent testimony to the indomitable courage and enterprise of the North Briton. Whatever future—and it must needs be a glorious one—awaits this noble British domain, in the past certainly, all the rough, and much that proved thankless, work was accomplished by the stout arm, the strong will, and the hard head of the Scot. Multitudes of diverse nationalities will pour upon those fertile plains, and enjoy the fruits of the Scotsman's labours, without thinking of their benefactor; still, to the eye of the historian, or even the grateful patriot, in centuries to come, the trials and struggles of the past will assume their fair proportions in any panorama of this greater Scotland in the North American continent.

During the French period which the graphic pen of Mr. Parkman, for the first time, introduced to the notice of the English reader—the fur trade was the be-all and the end-all of colonization. It was the pursuit of skins and peltries of all sorts that more than anything else, fomented the natural antagonism between French and English colonies, aggravated the horrors of Indian tribal warfare, and eventually brought about—first, the death-struggle between the powers in the North, and, secondly, by necessary sequence, though indirectly, the American Revolution.* The great aim of the Colonial Governors, both English and French, was to detach the Indian tribes from alliance with their national rivals. When the French were not fighting the Iroquois of the British colonies, they were intriguing with them, though for the most part unsuccessfully. The English, on the other hand, strove to destroy the French trade by seducing or crushing the Hurons and Ottawas, who not only served the masters of New France, but commanded their communications with the North-West, both by the Ottawa and the Upper Lakes, and at Michillimackinac (now Mackinaw), the junction of Lakes Huron and Michigan, by the frontier route. It was the settled policy of the French rulers to hem in the British colonies by Gallic settlements on all sides, and if they could not drive them off the continent, at least to concede only a strip of territory, upon the Atlantic. It was with this

* "We come now to a trade far more important than all the rest together, one which absorbed the enterprise of the colony, drained the life sap from other branches of commerce, and, even more than a vicious system of government, kept them in a state of chronic debility—the hardy, adventurous, lawless, fascinating fur-trade. In the eighteenth century Canada exported a moderate quantity of timber, wheat, the herb called ginseng, and a few other commodities; but from first to last she lived chiefly on beaver-skins. The government tried without ceasing to control and regulate this traffic; but it never succeeded. Parkman: *The Old Régime in Canada*, p. 303.

object that the heroic La Salle, Father Marquette and other daring explorers, wandered far west and north and south. Fort du Quesne on the Ohio, memorable as the scene of Braddock's defeat, was only one of the cordon of strongholds designed to strangle British North American colonization in its infancy. The claim set up by Frontenac, Denonville and other French viceroys to both shores of the great lakes, and all the territory watered by streams flowing into them, was prompted by no mere lust of national aggrandizement in the way of land, but by a settled determination to secure and maintain possession of the great water highways of the continent.

All those historical episodes, which give so romantic a tinge and shed so sombre an interest over the chronicles of of New France—the surprises, the heroisms, the patience, the endurance and the sufferings of soldier, priest, *religieuse* and *habitan*—were occasioned by the Indian intrigues and counter-intrigues in the great struggle for the mastery in trade competition. The mother countries might be at peace, and yet covert, and often open, war was waged between the colonies. Even during the later Stuart epoch, when the honour and fortunes of England were at the lowest ebb, the royal pensioners of France who sat on the throne could not restrain the impetuosity of the Virginia, New York, and New England colonists. The struggle between Denonville and Gov. Dongan of New York may serve to illustrate the internecine conflict which never ceased until the red cross of St. George floated over the castle of St. Louis. The Marquis de Denonville, with his predecessor the irascible De la Barre, filled up the space between the two vice-royalties of

Frontenac. His term almost exactly coincided with the reign of James II. in England. He appears to have been a pious, well-meaning ruler, not without considerable abilities and certainly with strong patriotic feelings. Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irishman and nephew of the redoubtable Earl of Tyrconnel, was a Catholic, and yet no friend either to the Jesuits or the French. He had been strictly enjoined, both by Charles and James, to concede every French demand, to give no countenance to the Iroquois or any Indian tribe hostile to the French; and yet, either from choice or necessity, he violated his instructions in every particular. The Dutch and English settlers were determined to assert their claims to a share in the lucrative fur-trade in the North-West. As this traffic could not be carried on without contracting Indian alliances, of which the French were naturally jealous, conflict was inevitable under any circumstances. The Iroquois were not merely friends of both races, but even aspired to hold the balance of power between them. Dongan was, perhaps unjustly, accused of having incited the Five (or Six) Nation Indians to war; unhappily, as the whole history shows, they stood in no need of prompting. The scalping-knife was always ready whetted; it was only to sing the war-dance, brandish the tomahawk, and away to the harvest of death. The French had an astute agent in the Jesuit Lamberville, but they made little progress south of the Lakes. The chief, "Big Mouth," as represented in Parkman's graphic narrative,* was wily enough to palter with the bluff La Barre, and, in spite of his plausible and almost eloquent harangues, little satisfaction was obtained by the

* Parkman: *Frontenac*, p. 109.

French. The old soldier failed and was succeeded by Denonville, who, according to Saint Vallier, always had the Psalms of David in his hands. The Church, no less than the State, hoped much from his piety and administrative skill. He was a soldier of long service, but he had to face a difficult and trying crisis with an empty exchequer and a mere handful of troops. The people of New France were numerically inferior to those of New England and New York; the flower of their youth were scouring the woods, huckstering with the Indians and worse; and above all there was a government which was despotic without effective power, strong where it might have been mild, and weak where it ought to have been strong. And yet the task was laid upon Denonville to decide in France's favour the deadly struggle between the French and English colonies.*

Denonville was not disposed to resort to any means which his religious spirit did not sanction. He was a firm ally of the clergy in their inflexible hostility to the traffic in brandy with the Indians; but he could also use religion as a political engine, when French emissaries were needed on British territory. He appeals rather too fervently to Dongan, as a man "penetrated with the glory of that name which makes Hell tremble, and at the mention of which all the powers of Heaven fall prostrate," to "come to understanding to sustain our missionaries by keeping those fierce

* "The Senecas, insolent and defiant, were still attacking the Illinois; the tribes of the North-West were angry, contemptuous and disaffected; the English of New York were urging claims to the whole country south of the great lakes, and to a controlling share in all the western fur trade; while the English of Hudson Bay were competing for the traffic of the northern tribes, and the English of New England were seizing upon the fisheries of Acadia, and now and then making practical descents upon its coast. The great question lay between New York and Canada. Which of these two should gain mastery in the west.—*Frontenac*, p. 117.

tribes in respect and fear." But although Col. Dongan was a Catholic, he was too crafty a bird to be caught in the net spread in his sight. He knew full well what the Jesuits, Lamberville, Engelran, and their associates were about amongst the Iroquois, the Hurons and Ottawas; and he knew his duty as an English governor. He boldly entered the lists against the French schemes. "If his policy should prevail," writes Parkman, "New France would dwindle to a feeble Province on the St. Lawrence; if the French policy should prevail, the English colonies would remain a narrow strip along the sea."* The "diplomatic duel" which ensued between the two rulers, is diverting at all events, if not edifying. The earnest appeals of Denonville, the rough-and-ready coarseness of retort used by the Irishman, together, give spice to an altogether futile correspondence. Denonville complains that Dongan had promised to leave everything in dispute to decision by the kings at home, and yet had disregarded the orders of his master. So, he had no doubt, but, with the mental reservation, that he should only obey instructions of which he approved. The Frenchman scolds his neighbour for permitting the sale of New England rum to the Aborigines. "Think you," he writes, "that religion will make any progress, while your traders supply the savages in abundance with the liquor which, as you ought to know, converts them into demons, and their lodges into counterparts of Hell?" "Certainly," replies Dongan, "our rum doth as little hurt as your brandy, and, in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome."† The New York Governor scouted the idea that "a few loose fellows

Ibid., p. 119. † *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128.

rambling amongst Indians to keep themselves from starving gave the French a right to the North-West." As for the plea drawn from the French Jesuit missionary, he sneeringly remarks "The King of China never goes anywhere without two Jesuits with him. I wonder you make not the like pretence to that kingdom."* In short, Dongan utterly repudiated the French claims either to territorial ownership or the exclusive right to trade.

This brief glimpse of the relations between the colonies touching the fur trade and the Indian tribes, may serve to illustrate the deadly conflict which was almost unintermittently waged between the two nationalities. It remains to give a slight glance at French progress in the North-West. In the peltry traffic, as elsewhere, the Royal authorities, the King, his Minister, the Governor and the Intendant, attempted to inspect everything with their administrative microscope and manage everything with their official tweezers. The Bourbon system was, above all things, paternal—the exact antipodes of any government a Scot or an Englishman could either frame or endure. Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV., wrote to the ablest and best of the Quebec Intendants, in 1666, after assuring him that the King regards all his Canadian subjects as his own children, desires the Sieur Talon "to solace them in all things, and encourage them to trade and industry." To this end he was instructed to "visit all their settlements, one after the other, in order to learn their true condition, provide as much as possible for their wants, and, *performing the duty of a good head of a family*, put them in the way of making some

Ibid., p. 161.

profit.”* How this unwieldy system was manipulated from Paris may be seen in the three volumes of the Royal Edicts and Ordinances reprinted in Canada† by the Provincial Government in 1854. A glance at the indexes at the end of the third volume will, of itself, give some idea of the minute care exercised over the mint, anise and cummin of Canada, while the weightier matters of the law were being dealt with as avarice or love of adventure might suggest on the “few arpents of snow” lining the St. Lawrence. It will be found that whilst all sorts of petty arrangements were solemnly made in Paris to bind Canadians, not merely such as we are accustomed to consider within the purview of government, but matters commercial and purely personal of the most trivial character, the inherent weakness of this scheme of centralized despotism would early have manifested itself in any case, but it became clearly apparent the moment free Anglo-Saxon energy became a competitor in the race. The fur-trade was, of course, taken, so far as possible, under the fatherly care of the rulers at Paris, Quebec, and Montreal, but to begin with, their hands were not clean. Systematic jobbery pervaded the entire governmental system. The taxes were farmed to the highest bidders, and of the small portion which passed nominally into the coffers of the State, far too much stuck to the fingers of the Governors, Intendants, and those creatures to whom New France was simply a place of exile, where rapid fortunes were to be made by the greedy and unscrupulous. The mother country was early depleted of men and treasure by its vast and expensive

* Parkman : *Old Régime*, p. 209.

† *Edits, Ordonnances Royaux, Déclarations et Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, concernant le Canada.* Quebec, 1854.

wars, and as the Canadian officials were poorly paid and supported, they were compelled to make a competence, and often a bare livelihood by engaging in trade, and not seldom by barefaced extortion, speculation and fraud. Whilst the minister at Paris and his master were framing edicts against profane swearing, deciding where the officials should sit at church, how many horses a farmer should keep, and how large a house he might build, &c., the men high in place were plundering all alike with admirable impartiality. Bigot, the last and far the most infamous of the Intendants, although he robbed right and left, was so solicitous about the morals of the people that he forbade those residing in the country to remove into Quebec, lest they should be corrupted by city life.* The paralyzing hand of absolutism was everywhere, meddling even with the bread a man ate and the texture of his coat; and, as for freedom of speech, Intendant Meules accurately expressed the prevailing view when he said: "It is of great consequence that the people should not be left at liberty to speak their minds."†

So far as trade was concerned, the French policy may be summed up in one word—monopoly. Early in the sixteenth century, Cardinal Richelieu chartered "The Company of the Hundred Associates," ceding to them all French North America on the usual terms of feudality. After being about thirty years in active operation, the Associates, who had dwindled down to forty-five, surrendered their charter in 1663. This Company possessed governmental and even royal powers, but, when it disappeared, a regular system of

* *Old Régime*, p. 279.

† For a general view of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government of Canada see Bell's *Garneau: History of Canada*, B. III. Chaps III. and IV.

administration was established. In 1664 the monopoly of trade was given to the West India Company for a period of fifty years, and at about the same time the feudal system was regularly and definitely introduced. M. Talon, the first and best of the Intendants, under the new colonial system, amongst other wise and beneficent measures, urged and obtained a relaxation of trade from Colbert, by which the people were allowed to import their own goods, and buy furs and peltries from the Indians, subject to a royalty payable to the all-devouring Company. The traffic in furs was, however, from the first, almost beyond the control both of the government and the monopolists. It was, in fact, the only safety-valve for the pent-up energy, enterprise and spirit of adventure, which lay within the breasts of the Canadian Youth. Companies and farmers of taxes might mulct the owners of beaver-skins, at Montreal, Three Rivers or Quebec, but they had little or no control over the Indians who trapped the fur-bearing animals, or the middlemen who traded both with the aborigines and with the merchants of New France.

The *Coureurs des Bois* or Wood-courers, as the middlemen came to be called, soon formed a distinct class of the Canadian population. As the discoverer of the Mackenzie River says, they were "a kind of pedlars, and were extremely useful to the merchants engaged in the fur-trade, who gave them the necessary credit to proceed in their commercial undertakings. Three or four of these people would join their stock, put their property into a birch-bark canoe, which they worked themselves, and either accompanied the natives in their excursions, or went at once to the country

where they knew they were to hunt. At length these voyages extended to twelve or fifteen months, when they returned with rich cargoes of furs, and followed by great numbers of the natives. During the short time requisite to settle their accounts with the merchants, and procure fresh credit, they generally contrived to squander away all their gains, when they returned to renew their favourite mode of life, their views being answered, and their labour sufficiently rewarded, by indulging themselves in extravagance and dissipation during the short space of one month in twelve or fifteen."* There was much to attract the romantic spirits of New France in this novel and adventurous life and if they had been amenable to the control of the Government and the Church, their hardiness and power of endurance might have made the *Coureurs* of use to their country in its conflicts with any enemy, red or white. Unhappily, instead of proving a source of strength to the colony, this class became a running ulcer through which all the vigour and vitality of Canada ebbed gradually away. The monopolists were the first to take the alarm, though not at all on moral or political grounds. The interlopers were lessening the profits of the West India Company, and although under Colbert's regulations, the whole population became more or less interested in the fur-trade, they had organized power at their command. The consequence was an unsuccessful effort "to bring the trade to the colonists, to prevent them going to the Indians, and induce the Indians to come to them. To this end a great annual fair was

* Sir Alex. Mackenzie's *General History of the Fur Trade from Canada to the North-West prefixed to his Voyages to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the Years 1789 and 1793.* London, 1801.

established, by order of the king, at Montreal.”* Another fair was afterwards established near Three Rivers; but neither of them served the purpose. The people were too wary to submit to the paternal scheme, and they soon learned to form settlements further west and north, to intercept the Indians, and negotiate with them as they pleased. It was now, through the *coureurs* and squatters, that brandy was introduced to facilitate trade with the red men, and the fearful train of evils which followed, against which the Church uniformly protested in no uncertain terms. At last, although the curse of the traffic was sufficiently apparent, the New England rum was made the excuse for the sale of French brandy and *vice versa*.

Gradually the attractive life of the *Coureurs des Bois* absorbed all the best youth of the country, and, in the end, instead of civilizing the Indians, it seemed not improbable that the French would themselves be barbarized by contact and admixture with the Indians. Against the lawless adventurers, the king and his officers strained every nerve. Duchesneau, Denonville, and other viceroys complained bitterly of the fearful demoralization of the young men. Instead of cultivating the soil, they permitted it to go to waste; they would not marry the fair Frenchwomen and do their part in the building up of the colony; but preferred the lawless, sensual and degraded life of the woods and the wigwam.† The colony was, as nearly as possible, in the

* *Old Régime*, p. 303. Mr. Parkman gives a graphic account of one of these Indian gatherings in the passage directly following these words.

† “Out of the beaver trade,” observes Parkman, “rose a huge evil, baneful to the growth and morals of Canada. All that was most active and vigorous in the colony took to the woods, and escaped from the control of intendants, councils, and priests, to the savage freedom of the wilderness. Not only were the possible profits great; but, in pursuit of them there

condition it would have been, if all its adult males had been drafted away upon foreign service. Farms, wives and children were deserted by these adventurers who moved off occasionally in organized bands.* The government was at its wit's end. At times it ordered whipping, branding, and the galleys, to be inflicted upon all who went to the woods without license; at others, it tried coaxing and promises, and promised amnesties.† It was all to no purpose, and the work of demoralization continued up to the conquest by Great Britain.

Meanwhile, by the various agencies at work, the area of the hunting-grounds was being gradually extended until it reached nearly two thousand five hundred miles from the citadel at Quebec. It may be well to note here the names of the chief explorers with the dates of their voyages. To the great Samuel Champlain belongs the credit of first tracing out the Ottawa and Lake Huron route to the North-West. In 1615, with only four *voyageurs*, and an interpreter named Etienne Brulé, he ascended the Ottawa River, visited Lake Nipissing, descended the French River, embarked upon the broad waters of the Georgian, and returned by Matchedash Bay, the Huron country and Lake Simcoe, not homewards, but to fight the Iroquois with the Hurons

was a fascinating element of adventure and danger. The bush rangers or *coureurs des bois* were to the king an object of horror. They defeated his plans for the increase of the population, and shocked his native instinct of discipline and order. Edict after edict was directed against them; and more than once the colony presented the extraordinary spectacle of the greater part of its young men turned into forest outlaws. *Old Régime*, pp. 309, 310.

* "The famous Du Shut is said to have made a general combination of the young men of Canada to follow him into the woods. Their plan was to be absent four years, in order that the edicts against them might have time to relent." *Ibid.* p. 310.

† One of these "Acts of Grace" will be found in the Quebec edition of *Edits, Ordonnances, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 551.

and Algonquins on the Genesee River. In 1665 Father Allonez explored the shores of Lake Superior and established a mission there. At Sault Ste Marie the renowned Marquette formed a settlement in 1668, and in 1670 the Fathers Allonez, Dablon and Marquette had heard of the Mississippi and were on the high road to the great North-West. In 1671, Marquette established a Huron settlement at Michillimackinac at the junction of Lakes Huron and Michigan, and the first steps on the threshold of the unknown land were traversed. Dreams of a short route to China and India were floating through the minds of laymen like Joliette and La Salle when they turned their eyes to the west. The story of the intrepid La Salle does not fall within the purview of this work; yet his exploration of Lake Erie, the building of the first vessel above Niagara—the wonderful description of the Falls by Father Hennepin, and the fortification of the line which still constitutes a frontier between nations, is always fresh to the reader, and may be thus incidentally referred to. Towards the close of the French *régime*—in Canada, the last of the great French explorers, the Sieur De La Vérendrye attempted—now that early fancies had been dissipated—to reach the Pacific by the overland route. Twelve years did that patient and courageous adventurer spend, in company with a brother and two sons, in exploring the country west of Lake Superior. The entire country to the west, including the vast extent of territory from the Saskatchewan down to the upper Missouri, and the Yellowstone Rivers were faithfully examined, and in 1743, sixty years before any British traveller came that way, the Rocky Mountains were sighted by De la Vérendrye's son and bro-

ther. This was the last expiring effort of French exploring energy, and the scene opens upon British effort in a region which was destined to be for all time to come an English-speaking land.





CHAPTER II.

BRITISH FUR-HUNTING AND SETTLEMENT.

IN the second of May, 1670, King Charles II. granted a charter to his "trusty and well-beloved cousin," the renowned Prince Rupert, son of the King's aunt, Elizabeth and Frederick of Bohemia, the Duke of Albermarle, Arlington, Ashley and others, under the name of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading in Hudson Bay." This famous and long-lived corporation was ostensibly established, in the words of the Charter, "for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, for the finding some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities," and also for the Christianization of the Indians. Concerning the last of these objects, perhaps, the less said the better; it was, however, a habit in those days to cover the selfishness of trading schemes with a thin veneering of religion, and perhaps no one was either deceived or sought to be deceived thereby. A large portion of the continent was certainly explored by the agents of this and other companies, "but this new passage to the South Sea" was not discovered by them. On the other hand, the fur-trade proved lucrative beyond the most sanguine expectations of these "adventurers." The charter had granted them a monopoly of trade, with plenary powers, executive and judicial, in and over all seas, straits, lands, &c., lying

within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, and the rivers entering them, "not already occupied by any other English subject or other Christian Power or State. In return they were to yield and pay therefor two elks and two black beavers, whenever his Majesty or his heirs should set foot in the territory.

It is more than probable that neither the King nor the Company had any idea of the extent of territory thus handed over to the latter. The two branches of the Saskatchewan cover all the fertile belt from the Rocky Mountains, and their waters reach Hudson Bay by Lake Winnipeg and the Nelson River. Towards the United States the Assiniboine, with its tributaries, the Qu'Appelle and the Souris unite at Winnipeg or Fort Garry with the Red River which rises far south of the boundary line, and all these waters flow also into Lake Winnipeg. The early operations of this great monopoly were confined to the vicinity of Hudson Bay and the pear-shaped inlet known as James Bay which forms its apex. The profits of the fur-trade were enormous. "During the first twenty years of its existence, the profits of the Company were so great that, notwithstanding considerable losses sustained by the capture of their establishments by the French, amounting in value to £118,014, they were enabled to make a payment to the proprietors, in 1684, of fifty per cent., and a further payment in 1689 of twenty-five per cent. In 1690, the stock was trebled without any call being made, besides affording a payment to the proprietors of twenty-five per cent. on the increased or newly created stock. From 1692 to 1697 the Company incurred loss and damage to the amount of £97,500 from the French. In 1720

their circumstances were so far improved that they again trebled their capital stock, with only a call of ten per cent. from the proprietors, on which they paid dividends averaging nine per cent. for many years, showing profits on the originally subscribed capital stock actually paid up, of between sixty and seventy per cent. per annum, from the year 1690 to 1800." *

Meanwhile the authorities of New France could hardly be expected to look with patience upon this invasion of their domain from the back door. Towards the close of the seventeenth century they were threatened by Britain and her colonies on every side. The New England fishermen menaced Acadia and the Gulf; the Dutch and English of New York disputed French supremacy on the great lakes and the Ohio River; and the Hudson Bay Company was gradually, but surely infringing upon French territory from the north and north-west. It was not unnatural that the pioneers and missionaries of New France who had made the North-West their own by exploration should resent the intrusion of the British by sea. Both by the Ottawa and the great lakes they had established routes for trade and travel into "the great lone land." Moreover, the French laid claim to all the territory to the Arctic Ocean as their own, and contended that it had been granted, as a portion of New France to the company of merchants in 1603, to the Company of One Hundred Associates or Partners, under Richelieu, in 1627, and finally to the West India Company in 1664. Their rulers argued that as the King of France had

* *Eighty Years Progress in British North America.* By various authors:—"Commerce and Trade," by H. Y. Hind, F. R. G. S., p. 279.

claimed this vast domain in these several charters, there was no room for the Hudson Bay Company in 1670, seeing that Charles II. had estopped them from occupying "any territory already occupied by any other Christian Prince or State." In addition to all this, Charles I. had by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, distinctly confirmed the French claim to the Hudson Bay Territory in 1632; and many years after, two Canadians, De Groselliers and Radisson, made their way thither to establish trade. Failing to enlist the French court in their enterprise, these adventurers assisted the young English company, which, towards the close of the century, possessed four forts, one near the mouth of the Nelson, and three others, Forts Albany, Hayes and Rupert, at the southern end of the Bay.

Denonville, the Governor of New France, whose piety and patriotism were in wondrous accord, resolved, in 1686, to try conclusions with these intruders. The two countries were at peace, it is true, but that was not a consideration of much weight in the wilds of North America; and besides, the French rule was sorely tried by the masked warfare of Dongan and his Iroquois allies. Early in the spring he accordingly despatched the Chevalier de Troyes with four or five score of Canadians, from Montreal, to strike a blow at the English trading-posts. Working their way up the Ottawa, by river and lake, they at last arrived at Fort Hayes, the nearest of the English depôts. "It was a stockade, with four bastions, mounted with cannon. There was a strong block house within, in which the sixteen occupants of the place were lodged, unsuspecting of danger."* The surprise

* See Parkman: *Frontenac*, pp. 132-135.

was complete, and the inmates of the fort were captured in their shirts. Fort Rupert, forty leagues along the shore, was also taken after a slight resistance, and Troyes then turned his attention to Fort Albany on the other side of Fort Hayes, at the south-west angle of James' Bay. Here there was no surprise, for the French doings at Fort Hayes were known at the mouth of the Albany River. Henry Sargent and his thirty men made an attempt to defend the place, but they were attacked both from the land and water sides. The French had ten captured pieces of ordnance with them, and soon succeeded in making the place untenable. Satisfied with these triumphs, Troyes, after razing the forts to the ground, sent his prisoners home in an English vessel, and returned to Montreal with his booty. Of course Louis XIV. and James II. engaged in some controversy, and finally agreed to enjoin strict neutrality upon their colonial representatives.

Amongst those who were engaged in the raid upon the Hudson Bay forts were the two brothers Iberville and St. Hélène, and they were destined to reap still further glory in the struggle of France for supremacy.* Iberville had been engaged in the conquest of Newfoundland in 1697, when he received peremptory orders from France, through his brother Serigny, to attack the English in Hudson Bay. The two

* "No Canadian, under the French rule, stands in a more conspicuous or more deserved eminence than Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville. In the seventeenth century, most of those who acted a prominent part in the colony were born in Old France; but Iberville was a true son of this soil. He and his brothers, Longueuil, Serigny, Assigny, Maricourt, Sainte-Hélène, the two Châteauguays, and the two Bienvenues, were, one and all, children worthy of their father, Charles Le Moyne, of Montreal, and favourable types of that *noblesse*, to whose adventurous hardihood half the continent bears witness." *Frontenac*, p. 388. See also an interesting account of the several members of this illustrious family in Le Moine: *Maple Leaves*, 1st series, chap. viii.

brothers had captured Fort Nelson, or Fort Bourbon as they called it, three years before, but it had been retaken during the summer of 1696. In July, 1697, Iberville and his brother left Placentia with four vessels of war and one store-ship, bound for the Arctic Seas. When the little fleet entered the Bay it was at once entangled in the ice. The store-ship was crushed and lost, and Iberville, who was on the *Pelican*, lost sight of his three consorts. He had nearly reached Fort Nelson, when three sail appeared, and the gallant Frenchman prepared to welcome his missing comrades. They turned out to be armed English merchantmen mounting altogether one hundred and twenty guns. A furious battle ensued, from which Iberville finally emerged victorious, through his superior seamanship. The *Pelican*, however, was badly damaged, and she finally stranded, parted amidships, and was a total loss. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, however, the brave Iberville captured Fort Nelson, and returned homeward in triumph.*

The interval between the close of the seventeenth century and the treaty of cession in 1763, may be passed over without remark. The French continued their explorations in the North-West to the Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains; but they never again attempted to dispossess the Hudson Bay Company by force of arms. New France had fallen upon evil days, and was compelled to contract her lines and concentrate her strength for the deadly struggle in which she was foredoomed to be the loser. A few years

* "Iberville had triumphed over the storms, the icebergs, and the English. The North had seen his prowess, and another fame awaited him in the regions of the sun; for he became the father of Louisiana, and his brother Bienville founded New Orleans." *Frontenac*, p. 393.

after Canada passed into British hands a number of Montreal merchants, chiefly Scots, conceived the idea of re-opening the North-Western fur-trade on the old French routes. It was in 1766, according to Sir Alex. Mackenzie,* that the trade was recommenced from Michillimackinac (Mackinac) at the junction of Lakes Huron and Michigan. At first, the adventurers only travelled to the mouth of the Kaministiquia on Lake Superior, and to the Grand Portage thirty miles further down. The pioneer who first resolved to penetrate to the furthest limits of the French discoveries was Thomas Curry, a Scottish merchant. With guides and interpreters, and four canoes, he made his way to Fort Bourbon, an old French post at Cedar Lake, on the Saskatchewan. Mackenzie observes that "his risk and toil were well recompensed, for he came back the following spring with his canoes filled with fine furs, with which he proceeded to Canada, and was satisfied never again to return to the Indian country."† The first who followed Curry's example was James Finlay, another Scot, who made his way to Nipawee, the last French settlement on the Saskatchewan (lat. $53\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, long. 103 W.). His success was equal to that of Curry, and from that time the fur-traders gradually spread themselves over that vast and almost unknown region. Meanwhile the Hudson Bay Company had not advanced far from the waters to which they owed their name. It was in the year 1774, "and not till then," writes Mackenzie, that the Company thought proper to move from home to the east bank of Sturgeon Lake, in latitude $53^{\circ} 56''$ North,

* *Voyages:—General History of the Fur Trade*, p. viii.

† *Ibid.*

and longitude 102° 15' West, and became more jealous of their fellow-subjects, and perhaps with more cause, than they had been of those of France.* Our author has a strong feeling against the Hudson Bay Company and complains bitterly that they followed the Canadians from settlement to settlement, annoying and obstructing them. It may be well to note here a fact which will appear more clearly hereafter, that not only the Canadian traders, but most of the Hudson Bay Company's servants, were from an early period Scots, and have always remained so up to the present time.†

The half-breeds are scattered over most of the North-West, from Hudson Bay and Algoma to the Rocky Mountains. Principal Grant in his entertaining volume, "Ocean to Ocean" (p. 157), remarks of this class: "They are farmers, hunters, fishermen, voyageurs, all in one; the soil is scratched, three inches deep, early in May, some seed is thrown in, and then the whole household go off to hunt the buffalo. They get back about the first of August, spend the month in haying and harvesting, and are off to the fall hunt early in September. Some are now so devoted to farming that they only go to one hunt in the year. It is astonishing that, though knowing so well 'how not to do it,' they raise some wheat, a good deal of barley, oats and potatoes." It is necessary here to notice the marked distinction between the Scottish and French half-breeds or *Metis*, as they are

* *Ibid.* p. ix.—misprinted xl.

† "It is a strange fact that three-fourths of the Company's servants are Scotch Highlanders and Orkney men. There are very few Irishmen and still fewer Englishmen. A great number, however, are half-breeds and French Canadians, especially among the labourers and voyageurs." *Hudson's Bay*. By R. M. Ballantyne: London, 1857, p. 42. Mr. Ballantyne is a Scotsman, who spent six years in the H. B. Co.'s service.

called. The contrast, which has been often noticed by travellers, is so marked as to merit particular attention, since it serves to illustrate what has been said of the sterling worth and persistency of the Scottish character, even under the most trying of all tests—contact and admixture with an inferior race. The Frenchman, like the Spaniard, of more southern latitudes, always sinks in the scale of civilization by intermarriage with the Indians. “His children,” says Dr. Grant, “have all the Indian characteristics, and habits, weaknesses, and ill-regulated passions of nomads.” When a Frenchman weds a squaw, “her people become his people but his God her God,” and he gradually sinks to her level. When a Scotchman married a squaw, her position, on the contrary, was frequently not much higher than a servant’s. He was ‘the superior person’ of the house. He continued Christian after his fashion, she continued a pagan. The granite of his nature resisted fusion, in spite of family and tribal influences, the attrition of all surrounding circumstances, and the total absence of civilization; and the wife was too completely separated from him to raise herself to his level. The children of such a couple take more after the father than the mother. As a rule, they are shrewd, steady and industrious. A Scotch half-breed has generally a field of wheat before or behind his house, stacks, barn, and provisions for a year ahead in his granary. The Métis has a patch of potatoes or a little barley, and in a year of scarcity draws his belt tighter or starves. It is interesting, as one travels in the great North-West, to note how the two old allies of the middle ages have left their marks on the whole of this great country. The name of almost every

river, creek, mountain or district is either French or Scotch."* It is the intelligence, industry, and perseverance born with the Scot, often the only, and yet the noblest, heritage bequeathed him by his forbears, that makes him the most valuable settler in any land where his lot is cast. That even when far removed from the refining influences which encompass him in his native land, and thrown into intimate relations with inferior and uncivilized tribes, both he and his children of a mixed race should still exhibit the providence, dignity and self-respect which seem innate in the Scottish people, is surely a crucial instance of "the survival of the fittest."

During the later years of the eighteenth century, the prospect of serious rivalry from Canada stimulated the Hudson Bay Company, as already observed, to renewed exertions. The irregular way in which the fur-trade was carried on by the Canadians led to many abuses, and after a few years, it became unprofitable and almost ruinous to the adventurers. They had the great Company well-organized, and possessing ample governmental powers to contend with; the Indians were, for the most part, hostile and always untrustworthy, and the time had obviously arrived for a co-operative efforts by the Montreal traders. Accordingly, in the winter of 1783-4, the Canadian merchants united together in a body corporate, known as the North-West Company, and the battle between it and the Hudson Bay people began, which continued for thirty-eight years. At its head as managers were placed Messrs. Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, partners in one house, and Mr. Simon McTavish,

* *Ocean to Ocean*, pp. 175, 176.

a name which occupies a conspicuous place in the subsequent history of the North-West. Unfortunately, there was considerable disagreement over the shares allotted to some of the partners in the new company, and one of them, for a time, succeeded in detaching Messrs. Gregory and Macleod from their fellow adventurers. In the counting-house of the former, a clerk had served for five years, and was in 1784 seeking his own fortune at Detroit. This young settler was Alexander (afterwards Sir Alexander) Mackenzie, the explorer of the North and West of British North America. Mackenzie was a native of Inverness, born about 1760, who early emigrated to America, and found employment at Montreal with Mr. Gregory. He was now asked to become a partner in the trading venture, and, having made his arrangements, set out for the Grand Portage in the spring of 1785. The dissensions amongst the partners, the superior organization of the new company, and its determined hostility to the recalcitrants, proved serious obstacles in Mackenzie's way; but in 1787, the differences were healed, and a union effected, much to the satisfaction of all parties.

The North-West chiefly followed upon the tracks of the old French traders. These, as the reader will remember, traversed two routes, the one by the lakes, by Fort Frontenac (Kingston), Niagara, Detroit, Mackinac and the Grand Portage; and the other by the Ottawa, the French River, St. Mary's (the Sault Ste Marie), and so westward to the same point on Lake Superior. Sir Alex. Mackenzie boasts that, after the union in 1787, the "commercial establishment was founded on a more solid basis than any hitherto known in the country; and it not only continued in full force,

vigour and prosperity, in spite of all interference from Canada, but maintained at least an equal share of advantage with the Hudson Bay Company, notwithstanding the superiority of their local situation" (p. xx). "In 1788, the gross amount of the adventure for the year did not exceed forty thousand pounds; but, by the exertion, enterprise, and industry of the proprietors, it was brought in eleven years to triple that amount and upwards; yielding proportionate profits and surpassing, in short, anything known in America" (p. xxii). It has been estimated that in 1815 this company had four thousand servants in its employment, and occupied sixty trading posts. A new route was opened on an old Indian trail from Penetanguishene and Lake Simcoe to Lake Ontario at first to the Humber Bay, and subsequently down Yonge Street, the military road constructed by Col. Simcoe to York (now Toronto) the Capital of Upper Canada. Westward the Company's operations extended to and beyond the old French establishments on the Saskatchewan. Sir Alexander Mackenzie names five chief factories on that river—Nepawi House, South-branch House, Fort George House, Fort Augustus House, and Upper Establishment (p. lxix).

But trading was not the only occupation of these adventurous Scots. They were the great explorers of Western North America to the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. Mackenzie himself was engaged in two great expeditions, during the years 1789 and 1793. In the former year he started from Fort Chipewyan at the western extremity of Lake Athabasca or the Lake of the Hills, as he terms it in his "Voyages" with a little band of retainers, Canadian and Indian.

Travelling in a generally north-western direction by the Slave River, the party entered the Great Slave Lake. Thence with some vicissitudes of fortune, Mackenzie traversed the chain of lakelets and streams to the Great Bear Lake, and so to the great river which bears his name to the Arctic Sea. In October, 1792, from the same starting-point, the explorer ascended the Unjigah or Peace River which he explored to its source, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and made his way to the Pacific Ocean. The journey was full of perils and perplexities, and at times even the brave Highland heart of Mackenzie seems to have sunk within him. The story, as told by himself, in the simple and unaffected language of his "journal" is full of information regarding the country, as it was when visited by him and his friend Mackay. At the end of his weary journey of nine months, he erected a simple memorial of his achievement. "I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease," he says, "and inscribed, in large characters, on the south-east of the rock on which we had slept last night, this brief memorial: 'Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.'" He reached Fort Chipewyan, and safely relieved Roderick Mackenzie, whom he had left in charge, and "resumed," as he modestly observes, "the character of a trader," "after an absence of eleven months."

The character of the class which achieved so much for British progress in the North-West could hardly be better given than in the words of Mr. S. J. Dawson, then M.P.P. for Algoma, uttered in the Ontario Legislature in 1876. "At the formation of this (the North-West) Company, there

were in Canada a number of men remarkable for their energy and enterprise. Many of those whose fortunes had been lost at Culloden, and even some of the Scottish chiefs who had been present at that memorable conflict, were then in the country. They were men accustomed to adventure, and had been trained in the stern school of adversity. They joined the North-West Company, and soon gave a different complexion to the affairs of the North-West. Under their management, order succeeded to the anarchy which prevailed under the French *régime*. Warring tribes and rival traders were reconciled. Trading posts sprang up on the Saskatchewan and Unjiga; every post became a centre of civilization, and explorations were extended to the shores of the Arctic Sea, and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean. It has been the custom to ascribe to the Hudson Bay Company the admirable system of management which brought peace and good government to the then distracted regions of the North-West; but it was due to these adventurous Scotchmen. Sir Alexander Mackenzie traced out the great river which now bears his name, and was the first to cross the Rocky Mountains and reach the Pacific Ocean. Fraser followed the river now called after him, and a little later, Thompson crossed further to the south, and reached Oregon by the Columbia." It may be added that Vancouver explored the British Columbian archipeligo, and gave his name to its largest island in 1797, four years after Mackenzie's overland journey. Simon Fraser—a name illustrious in war as well as discovery—sailed down *his* river in the year 1808. Thompson, who discovered the Columbia, which rises in

British territory, gave his name to the Thompson River in British Columbia.

All would have gone well with British trade and exploration, if the jealousies of the two rival companies and of a third, the X. Y. which split off from the North-West Company had not caused incessant turmoil and some bloodshed throughout the territory. The Hudson Bay Company had the prior claim in point of time, and were not prepared to tolerate competitors in the fur-trade, even in regions where their employees had never set foot. Still less could they brook the presence of intruders on the Assiniboine and Red Rivers or Lake Winnipeg. The results of the jealousies and animosities of these competing corporations were eminently disastrous in every aspect. The fur-trade was almost ruined, the Indians bought over and coaxed into alliance by both parties and thoroughly demoralized. Mr. Hind, in the work already cited (p. 280) observes that "the interests of the Hudson Bay Company suffered to such an extent that between 1800 and 1821, a period of twenty-two years, their dividends were, for the first eight years, reduced to four per cent. During the next six years they could pay no dividend at all, and for the remaining eight they could only pay four per cent." It will now be necessary to give some account of these unhappy feuds, and also of the establishment of the Red River settlement by Lord Selkirk and the troubles which arose in consequence.



CHAPTER III.

THE RIVAL COMPANIES AND LORD SELKIRK.

IN the year 1811, the bitter struggle between the Hudson Bay Company on the one hand, and the North-West and X. Y. Companies on the other, was brought to a climax by an attempt to form the Red River settlement. Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, obtained, in that year from the Hudson Bay Company, a grant of land extending from Lake Winnipeg to the height of land supposed to separate the waters running into the Hudson Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi.* Of the troubles which ensued it is somewhat difficult to give an impartial account, the story of the skirmishing and bloodshed which ensued having been fully and rather acrimoniously narrated by those interested on both sides. As the belligerents were almost all of Scottish birth, it will be necessary to enter into the controversy at some length, but, so far as possible without bias, or prepossession. Certainly the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, of which George Buchanan spoke, never glowed at a whiter heat than in these untoward events.

The central figure in this historical tableau is, of course, Lord Selkirk, and concerning his motives and course of

* See Ballantyne: *Hudson's Bay* p. 99; Alexander Ross: *The Red River Settlement*, pp. 8, 9; and Jos. J. Hargrave, F. R. G. S.: *Red River*, p. 70. J. C. Hamilton: *The Prairie Province*, p. 194.

action, an angry war of words has been waged even down to our own day. To his friends and partizans he appears as a disinterested, self-sacrificing patriot, having but one purpose in view—the elevation and advancement of his Highland fellow-countrymen; whilst his enemies are in the habit of portraying him as a crafty, self-seeking and unscrupulous adventurer. The North-Western episode in his career was the only stirring period in an otherwise uneventful life, too early brought to a close. The few facts recorded about him may be briefly given here.* Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, Lieutenant of the Stewartry of Kircudbright, was the youngest of five sons—all of whom attained adult age—of Dunbar, the fourth Earl, who died in 1799. Thomas was born in 1774, and in 1807 married a Miss Colville—a lady who became the mother of one son and two daughters, and was with him during all his wanderings. That he was a man of great vigour of mind, and indomitable energy and perseverance, is clear both from his life and writings. He is stated to have been exceedingly gentle and affable in his manners, and whatever other virtues may be denied him, he certainly was not wanting in goodness of heart. In 1805, his Lordship's attention had been called to the wretched condition of the Highlanders, and the result was a work which reached a second edition in the following year, entitled "Observations on the Present State of the Highlands." His active mind was at once set to work upon a scheme by which the pitiful, and almost degraded lot of the Gaelic race might be ameliorated; and he was soon con-

* See Morgan: *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians and persons connected with Canada*, p. 272

vinced that the remedy he sought was to be found in emigration. He was a large shareholder in the Hudson Bay Company, and as many Highlanders had already been induced to enter its service, he conceived the idea of forming a Highland colony in some fertile district of the North-West. With him to form a plan was to take immediate steps towards its realization, and he therefore, after inquiry and deliberation, entered into negotiations with the Company for the purchase of the district he secured in 1811. "About this time," writes Mr. Hargrave,* a compulsory exodus of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions in the County of Sutherland was in progress. The history of the expulsion of a vast number of the poorer tenantry from the estates of the Duchess of Sutherland, in which they and their ancestors had vegetated in much idleness, semi-barbarism and contentment, from a traditionary era, to make way for the working of the sterner realities of the system of land management which prevails on great estates in this prosaic nineteenth century, is to this day fresh in the recollection of the remaining population of the extreme north of Scotland. The pain with which the homeless exiles saw the roofs which had sheltered them through life, removed from the bare walls of their deserted habitations by the merciless edict of irresistible power, has been retained in the memory of the peasants of the north, and doubtless, the adventures of many of the expatriated ones, after their entrance on the untried vicissitudes of life in other lands are known, and held in interest by the children of their kindred in the country whence they came.

* *Red River*, pp. 72, 73.

It was from these evicted peasants, whose abodes in Sutherlandshire Lord Selkirk had visited, that he chiefly recruited what has been called "the first brigade" of his Red River colonists. In the autumn of 1811 they reached the shores of Hudson Bay, and wintered, in a season of exceptional severity, at Churchill, one of the Company's posts on the western coast, in latitude $58^{\circ}55''$ N. When the spring of 1812 opened, the emigrants proceeded inland to their destination on the Red River, where they arrived, after much suffering, only to be called on to face danger in another form. Lord Selkirk had taken the precaution to submit the validity of his title to the highest legal opinion in England, and it was pronounced unimpeachable by Sir Samuel Romilly, Scarlett, Holroyd, and other eminent counsel.* In accordance with his stipulations, his Lordship ultimately concluded a treaty with the Chief and warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux and Cree nations, by which the Indian claims upon the settlement were extinguished.† Mr. Ross states that the Saulteaux had no claim there at all, being aliens and intruders, since the Crees and Assiniboines "are, and have been since the memory of man, the rightful owners and inhabitants of this part of the country." Lord Selkirk probably desired only to provide for the security of his colony, and was prepared to make terms with all Indian claimants; still the jealousy of the Crees led to some disagreeable squabbles.

* This opinion is given in full as Appendix A in the "*Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon the Red River, in North America,*" &c. London: John Murray, 1817. For the loan of this work and others, as well as some interesting MS. letters of Lord Selkirk and the Hudson Bay Macdonells, the writer has to express his thanks to Wm. J. Macdonell, Esq., French Consul at Toronto.

† The full text will be found in Ross's *Red River Settlement*, p. 10, and is noteworthy because it probably formed the model for the compacts entered into, of late years, with the Indians.

The Highland settlers, with some few Norwegians and French, who drop out of the story thereafter, arrived at headquarters, the nucleus of the new settlement on the Red River near its junction with the Assiniboine, in the summer of 1812. This spot, which Lord Selkirk named Kildonan, in compliment to the Sutherlandshire colonists, stands on the fiftieth parallel of north latitude, and as will be seen immediately it at once became the centre of a deadly struggle between the rival companies.

That the North-West Company had valid grounds for suspecting mischief from the colonization of the Red River district seems clear. Their factors and servants met there face to face with those of the Hudson Bay Company, and the interests of Lord Selkirk and the latter were undeniably identical. It was therefore not unnatural that the Canadians should view with apprehension the establishment of a settlement, supplied with means of defence and claiming full control over a region stretching from Lakes Winnipegosis, Winnipeg, and the smaller chain to the eastward, far beyond what was afterwards settled to be the United States boundary line by the Convention of 1818. They were thus shut out from the great prairies of the west, and their hunters could only repair thither by sufferance. Instead of isolated posts, forts, or factories, they were threatened with an organized government, established, as they believed, for the sole purpose of ruining their trade in furs. The statement of Lord Selkirk that he had no end in view but the welfare of his countrymen and of the Indians, and the permanent foundation of a British Province over against the growing and aggressive Republic to the south, the North-West Com-

pany regarded as a blind to conceal the insidious purpose which really lay beneath. It was in vain that the Earl protested the purity of his motives, pointed out the fact that the buffalo and most of the fur-bearing animals had disappeared from the district, and displayed the preparations he had made for *bona fide* settlement.* The North-West Company at once repudiated the authority of Lord Selkirk and his Governor, Miles Macdonell, formerly a Captain in the Queen's Rangers, who came out in charge of "the first brigade" of Highlanders. They denied that the Hudson Bay Company had any jurisdiction in the Red River country, or that if they had, their jurisdiction could be delegated to any individual or corporation. As already mentioned, Lord Selkirk had taken care to fortify himself with legal advice; to use his own words in the "Memorial," he "had previously consulted several of the most eminent counsel in London, who concurred in opinion that the title was unquestionably valid; and he has good reason to believe that a similar opinion has been expressed to his Majesty's Government by the Attorney and Solicitor-General of England."† Acting on the

* Lord Selkirk, in his "Memorial to the Duke of Richmond, K.G., Governor General of Canada," &c., bearing date October 1818, says,—“By the terms of the conveyance, your memorialist was bound to settle a specified number of families on the tract of land conveyed to him: and your memorialist as well as all persons holding land under him were debarred from interfering in the trade. Notwithstanding this restriction, your memorialist was early apprized that any plan for settling the country would be opposed with the most determined hostility by the North-West Company of Montreal; and threats were held out by the principal partners of that association in London, that they would excite the native Indians to destroy the settlement,” p. 3. For this “memorial,” printed in Montreal (1819), the writer is also indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. J. Macdonell.

† It is proper to observe, however, that the opinion of counsel did not extend to the disputed questions of civil and criminal jurisdiction delegated to Lord Selkirk; still they are virtually covered by the right of the Company to appoint officers for the purpose, and Mr. Miles Macdonell received his appointment from the Hudson Bay authorities directly, and was therefore legally the Governor of Assiniboia. See the “statement” before quoted p. 2, Ross's *Red River Settlement*, p. 25. Hargraves *Red River*, p. 74.

assurances thus given of his authority, Lord Selkirk, in order to be on the safe side, named Mr. Miles Macdonell the Company's Governor in the district as superintendent of the settlement. Obviously, therefore, whatever constituted governmental authority there was in Assinoboia was vested in him, and commanded obedience until the Charter of the Hudson Bay Company was pronounced invalid by due process of law. Certainly the North-West Company had no claims to any jurisdiction, civil or criminal, either by charter or statute. It was simply a voluntary association of merchants—a co-partnership with nothing to back it but the capital, energy and enterprise of its members.* It would therefore seem to have been the duty of its proprietors and servants to bow at once to any regularly constituted executive which had a *prima facie* claim to authority under the crown.

But it was exactly here that the North-West Company was met with an embarrassing selection between two alternatives. If the civil and military authority of the Hudson Bay Company and its agents, and grantees were admitted even for a season, all the mischief they had to fear might be wrought. The great objection entertained by the Canadian fur-traders was not so much to the legal *status* of the colony as to its formation in any shape, particularly under the auspices of the Hudson Bay Company. According to the "Statement," published on Lord Selkirk's side (pp. 7-10), the

* Sir Alexander Mackenzie, himself a North-Wester, frankly writes in his *General History of the Fur Trade* (p. xx.):—"It assumed the title of the North-West Company, and was no more than an association of commercial men, agreeing among themselves to carry on the fur trade, unconnected with any other business, though many of the partners engaged, had extensive concerns altogether foreign to it."

proprietary of the North-West Company protested against any attempt at colonization, first on the sentimental ground that the settlers would be placed "out of the reach of all those aids and comforts which are derived from civil society, and secondly, because colonization is at all times unfavourable to the fur-trade." The pamphlets published by the North-West Company appear to admit that this second objection was, after all, the one which influenced them. In the "*Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country*," written by Mr. Alexander Macdonell, and published in 1819, although reference is made to Lord Selkirk's "real, though concealed purpose to transfer to himself, on the premeditated ruin of the North-West Company, the monopoly of their trade," stress is laid upon the incompatibility of agricultural settlement with fur-trading. Mr. Miles Macdonell's descriptions of the sufferings of the party that landed at Churchill in 1811, are enlarged upon, and the hope expressed that people will, in future, be deterred "from completing the measure of human misery, by embarking in this wretched and hopeless (!) speculation of Lord Selkirk's." But the only serious objection to the settlement is very plainly set forth in these words—where the writer is speaking of a Royal Proclamation of fifty years before—"a Proclamation issued under the full conviction of the evils which must always attend any attempt to reconcile the interests of the agriculturist with the feelings and jealousies of the Indian Hunters. These must retire from the country, which *it is necessary* should be occupied by the farmer; and it will be sufficient time (i.e. when Lord Selkirk's title should be adjudicated upon) to entertain the question of policy. How

far it may be desirable to force agricultural establishments in the Indian country, west of Lake Superior, when the wild, unproductive lands of Upper Canada, are cultivated and settled?"* It is scarcely necessary to point out more directly the *answers* of the North-West proprietary; at worst they only did what the earlier monopoly strove earnestly to effect during the major part of the century—keep out the settler, retard the march of British civilization, and maintain, in all its primæval wildness, their vast game-preserve in the North-West.

It must be remembered in justice to the North-West Company, that its trade had been built up in the face of determined opposition from the Hudson Bay Company, and that, at every step of their progress, the Montreal traders had been dogged and obstructed by the jealousy of their rivals. Although it was no doubt true, as Mr. Alexander Macdonell avers, that in 1809, all was peace at the points where the outposts of the companies met, there was far from being any cordial friendship, and there had previously been some seasons of bitter contention. Lord Selkirk's advent did not altogether come like a peal of thunder from an azure sky. But it unquestionably gave definite point to the conflict, and brought the trade struggle to a rugged crisis. A glance at the map prefixed to the "Narrative" already quoted, will give some idea of the awkward and threatening predicament in which the proprietors of the North-West Company found themselves suddenly placed by the arrival of the settlers.

* *Preface*, pp. xviii. xix. This volume with other documents relating to these troubles as well as some valuable additional information in MSS., have been kindly lent to the writer by Messrs. Allan and Alexander Macdonell, Esqrs., near relatives of the North-West proprietor who wrote the "Narrative."

Throughout the entire region conveyed to Lord Selkirk in the Hudson Bay territory, the Montreal association had established posts already upon every river and lake. Commencing at its N.W. angle in Lat. 52° N., and above it from Swan Lake to Red River, on the Swan, Qu'Appelle, Souris, and Assiniboine Rivers, they had a chain of not less than a dozen posts; there was Fort Dauphin, the old French station on the lake of that name; at the N.E. angle of the Selkirk tract, the Company had two forts on each side of Lake Winnipeg; the entire country from Fort William by the Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods was in its hands, and so was the whole course of the Red River from the frontier to its mouth. The Hudson Bay Company held only one fort of any importance, Fort Douglas, situated within a short distance of the North-West Company's post of Fort Gibraltar, at the Forks, *i.e.* at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where the city of Winnipeg now stands. In short, the whole region thus made over to an individual by a parchment deed had for more than a quarter of a century been the field in which the enterprise of the Scots of Montreal had been displayed and from which its reward had been garnered in; and, therefore, it was not at all astonishing that they should resent the intrusion of the strangers, and resolve to expel them, if possible, from a territory they had come to consider as their own, by possession and prescription. It was not in the nature of man, especially of that sturdy, energetic and high-spirited type of humanity which had scoured the western wilds, with true Scottish enterprise to the Arctic and the Pacific, to submit to what they regarded, justly or unjustly, as a conspiracy against their rights and privileges.

On the other hand, there is not the slightest ground for crediting the allegations made in hot-blood against the honour and veracity of Lord Selkirk. Upon a calm review of the story as told on each side, it seems impossible to hold the Earl guilty of any worse offence than that of too great eagerness in prematurely pressing forward an enterprise purely honest and philanthropic, so far as he was concerned.* His sympathy with the woes of the Highlanders was, beyond all question, deep, hearty and sincere, and it must have been no ordinary love of his fellows which induced him, to take his faithful and affectionate wife from the comforts of home civilization, and travel along with her to the far-distant prairies of the west, solely to be with his poorer countrymen to advise them, to stimulate, to admonish, and to encourage. All his writings, public and private, breathe the same spirit of broad humanity and brotherly kindness; and so far as appears, although he was too high-spirited to submit to insult, he was not implacable in his resentments. When his task was at length accomplished, he only retired, whilst yet in his prime, to yield up his life under a milder sky. He died at Pau, in the south of France, aged forty-six, in the year 1820.† To this slight view of the Earl's character, may be added the fact that so early as 1803, his Lordship figured as a promoter of Highland colonization. In

* See an admirable summing up of the case for and against his Lordship in Ross's *Red River Settlement*, pp. 16-20.

† In a letter, dated from Montreal, Dec. 1st, 1815, lent to the writer by Mr. W. J. Macdonell, his Lordship gives ample proof both of his shrewd intelligence in choosing his settlers, and his willingness to share all their hardships and dangers. A sentence or two must suffice:—"I propose early next spring to go up with these people myself, which may serve as an answer to any one who apprehends danger from the Indians; I think these men will be satisfied when they know that they will be exposed to no danger, but such as I must share with them." *MS. Letter addressed to Mr. Wm. Johnson Macdonell.*

that year, "he carried over to Prince Edward Island an important colony of 800 Highlanders. He made the necessary arrangements with so much judgment that the settlers soon became very prosperous, and with the friends who have since joined them, now (1840) amount to upwards of 4,000." *

It is somewhat difficult to disentangle the truth from the contradictory accounts given by the rival interests of the struggle which ensued after the landing of Lord Selkirk's settlers. It may be remarked here that most of the modern writers on Red River history take part with his Lordship, and therefore, it may be as well to give their version of the story first. Mr. Miles Macdonell, Governor of Assiniboia, arrived, as already stated, at the Forks, in 1812, with his "first brigade," and they were at once met by unmistakable signs of hostility. How far these menaces were carried, or who the parties were that threatened the settlers, is not very clear. Ballantyne states that the Indians were friendly; Hargrave alleges that they were hostile; and Ross seems to be of opinion that many of them were disguised servants of the North-West Company.† Well-nigh overcome with fatigue and starvation, they consented to accept their enemies as a convoy, and to remove to Pembina. Some childish

* *An Historical and Descriptive account of British America*, by Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E. (American Edition, 1855), vol. ii. p. 95.

† Ballantyne: *Hudson's Bay*, p. 99. Hargrave: *Red River*, p. 74. Ross: *Red River Settlement*, p. 21. From the last-mentioned author the following may be quoted: "But a few hours had passed over their heads in the land of their adoption when an array of armed men, of grotesque mould, painted, disfigured, and dressed in the savage costume of the country, warned them that they were unwelcome visitors. These crested warriors, for the most part, were employés of the North-West Company, and as their peremptory mandate to depart was soon aggravated by the fear of perishing, through want of food, it was resolved to seek refuge at Pembina, seventy miles distant, whither a straggling party, whom they first took to be Indians, promised to conduct them. Lord Selkirk, in his "Memorial" to the Duke of Richmond (p. 4) does not hesitate to affirm that these troubles were caused by the North-West Company, who succeeded in an attempt "to excite the jealousy of the Indians."

practical jokes were played upon them *en route*, but no real harm done, and they reached Pembina in safety. Here the new settlers lived in huts or tents during the winter, their food being the product of the chase. The Indians proved friendly, and when, in May 1813, the settlers again set out for the colony, they left their red friends with regret, convinced that they would not be hostile to white strangers, if left to themselves. In 1813, the Kildonan settlement contained one hundred persons. In June, 1814, fifty more arrived, and in the following September, they amounted to two hundred. From the commencement of the winter of 1814-15 the colony was unmolested; the Indians became friendly, but the *Métis*, *Bois Brulés*, or French half-breeds, were sullen and disobliging. According to the "Statement" already quoted, attempts had been made during all this time "to instigate the natives against the settlers," but as that plan did not succeed, more incisive measures were adopted. The growth of the settlement, and the anticipated arrival of eighty or ninety additional emigrants from the Highlands precipitated matters. In the summer of 1814, an annual meeting was held of the North-West Company's partners at Fort William, at which it was resolved to destroy the Selkirk settlement, Messrs. Duncan Cameron and Alexander Macdonell being specially detailed to put the scheme in execution.* They arrived in due time at the Forks, and es-

* The following letter, written by Mr. Alex. Macdonell to a gentleman in Montreal, is quoted in the "Statement" p. 11:—"You see myself and our mutual friend, Mr. Cameron, so far on our way to commence open hostilities against the enemy in Red River. Much is expected from us, if we believe some—perhaps too much. One thing is certain, that we will do our best to defend what we consider to be our rights in the Interior. Something serious will undoubtedly take place. Nothing but the complete downfall of the colony will satisfy some, by fair or foul means—a most desirable end if it can be accomplished. So here is at them with all my heart and energy." Mr. Alex. Macdonell's version of the whole affair will be given presently.

tablished themselves at Fort Gibraltar, which was the North-West Company's post there. Mr. Cameron is represented as the active spirit in the movement—as ingratiating himself with the Highlanders, talking Gaelic with them, and exciting their apprehensions by false stories of Indian hostility. He is also charged with calling himself a captain in the Voyageur Corps which had been disbanded two years before. The proposition was made on behalf of the North-West Company, to give the settlers a free passage to Canada (generally to Montreal), a twelvemonths' provisions gratis for themselves and their families, an allotment of two hundred acres of land, and every other encouragement they could hope for.* This strategy proved, to a considerable extent, successful, but the colony still remained, although depleted in population. Lord Selkirk had provided some small pieces of artillery and other arms, in case of attack, and the first step was to obtain possession of these. Accordingly Mr. Cameron sent a peremptory missive ordering them as “Captain, Voyageur Corps,” to be surrendered.† Failing this, an armed party, which had been lying in ambush, rushed into the Governor's House, whilst the fortnightly allowance of provisions was being served out, seized the guns, and carried them off in triumph to the North-West dépôt. This was the signal for open rupture between the settlers who

* *Statement*, p. 16. Lord Selkirk's *Memorial*, p. 5.

† This missive, addressed to Mr. Archibald Macdonald, acting in the absence of Mr. Miles Macdonell, ran thus: “As your field-pieces have already been employed to disturb the peace of His Majesty's loyal subjects in this quarter, and even to stop up the King's highway, I have authorized the settlers to take possession of them, and to bring them over here, not with a view to make any hostile use of them, but merely to put them out of harm's way. Therefore, I expect that you will not be so wanting to yourself as to attempt any useless resistance, as no one wishes to do you or any of your people any harm.” *Statement*, p. 19.

had resolved to remain, and those who had closed with the offers of the North-West Company, and the latter went off with the Government muskets, the arms Lord Selkirk had provided, and his implements of husbandry. At this time Mr. Miles Macdonell returned, and was met by a warrant issued on the information of one of the partners of the Company, Mr. Norman McLeod, charging him with feloniously taking a quantity of provisions, the Company's property. The Governor refused to acknowledge its validity, and events began to assume a serious turn. Mr. Alexander Macdonell brought down a number of Cree Indians, and these, with the half-breeds and North-West servants, prepared an attack. Most of the settlers abandoned the colony and formed a camp down the river. On Sunday, June 11th (*Statement*, p. 25), muskets were served out of the stores to the Company's servants, and soon after the force fired from a neighbouring wood, upon passers-by. The surrender of Mr. Miles Macdonell was demanded, and he, to save the effusion of blood, voluntarily surrendered, and was carried off to Montreal to be tried, although no trial ever took place. Finally, towards the end of June, 1815, the colony was completely broken up, and the remaining settlers escorted by friendly Indians to a trading-post of the Hudson Bay Company at the other end of Lake Winnipeg. On the following day the North-West Company's servants "fired the houses, the mill and other buildings, and burned them to the ground." A large portion of the "Statement" is taken up with evidence that, although the Company attempted to throw the blame of this raid exclusively upon the Indians, it was planned, executed, and afterwards applauded, and its

chief agents rewarded by them. To this statement of the Red River case may be added a few additional points urged by Mr. Ross.* He alleges that the ire of the North-West Company was excited by a proclamation, issued by Governor Miles Macdonell in 1814, which forbade the appropriation of provisions of all sorts for any use but that of the colonists. This, it is urged, was necessary as a precaution against famine, and was provoked by the treatment the emigrants had received at Churchill. From that moment, pillage and violence were the order of the day on both sides; "provisions were taken and retaken," and affairs went from bad to worse, until the struggle culminated in the destruction of the infant colony after a series of encounters in which several persons were wounded, Mr. Warren killed, and Governor Macdonell made prisoner.

It is now time to turn to the other side of the story, as it is detailed by Mr. Alexander Macdonell in his "Narrative." He asserts that Lord Selkirk and his coadjutors were from the first hostile to the North-West Company, and fellow conspirators, with the Hudson Bay Company against it. So far from its being true that he and his fellow-partners were unkind to the settlers, Mr. Macdonell says that he pitied the poor people who had passed such a severe season of cold and want, and supplied them with provisions from the stores. He declares that Mr. Miles Macdonell was not satisfied with what he saw at the Forks, and that he voluntarily made choice of Pembina as his head-quarters; that he assisted his namesake with advice as to the erection of buildings; and frequently supplied his people with provis-

* *Red River Settlement*, pp. 24-29.

ions from the stores. He affirms further, that, so far from inciting the Indians, who were enraged at what they considered the intrusion of the settlers, he endeavoured to appease them. The movement to Pembina Mr. Macdonell represents as a necessity, however the colonists found it impossible to subsist at the Forks. He charges Mr. Miles Macdonell with trading, though one François Delorme, in peltries with the natives, "contrary to his own repeated and voluntary professions of not interfering with the Fur Trade.*"

Mr. Miles Macdonell is there accused of base ingratitude. So soon as the winter was at an end, the Governor is represented as trying to pick a quarrel with the company, because he knew they were embroiled with the Americans, and also because he thought he could now be independent of their assistance. After the removal from the Forks in May, both Mr. Alexander Macdonell and the Hon. William McGillivray continued to aid the colonists in every way. In 1814, news having arrived of the capture of the British fleet on Lake Erie in September of the previous year, Mr. Miles Macdonell, according to the "Narrative," aimed a deadly blow at the Company by the proclamation already mentioned. The traders were alarmed at the prospect of being cut off from Canada by the Americans, and this step on the part of the Governor increased their embarrassment. At the

* To this the author adds: "I mention this circumstance, not because we had any right to object to Lord Selkirk's agents carrying on the fur trade although they might have abstained from opposing us at the particular place and moment when we were straining every nerve to feed, protect and support the wretched emigrants who had been deluded by the falsehoods published in Great Britain, to leave their homes on this desperate undertaking, but because I have heard it stated that his Lordship's views were completely and entirely unconnected with objects of trade; whereas they have always appeared to us in the country, from the measures adopted since his Lordship's connection with the Hudson Bay Company, as the principal inducement that led to that connection.—*Narrative*, &c. pp. 11, 12.

same time he is charged with seducing some of the North-West clicks, notably one Aulay McAulay, who told the men under him the Governor was appointed by a great lord, and that if he ordered it, the settlers had a right to demand the Company's provisions. There were spies in every fort, and the Governor is charged with the design of seizing all the Company's stores and provisions. He is charged further with planting his cannon on the river, with a view of intercepting and plundering two bateaux laden with provisions. Not content with that he obstructed the highroad, took as prisoners Canadian hunters and half-breeds quietly pursuing their ordinary avocations. And so on runs the "Narrative" of Mr. Alexander Macdonell over a long list of grievances and outrages it is not necessary to give in detail.

The dispersion of the Colony in 1815, the author of this *brochure* lays entirely at the door of the Governor. He affirms that on the 10th of June—and this was only the last of many similar unprovoked attacks—a party of Half-breeds returning to their camp were assailed wantonly by the colonists and Hudson Bay Company's servants. They replied by firing a volley, and were only kept from perpetrating a general massacre, by Mr. Alexander Macdonell's expostulations. He solemnly denies that either he or Mr. Donald Cameron had anything to do with the attack. He admits that some of Mr. Cameron's men dug a closer ditch round the settlement; but that was only to protect those detailed to serve the warrant on Mr. Miles Macdonell, from the fire of the colonists. His conclusion, so far as the affair of 1815 is concerned, seems to be briefly condensed in one paragraph (p. 39):—"The burning of some buildings afterwards, and

the dispersion of the few settlers who remained, were entirely the acts of the injured and irritated Half-breeds, who now considered the colony as hostile to their tranquillity."

To return now to the statement issued by the Selkirk party. So soon as quiet was restored, the settlers who had removed to Lake Winnipeg, with a dogged persistence characteristic of their race, made their way back to their lands and made preparations for re-establishing the colony. During the previous year vague rumours had reached Lord Selkirk of impending danger to the settlement from the Indians. He immediately set out to support the settlers by his presence, and had reached New York, when he received intelligence of "the dispersion of the colonists and the destruction of the settlement." On his Lordship's arrival at Montreal, he ascertained that the Indians had not been at the bottom of the troubles; he found that those settlers who had confided in the promises of the North-West Company had been deceived; and learning that the other settlers had returned to Kildonan, he despatched a letter promising his presence and assistance. His messenger, however, was waylaid and robbed of his papers. The Earl's next step was to endeavour to procure from Sir Gordon Drummond, the Administrator of the Government of Canada from 1811 to 1816, a small military force for the protection of the colony, but without success. In the spring of 1816, affairs having again assumed a threatening aspect, a second application was made with no better result.* The Administrator appears to have thought, probably with justice, that there had been faults

* A lengthy correspondence took place between the Earl and his Excellency which will be found in the *Statement* pp. 53-57.

on both sides, and he was backed by Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, in refusing to interpose. Lord Selkirk protested that the outrages had not been "mutual," as had been alleged, "but all on one side," and urged upon the authorities the imminent danger there was of bloodshed; but in vain. Sir Gordon Drummond disbelieved the Earl's version of the story, made light of his apprehensions, and plainly took the Company's part.*

The indefatigable founder of Red River settlement being thus thrown upon his own resources, at once began to collect an efficient band of settlers, with a view, at the same time "of materially adding to its strength and security," he enlisted in its service, and supplied with arms, about a hundred disbanded officers and soldiers who had served in the American war. He had only reached the Sault Ste. Marie with his men, when his advance party fell back with the intelligence that a massacre had taken place, and that the settlement was, for the second time, broken up. Under the protection of the Hudson Bay Company, the settlers had been brought back a distance of three hundred miles from the north end of Lake Winnipeg to Kildonan. At this juncture a fresh body of Highlanders arrived by way of Hudson Bay, and, as Mr. Ross remarks,† "gloomy and portentous was the prospect before them. The smoky ruins, the ashes scarcely yet cold, were all that remained to mark the progress

* In a letter to the Montreal partners, his Secretary, Col. Harvey was instructed to say that his queries had been "answered in such a way by Mr. McGillivray in such a manner as would have removed from his Excellency's mind all traces of any impression unfavourable to the honourable character, and liberal principles of the North-West Company, had any such impression existed," pp. 55, 56. The Hon. Mr. McGillivray was at this time a member of the Lower Canada Executive Council—a sworn adviser of Sir Gordon, and in his confidence.

† *Red River Settlement*, p. 32.

of their unfortunate predecessors, and from the general appearance of things around them, they had but little reason to expect a better fate." The arrival of this new batch of immigrants, as well as the return of the old settlers, naturally re-kindled the strife of the former year. The colonists were allowed no rest; in place of quietly settling upon the lands allotted, they were harassed and driven to Pembina, to prairie lands on the Missouri, or to the shores of the great lakes. Still a remnant clung, with desperate pertinacity to the Red River, and it seemed necessary to take strong measures to dislodge them. If the "statement" is to be believed, the complicity of the North-West proprietors and servants in these untoward events is clear.* In spite of all their protestations to the contrary, it is quite evident that all the dependents of this Company rejoiced at the assembling of the *Bois Brulés*, and that some of them instigated it. One clerk, Cuthbert Grant, himself a Half-breed, wrote, "The Half-breeds of Fort des Prairies and English River are all to be here in the spring, it is to be hoped we shall come off with flying colours, and never see any of them again in the colonizing way at Red River" (p. 73). The affidavits of Painbrun and Blondeau (Append. p. xxxiii. and xlv.), if they are not rank perjury, distinctly fasten the charge of collecting the Half-breeds upon Alexander Maedonell, Norman

* The following passage in a letter written by Mr. Alex. Maedonell from river Qu'Appelle to Mr. Duncan Cameron at the Forks is quoted; it bears date 13th of March, 1816: "I remark with pleasure the hostile proceedings of our neighbours, I say pleasure, because the more they do, the more justice we will have on our side. A storm is gathering in the North ready to burst on the rascals who deserve it; little do they know their situation. Last year was but a joke. The nation under their leaders are coming forward to clear their native soil of intruders and assassins. Glorious news from Athabasca," p. 71. The "glorious news" was an unfounded rumour that a band of Hudson Bay Company's traders in Athabasca, had almost perished from starvation, and had been compelled to resort to cannibalism, p. 72.

McLeod, Alexander Mackenzie, John Duncan Campbell, and John Macdonald of the North-West Company. The first named on the other hand, pronounces these affidavits absolutely false and accuses Lord Selkirk of being guilty of subornation of perjury.

Governor Semple, of the Hudson Bay Company, arrived at Red River in the spring of 1816. In April, he sent Mr. Pambrun to the Hudson Bay post on the Qu'Appelle; when he arrived, he found the "Brulés" collected in force at the adjacent fort of the North-West Company. On the 12th of May, whilst proceeding down the river with a large quantity of furs and pemican, the property was seized and the crews made prisoners, as Pambrun affirms, by the order of Mr. Alex. Macdonell—an order which he did not hesitate to avow. The same party, reinforced by others, in all about seventy, set out to attack Red River; and on the 20th of June a messenger came in from its leader, Cuthbert Grant, "who reported that his party had killed Governor Semple with five of his officers, and sixteen of his people; upon which Macdonell, Seraphim Lamar, and all the other officers, shouted with joy."* The unfortunate Governor was on the point of returning from Red River to York Factory when he met his death. He had received information of the intended assault from two Cree Indians who had escaped from the attacking party, and took some precautions against a surprise. On the 19th of June, according to Mr. Pritchard, who escaped, tidings were brought of the approach of the half-

* The writer of the "Statement" (p. 79) goes on to say: "Macdonell then went to the rest of the men who had remained with him, and announced to them the news in language (as sworn to by Mr. Pambrun) which we will not attempt to translate: "Sacré nom de Dieu! Bonnes nouvelles! Vingt-deux Anglois de tués!" — "Good news, twenty-two English killed."

breeds. The Governor presuming, naturally, that they were about to attack the settlement, said, "We must go out and meet these people; let twenty men follow me." Finding the half-breeds more numerous than he had supposed them to be, he ordered out a field-piece. The enemy, on horseback, had their "faces painted in the most hideous manner, and in the dresses of Indian warriors, they came forward and surrounded us in the form of a half-moon."† Both parties were now on what was known as Frog Plain, between Fort Douglas and Kildonan. Governor Semple called out, "What do you want?" The answer was, "We want our fort!" to which the Governor rejoined, "Go to your fort." Both Boucher, the half-breed spokesman, and Mr. Semple were close together by this time, and Pritchard failed to catch what followed. The Governor, however, laid his hand on Boucher's arm, and immediately shots were fired on both sides, though which began the murderous work seems indeterminate. "With the exception of myself," says Pritchard, "no quarter was given to any of us. The knife, axe or ball, put a period to the existence of the wounded; and on the bodies of the dead were practised all those horrible barbarities which characterize the inhuman heart of the savage. The amiable and mild Mr. Semple, lying on his side (his thigh was broken), and supporting his head upon his hand" (p. 84), asked Mr. Cuthbert Grant to try and get him to the fort, as he was not mortally wounded. The unfortunate gentleman was left in charge of a Canadian, who afterwards told how an Indian came up and shot the Governor through the breast. Out of a band of twenty-eight, twenty-one

† Pritchard's testimony in the "*Statement*," p. 82, 83.

were killed and one wounded. It is unnecessary to attempt an analysis of the trials which subsequently took place at York, now Toronto, in October and November, 1818. Paul Brown and F. F. Boucher were indicted for murder, John Siveright, Alexander Mackenzie, Hugh McGillis, John Macdonald, John McLaughlin, and Simon Fraser as accessories, and John Cooper and Hugh Bannerman for stealing field-pieces, the property of the Earl of Selkirk. All the prisoners were acquitted by the juries which tried their respective cases. Finally, at a Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Quebec, by Chief Justice Sewell, on the 26th October, 1819, "appointed for the investigation of cases from the Indian Territories," Arch. McLeod, Simon Fraser, James Leith, Alex. Macdonell, Hugh McGillis, Arch. McLellan, and John Siveright, of the North-West Company, "who were under accusation by the Earl of Selkirk, as private prosecutor, for great crimes and offences" appeared and demanded a trial, "which they could not obtain because the private prosecutor was not ready."*

Mr. Alexander Macdonell, in his *Narrative*, points triumphantly to the result of the York trials, and urges the prompt acquittal of all the prisoners as strong proof that the Company and its servants were not to blame. These proceedings were certainly conducted with great patience and the strictest regard to justice, and the juries could hardly have come to any other verdicts considering the mass of conflicting evidence laid before them. Only one thing seems certain, amidst a maze of bewildering uncertainty, and that is that the French half-breeds, at all events,

had very little regard for the sanctity of an oath. There was a great deal of false swearing, doubtless, on both sides; and an impartial reader can hardly fail to come to the conclusion that both sides were grievously in the wrong from the first. A large number of exceedingly arbitrary acts are charged against Mr. Miles Macdonell and his party in the *Narrative*, and their mode of administering such governmental and judicial powers as they claimed to possess was, beyond question, harsh and arbitrary at times. Still the apology offered in the Preface of the *Narrative* is, to some extent, serviceable for the one party as well as the other. With regard to the closing scene, Mr. Alexander Macdonell stoutly denies the party encountered so unhappily by Governor Semple had any hostile design. He states that Cuthbert Grant's party of half-breeds were detailed by him to convey provisions to a point twelve miles or more below the Colony (p. 75). His instructions were to proceed down Red River to Passage, a place nine or ten miles above the settlement, to secrete the canoes, load the carts with the provisions, and proceed by land to their destination. They were to behave "in an orderly and peaceful manner, avoiding if possible, being discovered or seen by the Hudson Bay people and settlers; to keep at as great a distance as possible from Forts Gibraltar and Douglas; to avoid the settlement in like manner, and upon no account to molest any of the settlers" (p. 76). Mr. Macdonell affirms, and points to the evidence on the trials in proof, that his injunctions were strictly obeyed by Grant and the party, and the *detour* they actually made is indicated on a map of the district. He maintains that the unhappy events of the 19th of June were

occasioned by an unprovoked and unlooked for attack upon Cuthbert Grant and his people by Mr. Semple and his followers. He adds that "His Majesty's Commissioner, who lately visited Red River, has ascertained by his enquiries and examinations, who were the aggressors and assailants on that deplorable occasion." * It would be useless as well as unprofitable, to attempt to reconcile these conflicting accounts or strike a balance between them. Mr. Ross states that, "in the country where the murders took place, there has never been a shadow of doubt, but rather a full and clear knowledge of the fact that the North-West party did unquestionably fire the first shot, and almost all the shots that were fired," † but that is, after all, a question of comparatively little importance. Both parties were no doubt excited beyond control, and the fatal issue was not foreseen, or even desired by either of them. Governor Semple's advance, with so small a force, was certainly imprudent, although it serves to show that he never conceived the sanguinary design attributed to him. The North-West Company were unquestionably hostile to the colony, and that for reasons solid and substantial enough, apart from the notion that settlement was merely a mask, to cover rivalry in the fur-trade. Colonization and the fur-trade, as the partners saw plainly, could not co-exist in the same region, and the North-Westers only inaugurated the policy afterwards

* Mr. Alex. Macdonell, without directly noticing the charge advanced by Mr. Pambrun against himself personally (*Statement*, p. 79), quoted in a previous note, admits that an exclamation of surprise something like that alleged may have been uttered, but it must have been one of surprise, not of exultation (*Narrative*, p. 78). The "bonnes nouvelles," good news however, drop out; and singularly enough Mr. Macdonell says nothing about the letters alleged to have been written before the conflict.

† Red River Settlement, pp. 36, 37.

adopted by the Hudson Bay Company all over the North-West. Moreover, some natural jealousy was excited at seeing an organized government, the title of which was disputed, set up under the auspices of the rival monopoly in territory which the North-West Company had hitherto regarded as peculiarly their own. It would appear that the rule of the first Governor was not of a mild and conciliating type, and that, on both sides, there was an amount of irritability and an uncomprising temper which boded ill for the peace and prosperity of the country. Causes of quarrel naturally arose day after day; charges and recriminations were exchanged; then followed arbitrary arrests, the seizure of property, and the obstruction of business and travel, until the climax was reached in the lamentable catastrophe of June, 1816. It would not be just to scan too closely, or gauge by too rigid a standard the moral character of the agents in these turbulent scenes. Removed far from the comforts, as well as the discipline of civilized life, both the trader and the colonist are entitled to indulgent consideration. The toil, suffering and hardship which made their daily lot, were stern tutors in whose curriculum the milder arts of civilization found no place. In daily contact with savages, and the hardly less untrustworthy half-breeds, it was inevitable that they should be affected by the rough and unruly freedom of their environment. Between the parties, there was probably not much to choose; the burden of responsibility for the unhappy struggle of these early years can not be adjusted by the men of to-day, and they may be well content to forget the errors of those early pioneers in admiration for the invincible energy and persever-

ance which distinguished those hardy Scots on both sides, and secured for the Empire that broad and priceless Dominion which stretches from sea to sea.

It only remains to gather the threads of the narrative, up to the final pacification. The commissioner whose report is appealed to so triumphantly by Mr. Alex. Macdonell, was the Hon. Wm. B. Coltman, who like Mr. McGillivray, the North-West partner, was a member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada.* A report from that source could hardly be regarded as satisfactory by the colonists, and it is not surprising to find in the '*Memorial*' by Lord Selkirk, some severe strictures upon "His Majesty's Commissioner." He is charged with starting the theory that the acts of the half-breeds were only "venial irregularities," and not "robberies, felonies and murders, in the usual acceptation of these words."† It was not antecedently probable that a colleague of Mr. McGillivray who was himself concerned on one side should find sufficient evidence to lay blame upon the other side; but his report is necessarily less satisfactory on that account, and by no means entitled to the weight Mr. Alex. Macdonell accords it.

Lord Selkirk had lost his "mercenaries" at the Sault Ste. Marie; but after sending a strong report of the massacre to Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, the Governor of Lower Canada, he at once made his way to Red River. A calm, comparatively speaking, had succeeded the storm; but the affairs of the

* Major Fletcher, Police Magistrate and Chairman of Quarter Sessions at Quebec, was also of the Commission; but he either did not go up to the North-West, or was a cipher. All the references in Lord Selkirk's *Memorial* are to Coltman, and, as already seen, Mr. Alex. Macdonell speaks of "one Commissioner only."

† *Memorial*: pp. 62-68.

colony were in a deplorable condition. The immigrants had been almost constantly in a state of migration from the settlement to Pembina, to the Missouri, or to Norway House, and other forts or factories of the Hudson Bay Company, and back again. His lordship, it seems, set himself to the task of restoring order. He called a meeting of the people, "on the west bank of Red River, some two miles below Fort Garry, and in consideration of the losses, hardships, and misfortunes they had from time to time suffered, he made them several concessions." Those who had lost all received fresh grants of land and immediate relief. Buildings were erected, including a mill, and an edifice which served the double purpose of church and school-house. Roads, bridges, &c., were settled, and seed-grain distributed to the necessitous. Having thus started the colony, which had cost him so much in means, as well as anxiety, once more on the path of progress, Lork Selkirk took his final leave of it, and retired as we have seen to die in a foreign land.

The settlers who had crops upon their land met with the bounteous return which nature yields in that fertile region; but, unfortunately, too little seed had been sown, and, as winter approached, rather than consume all, and ruin their prospects for the next year, many of the colonists again left for Pembina to live by the chase. There they suffered hardship in another shape, but they returned again to their old homes in the spring. The year 1818 was an unfortunate one, in all respects. "Food was scarce, their hitherto precarious dependence on fish, herbs and roots, became hopeless, for all those failed; and their misfortunes were crowned by an act of lawless violence on the part of the North-West people, who

forcibly carried off Mr. Sutherland to Canada.”* Still agriculture began to progress henceforward. In July, 1818, however, just when the crops were ripening to the harvest, a cloud of grasshoppers appeared from the west, darkening the air; in one night “crops, gardens, and every green herb in the settlement had perished with the exception of a few ears of barley, gleaned in the women’s aprons. This sudden and unexpected disaster was more than they could bear. The unfortunate emigrants, looking up towards heaven, wept.”† There was nothing for it but to return with heavy hearts to Pembina and pass the winter there as best they could. Early in the spring of 1819, the hardy and persevering Scots left their families behind and returned to sow their land. They had no seed save the scanty supply saved by the women. Again their hopes were blasted, this time by the swarms produced from the larvæ deposited in the previous year. By the latter end of June the country was covered with them, for, “they were produced in masses two, three, and, in some places near water, four inches deep. The water was poisoned with them. Along the river they were to be found in heaps, like sea-weeds, and might be shovelled with a spade.‡

Again the land was desolated, and the settlers were forced to return to the precarious life of Pembina. There they resolved to provide seed. Wheat in abundance at all events and men were dispatched to Prairie du Chien on the Missis-

* Ross, p. 47, Mr. Sutherland had been ordained an Elder of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and, in the absence of a settled pastor had been specially licensed to celebrate marriages, administer the sacraments and officiate at burials. His abduction, therefore, was not only an outrage, but a very serious deprivation to the colony.

† *Ibid.* p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 49.

sippi to obtain it. They returned with 250 bushels, and, then, making their way back in flat-boats to the colony; the settlers finally found rest there in June, 1820. "From that day to this," writes Mr. Ross, in spite of the grasshoppers and other evils, Red River has not been without seed for grain. The troubles of the colonists were not yet over, but a sufficiently ample sketch of their trials and struggles has been given to enable us to judge what the Scot can do, and endure, and has effected in the heart of the American continent. Should any one be disposed to make light of the dogged perseverance, the exhaustless energy, the long-suffering patience and thrift of the Scot, one has only to refer him to the history of Red River settlement.

Meanwhile the fur companies went on in their ruinous career of competition and rivalry until they had between them almost ruined the trade, and brought the treasuries to bankruptcy. What with plots and counter-plots with the Indians, the stirring up of the half-breeds to rapine and insolence, and the constant overlapping of their operations, these corporations had made the fur trade so precarious, that it had ceased to be profitable. The Hudson Bay Company pointed to its charter, and stigmatized the North-Westerners as poachers, or at least interlopers upon their domain. The Montreal Company on the other hand denied the validity of the Charter, and pleaded that so far it had been virtually voided by non-user. It may be observed that it had periodically been a matter of dispute whether the granting of such a charter came within the Royal Prerogative. The Company, at its inception, had evidently supposed that it required parliamentary sanction, since an

Act, which was never renewed, had been passed, confirming Charles's grant for seven years and no longer. In 1749, a bold attempt was made in the House of Commons to destroy the monopoly on the ground that the Company had failed to attempt the discovery of a North-West passage, but the motion did not prevail.* Still the North-West Company had certainly a right to dispute the validity of so sweeping a grant, and the contest then begun was continued down to the purchase of the Company's exclusive rights in 1870. Meanwhile, everything was in a state of confusion and uncertainty, and both Companies were almost on the verge of bankruptcy, when, by a lucky inspiration, the plan of amalgamation was devised and put into execution in 1821.

* Hugh Murray : *British America*, Vol. II., p. 186.





CHAPTER III.

THE UNION OF THE COMPANIES.

THE more serious difficulties of the Red River settlement had now disappeared. The importation of seed-wheat, which had cost Lord Selkirk no less than £1,040 sterling, and the cessation for the time of the grasshopper plague, had left the colonists in greater ease and contentment than they had known in their native land. The prolonged period of suffering from that first terrible winter at the mouth of the Churchill, the conflicts, the want and the constant fittings to and from Pembina, were over, and the sturdy Highlanders at last enjoyed peace and plenty in the land of their adoption. But the jealous rivalry of the Companies still raged with unabated virulence, and it speedily became evident that unless some scheme of conciliation were devised, each of them would ruin the other. The Hon. Mr. Coltman, the commissioner referred to in the last chapter, urgently advocated a consolidation of the concerns and their interests, as the only method of improving the deplorable state of things then prevailing. The strife so long carried on was, says Mr. Murray, perhaps the most furious ever waged "between two mercantile bodies, destructive alike to the interests of both, and most demoralizing to the savage aborigines."*

* Hugh Murray : *British America*, Vol. II. p, 235.

The North-West Company, whatever be thought of its somewhat unscrupulous eagerness to advance and extend the trade it directed, was unquestionably the more enterprising and adventurous of the two. Until the Montreal traders began to appear in the field, the Hudson Bay people never made much progress beyond those great inland waters which were peculiarly their own. The North-Westers on the other hand, struck at once boldly across the fertile belt, and descended by the Fraser, the Thompson and the Columbia to the Pacific. They were the great explorers of British Columbia, and whatever zeal in the path of discovery its rivals afterwards displayed, was due mainly to the new energy infused into the body corporate by their old antagonists. But the North-West Company had attempted too much with its limited capital, and was no match for the old establishment. The consequence was that both parties were disposed to concur in any plan of coalition, framed upon an equitable basis.*

The arrangement by which the Companies were united in March, 1821, was exceedingly fair and acceptable to both parties. The North-West made over its property to the Hudson Bay Company, and in return, the members of the former became partners, and its servants taken into the employment of the consolidated Company. The X. Y. Com-

* Mr Murray writes: "At length the North-West Company, in consequence of their overstrained exertions, became involved beyond their capital; and being obliged to yield to their rivals, they obtained in 1821 an honourable capitulation." This seems hardly fair to the North-West Company, for both parties in fact capitulated to the invincible force of necessity. The same author quotes from Mr. Harmon, a North-West clerk, some account of the extent of this Company's trade. Harmon, who was an American, crossed to the Peace River and Athabasca districts in 1803. There at Fort Dunvegan, he was visited by three of the Scottish pioneers, Messrs McLeod, Fraser and Stuart, "on their way to and from the establishments lately formed by the Company in New Caledonia"—as it might still be called—"on the western side of the Rocky Mountains." *Ibid.* ii, pp. 199-206.

pany had combined with the North-West years before, so that now at last there was an end both to rivalry in trade and to deeds of rapine and violence. An Imperial Act was passed by the Parliament, at the instance of Mr. Ellice—a name familiar in Hudson Bay annals—in which the rights and privileges of the new Company were defined and the territory east and west of the Rocky Mountains not included in their charter was granted for a period of twenty-one years.* The first Governor of the Hudson Bay Company after the union was Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Simpson, who filled that responsible office for nearly forty years from 1820 until his death in 1860.

There were two persons, near relatives named Simpson—both Scotsmen—who played a conspicuous part in the North-West. Thomas Simpson was a scientific man and an explorer of no mean order, whose career seems to deserve special notice here. After the termination of Captain Back's extended voyage of discovery, Mr. Dease, the chief factor, and Mr. Thomas Simpson, were commissioned by Governor Simpson to explore the northern coast in 1836. Thomas Simpson had been previously engaged on missions of a similar description, and he was now instructed to "spend the ensuing winter at Fort Chipewyan on Great Slave Lake; and in the beginning of summer, five of the party were to proceed to the north-west end of Great Bear Lake and there prepare accommodation and provisions for their next winter quarters. The remainder were to employ the favourable season in descending the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and thence along the coast until they reached the point

* Hargrave : *Red River*, p. 79.

where Captain Beechey had been arrested.* Provision was made for the possible contingency of travel after abandoning their boats, and at the approach of winter, they were to repair to their winter quarters already in readiness for them. In 1838, the Coppermine River was to be crossed, and the party were to make their way to Points Turnagain and Richardson. On the 9th of July, 1837, the first part of the plan was accomplished, when the party reached the Mackenzie River, and on the 20th they arrived at Foggy Island Bay, the furthest point attained by Franklin. Thenceforward all their progress was in the path of new discovery. After finding a new branch of the Rocky Mountains, their path lay along the shore which was low and composed for the most part of frozen mud, on which were seen the mouths of several large rivers. At length, when they could only advance at the rate of four miles a day, the plan of the party was changed. Thomas Simpson, with a party of five men, resolved to perform the rest of the journey on foot. Carrying with them a portable canoe for crossing rivers, they made their way, with the occasional assistance of an Esquimaux "comiak" when they came to a broad inlet. Early in August they came in sight of Point Barrow. "The ocean, extending to the southward, presented so inviting a prospect that, had such been their object, they would not have hesitated, in their skin canoe, to have made for Cook's Inlet."† The remainder of this Arctic expedition was equally fruitful in results. But, unhappily, poor Simpson met his fate, not long after, whilst returning with the valu-

* Murray: *British America*, vol. ii. p. 233.

† *Ibid.*, p. 234.

able results of his arduous labours. In the latter end of 1839 or early in 1840, several of a party of Red River half-breeds, with whom he had set out with a view of crossing the plains to St. Louis, Mo., returned to the Settlement and stated that Mr. Simpson had, in a fit of insanity, killed two of his men and then shot himself, and that they had buried him on the spot where he fell. The theory of suicide for some time prevailed, but those who knew the unhappy traveller best entirely rejected the idea. His former friends and companions did not hesitate to express their conviction "that he did not kill himself, and that this was only a false report of his murderers."* He appears to have been of a reserved and somewhat haughty disposition, and, on that account, was not liked by the half-breeds, at whose hands, in all human probability, he met his tragic end.

George Simpson was born in Ross-shire, in Scotland; but, while still a youth, he removed to London where he was engaged in commercial pursuits for nearly eleven years. The ability, shrewdness and energy of young Simpson had marked him out for a wide sphere of labour, and under a far-distant sky. In 1819, when the Companies were still battling furiously, Mr. Simpson was invited to cast in his lot with the Hudson Bay Company. Early in 1820, therefore, he sailed from England for Montreal, by way of New York, and in May he was on the road from the Canadian city to the North-West. During the winter of that year he was stationed at Lake Athabasca, where he endured many

* *Hudson's Bay*, pp. 112, 113. Mr. Ballantyne adds: "Besides, it is not probable that a man who had just succeeded in making important additions to our geographical knowledge and who might reasonably expect honour and remuneration upon returning to his native land" (and he was on his way thither) would, without any known or apparent cause, first commit murder and then suicide. By his melancholy death the Hudson Bay Company lost a faithful servant, and the world an intelligent and enterprising man.

hardships and privations, although he managed to carry on the rivalry in the fur-trade with conspicuous tact and energy. The Ross-shire lad of twelve years before had already made his mark, and assured for himself future fame and fortune ; and, when peace was at last concluded by the amalgamation, Simpson's talent had indicated him as the best man to preside over the vast operations of the united company. After serving a short time as Governor of the Northern department, he received his appointment, and became Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land, and general superintendent of the Hudson Bay Company's affairs in North America.

Mr. Simpson's qualifications for the responsible post he so long occupied were two-fold. He was a man of consummate tact and address, and, at once, set about healing up old wounds, reconciling discordant interests, and removing old prejudices and jealousies from amongst the people of the Territory. Besides that he was the first Hudson Bay Governor who fulfilled, on behalf of the Company, that duty imposed, as a condition, by the charter—the task of exploration and geographical discovery. Governor Simpson, although as keenly alive to the material interests of his employers as the most unreasonable shareholder could expect, never lost sight of the higher claims of science upon his time, as well as energies. To his skilful direction and the eagerness with which he assisted Franklin, Richardson, Ross, Back and other explorers, the most valuable results were due. It was he who sent out Dease, Thomas Simpson, Rae, Anderson, and Stewart upon the path of research, and at every fort or factory, controlled by the Governor, any ex-

plorer was sure of shelter, supplies, information and advice. There is scarcely a book on Arctic travel which does not express gratitude for assistance from Hudson Bay factors, and almost every one of the names mentioned is Scottish.*

During Sir George Simpson's long tenure of office, not only were the interests of geographical discovery well looked after, but the profits of the Company steadily increased year after year. The amalgamation with the North-West concern had placed the entire country north of the boundary-line in the hands of the Hudson Bay people, and the number of their posts, sensibly augmented in 1821, continued to increase. In 1840, according to Mr. Ballantyne,† there were about one hundred and ten forts or factories—thirty-four in the northern, or old Hudson Bay Department, twenty-eight in the southern, thirty-one in the so-called Montreal district and seventeen west of the Rocky Mountains, including a depôt in the Sandwich Islands.‡ All the published itinera-

* As bearing upon the general character of the Scots, as well as upon Mr. Simpson's active career, the following from Murray's *British America* (ii. p. 238), may find a place here:—"Four-fifths at least of the Company's servants are Scotsmen, and chiefly from the northern districts. They are reckoned the hardiest, the most active and enterprising, and the least liable to bad habits. . . . The journeys performed by these officers, and the adventures they have met with, would exhibit scenes and incidents as striking as most of those fictitious ones which so much interest the public. Mr. Simpson, the present (1840) resident Governor, has performed, during his stay in that country, upwards of 100,000 miles of canoe navigation. The chief officers, including the Governor himself, often endure hardships which, to those accustomed to the comforts of civilized life, must appear almost incredible. They frequently spend months without seeing the inside of a house, going to sleep at night in the most sheltered spot they can find, wrapped in their cloaks, and a blanket which has served during the day as a saddle-cloth. Unless fortunate in the chase, they have no means of obtaining food, and are sometimes obliged to kill their dogs and horses to relieve hunger. Yet these hardy Scotemen will find a livelihood in districts so desolate that even the natives sometimes perish for want. . . . Yet, amid all these hardships, such is their zeal in the occupation that a complaint scarcely ever escapes their lips."

† *Hudson Bay*, p. 40.

‡ The Hudson Bay Company made no attempt at colonization in British Columbia until 1843, when Victoria was founded on Vancouver Island. In 1849, the Island was granted to the Company "under the stipulation that they should colonize it." Alexander Rattray, M.D., F.R.S.E., *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1862, p. 8.

ries, whether of travellers or Hudson Bay employés, supply abundant evidence of the presence of the ubiquitous Scot all over this vast region. The early part of Sir George Simpson's *Overland Journey* is so full of references to Scottish agents, that a brief sketch of it may be of service in this relation.* The Governor, it may be remarked, takes credit for himself as the first traveller who ever accomplished an overland journey round the world. His route lay from London to Montreal, thence to Vancouver and Sitka, and thence by New Archangel, and the Aleutian Islands to Ochotsk; across Russian Asia, through Yakutsk, Irkutsk, Tobolsk, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, and so home by the Baltic. On the journey from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg, forty-one days were spent, the nights being passed thus: thirty-six in the carriage, one at Tomsk on a sofa, two at Ekaterineburg on the floor, one at Kazan on a sofa, and only one—at Moscow—in a bed.†

The Governor, on his arrival at Lachine, made preparations for his trans-continental journey. Along with him were to travel, as far as Red River, the Earls of Caledon and Mulgrave, who were bound upon a buffalo-hunting expedition. Sir George took the old French route up the Ottawa and the Matawa, by Lake Nipissing and French River to the Sault Ste. Marie. Here the first western post of the Hudson Bay Company, under the charge of Mr. J. D. Cameron, was reached. At Michipicoten, the Governor held a temporary council for the Southern Department, Mr. Cam-

* *An Overland Journey round the world, during the years 1841 and 1842.* By Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson Bay Territories (Amer. Edit.

† *Ib.* p. 22

eron, Mr. George Keith and Mr. Cowie being the councillors.* There was no Dawson route in those days, and when the party arrived at Fort William, preparations were made for canoe-work and portage. Pointe de Meuren, the first halting-place, was a memorial of the old time of feuds, since there had been a Hudson Bay fort established there to keep the North-Westerns of Fort William in check. At Red River, Sir George established himself with the inevitable Scottish factor, a Mr. Finlayson, and sent his noble companions off to hunt the buffalo under the direction of no less a person than the half-breed, Cuthbert Grant—the hero of the battle of Frog Plains. A vivid picture is given in this interesting volume, not merely of the difficulties in the way of the traveller in getting to Red River, but its isolation from the civilized world. The accounts given by Sir George only serve to heighten our admiration of the daring courage and perseverance of Lord Selkirk and the tough fibre of the settlers, who suffered so much from their landing on the bleak shore at Churchill, until peace and plenty at length removed the protracted period of toil, privation and disaster in every shape.† The testimony which a Hudson Bay Governor could give to the motives of the founder of that settlement twenty years after the noble Earl had found repose

* A curious case of the Saulteaux Indians' belief in a Special Providence is recorded here: At a moment of perplexity, when the provisions of a party were exhausted, and nothing could be got without risking life upon a sea, that was neither open water, nor trustworthy ice—the probable alternatives being starving or drowning—an old man thus spoke: "You know, my friends, that the Great Spirit gave one of our squaws a child yesterday. Now He cannot have sent it into the world to take it away again directly; and I would, therefore, recommend our carrying the child with us, and keeping close to it as an assurance of our safety." This counsel was adopted, but sad to say, the whole party to the number of twenty-eight perished (p. 33).

† The relative position of Red River Settlement is a far more interesting feature in the case, than its absolute place on the map. The nearest homes of civilization are the village of Sault Ste. Marie, which itself has a reasonable share of elbow-room, St. Peter's at the

in the grave ought to be quoted here. "To mould this secluded spot into the nucleus of a vast civilization was the arduous and honourable task which Lord Selkirk imposed on himself. That nobleman was born a century and a half behind his time. Had he lived in the days of the first three Stuarts, when Britain, as the destined mother of western nations, began to pour forth in her peaceful fleets a northern hive that loved not the sword less, but the ploughshare more, he would most probably have rendered the name of Douglas as illustrious for enterprising benevolence on some fair coast of the new world as it had already become for chivalrous valour in the annals of his own rugged land. His was a pure spirit of colonization. He courted not for himself the virgin secrets of some golden sierra; he needed no outlet for a starving tenantry; he sought no asylum for a persecuted faith: the object for which he longed was to make the wilderness glad and to see the desert blossom as the rose" (pp. 42, 43).

One of Sir George Simpson's attachés, named McIntyre, an active and intelligent Highlander, picked up on board the ocean-steamer, who possessed moreover, "the peculiar recommendation of being able to communicate with me in one of the unknown tongues, the Gaelic of the north of Scotland," came within a little of ending his own journeyings and his life, by being pitched violently on his head from the back of a horse, endowed with too exuberant spirits. The guide was also a Scot, George Sinclair. After a weary jour-

Falls of the Mississippi, which is merely the single island in a vast ocean of wilderness, and lastly York Factory on Hudson Bay, where our annual ship anchors after a voyage of nearly two months, even from the *Ultima Thule* of Stromness (p. 42). He adds that this solitary home is farther removed in point of time "from any kindred dwelling than Liverpool is from Montreal, and nearly as far as London is from Bombay."

ney, the party at length reached Norway House on Lake Winnipeg, having suffered severely from fatigue, want of wholesome provisions, and a number of distressing casualties. Taylor, Sir George's faithful servant, with a companion had gone in pursuit of a red deer on the way, and had wandered astray. In a short time, their ammunition ran out, and they were without resource out on the boundless prairie. With feet torn by thorns and prickly grass they strayed on, greedily devouring roots, bark, bird's eggs, or anything that seemed likely to assuage their hunger. After the lapse of fourteen days, they were strongly tempted to lie down and die. Fortunately at length, famished and lacerated, they reached, or rather crawled to the Company's establishment on Swan River, where they were received kindly, and then forwarded to Norway House by Mr. McDonell, the factor. The Governor's journey next lay along the Saskatchewan, the nearest station being Carlton House. Sir George here gives some particulars of an expedition under Messrs. Mackenzie and Rowand, in 1822, to ascertain whether the reports of gold on the Bow or South Saskatchewan River were well-founded. That expedition returned to report that that the gold was all moonshine, and, of course, the Governor was not much wiser in 1841.

Sir George's accounts of the Indian tribes and of the scenery and productions of the country show that he was a keen observer. After describing the appearance, nature and habits of the buffalo, he relates that in 1829, he saw as many as ten thousand putrid carcasses of buffaloes, "lying mired in a single ford of the Saskatchewan, and contaminating the air for many miles around." Travel in those days was not

without its rude alarms. It was not altogether agreeable to be awakened from sleep by the cry of "Indians are coming," and only consolatory to learn after the cocking of muskets that the visitants were only a lot of Crees, "who, as their tribe had no reputation that way, were allowed to remain with us all night" (p. 65). The extreme heat in July was no surprise, but hailstones like those Sir George encountered in 1837, near Lac la Pierre, and measured in presence of Messrs. Finlayson and Hargrave, of York Factory, were an unmerciful visitation. A hailstone five inches and a half round is something more than a surprise. "Throughout this country," states the Governor, "everything is in extremes—unparalleled cold and excessive heat, long droughts, balanced by drenching rain, and destructive hail" (p. 67). That, however, is not the experience of settlers or even passing tourists now-a-days, and although no one would doubt Sir George's general impressions, it would certainly seem clear, either that the discomforts of locomotion in those days superinduced a resolution to record only the foul weather, because it was noteworthy, or else the climate has been modified considerably during the past thirty years.

Of course there was no Battleford in those days, with its enterprising newspaper editor or printer; so the next station was Edmonton, the last fort this side of the Rocky Mountains. Here the party were entertained not only by the factor, Mr. Rowand, but by the Rev. Mr. Rundle, who was unostentatiously doing his Master's work in the wilds of the far North-West as a Wesleyan missionary. He appears also to have been an acute observer of nature, skilled in more than one of the natural sciences, and full of valuable

information. Sir George Simpson continued to ascend the river until he reached the watershed at the height of some "seven or eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, while the surrounding peaks appeared to rise nearly half that altitude over-head." At Athabasca Portage the scenery was wild and grand; the road, "only a succession of glaciers, runs through a region of perpetual snow, where nothing that can be called a tree presents itself to enliven and cheer the eye" (p. 78). It is here in a gelid pool or lake, that both the Columbia and the Mackenzie—one bound for the Pacific, the other for the Arctic Sea—take their rise.* Here for the first time in a twenty years' wandering in America, the Governor thought that he had discovered the very heather of his native Scotland; but on afterwards comparing the specimens he preserved with the genuine article, he found that they were not identical. A purely indigenous sample of the western fauna, however, gave him much trouble; it was a troublesome and venomous species of winged insect, "which, in size and appearance, might have been taken for a cross between the bull-dog and the house-fly."

During his progress from Edmonton, Sir George Simpson struck a south-westerly course to the Kootonais or Kootanie River and Flat-bow-Lake, thus approaching close to the boundary line. From Mr. Macdonald, at Fort Colville, fresh guides were sent in advance to him. That post was reached by the Macdonald River, and a chain of lakes connected with the Kootanie. Here the change of temperature was at once

* Here, says Sir George, "the relative positions of the opposite waters is such as to have hardly a parallel on the earth's surface, for a small lake, appropriately enough known as the Committee's Punch-bowl, sends its tribute from one end to the Columbia, and from the other to the Mackenzie."

remarked, the climate being many degrees milder than to the east of the mountains. Fort Colville, a rather pretentious work of defence for the locality, was found to be constructed of cedar, enclosed with pickets and bastions. About a mile away the Columbia, about three-quarters of a mile wide, flowed between flat and monotonous banks of sand, the scanty vegetation upon which had been withered by a protracted drought. At this time the Indians of the interior were in a state of dangerous excitement. During the previous winter Mr. Black, who was in charge of Thompson's River, had some trifling dispute with a chief at the Kamloops post. When the latter returned to his lodge or camp, he took sick and died; and his tribe at once attributed his death to Mr. Black's magic. The avenger of blood was at once put on the unfortunate factor's track, and he was shot in the back and killed while quietly crossing his apartment. The savage escaped, but was at last hunted down and despatched, on the banks of the Fraser River, by his own people. The existing disquiet was caused by the relations of the chief, who now demanded vengeance for the two deaths in the tribe, caused, as they contended, by the whites. At the Wallawalla, a tributary of the Columbia, Mr. McKinlay had charge of the Company's post, and there Sir George encountered an American missionary, named Munger, whose complaints concerning the country were loud and bitter. He also had a professional grievance to annoy him: the Indians were not tractable, and instead of embracing the Gospel eagerly, as he had been led to expect, he found them a bigoted, superstitious, and jealous people (p. 99). Some distance below the party passed two conspicuous basaltic rocks, some-

thing like chimneys supported by a truncated pyramid; these "needles," or whatever they might be called, had been named after two adventurous Scots—Mackenzie's and Ross's Heads.

The Governor was now passing through a country in which he had been threatened with trouble, when exploring with Mr. McMillan and Dr. Todd in 1829. On this occasion, although there was some anxiety about the probable attitude of the tribe, no untoward event occurred. Sir George Simpson was on what was afterward declared to be American territory, and crossing the Straits he made his way to Vancouver, where he was hospitably received by the afterwards well-known Mr. Douglas, then temporarily in charge during the absence of his chief Mr. McLaughlin. The next stage was to Sitka in Russian America, whither he sailed in the *Beaver* from Fort Nisqually, the captain, McNeill being, like most white men in these parts, a North Briton. So far north as Dease's Lake, sixty miles from Fort Stickeen and one hundred and fifty from the sea, there was then a Hudson Bay fur trading-post with Mr. Campbell as the Company's factor, and further south, with a landlocked bay on the coast stood Fort Taco, superintended by Dr. Kennedy. With Sir George's further progress we are not now concerned, and this sketch of his journey across the continent is simply introduced to give some conception of the rough country over which the Hudson Bay Company's operations extended, its vast extent, and the overwhelming preponderance of Scots among the white men engaged either in trade or exploration.

Although Governor Simpson's name will recur in the following chapter, it may be well to round off his biography here. He was not only an indefatigable explorer, but a thorough man of business, and his services were naturally and properly given, along with his sympathies, to the Company he so long served or controlled. In the disputes regarding the validity of its charter, and in all that concerned its interests, he was the staunch advocate of the trading monopoly in British North America. During his later years he resided chiefly at Lachine, although so long as he was able, he periodically visited the territory. In 1860, he diverted the Prince of Wales, with a picturesque canoe expedition which started from Isle Duval near Lachine, and his last public act was the reception of His Royal Highness as a guest at his home on the St. Lawrence. During that year he was seized with apoplexy and paralysis but had so far recovered as to prepare for a visit to Red River. This he was not fated to accomplish; for, while driving home from Montreal he was again stricken with apoplexy and expired on the 7th of September, 1860.*

In a subsequent chapter, when the great west is viewed at a later stage in its history, reference will be made to travels in recent years, having for the object either pleasure or the survey of the country for railway or telegraphic purposes. Meanwhile, a glimpse has been given of the vigorous activity of the Scottish race in that vast, untamed wilderness during the latter part of the eighteenth, and the first half of the present century. To enumerate all the prominent Caledonians engaged over that broad expanse of British

* Morgan: *Celebrated Canadians*, p. 490-1.

territory would be out of the question within the limits of this chapter. It is impossible to take up any of the books cited here, or others, such as a work by Mr. John McLean entitled "Twenty-five Years in the Hudson Bay Territory," quoted by some of our authorities, without being satisfied that the great West of British North America was taken possession of by the Scot at an early date, explored by his indomitable perseverance, and first drawn towards and within the pale of civilization by his wondrous energy and intelligence.





CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPANY AND COLONIZATION.

IN this chapter it is intended to bring the history of British settlement in the North-West down to the present time, including the disputes regarding the Charter of the Hudson Bay Company, the purchase of its vested rights, the formation of the Province of Manitoba, the Red River rebellion, and other matters of more recent date. After the union of the Companies, as already stated, the settlers met with a new enemy, against which forts and ammunition were futile, the grasshopper. But there was still another fruitful source of trouble and loss which at intervals marred and retarded the progress of the colony. In 1826, and much more recently, in 1852 and 1861, the sudden thawing of the snows upon the banks of the great rivers which form the arteries of the North-West, caused wide-spread desolation by floods, on some occasions covering hundreds of square miles. The year 1826 was one of the most disastrous in the history of the Settlement. It was ushered in with a terrible season of want and suffering amongst the hunters, the story of whose appalling destitution on the plains seemed to indicate a sum of misery beyond the power either of the Company or the colony to do more than slightly alleviate with their slender resources. The prospect was not less desperate than the cry of India

for help a short time ago. Mr. Donald Mackenzie was Governor of the colony at that time, as well as the Company's representative at Fort Garry, and what could be accomplished was cheerfully set about, but the success of any relieving movement was not so much problematical as hopeless. The starving people were scattered over great distances; the snow was unusually deep, and there was no mode of conveyance but by dog-sleighs, and this was tedious and difficult. Sympathy and assistance were freely extended to the poor creatures, and all that thought or pity could suggest was promptly put in execution. The scenes on the road from Pembina to the colony were harrowing in the extreme, and the feeling of utter despondency which prevailed was only dispelled by a great calamity at the colony itself.

The severe frost, and the fearful snow-storms which had wrecked the hopes of the hunters, killed their horses, and starved or chilled to death many of themselves, their wives and children, soon wrought mischief in another shape when the iron rule of winter was broken by the summer sun. There had been drifting snows of unusual depth; the thermometer had fallen to 45° below zero; the ice measured five feet seven inches in thickness, and, when on the 2nd of May the great thaw came, there was an alarming inundation. On that day, just before the ice started, Red River rose nine feet in the twenty-four hours—an unprecedented occurrence even in the traditions of the Indians. Soon the whole country appeared like a vast lake. Human lives were destroyed, cattle, horses and every living thing that encountered the flood was swept out of existence; the houses were demol-

ished, the movable property, with the *débris* of buildings, carriages, furniture, and all "were seen floating along over the widely extended plain, to be engulfed in Lake Winnipeg." The height to which the water had risen above its ordinary level was fifteen feet. When it subsided, the tale may best be told in the language of the prices current. "Wheat, which had fallen to 2s. per bushel at the commencement of the disaster, now rose to 15s.; beef from ½d. per pound to 3d." It was not until June 13th that the colonists were again able to draw near to the site of their old habitations.*

During these early years of peace, several events occurred of considerable importance to the struggling colony. The distresses of the settlers had placed them more or less at the mercy of the Hudson Bay officers, and the result was an immense amount of extortion, either in the shape of overcharges or of usurious interest. Mr. Halkett, one of Lord Selkirk's executors, put a stop to this nefarious system. Armed with a decision pronounced by Lord Ellenborough, he compelled the local Governor to strike off five per cent. from all accounts, and to withdraw the claim of five per cent. for interest altogether "as a fraudulent and illegal transaction."† In future, English goods imported at York Factory were to bear 33½ per cent. on their prime cost, and 25 per cent. on their arrival at the colony, and nothing additional. Mr. Halkett also discovered that, in order to enhance the price of provisions, the Company's servants had

* Hargrave: *Red River*, p. 81. Also in Ross: *Red River Settlement*, pp. 101-105, where a graphic account of the inundation is given by an eye-witness.

† See Ross, p. 68, where the Lord Chief Justice's judgment on this point is given.

secreted large quantities in their depositories. Two experiments were tried at this period which resulted in financial collapse. The first was the formation of the "Buffalo Wool Company," a joint-stock concern by which everybody at Red River was to be suddenly enriched. The idea was that, as owing to the prevalence of wolves at the time, sheep-raising was precarious, a substitute must be found for wool, and the speculators proposed the shaggy hair of the buffalo. Counting the raw material as nothing, they soon reared many financial castles in the air. Expensive machinery was imported, and an extravagant establishment set up. Hides rose in price, and agriculture was set aside in favour of buffalo-hunting. Had the visionary scheme succeeded, a step backward into barbarism would have been taken; but the result proved to be an ignominious collapse.

The other scheme was of a different stamp, but was also foredoomed to failure. Lord Selkirk, who well knew the rude sort of husbandry his Highlanders had been accustomed to, had projected an experimental farm and dairy. The "Hay Field Farm" was placed in charge of a Scotsman of great agricultural experience named Laidlaw, specially brought out for the purpose; "but," says Mr. Ross (p. 77), "in this, as in every other attempt to benefit the colony in those early days, mismanagement, disappointment and ruin, were the only result. Expensive buildings were erected, good labourers and servants employed; "and yet all the time there was not an ox to plough or a cow to milk." Finally, the manor-house or mansion, which had cost £600 was accidentally burned, just at its completion, in a drunken orgy. "After several years' labour, waste and extravagance, every

vestige of property on the farm had disappeared"—the experiment having sunk £2,000 of Lord Selkirk's money. In view of all that had thus befallen the settlers, it may surely be said that the most patient and unyielding perseverance was never so sorely tried before; and it speaks volumes for the singular energy and persistence of the Scot, that, after so many years of loss, suffering, hardship and disappointment in every conceivable form, they continued to hold on with dogged pertinacity until they at last achieved a complete victory for themselves and for civilization.

The union of the Pembina settlers with the colonists of Red River, was another event worthy of note, inasmuch as it placed in juxtaposition the Scottish, the French-Canadians, and the half-breeds, in much the same relation to each other as they still remain. When all the immigrants were united they numbered about 1,500; and the French, finding their old occupation gone, and being also in dread of the Sioux raid, betook themselves to the colony. These alien elements did not mingle well together; the French half-breeds "squatted" on the land, but they never attempted cultivation—the Indian *penchant* for hunting, fishing and a roving life generally, being too strong to be eliminated. The Scottish settlers, who retained the strong religious feelings they had brought from home, felt disquieted about the future of their children, liable, as they were, to contamination from the semi-savage influences about them. A separation was resolved upon, the Scots remaining on their lands at the centre of the colony; the French were settled in one parish, St. Boniface, now the seat of the Roman Catholic Arch-

bishopric ; whilst the half-breeds, under Cuthbert Grant, were removed to "White Horse Plains," twenty miles up the Assiniboine ; the Forks being the common centre. Mr. Ross (p. 81) is probably right in his opinion that this separation was, on the whole, a mistake. The Canadians and half-breeds gradually grew together, and although they and the Scots have generally lived on passable terms, there has never been a cordial understanding, and party spirit has continued to grow more intense from that day to this.

Meanwhile agricultural progress, though slow, was continuous. Successive importations of cattle had raised the quality and amount of the stock, and Governor Simpson gave a powerful impetus to the settlement by promising to take all the Company's supplies from the colony. This stimulated the people to extraordinary exertions, with the unfortunate result that, after the Company's wants were supplied, there was no market for the surplus. Prices rapidly fell, and Red River suffered from all the consequences of an evil heard of in later times and more settled communities—that of over-production. But the want of markets was not the only difficulty in the path of the farmers. There were not the necessary appliances for ordinary agricultural operations. At that time there was not to be found in the whole colony, it is said, either a smut-mill, or fanning machine, to clean the grain, and but few barns to thrash it in, and still fewer kilns to dry it ; much, therefore, of the grain had, of necessity, to be thrashed on an ice-floor, in the open air, during all weathers, and then ground, in a frozen state, and immediately packed off in casks of green wood, furnished by the Company itself. It was the same with butter and

all other products of the dairy and farm. It was no wonder that the difficulties of their situation, with lack of experience and judgment, should have caused many failures. The Orkney men, a frugal and industrious people, from whom sprang such hardy explorers as Dr. John Rae, who first ascertained positively the fate of Sir John Franklin—were wanting still more than their mainland brethren in agricultural skill and resource; they were poor and could not procure the necessary conveniences, and yet they toiled on and prospered in the land.

A bare reference to Governor Simpson's attempt to establish a second experimental farm, under Chief Factor McMillan, will suffice. It was a failure, and cost the Company £3,500 sterling; worst of all the Governor, whose hobby it had been, lost his self-control, and exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart:—"Red River is like a Lybian tiger, the more I try to tame it, the more savage it becomes; for every step I try to bring it forward, disappointments drag it two backward." Then followed the "Assiniboine Wool Company," in which the sheep was to take the place of the buffalo; but the views of its projectors were too extravagant, and the new project followed its predecessor into the limbo of abortive speculations. This was also a device of Governor Simpson's, and that it failed, was not his fault. He desired to divert the people from over-production in grain, and if his agents had only carried out the scheme reasonably, it might have succeeded; but, as a resident there remarks, "The people of the Red River grasp at anything new, as hawk pounces upon a bird, and then abandon it without waiting with patience for the antici-

pated result." The catastrophe, in this case, resulted from over-eagerness at the outset, and want of constancy in the sequel.

In 1835 and 1836, a change took place in the management of the Red River Settlement. After Lord Selkirk's death his executors attempted to direct its affairs; but finding the task impracticable they transferred the government to the Company. The time arrived when this anomalous state of things was to be succeeded by the Company's rule as proprietors of the colony. In 1834, it may be as well to note, the first outbreak of the half-breeds, thoughtless, thriftless, and dependent as usual, startled both the Company and the colony; but no great harm befell the latter except the necessity of submitting to extortionate charges and demands. The Hudson Bay officers had thus two totally different sorts of people to deal with. The half-breeds required support, control and advice at every turn, whilst the colonists, true to their national genius, were proud, self-reliant, impatient of restraint, and passionately fond of freedom and independence. The former were always in a state of tutelage, expected everything from the Company and complained vigorously if they were denied what they sought. The Scots, on the other hand, could not work the paternal system, and rebelled against the leading-strings of the Company. Notwithstanding the honest desire of Governor Simpson, and many of his subordinates, to assist the colony, Hudson Bay rule was always galling to the true-born Briton, and in addition to that irregular, arbitrary, and capricious.

As the representatives of Lord Selkirk took little or no active interest in the progress of the settlement, the Hudson Bay Company offered to purchase their proprietary rights in the colony. Altogether, the Earl had expended no less than £85,000 upon his scheme—three times as much, says Mr. Ross, as the whole colony would have brought if put up at auction at any time in the first twenty years of its existence. In 1836, an agreement was come to under which the Company paid the heirs of his lordship £84,000 in full satisfaction of their claims, proprietary or otherwise, saving only the rights of those who had purchased lands between the years 1811 and 1836. Strange to say this transfer was effected without consultation with the people of the colony, who were made over as unceremoniously as French Alsace or Turkish Bosnia to a power they were not by any means attached to.* This step, and more especially the secret manner of it, only tended to widen the breach already open between the Company and the colonists. Under the new *regime*, a Council was constituted, and a brief code of laws, fiscal, judicial and administrative was drawn out. These changes might, of themselves, have aroused the suspicions of the colonists, had not the country been under the Company as representing Lord Selkirk's representatives for some years past. That the Company desired to conceal the transfer of the Selkirk rights is clear from the

*" During all these political changes, the colonists were kept in the dark never having been put in possession of their intellectual rights, by knowing what was going on, or to whom the colony belonged. Nor was it till many years after the settlement became virtually the Company's own property, that the fact was made known to the people, and then by mere chance. Till this eventuality the people were under the persuasion that the colony still belonged to the executors of Lord Selkirk, and were often given to understand so. By this political finesse, or shall we rather call it, political absurdity, the Company preserved themselves clear of all responsibility, whatever transpired." Ross: *Red River*, pp. 173-4.

fact that when the Church of England chaplain—the only Protestant minister at hand—refused any concession to Presbyterian feelings touching the Liturgy, the answer to their remonstrances was an evasive reference to Lord Selkirk's executors, who had no longer any more to do with the matter than the President of the United States.

The history of the colony during succeeding years, was one of considerable fluctuation ; still no temporary check to its prosperity stayed the march of progress. The few incidents, it may be well to mention, may be compressed into a paragraph. The first petit jury under the new code was empannelled on the 28th of April, 1836, to try a prisoner for theft. The unfortunate, who attained a bad eminence on this occasion, was Louis St. Denis, and one part of his sentence consisted of a public flogging. A German wielded the "cat" on this occasion, and he was permitted to perform his novel task without molestation. But he had no sooner stepped out of the ring than the mob began to raise cries of "stone him," and he was marked out for public execration under the name of "Bourreau," the hangman. So unaccustomed were the people to the execution of a legal sentence, and so venial an offence were theft and violence in their eyes, that the punishment of St. Denis seemed to the French a gross violation of the liberty of the subject. At an early period (1839), a Scot named Thom—Judge Thom, as he was popularly called—became Recorder of Rupert's Land. He was a lawyer of ability; but there were two objections to him. He had been no favourite with the French party of Lower Canada during Papineau's rebellion, and therefore the French portion of the population at Red River were pre-

judiced against him from the start. Besides that, he was interested in the prosperity of the Company, was its officer during pleasure and therefore, in any case between the Company and the colony, he was looked upon as an interested party. Although Mr. Ross, from whose work these facts are taken, was no admirer of the Company's procedure in many respects, he was clearly of opinion that the monopoly of trade was decidedly a benefit to the population, and more especially to the Indians. He regards the cry of the French and half-breeds "Le commerce est libre"—"Trade is free"—as merely a pretence used by lawless and ungovernable men to cover rapine and violence. Into these disputes, as well as the controversies concerning Judge Thom's decisions and Major Caldwell's method of administration, it would be beside the present purpose to enter. It may not be amiss, however, to notice here once more the striking contrast, apparent to every visitor, between the frugal, provident and intelligent Scots and the other colonists or *quasi* colonists around them. One illustration in the shape of a scrap of conversation between Mr. Ross and a friend with whom he was riding about on a tour of inspection may suffice. At "a place called the middle-church, my friend made a halt, and turning to me observed, 'This part of the colony we have just passed, is the thickest settled I have yet seen; and, if we may judge from outward appearances—horses, barn-yards, parks and inclosures—the hand of industry has been indeed busy.' 'Yes,' said I, 'these are the Scotch settlers, the emigrants sent hither by Lord Selkirk; the people who have suffered so much, and to whose fortitude and perseverance the colony owes that it is what you see it this

day.' 'This spot,' he rejoined, 'is really full of interest.' " (p. 201).

The predominance of the Scot during the early years of the settlement did not, of course continue, as new elements were introduced by immigration from other branches of the English-speaking people.* They broke up the soil and planted it; others reap the fruit of their honest toil and patient endurance. The glory of having first raised the standard of religion and civilization, in these western solitudes, is theirs. The Scots were the advance guard of that peaceful British army of colonization, which has followed them to see the fertile land, and to possess it. The assumption of the North-West by the Crown and its incorporation into the Dominion, have made new work for Scotsmen, not quite so heavy and disheartening, but still hard enough to try the sterling Caledonian mettle. Up the valleys of the Assiniboine, along the branches of the Saskatchewan, on the Peace and the Qu'Appelle, the *avant couriers* of North Britain, are making their way, making the crooked straight and the rough places smooth for the settlers of years and centuries yet to come. If the Scot has lost ground at Red River, there is still a greater Scotland ready to his hand in the boundless prairies far beyond.

This is not the place to enter into the events which led to the purchase of the Hudson Bay Company's proprietary

* The writer, already quoted so often, remarks this fact with a touch of patriotic regret: "The first ten years of their sojourn in the colony, the Scots were almost the only settlers; the next ten years they were the majority" (of course the French and half-breeds are taken into account here); but the last ten, they have been the minority; and, by a combination of untoward circumstances, they can hardly now be said to retain their nationality, being a mere fraction in the mass of the community. It is as if they had come to Red River merely to endure its hardships, and as trusty pioneers to bear the burden and heat of the day, where a people of less hardihood and perseverance must necessarily have succumbed."—*Red River Settlement*, p.143.

rights. The causes of discontent amongst the settlers were manifold. They were hampered by the paternal restraints of the monopoly, which without being absolutely unfriendly, was deeply impressed with the truth of the North-Wester's maxim that "colonization is at all times unfavourable to the fur trade." The Hudson Bay people did not, like the Montreal traders plot "the downfall of the colony, by fair means or foul," but, however kindly disposed such Governors as Sir George Simpson might be, their interests were distinctly opposed to any expansion of the area of settlement. In addition to the natural discontent of the Colonists at being governed by a trading Company, through an irresponsible Council, the regions to the west were becoming better known in Canada, in the United States and in Europe. Moreover, the period during which the Hudson Bay Company were licensed to hold the territory was to terminate in 1859, and a vigorous agitation was commenced to oppose its renewal. This license had been granted by Act of Parliament in 1821; it expired and was renewed in 1833 for twenty-one years; and strong efforts were early put forward to prevent any extension of the term. The people of the colony, and above all the Canadian Parliament set about collecting information, [procuring legal opinions, and urging the assumption of the whole territory by the Crown, and its annexation to Canada. A voluminous literature was accumulated upon the subject, but so far as its object was to impeach the validity of the old charter, the result was a failure. It is true that the Act confirming the grant by Charles II. had long since expired by effluxion of time; but as the law-officers of the Crown showed conclusively, it had

been cited in a number of statutes passed at different times and thus confirmed by the Imperial Parliament over and over again. Canada despatched Chief Justice Draper to England to present her case against the Company, and, in 1857-58, an exploring expedition was sent out under Messrs. Dawson and Hind, to make a careful survey of the territory. Meanwhile a Committee of the House of Commons had investigated the subject minutely in all its bearings. Its report was, on the whole, favourable to the Company, but although it did not recommend a renewal of the exclusive license to trade, no conclusion was come to as to the future government of the North-West, and matters remained as they were.* In 1868, however, the subject was finally set at rest. In that year, the Hon. (afterwards Sir) George E. Cartier and the Hon. William Macdougall, were despatched to England by the Canadian Cabinet in order to negotiate with the Home Government for the transfer of the territory to the Dominion. The validity of the charter had perforce to be admitted, and all that remained was to come to terms with the Hudson Bay Company. By the terms of the agreement thus concluded the sum of £300,000 sterling was to be paid to the Company, as well as grants of land around its trading-posts, amounting in all to fifty thousand acres. In addition to this, it is to have, so soon as the territory is surveyed and laid out in townships, one-twentieth of all

* The whole spirit of the report returned to the House of Commons was such as to justify the Company and its friends in believing that no serious fault had been found with its management. The inquiry, however, produced no immediate effect. The Committee recommended that a bill should be introduced by the Government embodying their views with reference to a change in the management of the country, and expressed a hope that such grave interests being at stake, all parties would approach the subject in a spirit of conciliation and justice, but the recommendation has never been acted on.—Hargrave's *Red River*, p. 141.

the land in the great fertile belt south of the north branch of the Saskatchewan. The privilege of trade is, of course, retained, but the monopoly exists no longer.*

These terms were absurdly liberal to the Company; it was certainly not entitled to anything approaching so extravagant a land-grant as was thus conceded to it. Already the grant at Red River is an obstruction quite as injurious to the progress of the district as if the lands were locked up in mortmain. The impropriety of the grant will appear more evidently year by year, as the Saskatchewan valley is filled up, but expostulation with the Imperial Government, or the Company, was vain. Canada was determined to have the region as part of the new Dominion at all hazards, and was compelled to pay for it at an exorbitant rate. In April, 1869, the Dominion Parliament fulfilled that part of the compact which related to the indemnity, and constituted a provisional government for the entire country, under the name of the North-West Territory. On the first of the following December, a formal surrender of the region was to take place, and affairs were put in train for taking possession. Suddenly an unforeseen trouble supervened, which, for the time, caused great excitement and alarm, and also temporarily kept the Dominion out of its newly acquired possessions. The history of these events will be found fully detailed in works specially devoted to Canadian history in general or of this region in particular. Still a brief account of the so-called Rebellion seems necessary in order to complete the sketch attempted here of the colony.†

* See *A Popular History of Canada*: By the Rev. W. H. Withrow, M.A., p. 537.

† See Begg's *History of the Red River Rebellion*, and also Withrow's *History*, chap. xlvii. where an admirable concise account of the episode is given.

In the month of September, the Hon. William Macdougall who had been appointed first Governor, approached the territory by way of the United States in order to enter upon the duties of his office.

The events which followed have been variously interpreted by those who have undertaken to relate them, and perhaps it is even now impossible to apportion the blame justly to the different parties concerned. Much of the excitement at Fort Garry was unquestionably due to a misunderstanding largely the fruit of ignorant fears on the part of the *Métis* or French half-breeds. Some time before the arrival of Mr. Macdougall the storm had been brewing, and it, at first, took the form of sullen apprehensions and visible uneasiness. A party of surveyors, under Col. Dennis, had been sent from Canada to run lines for roads, and lay out townships. Mr. Begg states that the half-breeds at once took the alarm, and, although they made no overt attack upon the surveyors, had very grave suspicions of Canada's purpose. Their alarm was caused by a suggestion that it was the intention of the new Governor and Council to dispossess them of their lands, and a causeless panic ensued, such as has been witnessed in more civilized countries in connection with railway enterprise. The Company's friends deny that its officers had anything to do with the feverish state of public feeling. It is their contention that all the trouble which ensued was the fruit of mischievous agitation got up by the *Nor'-Wester*, a rather lively little paper published in the settlement, and by a few turbulent spirits recently imported into the colony. These men, it is alleged, went about exciting discontent with the Company, and, by

their overbearing conduct, causing profound distrust amongst the half-breeds. Hitherto the settlement had been at peace, happy in its ignorance of politics and party spirit, and contented under the benign rule of its Hudson Bay guardians. Moreover, the surveyors and others are charged with "squatt-
ing upon" or rather claiming without any attempt at occupation, all the vacant lands they can get at.*

On the 20th of October, Mr. Macdougall was met near the boundary line by an armed force, and compelled to withdraw again to Pembina in the State of Minnesota. The discontent of the half-breeds had culminated in open revolt; a provisional government was appointed under the guidance of Louis Riel, who acted as Secretary with John Bruce as President. The Hudson Bay Governor, at this time, was Mr. William Mactavish, a well-known name in the annals of the North-West. Donald Mactavish, a native of Stratherrick, Scotland, was as already noted, one of the partners of the North-West Company. For about a quarter of a century he was employed in trade and exploration, visiting and conciliating the Indians, with whom he was in great favour, and in promoting generally the interests of his co-partnery. He had projected an expedition with the object of striking a route across the continent for trade with China, and after much hardship and danger, had reached the mouth of the Columbia River when he and six companions were lost near Cape Disappointment in the North Pacific, on the 22nd of May, 1815.† Governor William Mactavish had been resi-

* Legg: *The Creation of Manitoba, or A History of the Red River Troubles*, chap. i. It may be remarked that this work exhibits a strong bias in favour of the Company, and lays the entire responsibility upon the malcontents at the Settlement, Mr. Macdougall and the Canadian Government. The statements in it, therefore, must be taken with considerable reserve.

† Morgan: *Celebrated Canadians*, & c., p. 153.

dent ruler of Assiniboia for some years when the Riel usurpation at once relieved him of further trouble for a season. Fort Garry was seized, with all the stores, rifles, cannon and ammunition; and, that having been done, the party met Mr. Macdougall, as already stated, near the border, and forced him to withdraw.

The Hon. William Macdougall, though a Canadian, bears a name which clearly proclaims his Scottish origin. According to Morgan's *Parliamentary Companion* his grandfather, John Macdougall, was a Scot by birth, and a U. E. Loyalist attached to the British Commissariat service during the American Revolution. After the termination of hostilities, he settled in Nova Scotia, but subsequently removed to Upper Canada. William Macdougall was born in Toronto, and has taken an active part in public affairs for many years past. He was early connected with the press, both agricultural and political, having conducted the *Canada Farmer* and the *Canadian Agriculturist* in the interest of the tillers of the soil, and a Reform journal, the *North American*, for a period of seven years, until its absorption by the *Globe* with which he was connected also for some years. In 1847 he had already been admitted as an attorney; but only applied for and obtained a call to the Bar in 1862. He has been a prominent member of several Canadian administrations, a member of the Ontario Legislature for South Simcoe, and, once more, of the Dominion Parliament, as M.P. for Halton. The check which the new Governor and his party met on the frontier, although it had been threatened, was hardly expected; but it completely overturned Mr. Macdougall's plans for the development of the country. It is much

to be regretted that this should have been the case. The hon. gentleman possessed the requisite abilities for the onerous task he had undertaken ; he was active, intelligent, and well-fitted by his tact and acquaintance with public affairs ; and it must have been deeply mortifying to him to have fallen a victim to the ignorant passions of an unruly mob, before the opportunity had been given him to declare his intentions and to unfold his policy at Fort Garry.

Col. Dennis was a Canadian officer of volunteers, and so soon as Mr. Macdougall had met the armed force of rebels and retreated, the gallant Colonel was commissioned to organize a loyal force to suppress the revolt. Forty-five of the men, however, were taken prisoners by the malcontents at Fort Garry and committed to prison ; and thenceforward Riel and his associates were masters of the position. At a convention on Feb. 7th a new government was formed with the noted French half-breed as President ; a bill of rights was drawn up, in which local self-government was demanded, together with a general amnesty. An attempt to quell the disturbances was made by Major Boulton, with some hundreds of men. Fort Garry was to be attacked ; but as Riel released the prisoners, the movement was abandoned ; but the Major, who was arrested with his followers on their way home, was, after a mock trial, sentenced to death. He was with difficulty saved from his fate ; but afterwards, a less fortunate prisoner, named Thomas Scott, was brutally murdered, in spite of the exertions of the Rev. George Young, the Wesleyan minister, and Mr. Donald A. Smith, of the Hudson Bay Company. The wide-spread horror which prevailed throughout Ontario precipitated matters. In May

an Act was passed by the Dominion Parliament creating the Province of Manitoba out of the Red River Settlement, and it was admitted as a member of the Confederation on the 16th of July, 1870. The remaining, and, of course, far the larger portion of the territory, was to be governed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, assisted by a Council of eleven members.

Riel's early success had evidently turned his head, and his conduct throughout was arbitrary, unjust and vindictive. Even after Mr. Macdougall's departure from Pembina eastward (18th December), the half-breed President was never at ease. He managed to raise supplies by forced levies upon the Company and the settlers; arrested Governor Mactavish, and abused him in violent language, whilst confined to bed by illness; put Mr. Halkett in irons; imprisoned Dr. Cowan; and threatened Mr. Bannatyne who endeavoured to act as peacemaker; strove to deprive Mr. Donald A. Smith of his credentials as Commissioner; and was guilty of other acts suggested by a violent and impulsive nature. One of his officers, in fact, his judiciary, was James Ross, a Scottish half-breed, the son of Alexander Ross from whose works extracts have been made in former pages. He was a young man of considerable ability, and his early promise attracted the special attention of the Bishop of Rupert's Land when studying at St. John's College, Red River. In 1853 he entered the University of Toronto, and graduated with honours in 1857. In 1860, on the retirement of Mr. Buckingham (late Deputy-Minister of the Interior) from the proprietary of the *Nor'-Wester*, Mr. Ross entered into partnership with Mr. William Coldwell, the remaining member

of the firm. In 1864 Dr. Schultz, M. P., purchased Mr. Ross's share, and the latter left for Canada, where he was engaged at Toronto for a considerable time upon the staff of the *Globe*. Mr. Ross had always taken strong ground against the Company, and he was not more favourable to the scheme of government proposed to be set up by Canada. His sympathies were, therefore, to a constitutional extent with Riel and his followers; but he had no share in the violent and arbitrary acts of the so-called President. The provisional government appointed him Chief Justice, and he is said to have drawn up the petition of right. When at the University, he appeared to his fellow-students to combine the steady, plodding and cautious character of the Scot, with the fertility of resource and the quiet reserve of the Indian, and the pride of both races. He was cut off in his prime, and perhaps it may not seem unkind, especially for a fellow-graduate of their common *Alma Mater*, to say that a life which might have been of essential service in his native settlement was marred by being involved in its turbulent, yet altogether insignificant party strifes.

In the month of June Col. Garnet Wolseley, who afterwards succeeded in a tougher task under the Equator, started with a force of twelve hundred men to oust Louis Riel from the government of the country. With the exception of a company or two of the 60th Rifles, this body was composed of Canadian volunteers. On the 24th of August, after considerable difficulties had been surmounted, the expedition arrived at Fort Garry, only to find that Riel had abdicated and left his staff of office to anyone who might choose to assume it. Early in September, the Hon. Adams George

Archibald arrived, and assumed the duties of the Lieutenant-Governorship.* Mr. Archibald, however, speedily resigned, preferring the Lieutenant-Governorship of Nova Scotia, his native Province, to the vice-royalty at Red River. He was succeeded by the Hon. Alexander Morris, the son of a Scot, who fills a considerable figure in the history of Ontario, and especially of the eastern portion of it. He was born at Perth, a little more than half a century since, and was educated partly at the Scottish University of Glasgow, and partly at our Canadian University of Montreal, which was founded by a Scot, the Hon. Peter McGill. He has served as President of the St. Andrew's Society at Montreal, and as Trustee of the Presbyterian University of Queen's College. Mr. Morris attracted notice, as a young man by his pen, and amongst the subjects which attracted his attention, nearly twenty years before, was the future of the Great North-West, over which he was now called upon to rule. Mr. Morris did not leave Canada and arrive a perfect stranger at Winnipeg as Lieutenant-Governor, since he had already been Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba,—its first Chief Justice in fact,—for some months previously.

No survey of Scottish work in the North-West, however cursory, can be complete, which fails to give special prominence to the interests of religion, and its foster-sister, education. In the introduction an attempt was made to limn in outline those broad and salient features of the national character as it has been moulded by nature and by man. That sketch will have been drawn in vain, if it has not

* See Withrow's "Popular History," pp. 541, 542.

proved conclusively that the Scot is by virtue of his descent, and must always of necessity be, a religious man in bent and bias, if not in practice. An old legal maxim, the cause of much international strife, affirms that no man can put off his country, as if it were a discarded suit of clothes. In the jurists' sense this *dictum* has been happily abandoned ; but it remains irrefragably true, as applied to individual characteristics, be they physical or intellectual, moral or spiritual. If, as we know, both from science and Scripture, the transgressions of an ancestor are visited upon posterity, with the unfailing sequence of cause and effect, so also are his endowments, whatever they may be, and his qualities and tendencies for good or evil, transmitted to the latest generation. The newest born infant is no isolated atom of humanity, but the last link formed in a living chain whose other extremity is lost in the impenetrable mists and darkness of the past. What he is, historical and congenital tendencies have made man ; it is in what he shall become that his responsibility lies.

It is not necessary to recapitulate the combination of circumstances which formed the religious nature of the Scot. That they have succeeded in moulding a very strong and earnest type of spirituality, is beyond question ; its foes have termed it rugged and stern, mainly because they failed to comprehend it, but that it is a main feature of the national character, no one affects to deny. The head or the heart may have too often rebelled in many a Scotsman, and there are always traces of the inherited bias. Mr. W. R. Greg, who evidently regards intellect as the antagonist of faith, says that " Mr. J. S. Mill would have been a great Christian

if he had not been a great thinker," an involuntary compliment to the strength of Scotland's spiritual grasp upon the natures of all her sons. Even the unbelief of such men as David Hume, or George Combe is not like that of Bolingbroke, Voltaire, or Strauss. And in the moral world, though many a Scot has fallen away from the straight path, there is the crucial instance of Burns to prove that underlying woeful errors there may slumber ever and anon to awaken reprovingly—a strong religious nature.

The Scottish character was strongly marked in those Sutherlandshire Highlanders who wintered at Fort Churchill in the cruel winter of 1811. In the new and untamed wilderness to which they had removed, everything around them tended to deepen their feelings of dependence on the Father of all, and their religious trust in Him. Nature and man were against them there as they had been to them and to their fathers during many centuries in their native land; and they craved for those religious ordinances which had been the strength and the solace of those who had gone before. Unhappily, the first generation at Red River had passed away before the settlement saw their fervent desire fulfilled. Many circumstances combined to defer their just expectations. Lord Selkirk had stipulated, at any rate with the settlers of 1811, that a Presbyterian minister should accompany them. One was actually chosen in the person of the Rev. Donald Sage, for whom the settlers had a natural preference, since he was a son of the Rev. Alexander Sage, parish minister of Kildonan in Sutherlandshire. At his father's request, a delay of twelve months was granted to enable the young missionary to perfect himself in the Gaelic

language. Whether the difficulties of the Celtic tongue, or the disturbed and uncertain state of the colony deterred him, it is not easy to learn ; but, for some cause or other Mr. Sage never crossed the ocean, but settled down finally as parish minister of Rosolis, in Cromarty.

Lord Selkirk, nevertheless, in his anxiety to satisfy the spiritual wants of his people, at their request, authorized Mr. James Sutherland, who had been appointed an elder in Scotland, and was one of the settlers, to marry and baptize ; and he was gratefully received by the Scots as a substitute, meanwhile, for the pastor they were not destined to see for thirty-five years thereafter. Mr. Sutherland was, without doubt, the first preacher of the Gospel in the Great North-West.* He appears to have been a man of great natural endowments, though he could not be called a learned man, and his services were welcomed, not merely by his own people, but also by the Company's officers and servants of all creeds. "Of all men," says Mr. Ross, "clergymen or others, that ever entered this country, none stood higher in the estimation of the settlers, both for sterling piety and Christian conduct, than Mr. Sutherland." (p. 31.) Unfortunately, as if to crown their many other misfortunes, the settlers lost the services of this excellent man in 1818, when he was carried off forcibly to Canada by the agents of the North-West Company. Wearied out with the heart-sickness of hope

* Mr. Ross is highly, but not unaturally, indignant that the author of *Hochelaga*, and Bishop Mountain should seek to deprive the Presbyterian Church of this honour. He points out that eight years before the Rev. Mr. West, missionary of the Church of England, and Hudson Bay Company's Chaplain, "crossed the Atlantic, baptism was administered, marriages solemnized, prayer-meetings established, and the pure gospel proclaimed both by Presbyterians and Catholics." *Red River Settlement*, pp. 277-8. Probably the reply would be that neither of these denominations preached the "pure Gospel," and that Mr. Sutherland's ministrations were irregular and uncanonical.

deferred,* and no communication having been received from Lord Selkirk's agent, the settlers, appealed to Mr. Alexander Macdonell, recently appointed Governor, for assistance, but in vain. He was a Catholic, and therefore, says a writer, "did not take much interest in Presbyterian politics; but told the Scotch, by way of consolation, that they might live as he himself did, without a church at all." The next step was an earnest petition to the Rev. John Macdonald, of Urquhart Ross-shire, a minister well known to them, asking him to ascertain Mr. Sage's intentions, and, in the event of his deciding to remain in Scotland, urging his good offices. It would appear that this appeal was never received, as no answer ever reached the distressed colony.

It cannot be said that Lord Selkirk, who was now no more, was in any way responsible for the spiritual destitution of which the settlers complained. Not to speak of the perpetual struggle in which he was engaged, the web of violence and litigation in which his opponents involved him, or were involved along with him unwittingly on both sides, his Lordship's good faith was conspicuous in the matter of religious worship. It was not his fault that the people were shepherdless; he had obtained them the services of Mr. Sutherland, and it was not he who abducted him. And he had marked out land, chosen by the settlers as the site of a church and school-house, giving those who had already obtained the lots an equivalent elsewhere.

In October, 1821, the Rev. John West, A.M., an ordained

* It is almost difficult for readers in more favoured times and localities to appreciate fully the yearning for religious ordinances, evident in the letters and documents of this period, and much later. Much more, indeed, than the war of the Companies, religion constituted the politics and the daily life of these poor Highland settlers. See Ross, Chap. v.

minister of the Church of England arrived in the colony. It is hardly surprising that his advent was the signal for discontent rather than rejoicing. There may, perhaps, have been a score of English churchmen in the colony, but nearly all the Protestants were steadfast Presbyterians. Nor did the natural Scottish aversion to prelacy cause all the trouble. They hated Episcopalian ordination. There it stood before them surpliced as of old ; they could not away with "the mass-book," and Mr. West refused to yield an inch in the matter of the liturgy ; there was besides the trouble that he spoke in English, and they longed to worship and to hear their own native Gaelic from the pulpit. It was for this they had waited, yearned and hoped during eight long and troublous years, and here was the upshot of it all. As will be seen immediately, the settlers, Highlanders as they were, proved not to be the bigoted creatures, Scots Presbyterians are sometimes represented, and it is not unlikely that, if Mr. West had been a Highlander, and could have read the liturgy and preached to his flock in the old Celtic tongue, they might have submitted, with some grimace perhaps, but still submitted with Christian resignation to kneeling at communion, and the cross in the baptism. No compromise was attempted, and the complaints of the Scots who regarded Mr. West's intrusion as a flagrant breach of the Selkirk stipulation were met, for the time, by the assurance that Mr. West would soon be replaced by a clergyman of their own Church. It must be remembered, by the way, that the building employed for public worship had been erected by the efforts of the settlers, and mainly with

their money and labour.* Mr. West, finding that he could not bend the stubborn will of the Scots, confined himself to missionary labours at the Company's outposts and returned to England in 1823.†

Notwithstanding their want of success, the Church Missionary Society sent out another clergyman, the Rev. David J. Jones, and in 1825, another, the Rev. William Cochran : who was destined to exercise much greater influence during his prolonged career of forty years.‡ The two Anglican clergymen laboured together for some years, Mr. Jones having established another station some miles further down the river. During a short visit to England this gentleman added fuel to the fire by some remarks which appeared in the "Missionary Register" of December 1827 : "I lament to say that there is an unchristian-like selfishness and narrowness of mind in our Scottish population ; while they are the most comfortable in their circumstances of any class in our little community." Whether these "comfortable circumstances," considered from an offertory point of view, deepened Mr. Jones' lamentations over the "unchristian selfishness" of the Scots, is not clear ; he certainly seems to

* The Rev. gentleman appears to have reciprocated the feelings of the colonists, for he remarks in his journal : "I cheerfully give my hand, and my heart to perfect the work. I expected a willing co-operation from the Scotch settlers ; but was disappointed in my sanguine hopes of their cheerful and persevering assistance, through their prejudices against the English Liturgy, and the simple rites of our communion." Mr. West, apparently, knew nothing of Scottish ecclesiastical history, or, if he did, it was to little purpose.

† Hargrave : *Red River*, p. 104 ; Ross : p. 74.

‡ Mr. Ross, who writes with too obvious a Presbyterian bias, referring to the period when Mr. Jones was alone, says, "the Rev. Mr. Jones was the only officiating clergyman among the (Protestant) Europeans, although he belonged to the English, and they to the Scotch Church. It was rather anomalous, in this section of the colony, an English clergyman without a congregation of his own creed, and a Scotch congregation without a minister." p. 81. One is tempted to ask, what was the old mother Kirk of Scotland about all this time.

have been quite unconscious that the charge of narrow-mindedness might be retorted by the recalcitrants with at least equal reason.

At any rate, the settlers addressed the Governor more than once, demanding the fulfilment of Lord Selkirk's promise; but all proved vain. Unhappily, some indiscreet member of the Church Missionary Society still further exasperated the Scots, by writing to a friend, "Red River is an English colony; and there are two English missionaries there already; and if the petitioners were not a set of canting hypocrites, they might very well be satisfied with the pious clergymen they have got."

The Rev. Mr. Jones, however attached to his communion, was essentially an amiable and charitable man; at this time, therefore, he "became extremely kind and indulgent to the Scots, and among other things laid aside such parts of the Liturgy and formula of the Episcopalian Church as he knew were offensive to his Presbyterian hearers. He also held prayer-meetings among them after the manner of their own Church, without using the prayer-book at all, which raised him higher than ever in their estimation, especially as they understood that he could only do so at the hazard of forfeiting his gown. His own words were, "I know I am doing good; and so long as I can do good to souls, the technical forms of this or that Church shall not prevent me."* The Rev. William (afterwards Archdeacon) Cochran was not so conciliating at this period. According to Mr. Ross, he said,

* His fellow-labourer, the Rev. Mr. Cochran, was not inclined, at first, to follow Mr. Jones in his laudable efforts at conciliation. The latter's apology, which is too long for insertion (see Ross, p. 131, 132), proves him to have been not merely a man of tact and judgment, but a clergyman of an earnest, devout, and truly missionary spirit.

with some warmth, "I will preach to them the truths of the Gospel, and they must listen to me; they have nothing to do with our forms, I will not allow them an inch of their will." The settlers, however, admired the rev. gentleman, in spite, perhaps unconsciously because, of his stubbornness, coupled as it was with transparent candour and fervent zeal as a minister; and from that time until the close of his long work (1865) he remained a great favourite with the Scots. Nevertheless, another application was made to Governor Christie, and the answer was the cool suggestion to make an application to Lord Selkirk's executors, who, as the Company well knew, had ceased to have anything to do with the Colony.*

Meanwhile, so deeply rooted was the love of the Scots for their Church, that continued disappointment seriously affected their industrial energies—about 114 left, in one year, for the United States. Mr. Cochran, who was a pious and earnest man, followed Mr. Jones's example and all went on well, until two fresh labourers appeared in the field to undo the work and set the clergy and their Presbyterian flocks by the ears. Fresh from head-quarters, and knowing nothing about the Colony, they immediately upbraided Mr. Cochran with faithlessness to the Church, and he, giving way in a moment of weakness, kindled the old discontents once more. Matters were in a more or less unsatisfactory state, until the arrival of Mr. Finlayson, as Governor, at Red River. The new ruler was a man of great intelligence and active business habits,

* Mr. Christie, it is proper to note, was himself a Presbyterian, and an exceedingly kind and affable man.

shrewd, honest, and impartial. The Presbyterians at once resolved to lay their case before him and ask his counsel and assistance. Having listened to their complaints, he expressed his conviction that they had been badly treated; at the same time, as the matter rested with the Directors of the Hudson Bay Company, he advised them to draft a petition which he undertook to forward to Sir George Simpson, the Governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land. This petition was signed by forty-three heads of families, at the head of the list being the name of Alexander Ross, the author of the work so frequently cited. It contained a temperate statement of their grievance, with a reference to Lord Selkirk's stipulation.* This document which was transmitted in June, 1844, was violently assailed by the opponents of Presbytery, but those who had signed it waited patiently till June 1845, when an answer came from London. The Secretary of the Company was instructed to state that the Company knew nothing of any such stipulation, and that, had any such engagement of the Scots been, in fact, entered into by Lord Selkirk, it was singular that he had taken no steps to carry it out. It was declared to be without precedent that the Company should maintain a Presbyterian minister at Red River, and the only concession that could

* This petition, together with all the correspondence and affidavits, will be found in Ross' work, pp. 342-351. One clause of the first seems worth inserting, because it expresses, in mild terms, the deep-seated anxiety of the settlers upon the subject. "That the attention of your petitioners has long been turned with painful solicitude to their spiritual wants in this settlement, that widely as they are scattered among other sections of the Christian family, and among many who cannot be considered as belonging to it at all, they are in danger of forgetting that they have brought with them into this land, where they have sought a home, nothing so valuable as the faith of Christ, and the primitive simplicity of their own form of worship; and that their children are in danger of losing sight of those Christian bonds of union and fellowship which characterize the sincere followers of Christ."

be made was a free passage for any clergyman the settlers might choose to engage and undertake to pay. In reply, the petitioners entered into the facts of the case from the outset and forwarded two explicit affidavits. The first having reference to the agreement with Lord Selkirk, the attempt to engage the services of Mr. Sage, the temporary ministrations of Mr. Sutherland, and the repeated applications to every successive Governor, was signed by Angus and Alexander Mathieson, two of the settlers of 1815. The second proved the assignment of two new lots to Alexander McBeath and his son, John, one of the deponents, by Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, the Governor, at the instance of Lord Selkirk, these lots being set apart for a Presbyterian Church and a school. The only reply vouchsafed to these representations from the Hudson Bay House was the information the Company "can neither recognize the claim therein advanced, nor do anything more towards the object you have in view, than they have already expressed their willingness to do." This curt note was dated 6th June, 1846, fully two years after the original petition had been drafted and nearly a twelve-month later than the communication to which it replied.

The settlers expecting this result from the tone of the Company's first answer turned for assistance to another quarter. Stirring events had occurred in the old land within a year or two. The Disruption of 1843 had infused new life into the decaying spirituality of Scotland, and the marvellous zeal and energy which piled together the Sustentation Fund seemed to betoken the dawn of a new era in the history of Presbyterianism. The Red River Settlers were

perhaps scarcely so strongly impressed with the non-intrusion controversy as their brethren over the sea; indeed they felt too forlorn and desolate to care much about patronage. They at once, however, appealed with hope to the Free Church in a letter, accompanied by all the correspondence with the Company and other documents, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Aberdeen, Moderator of the General Assembly. Owing to delays and miscarriages of letters, no reply was received until the Summer of 1849, when the Rev. Dr. Bcnar, Convener of the Colonial Committees wrote expressing his regret that all efforts to secure a suitable minister had hitherto failed. A dispute followed regarding the Church and school lots, which had long been occupied by the English Missionaries; the result was a sort of informal offer of arbitration by Governor Colville, one of the terms of which was that the dissidents should be paid off, and suffered to have their own Church and burial ground.

At length, by the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Burns, Rev. Mr. Rintoul and others, the long-promised Missionary arrived on the 19th of September, 1851, in the person of the Rev. John Black, late minister of Kildonan, in the Province of Manitoba. The joy with which the first clergyman of their Church—the pastor for whom they had been looking and longing in vain during thirty-three years—was welcomed it is easy to imagine. So soon as he set foot in the settlement three hundred Presbyterians left the English Church in one day, and were at last restored to the Communion of their fathers. The final decision of the Committee on the Church property question was so far in favour of the settlers, that neither

Church nor churchyard were to be consecrated, but left open to all. In 1853, however, the Presbyterians erected a handsome stone edifice at Frog Plains or Kildonan, and were at home at last.

The Rev. John Black, or Dr. Black, as he is entitled to be called, deserves a more extended notice inasmuch as he was not only the first Presbyterian Minister at Red River, but has approved himself by twenty years' faithful service, the model of all that a Christian Missionary in a new and unsettled country should aspire to be. By the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Reid, who has furnished the facts, the following account of Dr. Black's life and services are laid before the reader.* He was born in 1818, in the parish of Eskdale Muir, Dumfrieshire, Scotland, whence his family removed to Kirkpatrick. When John Black was about twenty-three years of age, the family emigrated to the United States. With them he resided for some years, in the State of Delaware, employing himself, as most young Scots do in the "auld land," both in teaching and study. Amongst his pupils, who rose to eminence, were the Hon. W. Murray, Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, and Dr. David Murray, Superintendent of Education in Japan. Even before leaving Scotland, Mr. Black had conceived a desire of entering the the ministry, and a residence in the United States had not only deepened that aspiration, but given it definite form. He loved his native land and its Church, and with that truly Scottish form of patriotism he

* The writer desires to make a general acknowledgment here to this indefatigable Agent of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, for much assistance in preparing the portion of this work devoted to religious progress in the Dominion.

had inherited, his religion and his love of country seemed to have been inextricably mingled together. The train of thought in such a mind—not difficult to follow—led Mr. Black to look towards Canada, where his connection with Scotland, and some members of the Presbyterian family of churches would be more intimate than was possible in the United States. It was after the disruption had done its work in Canada (1844) that, in correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Stark, of Dundas, first Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada—the Free Church branch of Canadian Presbyterianism—he learned of a provision in the making, to train young men for the ministry in Knox College, then on the eve of organization. At the opening of the first session of Knox College, in the Autumn of 1844, Mr. Black presented himself as a student, and, after having prosecuted the course of study prescribed in the curriculum of the College, and passed the required examinations, was licensed, in due form, as a preacher of the gospel. For a considerable period, the Rev. Mr. Black was engaged in the work of French evangelization; and it was in the midst of these labours that he was summoned to step higher, and become the first Presbyterian minister of the Red River Settlement. This sudden call to a sphere of labour almost boundless in extent, and rich in opportunities for missionary usefulness, must have impressed Mr. Black with a full sense of its value, as well as its difficulties. The first Presbyterian minister in the great North-West had a wide door opened to him, but to enter in meant the sacrifice of much which an ambitious man holds dear. The fame and the

emoluments of the city clergyman are not for him ; nearly all the comforts and pleasant companionship of society life in settled communities must be left behind ; and, taking his cross upon his back, he must encounter all possibilities in missionary life, to do the work of his Master—no human mentor by his side ; alone, yet not alone. It can hardly be ambition which tempts a man to undergo danger and difficulty in the missionary field ; it is certainly not hope of earthly reward, nor even love of adventure which stimulates the explorer, which prompts the pioneer missionary to undertake the work. Whatever Mr. Black's feelings may have been, or whencesoever his inspiration and strength were drawn, he set about his mission with the determination of an ambassador who was not without credentials. The Scots settlers grouped about him enthusiastically ; but beyond their little oasis, lay a vast Sahara of spiritual desert. Mr. Black's first step was to make sure of his own ground. From the first, he resolved to keep aloof from politics, and adhered to that resolution throughout. During the prolonged struggle with the Hudson Bay Company, he held aloof, firmly persuaded that the mission of the clergyman ran upon a higher plane, and in a purer atmosphere, than that of the agitator, or the conservative, however sincere. Even at the unhappy period when the Anglican clergymen whom the Company had championed, opposed it, to the moral destruction of one of them, Mr. Black, whose church the reigning authorities had persistently opposed, stood aloof from the agitation of the malcontents.

The Rev. Dr. Black, throughout a distinguished career, endeavoured to promote solely the religious and educa-

tional progress of the people. When they found themselves excluded from the schools, it was he who founded and set in operation the germ of Manitoba's educational system. In early years, he had, "in addition to his usual clerical duties at both stations, to teach a French and Latin class ever since Bishop Anderson prohibited Presbyterian pupils from attending his schools."* At this time Mr. Black's stipend, we are informed, amounted to only £150 per annum, £50 of which were subscribed by the Hudson Bay Company. The rev. gentleman, however, did not stop there. The Kildonan station on Frog Plains, had been supplemented by another, fourteen miles further down, now apparently termed "Little Britain." It was to his untiring energy that the first systematic attempt to christianize the Indians, owed its origin. To the Rev. Mr. Cochran, afterwards Archdeacon, much praise is due for fruitful efforts in that direction. Perhaps as the pastor of the Hudson Bay Company, he felt that they had hitherto made no effort to fulfil one of the primary conditions of their charter; most certainly as a Christian pastor, he did what he could, not as a hireling of the monopoly, but as the faithful servant of a Diviner Master. Dr. Black died in 1882.†

In 1862, much of the Rev. Dr. Black's labour and anxiety was removed by the advent upon the field of the Rev. James Nisbet, the second Presbyterian minister at Red River, and the first missionary especially set apart for labour amongst the Indians. A native of Glasgow, Scotland, he came with

* Ross, p. 360. Of course, our author is alone responsible for a view of Bishop Anderson's course, of which the writer of these words would be sorry to judge *ex parte*.

† It should be mentioned that the Rev. Dr. Black's degree of Doctor was bestowed upon him, as was fitting, by the University of Queen's College, Kingston, in 1876.

his father and family to Canada in early life. "Like Dr. Black," the Rev. Dr. Reid informs us, "he was one of the first fruits of Knox College." After his ordination, he was appointed minister of the church at Oakville, where he laboured diligently in the sacred calling for twelve years, from 1850 to 1862, and in addition to his ordinary pastoral duties was constantly engaged in the Home Missionary work of his Church. In 1862, he was invited to assist Dr. Black in the work at Red River, and cheerfully undertook the duty. During the two years of his co-operation with Dr. Black, he was in preparation for his special work, and, in 1864, he was formally designated as a Presbyterian missionary to the valley of the Saskatchewan, and at once entered upon the arduous duty assigned him. He was accompanied by Mr. George Flett, and Mr. John McKay, both natives of the North-West, and well versed in the Cree language. The mission received the name of Prince Albert, and there for ten years, Mr. Nisbet pursued his work, with zeal and devotedness, although in the midst of grave difficulties and much discouragement. He died at Kildonan, worn out prematurely by his evangelical labours on the 30th of September, 1874, only a few weeks before the death of his wife, who together with him had been spent in the arduous work given them to do, leaving four orphan children. The testimony Mr. Nisbet left behind him might be coveted by many an ardent seeker after posthumous fame, "he was a singularly unselfish and devoted missionary, and all felt that his heart was in his work."

Of the other Presbyterian ministers engaged in the North-

West, only brief notice can be taken. The Rev. Alex. Matheson, a Scot, by parentage, is a native of Red River. He also was educated at Knox College, and for some time laboured at Lunenburg on the St. Lawrence. Returning to his native Manitoba, he became, and is now, the Minister of "Little Britain," at the Lower Fort Garry. The Rev. G. Bryce, M.A., is also a Scots-Canadian; he graduated in the University of Toronto, and pursued his theological studies at Knox College. In 1871, he was placed at the head of the College of Manitoba. The Rev. Thomas Hart, M. A., professor in the same institution is from Perth, Ontario, and also of Scottish extraction. His degree was obtained from Queen's University. One of the latest additions to the clerical strength of the Presbyterian Church in Manitoba, is the Rev. James Robertson, of Knox Church, Winnipeg. He studied at University College, Toronto, and took a theological course at Princeton, N. J.

The best general view of the work of the Church of England in the North-West will be found in Hargrave's *Red River*, chap ix. The position in which Episcopalian ministers were placed, was anomalous. The Rev. Archdeacon Cochran is justly regarded as the founder of that branch of the Church of England which now boasts of no less than five bishoprics in the North-West. It was he who, in 1836, made the first attempt at Indian evangelization, amongst the semi-civilized aborigines by founding the Indian Settlement, or Parish of St. Peter. Mr. Cochran was apostolic to the letter, for he "laboured with his hands" at the little edifice designed for instruction and worship.

He was pastor, teacher, architect, builder, and mechanic combined; what is pleasing to learn is he did not toil in vain, since what there is of civilization and settled life amongst the Indians of the Province of Manitoba may be justly traced to his early labours. It was no wonder that he was beloved by the natives and warmly esteemed by the Presbyterians, against whom, in the days of ignorance, he had sternly set his face. He was too near akin to them in the national characteristics of fervour, persistence and devotion to the highest interests of his fellow-men, to be permanently estranged from their hearts by differences in form or discipline. In their former foe they learned long before the termination of his forty years' ministry to recognise one of their closest friends. Of the other Anglican clergymen who took an active part in the work of early days, may be mentioned the Rev. John McCallum and the Rev. James (afterwards Archdeacon) Hunter.

The present Bishop of Rupert's Land—a diocese constituted in 1849—was, and is, the Most Reverend Robert Machray, D.D., the son of a Scottish advocate. He was born at Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1832. Educated in the first place at King's College in his native city, he graduated with honours in mathematics at Cambridge. He was elected Foundation Fellow of his college (Sidney) in 1855, and, in the year following ordained as Deacon and Priest successively by the Bishop of Ely. Having been honoured by other University appointments, he was for a short time Vicar of a parish near the University town. In 1865 he was consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of

Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely and Aberdeen, as well as his predecessor the Rt. Reverend David Anderson.* The diocese, as originally established, included the entire area now embraced in the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Bishop Machray entered upon the arduous duties of his extensive charge in the true missionary spirit. He fearlessly encountered the perils and privations of the wilderness, in the visitation of the distant and widely-scattered mission stations of his diocese, and for several years pursued a career of almost continued hardship and endurance, travelling thousands of miles by canoe and dog-sleigh, to the remotest confines of the then little-known region under his spiritual charge, in order to familiarize himself with its needs. When owing to the influx of settlers, it became necessary largely to extend the work of the Church, his practical knowledge of the country and its religious requirements enabled him to present the case earnestly and successfully to the Church in Canada and in England. In order to meet the continually increasing necessities arising from the progress of settlement, the diocese was subdivided by the constitution of other bishoprics, the See of Rupert's Land since 1874, comprising the Province of Manitoba, with a portion of the district of Cumberland, and the districts of Swan River, Norway House, and Lac La Pluie. On the sub-division of the diocese, Bishop Machray was appointed Metropolitan. His zeal and energy in the pioneer work of religious and educational organization are recognised, not

* Some of these biographical facts, as well as others which follow, are taken from *The Clerical Guide and Churchman's Directory*, edited by Mr. C. V. Forster Bliss, and published at Ottawa.

only by his fellow-churchmen, but by all interested in the moral and intellectual advancement of the North-West. Bishop Machray's sterling qualities of head and heart, have won the respect of all classes. His pulpit style is direct and practical rather than ornate, and is oft times characterized by the eloquence which glows with the warmth of earnest conviction, though it may not glitter with the tinsel of rhetorical embellishment. He holds the position of Chancellor and Warden of St. John's College, Manitoba, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological College.

Another of the pioneer prelates of the North-West, claims Scotland as his native land. The Right Reverend John McLean, D.D., D.C.L., was born at Portsay, Banffshire, in 1828. He graduated at Aberdeen University in 1851. He came to Canada shortly afterwards, and in 1858 was ordained by the Bishop of Huron. His first charge was the curacy of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. He removed to the North-West in 1866, where he was appointed rector of St. John's Cathedral, and Divinity Professor of St. John's College, Winnipeg. A few years later he became archdeacon of Assiniboia. In 1871, he received the degree of D. C. L., from the Universities of Trinity College, Toronto, and Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and that of D.D., from Kenyon College, Ohio. When the Diocese of Saskatchewan was constituted in 1874, the ripe scholarship and marked executive abilities of Dr. McLean, were recognised by his nomination to the new See. He was consecrated at Lambeth the same year by the Archbishop of Canterbury—and has since laboured with assiduity and success to meet as far as possible the rapidly

increasing spiritual needs of the extensive and fertile region under his charge, to which so large a proportion of the influx of settlement has been directed.

When the record of North-Western evangelization is complete, and Christianity has gone hand in hand with civilization, in reclaiming the land from desolation and pagan barbarism, no name in the list of those who laboured and suffered for this glorious consummation will be held in greater honour or more affectionate remembrance, than that of the Rev. George McDougall, Methodist missionary to the Indians, who crowned a life of heroic struggle and self-sacrifice by a martyr's death, at his perilous post of duty. But little information can be obtained as to his early antecedents. Born of a hardy sea-faring ancestry belonging to the north of Scotland, he combined a hereditary courage and love of adventure, which enabled him cheerfully to brave the dangers and hardships of life on the prairies, with a singular gentleness and refinement, and an overflowing kindness of disposition which drew all hearts towards him. Early in life he became convinced that duty called him to a career of missionary effort among the Indians of the North-West. He began his labours about the year 1850, travelling westward through the wildest and most desolate regions of what was then an almost unknown land, establishing mission stations, familiarizing himself with the languages of the Indian tribes, and carrying the light of the Gospel into the haunts of heathen darkness. In the winter of 1875-6, he was stationed at Morleyville, Bow River, in the Rocky Mountain region, where he proposed to establish an orphanage for the support

and education of destitute Indian children. Letters which he wrote a few weeks before his death to the Hon. James Ferrier, superintendent of the St. James'-street Sabbath-school, Montreal, which had largely aided his schemes by contributions, give a vivid and interesting picture of his work and its glorious results. Speaking of his journey westward from Victoria to Fort McLeod, he says : " We were guided by the Stony interpreter, James Dixon, a very remarkable man, who for years has been the patriarch of his people. James, in a five days' journey could point out every spot of interest ; now showing us the place where more than twenty-five years ago, the venerable Rundle visited them and baptized many of their people—a little further on, and the location was pointed out to us, where his father was killed by the Blackfeet, then again from a hill our friend pointed out the spot where a company of German emigrants, while crossing from Montana to the Saskatchewan were murdered—not one left to tell the painful story. This occurred seven years ago. How wonderful the change ! We can now preach the Gospel to these very people, who, but a few years ago sought the life of every traveller coming from the American side." The destitution of many of the Indians, owing to the disappearance of the buffalo, on which they were almost entirely dependent, excited his deepest commiseration and redoubled his determination to make some provision for the physical necessities of the young and helpless, while imparting together with a Christian education, such an industrial training as would fit them to become self-supporting under the new order of things. " November 6th," he writes, " we reached

the encampment of our friend Dixon. There were 380 Stonies present. Next morning we held a service, and though the frozen grass was the best accommodation we could offer our hearers, yet no sooner was the announcement made, than men, women and children gathered round us, and sang with great energy, 'Salvation, Oh, the joyful sound.' Here I counted over 100 boys and girls who ought to be attending school, and who I hope will be as soon as we can get a place erected sufficiently large to accommodate them." To effect his plans he laboured steadily with his own hands at the work of building. "At present," he sensibly says, "if your missionaries would succeed, they must not be afraid of a little manual labour."

Unfortunately this valiant and stout-hearted soldier of the Cross was never destined to put his benevolent project into operation. On the 24th of January, 1876, while hunting buffalo about thirty miles from Morleyville, to procure a supply of meat for the mission, he started to return to camp in advance of his party. It was a wild, stormy night, and a fierce wind swept the prairie laden with drifting snow. Mr. McDougall missed his way, and as a protracted search by his friends proved fruitless, the painful conclusion that he had perished from cold and exhaustion forced itself upon them. Twelve days afterwards his body was found by a half-breed, stretched in death on the snow-covered prairie, the folded hands and placid expression of the features, showing that the intrepid soul of the missionary had met death in the spirit of calm and trustful resignation—

" Like one who draws the drapery of his couch
Around him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."



CHAPTER V.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

“**H**APPY is the nation that has no history,” is an aphorism that has lost much of its force by the adoption of more rational and instructive historical methods. It was strictly true in the days when popular history was a mere record of battles and sieges, treaties made and violated, the pomp and parade of courts and the intrigues of diplomatists. But in an age when historical research and contemporary observation are brought to bear upon the life of the people, upon institutions and manners and industries, upon progress in the arts and sciences, and intellectual and religious advancement, the eras of peaceful development offer the widest scope and entail the most arduous labours upon the historian. The interest of the narrative is no longer centred upon a comparatively small group of leading figures—upon a few salient actions of overshadowing importance. It is diffused over a wider theatre where many diverse movements are in progress. There is no great crisis—no pivotal point of national destiny towards which all energies are bent and all eyes directed. But the minor events and influences which make up the sum of national life are so scattered as to area and so involved in their relations to each other, that the field-glass of the chronicler of the times of storm and pressure needs to be exchanged for an instrument

at once telescopic in range and microscopic in closeness of vision. The recent annals of North-Western progress are a record of peaceful and rapid advancement, in which, among the active and energetic spirits who have been the directing forces of settlement, there are many whose names are worthy of honourable mention—few who loom up so largely as to throw the rest into shadow. The preservation of the due historical perspective is therefore a matter of difficulty.

Canadians have been backward in realizing the grandeur and value of their national heritage. Accustomed for generations to the contrast between the narrow limits of Old Canada, and the vast expanse of half a continent to the South, the possession of which has done so much to form the American character, both as regards its faults and its virtues, it is not surprising that, for some time after the annexation of the North-West territory, public opinion failed to appreciate the new acquisition at anything like its true value. This was, no doubt, owing fully as much to the lack of anything like reliable information concerning the real character of the country and its fitness for settlement, as to the Canadian habit of self-depreciation—which, by the way, is a habit of thought rather than of speech. The empire, upon the possession of which Canada had entered, was literally a *terra incognita*.

Great spaces yet untravelled, great lakes whose mystic shores
 The Saxon rifle never heard, nor dip of Saxon oars ;
 Great herds that wander all unwatched, wild steeds that none have tamed,
 Strange fish in unknown streams, and birds the Saxon never named,
 Deep mines, dark mountain crucibles where Nature's chemic powers
 Work out the great Designer's will—all these ye say are ours !

It was not until the observations of travellers and the researches of men of science, corroborated by the actual experience of the pioneers of settlement, established beyond

a doubt the existence of large areas of fertile arable land, that public sentiment rose in some measure to a due estimation of the resources and possibilities of the North-West. Prominent among those whose keen perception and graphic descriptive powers have contributed to bring about this result is the Rev. George M. Grant, to whose book, "Ocean to Ocean," reference has already been made. In 1872, Mr. Sandford Fleming, chief engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway, determined to undertake a journey across the continent in order to familiarize himself with the general features of the route laid down by the preliminary surveys of the previous year. He was accompanied by Rev. Mr. Grant in the capacity of secretary; and Dr. Arthur Moren, of Halifax, Prof. John Macoun, of Belleville, and Mr. Charles Horetzky, an ex-Hudson Bay Company official, were also of the party. "Ocean to Ocean" was the outcome of this expedition. The party left Toronto on the 16th of July, reached Prince Arthur's Landing by steamer from Collingwood, and travelled to Winnipeg over the Dawson road. The writer bears frequent testimony to the prevalence of the Scottish element in the few and far between stopping-places and settlements along this route. The first halt after leaving Thunder Bay was made at "fifteen mile shanty," in charge of Robert Bowie, an Alloa man, of whom it is gratefully recorded that he gave the party the best dinner they had enjoyed since leaving Toronto. The station at the Matawan was in care of Mr. Aitken from Glengarry, who in two months had converted a fire-swept desert into a comfortable and prosperous home. A Scot who accompanied the party on one stage of their journey as teamster from the North-West Angle, was earning

\$30 per month and board, and saving four-fifths of his wages with the intention in a few months of buying a farm on the Red River. At White Birch River they found the keeper of the station, a Scotsman "like the rest," and a very intelligent man, able to furnish much information about the country. After the usual vicissitudes of canoe and waggon travel, over this picturesque but rough and desolate region, Winnipeg was reached. The writer notes the prosperity of the Selkirk settlement, owing to the thrifty habits of the Highlanders and their descendants. At "Silver Heights," six miles up the Assiniboine, the residence of Mr. Donald A. Smith, the travellers received a veritable Highland welcome, and met, among others, Mr. Christie, a short time before chief factor at Edmonton, Mr. Hamilton, of Norway House, and Mr. McTavish.

The party commenced the journey across the prairies with a full equipment of Red River carts, saddle horses and buckboards. Shortly after leaving Winnipeg they fell in with Rev. George McDougall, the intrepid Methodist missionary, whose lamented death a few years later left such a gap in the ranks of missionary enterprise. Mr. McDougall accompanied the party to Edmonton, where he was at that time stationed. They found a little village on the site of what is now the thriving town of Portage la Prairie, and at Rat Creek, ten miles further west, the houses of several settlers. The names of Grant and Mackenzie sufficiently indicate the origin of the two prosperous farmers, recently from Ontario, at whose houses the travellers dined. From this point onwards Mr. Grant was impressed with the wonderful richness and fertility of the prairie land, and puts on record his

amazement that so little should have been done to open up these vast and productive areas for settlement. Crossing the Assiniboine at Fort Ellice, the party turned their course towards the North Saskatchewan, by way of the Touchwood Hills, passing through a region of rolling prairie, the beauty and luxuriance of which delighted them. From Carlton they proceeded along the valley of the Saskatchewan, by the trail on the north bank of the river. At Victoria they visited the mission established by Mr. McDougall among the Crees and half-breeds. He had been assigned to another post at Edmonton, and his successor was Mr. Campbell. The teacher of the Sunday-school was Mr. McKenzie, and the interpreter Mr. Tait. The observations made during this portion of the journey as to the general character of the country, and its fitness for settlement, are the most valuable part of the work—as a vindication of the soil and climate of the North-West from the prejudices of unreasoning ignorance and the malignant aspersions of American railroad and land agents. Summing up his experiences of the route traversed as far as Edmonton, the writer says:—

“Speaking generally of Manitoba and our North-West, along the line we travelled, it is impossible to doubt that it is one of the finest pasture countries in the world, and that a great part of it is well adapted for cereals. The climatological conditions are favourable for both stock-raising and grain-producing. The spring is nearly as early as in Ontario, the summer is more humid and therefore the grains, grasses, and root crops grow better; the autumn bright and cloudless, the very weather for harvesting; and the winter has less snow and fewer snow-storms, and though in many

parts colder, it is healthy and pleasant because of the still dry air, the cloudless sky and the bright sun. The soil is almost everywhere a peaty or sandy loam resting on clay. Its only fault is that it is too rich—crop after crop is raised without fallow or manure." After considering fairly the objections raised as to the scarcity of fuel and water in some parts, otherwise adapted to settlement, and the summer frosts which occasionally nip the grain in the higher latitudes—though, as he takes care to explain, the thermometer is by no means a guide as to the effects of cold in this region—"it is impossible" he continues "to avoid the conclusion that we have a great and fertile North-West, a thousand miles long and from one to four hundred miles broad, capable of containing a population of millions."

The revelations of yesterday are the commonplaces of today. These passages seem now but the merest truisms—the presentation of a story which has grown stale, and hackneyed by the reiterations of the tourist and the newspaper correspondent, the lecturer and the politician. But they were far from being truisms when first published, or for some time later. The researches of Prof. Macoun, who with Mr. Horetzky, separated from Mr. Fleming's party at Edmonton, and proceeded to the Peace River, did much to dispel popular prejudice as to the climate. But misconceptions of this sort die slowly. His report published in 1874, showing from the flora of that region, that the summer climate of Peace River in 56° north latitude is equal to, if not better than, that of Belleville in latitude 44°, was much criticized and his statements ridiculed as extravagant. Even in 1877, when surveys had been pushed in all directions, the Minister of Public

Works, in asking the Professor to present a report on the country, thought it necessary to caution him not to draw on his imagination, and the latter knowing the incredulity which existed as to the productive capacity of the North-West, dared not present the conclusion he arrived at, from careful estimates that the country comprised fully 200,000,000 acres of agricultural land—fearing that the figures would appear altogether incredible—“As a salve to my conscience,” he writes, “I kept to the large number of 200,000,000 acres, but said that there were 79,920,000 of arable land, and 120,400,000 acres of pasture, swamps and lakes.”*

The Fleming party continued their expedition to British Columbia, by way of the Yellow Head Pass, reaching Victoria on the 9th of October, after a journey of nearly three months. Mr. Grant on his return home by way of the Union Pacific, was struck with the contrast between the arid alkaline plateaus of Utah, Nevada, Wyoming and Eastern Nebraska, the parched earth for hundreds of miles barely yielding support to a scanty growth of sage-brush, and the rich, warm soil of the Canadian prairies clothed everywhere with a luxuriant vegetation. Yet while population had been attracted to the great American desert and enterprise had carried thither the railroad and the telegraph, the fertile belt remained unpeopled and unproductive. The great essential precursor of civilization in its westward march, the railway, was yet in the future.

The tendency of public opinion during the early phases of the Canadian Pacific Railway enterprise, was to regard this undertaking rather in the light of a political necessity than

* Macoun's *Manitoba and the great North-West*, p. 639.

a factor of prime exigency in the work of populating the North-West. The scheme was urged as essential to the maintenance of British institutions in regions to which a large influx of population from the southward, was likely to be attracted; it was accepted as a corollary of Confederation; but not generally recognised as an undertaking likely to be materially remunerative. To the spirit of patriotic emulation excited by the giant strides of railway development in the United States, and to the tenacity with which the British Columbians in framing the terms of union insisted upon this material link as a *sine qua non*, more than to any general conviction of the practical commercial utility of the enterprise was its inception due. The engineering difficulties in the way were regarded by many as insuperable. Capt. Palliser who in 1857 had explored the country, as the head of an expedition sent out by the imperial government had decisively declared communication between Canada and the Pacific slope through British territory impracticable. "The time" he said "has forever gone by for effecting such an object, and the unfortunate device of an astronomical boundary line has completely isolated the central American possessions of Great Britain from Canada, in the East, and also almost debarred them from any eligible access from the Pacific coast on the west." With this official condemnation of the scheme on record it is not surprising that when the conditions of the bargain with British Columbia were announced the opinion widely prevailed that the stipulation for the construction of the road within ten years, was likely to remain a dead letter. It was reserved for the consummate scientific ability, the tireless energy, the thorough-go-

ing assiduity and indomitable resolution of a Scot to demonstrate the falsity of Capt. Palliser's conclusions, as it has since been for the enterprise, commercial sagacity and executive capacity of a company of Scotsmen to crown the work.

When the preliminary work of survey was undertaken in 1871 the position of chief engineer was assigned to Mr. Sandford Fleming, a name that will always be closely associated with the greatest public undertakings of the Dominion. Mr. Fleming was born at Kirkealdy in Fifeshire, Scotland, on the 7th of January, 1827, his father being a mechanic named Andrew Greig Fleming. The maiden name of his mother was Elizabeth Arnot. During his school days his mind exhibited a decided bent in the direction of mathematics and at an early age he was placed under articles with an engineer and surveyor. Having acquired a practical knowledge of the profession he emigrated to Canada at the age of eighteen. His progress in his adopted country was slow at first as he was for some years unable to obtain any position which would afford him the opportunity of gaining recognition for his abilities. During a portion of this period of weary waiting for professional advancement he resided in Toronto, where he was one of the first to take an interest in the Canadian Institute. In 1852 he was appointed one of the engineering staff on the Northern Railway, at that time known as the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway. His attainments quickly won him promotion and in a few years he became chief engineer of the line. During his connection with this company his services were also sought in the promotion of other public works. He subsequently

visited the Red River Settlement to ascertain whether it would be practicable to build a railroad connecting it with old Canada. In 1863 the inhabitants of the settlement addressed a memorial to the Imperial government praying for railway communication with Canada through British territory, and Mr. Fleming was entrusted with the mission of urging the construction of the line. He had several interviews on the subject with the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, but the project did not at that time assume any definite shape. On Mr. Fleming's return from England he was entrusted with the task of making a preliminary survey of a line of railway to connect the maritime provinces with Canada. The scheme was not pushed until the accomplishment of Confederation in 1867 rendered the construction of the Intercolonial Railway imperative upon the Canadian Government—when the work was carried to a successful issue under the direction of Mr. Fleming as Chief Engineer—and formally opened on the 1st of July, 1876. The triumph thus achieved over physical obstacles of no ordinary character placed him in the front of his profession and singled him out as pre-eminently fitted for the yet more important and responsible charge of opening up a highway for commerce between the East and West over swamp and prairie, river and muskeg, across the towering barrier of the Rockies, winding among British Columbia's "sea of mountains," through passes deemed impassable, bridging chasms that yawn destruction and tunnelling cliffs that frown defiance, onward, slowly, toilsomely but resistlessly onward to where the Pacific portal invites the commerce of the East and the perpetual westward surge of

humanity culminates in paradox as the pioneer confronts the Mongolian.

Mr. Fleming's connection with the Canadian Pacific continued until 1880 when he resigned his position on finding himself unable to agree with the Government as to the location of the railway. His great public services have been fitly recognised by his receiving from Her Majesty the honour of being created a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. In 1880 he was elected Chancellor of Queen's University, Kingston. He is an able and voluminous writer on topics connected with his profession. In addition to the valuable official reports of the various enterprises with which he has been connected he has published a history of the Intereclonial Railway and has furnished many instructive contributions to the *Canadian Journal* and other scientific publications. In 1855 he was united in marriage to Miss Ann Jean Hall, daughter of the late Sheriff Hall, of the County of Peterborough.

When British Columbia entered the union the practicability of the Pacific Railway was still an unsolved problem. No time was lost in setting on foot the work of survey in the summer of 1871. On July 20th, the day on which the union was formally consummated, a party left Victoria for the mountains, operations having been begun in the East some weeks before. The quarter to which attention was specially directed was the Yellow Head Pass in the Rocky Mountains which it was supposed might offer an available route. On examination it was found that no insuperable obstacle existed to the construction of a road through this pass to Kamloops in the interior of the Province. The main

question was settled. The Canadian Pacific was a practicable scheme and henceforward it was merely a choice between longer and shorter, easier or more difficult routes. The immensity of the enterprise, which had hardly been fully considered in the anxiety to make terms with the British Columbians, began to be more fully realized during the toilsome and tedious years of exploratory survey that followed. The difficulties encountered, the fatigues and perils endured by those engaged in this work are deserving of more recognition than they have received or are ever likely to receive at the hands of the country in whose service these brave soldiers on the skirmish line of the advancing forces of civilization toiled and suffered and not unfrequently died—for if “peace hath her victories not less renowned than war,” she has also her tragedies,—her killed whose names find place in no bulletins and to whose memories no lofty monuments are reared, and her wounded who go unpensioned and undecorated. The total list of lives lost in connection with the survey up to the year 1878, by various “moving accidents of flood and field” numbered thirty-eight. The names of Sinclair, Matheson, Spence, Hamilton, McMillan, Scott and others which appear on the death-roll indicate that Scotland can claim as her sons a very large proportion of the men to whose faithful and arduous service in the face of the dangers and hardships of the wilderness, Canada owes so heavy a debt of gratitude. The vast amount of information concerning the physical features of a region of which nothing was accurately known excepting along the routes followed by the few travellers who had left their observations on record, gained by the exhaustive and elaborate system of surveys carried

out under Mr. Fleming's direction is indicated by the statement made by him in a paper read before the Colonial Institute on the 16th of April, 1878, that the total length of explorations made during the preceding seven years exceeded 47,000 miles, no less than 12,000 miles having been measured by chain and spirit-level, yard by yard.* The expense of these surveys amounted to about three and a half million dollars, and the engineering force employed numbered about a thousand men of all grades.

Meanwhile the chances and changes of political conflict had resulted in material alterations in the character of the scheme. As we have seen, the Conservative policy was to secure the construction of the road by private enterprise, stimulated by lavish subsidies of money and land. Mr. Mackenzie's administration undertook to build and operate it as a government work. There is much to be said on either side of the argument as between these two systems. It must be admitted that there is a growing public opinion in favour of the resumption by the state of the control of the public lines of traffic and communication, implied in the old phrase the "king's highway." This feeling has been intensified by the oppressive and arbitrary conduct of the American railway magnates, whose position has aptly been compared to that of the robber-barons of the Rhine in feudal times. In a country where the great food-producing districts are separated by long distances both from the mass of home consumers and the nearest points of shipment to the foreign market, the railway king holds industry and commerce by the throat. It is not surprising that the unscrupulous

* Report of Canadian Pacific Railway, 1878 p. 88.

pulous use of this power in regulating tolls according to the rule of "what the traffic will bear," and the frequent contemptuous disregard of the public interest, have given rise to a strong agitation in favour of state interference. Many consider that the history of railroad construction and management in the United States was well calculated to serve as a warning rather than an example for imitation, in the matter of entrusting large corporations with monopoly privileges. On the other hand, the danger of leaving a gigantic enterprise like the Canadian Pacific to be owned and worked by a government which would always be under the temptation to use it as a political machine, was calculated to impress Canadians more forcibly than an evil of which their own experiences had been comparatively slight. Moreover, the success of the Mackenzie administration in the work of construction had not been such as to influence public sentiment in favour of government railways. The progress made had been slow. True, the painstaking and elaborate system of preliminary surveys, so indispensable to the success of the undertaking, had been pushed forward with creditable thoroughness and energy; but the public are apt to judge by tangible results, visible on the surface, ponderable by scales or steel-yard, measurable by tape-line or yard-stick, computable in current coin of the realm. The actual mileage of railway completed during the Mackenzie *regime* was but 227 miles, comprising sections from Selkirk to Rat Portage and from Fort William to English River. The rich prairie region, to the value of which the country was now thoroughly aroused, had not been opened up. Sir John Macdonald, on his return to power, adopted for the time being the policy of his pre-

decessor, with the object of securing the settlement of the country as speedily as possible. The work of construction was hastened. Additional contracts were let, including that for the connecting link between English River and Rat Portage, so as to complete the summer route to Winnipeg by way of Lake Superior, and the Pembina branch was finished, effecting a connection with the American railway system. The route west of Winnipeg, which, as originally laid down, took a north-westerly direction, crossing the narrows of Lake Manitoba, and traversing the low-lying lands at the base of Duck Mountain, was deflected considerably to the southward, in order to open up a country better fitted for settlement. On the Pacific slope the road was put under contract from Yale to Kamloops, a distance of 127 miles, the Burrard Inlet route, *via* the Yellow Head pass and Tête Jaune Cache, of which Mr. Fleming was a strong upholder, being adopted. In 1880, the number of miles under construction was 722.

Such was the position of matters when the Syndicate contract was entered into in pursuance of the original policy which the Conservative administration had all along kept steadily in view. That at length, after repeated attempts to interest capitalists in this great work a successful issue was reached, the completion of the line assured, the government relieved from its vast responsibilities, and the country from the risk of continuous and indefinite losses in the subsequent working of the road, is due to the foresight, shrewdness and enterprise of the association of Scotsmen, who, when others hesitated or shrunk back appalled at the magnitude of the venture, realized the immense possibilities held out by the offer of the government, and grasped the opportunity let slip

by less energetic or more timorous competitors. And here brief biographical notices of the leading members of the Syndicate may be given.

Mr. George Stephen, of Montreal, the leading spirit of the enterprise, is a native of Ecclefechan, Dumfries-shire, noted as being also the birthplace of Thomas Carlyle,—a locality of which he evidently entertained the same opinion as Daniel Webster did of his native New Hampshire, that it was “a good place to emigrate from,” as at an early age he left it for the British metropolis. There he entered the employ of the extensive mercantile house of J. M. Pawson & Co., St. Paul’s Churchyard, and in this practical training school soon acquired a thorough knowledge of commercial life. Dissatisfied with the prospect of rising in the world afforded by the business outlook of the Old Country, he emigrated to Canada about the year 1853, on the advice of his relative, the late William Stephen, senior member of the firm of W. Stephen & Co., Montreal. He entered the warehouse of the firm, and in a few years obtained a junior partnership, having by his assiduity and fidelity to their interests made himself indispensable. Mr. Wm. Stephen died in 1862, and his interest was purchased by the subject of this sketch, who, on obtaining an ascendancy in the business, engaged extensively in the cloth manufacturing industry. This new departure proved a highly profitable one—so much so, that he soon withdrew from the wholesale business and devoted his attention exclusively to manufacturing. He was chosen a director of the Bank of Montreal, in which he was a large shareholder, and when the presidency was resigned by Mr. King, was elected to fill the position. Mr. Stephen’s first

connection with railway enterprise was his joining a syndicate for the purchase of the interest of the Dutch holders of the bonds of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway, which gave them control of the partially constructed line. Realizing the importance of this road as a link in the chain of railway communication with the North-West *via* the Pembina branch of the Canadian Pacific, they carried the work of construction rapidly forward, and soon found themselves in possession of an exceedingly profitable line. They were in a position to control not merely the entire traffic of the Canadian North-West, but to render tributary a large area of Minnesota and Dakota. The income of this monopoly they devoted to widening the sphere of their operations by constructing connecting lines in various directions, making St. Paul the focal point for their system. They re-named their line the St. Paul and Manitoba Railway, as until the section of the Pacific along the north shore of Lake Superior is completed, it will, for half the year, remain the only outlet for the now vastly increased trade of the Canadian North-West. Mr. Stephen is a cousin of Hon. Donald A. Smith, associated with him in the St. Paul and Manitoba and Canadian Pacific railway companies. His adopted daughter was united in marriage to the son of Sir Stafford Northcote, during the sittings of the Joint High Commission which negotiated the Washington Treaty, young Northcote serving as an *attaché* at the time. Mr. Stephen exercises a lavish hospitality, but is pre-eminently a man of affairs, and more at home in the office or at a directors' meeting than in social festivities.

Mr. Duncan McIntyre, as the name indicates, is of Celtic

origin, and was born in the Highlands of Scotland not far north of Aberdeen. He came to Canada in the year 1849, settling in Montreal, where he obtained employment as a clerk with the well-known mercantile firm of Stuart & McIntyre, in whose service he remained for many years. His duties necessitated his travelling a good deal in the Ottawa Valley, and his observations of the locality impressed him strongly with its great natural advantages. During his intervals of leisure, he frequently joined hunting parties, and in this way travelled through the wilder and less accessible portions of the Ottawa district. He thus acquired a minute topographical knowledge of the country, which afterwards stood him in good stead in connection with railway matters. Mr. McIntyre had a prosperous business career. He acquired a partnership in the firm of Stuart & McIntyre, and as the other members retired, found the concern in his own hands. His thoughts were, however, turned in other directions, by his interest in the development of the Ottawa Valley. From the first he believed in the future of the Canada Central Railroad, of which he became one of the directors. He embarked with Mr. Foster, President of the road, in the Canada Central Extension scheme, taking a share in the contract for construction—and by a succession of transactions, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter, became president and virtual owner of the Canada Central. Mr. McIntyre's foresight as to the important character of this road, is amply justified by its natural position as a link in the great inter-oceanic chain.

Mr. Robert B. Angus, like his colleagues, is a Scot by birth as well as by blood—Bathgate, near Edinburgh, being his

native place. He was one of four brothers, all remarkable for the early developed brilliancy of their talents. His scholastic education was received at Edinburgh, and his business training in a bank at Manchester, for he left his native country when quite a youth. When he arrived in Canada in 1852, he looked for similar employment. From the position of junior clerk in the Bank of Montreal, he speedily rose to more responsible trusts. He was for a time in charge of the Chicago branch, and after Mr. King had attained the position of general manager, Mr. Angus became assistant manager. He succeeded his chief in the managerial post, which after a time he quitted to take a share in the St. Paul and Manitoba syndicate. Mr. Angus is regarded as a shrewd man of business and strict in his dealings. He is, however, none the less popular, as he has many amiable qualities, being a typical instance of that dual nature which is not uncommon especially among Scotsmen, combining rigid adherence to the letter of a bargain and close calculation of expenditure in business matters with open-handed generosity in social intercourse.

Mr. Donald Alexander Smith was born in Scotland in the year 1821 and early in life came to the North-West in the service of the Hudson Bay Company. Few men have been as closely identified with the progress of civilization in the North-West as Mr. Smith, who has held many important and responsible positions and been connected with various enterprises for the development of the country. He rose to the post of resident governor and chief commissioner of the Hudson Bay Company, and in 1870 was appointed a member of the Executive Council for the North-West terri-

tories. He was a special commissioner to enquire into the causes, nature, and extent of the Riel rebellion. For three years he represented Winnipeg and St. John in the Manitoba Legislative Assembly, resigning his seat in 1874. When Manitoba was admitted into the Union in 1871 Mr. Smith was returned as a member of the House of Commons for the constituency of Selkirk and was re-elected on several occasions. In politics he is a Conservative. The estimation in which he is held by the people of Manitoba has been testified by his election as president of the Provincial Agricultural Association, of the Selkirk St. Andrew's Society, and vice-president of the Dominion Rifle Association. He is a director of several banks and commercial companies and a member of the Board of Management of the Manitoba College (Presbyterian). He married Isabella, daughter of the late Mr. Richard Hardisty, at one time of the British army but subsequently like himself an official of the Hudson Bay Company.

It would obviously be out of place in a work of this character to enter into any detailed account of the progress of the Canadian Pacific since it was handed over to the Syndicate. It is sufficient to say that under their energetic management the entire prairie section of the road has been completed so that to-day Canada is in possession of a line of communication reaching from Thunder Bay to the Rocky Mountains. The remaining sections of the road are being vigorously pushed forward. The link to the North shore of Lake Superior, connecting Thunder Bay with Callender, the former terminus of the line as originally laid out, is under construction and the work is being carried on as fast as the

physical obstacles in the way will permit. The Company having acquired the Canada Central and amalgamated it with the Pacific, Montreal will be the Eastern terminus of the line and the outlet for the great volume of North-Western traffic. The route through the Rocky Mountains to Kamloops is as yet undetermined. This is the *piece de resistance* of the undertaking and further surveys of the region are yet in progress to ascertain the most available line. It cannot be doubted that the same energy, decision, and administrative capacity which have already accomplished so much in grappling with the difficulties of this immense enterprise, will be equal to the yet more formidable difficulties to be encountered, and that in a very few years the debt which Canada owes to Scottish resolution and force of character will be still further augmented by the successful completion of the great trans-continental railway.





CHAPTER VI.

THE INFLUX OF SETTLEMENT.

THERE is no feature of our national life more creditable to the Canadian people than the contrast afforded by the state of society during the transition periods of early settlement, to that which prevailed in the United States under similar circumstances. Not only has the treatment of the Indians by the pioneers of colonization from the days of the Pilgrims down to the present time, been a foul blot upon the American name, but the general lawlessness and disregard of social and religious restraints which as a rule obtain in the newer American settlements have become proverbial. In these communities ruffianism tempered by lynch law is generally in the ascendant, life and property are insecure, and a low tone of morality prevails. It is years before the lagging forces of religion, law, education and social refinement overtake the crude rough elements of material progress, and establish a civilization worthy of the name. In the opening up of the Canadian North-West, law and order have been maintained from the outset to a degree perhaps unprecedented in the history of colonization in modern times. The missionary and the teacher have preceded the settler, to be followed by the mounted policeman. Crime is as rare as in any part of Canada, and lynch law unknown, because the arm of justice is strong and far-reaching. The wise provi-

sion excluding intoxicating liquor from the North-West Territories has conduced in no small measure to the good order to which all travellers through the country unite in bearing testimony. Even in Winnipeg where this restraint is not in force, and where the feverish excitement of land speculation, attracted an extensive floating population, many of whom suddenly found themselves in the possession of large amounts of money, there was never any parallel to the scandalous license and flaunting depravity of the mushroom cities of the American frontier, where the vices of civilization are intensified by the law-defying recklessness of border life. To the wholesome influence of the Scottish element which enters so largely into the directing forces of society in the North-West, this favourable condition of public morality is greatly due. The Scottish respect for constituted authority, for the ordinances of religion, and the Christian code of morality, which is instinctive with many of the old settlers as well as the more recent arrivals, has fortunately proved a strong barrier against the disintegrating and unsettling influences of a sudden influx of settlement.

When the Government resolved on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, it was foreseen that unless steps were taken to conciliate the Indians, and afford them reasonable compensation for their land, serious troubles were likely to arise. By the loss of their hunting-grounds, the Indians would be deprived of the means of subsistence, and would seek to appease at once their hunger and their resentment by raids on the more exposed settlements. Retaliation by the whites would be certain to follow, with the inevitable result of protracted and bloody border wars. In pursuance

of the truly wise and statesmanlike policy of even-handed justice, which has made the Indians of Old Canada the firm friends and staunch defenders of British institutions, the Government undertook to extinguish the Indian title to the land by inducing the various tribes to voluntarily surrender their claims in return for annuities and other benefits. Between the years 1871 and 1877, a series of treaties were negotiated with the Ojibbeways, Crees, Sauteaux, Blackfeet and other tribes, the effect of which was to secure from all the Indians, inhabiting the regions to be thrown open for settlement between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, a formal cession of their rights in the soil, with the exception of the reservations set apart for their occupation. Nearly all of those engaged in the delicate and responsible task of conducting the treaty negotiations with the aborigines were of Scottish birth or extraction. Mr. Wemyss McKenzie Simpson, as Indian Commissioner, acting in conjunction with Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, was instrumental in concluding treaties with the Indians of Manitoba, by which the aboriginal title to that province, and a large adjacent region was extinguished. The subsequent treaties with the Indians occupying the country further west, were the work of Lieutenant-Governors Morris and Laird, assisted by a number of gentlemen whose knowledge of the country, and acquaintance with Indian peculiarities rendered their services of great value. Prominent among these were Hon. W. J. Christie, a retired factor of the Hudson Bay Company, the late Hon. James McKay, himself partly of Indian extraction, and Mr. Simon James Dawson. And here a few biographical details may be given concerning one

whose name will always be closely associated with the suppression of the Riel insurrection in 1870, and the early influx of settlement.

Mr. Dawson is a Scot by birth, and connected through both parents with historic Scottish families. By profession he is a civil engineer. He came to Canada at an early age, and in 1851, received an important appointment in connection with the construction of extensive works on the St. Maurice River, for opening up the lumber regions dependent on that stream as an outlet. He carried out the plan successfully, and in 1857 was commissioned by the government to explore the country between Lake Superior and the Saskatchewan, to ascertain its fitness for settlement, and the practicability of opening up communication with it. This task being finished, he engaged in the lumber trade on the St. Maurice for some years. In 1868 he was entrusted with the work of constructing a road to Red River, available for travel, until the completion of the railway should offer a speedier and more convenient means of access. The engineering difficulties in the way were very great—the available resources small. The total distance is about 530 miles—forty-five of which at the eastern, and a hundred and ten at the western end can be travelled by waggons. The intervening three hundred and eighty miles comprises a line of water communication through a maze of lakes and rivers, the navigable portions of the route being frequently separated by rocky ridges or necks of land, across which canoes or other vessels have to be portaged. In 1870, when the expedition under Col. Garnet Wolseley was sent against the insurgents, this route, then far from complete, afforded the

only possible means of access to Red River through Canadian territory, and but for the energy, determination and professional skill displayed by Mr. Dawson, in combating the physical obstacles to the march through the wilderness, the bloodless victory achieved by the mere presence of the troops must have been very considerably delayed. Mr. Dawson represented Algoma in the Ontario legislature, from 1875 until 1878, and in the latter year was returned for the same constituency to the Dominion House of Commons—being re-elected in 1882. He is independent in politics, but has usually voted with the ministry on important questions.

Hon. W. J. Christie was born at Fort Albany, East Hudson Bay, on January the 19th, 1824, his father being a Scotsman and a chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company at the time of its amalgamation with the Nor'-West Company. He was sent to Scotland for his education, returning to this continent with Sir George Simpson in 1841, and entering the Company's service at Lake Superior. In 1843 he went to the northern department, and was one year at Rocky Mountain House engaged in trading with the Blackfeet. After holding responsible positions for many years at York Factory, Fort Churchill and Fort Pelly, he was promoted to the charge of the Saskatchewan District, which he retained fourteen years. In 1872, upon the reorganization of the Company's business, he was appointed chief factor and supervisor of the country from Fort Garry to the Arctic circle. After making a tour of inspection, he resigned the following year, after thirty-one years' active service, and settled in Brockville, Ontario—where he now resides. Mr. Christie's tact and good management were specially conspicuous dur-

ing the Riel insurrection, when he was in charge of the Saskatchewan District, and saved the Company the enormous losses which would have resulted had the insurgents assumed a hostile attitude towards them. He was appointed a commissioner for the purpose of effecting the treaty with the Plain District Crees in 1874. and was nominated a member of the North-West Council. During his long career he did much to promote the explorations and opening up of the North-West, his services being acknowledged in very complimentary terms in Capt. Palliser's report of the expedition of 1858-9, and in other official documents.

For several years the Dawson route continued to afford settlers the readiest means of access to the North-West. It was not until 1879 that the Pembina Branch provided railway communication by way of the United States. Nevertheless, great progress was made in the settlement of the country by the steady influx of settlers attracted by the rich prairie lands or anxious to participate in the prosperity evinced by the rapid growth of Winnipeg. In 1870 that city was a village of some 215 inhabitants. It had about 500 in 1871 and progressed continuously during the decade until in 1881 it had attained a population of 7985. Then came the "boom" of 1881-2, when under the influence of increased facility of communication and the rush of emigration, business and population went up with a sudden bound. The land speculation craze attracted capital from all quarters and sent lots on the leading thoroughfares up to Chicago prices. The inflation has since subsided and business has got down to a healthier and less speculative basis. The present population is estimated at about 30,000.

Emigration into Manitoba and the North-West which up to 1875 had only numbered a few thousand received a decided impetus during that year when upwards of six thousand were added to the population from this source. There was a large influx of settlers the year following and the area of colonization extended beyond the Pembina Mountains, the land adjacent to the international boundary line being largely taken up. The year 1877 witnessed the founding of Rapid City on the Little Saskatchewan and the following year population began to pour into the surrounding country. In order to supply the settlements on the River Assiniboine the attempt was made to ascend the river by steamboat as far as Fort Ellice. This had previously been considered impracticable on account of the rapids; but in May, 1879, the trip was made successfully by Captain Webber of the steamboat *Manitoba*. Communication to this point being secured, a considerable immigration to the region Eastward from Fort Ellice took place, and the town of Birtle was founded as a distributing centre for this section. The Souris Plain also attracted many in search of farming lands. The total number of immigrants for that year reached eleven thousand. In 1880 it numbered about fifteen thousand—the region of Shell River considerably to the North of Fort Ellice being opened up for settlement.

When the Syndicate bargain was consummated an impetus was at once given to North-West development. Immigration was stimulated, business increased immensely, the prices of real estate rose, and every one accepting the ratification of the contract as a guarantee that the future of the country was assured essayed to discount its coming

prosperity. Cities and towns sprung up everywhere—at stations, or points which it was rumoured were likely to be stations of the line—at places where it crossed rivers—at the intersection of streams because of the facilities for water communication in different directions—beside rapids because the obstruction offered the advantage of being at the head of navigation—on rising ground because of the benefits of an elevated site and a commanding prospect—and in the middle of the broad prairie for the very obvious reason that they would have plenty of room to grow. Cities here, there, and everywhere—

Thou canst not find one spot
Whereon no city stood.

says Shelley's "Queen Mab," and though there may be doubts as to its strict accuracy as a general observation, few who had any experience of the Manitoba boom will be disposed to question its truth as applied to that province. These embryonic communities, it is true, were for the most part destitute even of the rudimentary blacksmith shop and tavern that form the traditional nucleus of the Chicagos of the future. Nevertheless, their lots were held and not unfrequently sold at prices which, as compared with the cost of the land a year or two before, offered a sufficiently favourable augury of their destiny to allure investors. The moral of the "boom" of 1881-2 is as old as the story of human credulity. Speculation ran high in connection with Winnipeg property, but in that case there was a tangible basis of actual value—it was simply a question of the probable extent and rapidity of the growth of a city with an assured future. In the case of the "paper cities," however, the very names of

which have now been forgotten by all except the luckless investors, no man of ordinary foresight and intelligence ought to have been deluded into supposing that such investments possessed any real value beyond the trifle which the land would fetch for farm purposes. As a matter of fact not many even of those who lost money were so deceived. The question of permanent value was the last thing they considered. They valued their purchases simply as counters in a gambling transaction and their only delusion was in entertaining the idea that the public would keep up the game long enough to enable them to win.

Along the line of the Railway, however, a number of cities and towns grew up, the prosperity of which rested upon a more enduring basis. The Syndicate altered the course of the line to a more Southerly route than that at first projected — tapping a rich agricultural region. Portage la Prairie was reached in the spring of 1881, and by the close of that year the population had risen from about 800 to 2,700. In September of the same year the railway reached Brandon, 145 miles West of Winnipeg, and its developement received a sudden impulse. The city of Emerson is another place which has made substantial progress owing to its natural advantages of location and the enterprise of its leading men. It had no existence before 1874 and the following year the population numbered about a hundred. It obtained railway communication with St. Paul in 1879, settlers at once began to flow in, and in 1881 the population had increased to about 2,500.

According to the census returns the population of Manitoba has increased from 18,995 in 1871 to 65,954 in 1881

Of the latter number 16,506 are of Scottish origin and 2,868 were born in Scotland. The Scottish element is considerably larger than any other as the English by descent number 11,503, the Irish 10,173, the French 9,949, the German 8,652, and the Indians 6,767. Of the 7,985 credited to Winnipeg, 2,470 are of Scottish origin, 2,318 English, and 1,864 Irish. The population of the North-West Territories is given by the census of 1881 at a total of 56,446, of which 49,472 are Indians. Of the 6,974 whites, 1,217 are of Scottish blood.

What Manitoba owes to the influence of the Scot, cannot be over-estimated. Her institutions are leavened by Scottish feelings; her public sentiment moulded by Scottish habits of thought; her business carried on largely by Scottish capital and enterprise; her leading merchants, her foremost politicians, the larger proportion of her principal professional men, bankers, professors, clergy—the men of thought as well as those of action—the guiding, governing brain forces of the nucleus from whence radiate the lines of settlement and traffic, are of that sturdy, indomitable North British stock, which, wherever the English language is spoken, is to be found in the van of the march of civilization—pioneer and path-finder for those that shall follow. Prof. Bryce, in his admirable work on “Manitoba, Its Infancy, Growth and Present Condition,” bears the following testimony to the powerful Scottish sentiment which prevails in the Province, and the tenacity with which the Manitoba Scots adhere to the time-honoured observances of their forefathers, and cherish their national spirit.

“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."*

The Scottish ascendancy in politics of which those of other nationalities are sometimes disposed to complain—forgetful that where political honours are conferred by the people, such a complaint is an arraignment of the intelligence and discrimination of the electors—is equally noticeable in Manitoba as in the older provinces. Men of Scottish race mingled in not a few cases with a strain of aboriginal blood, the descendants of Hudson Bay officers and the Selkirk settlers together, with later arrivals of the same stock from Canada and the old land, form a very large proportion of the representatives of this mixed community. Since the admission of the Province to the Union, about one-half of the Manitoba members have been Scots by birth or descent. Reference has already been made to Hon. John Sutherland, Hon. Donald A. Smith, and Mr. Robert Cunningham—the latter a newcomer, and the two former old settlers. The leading features in the careers of some other Scotchmen, who have represented the Prairie Province in the Dominion Parliament may here be briefly given.

* "Manitoba, Its Infancy, Growth and Present Condition," p. 358.

Hon. Andrew Graham Ballenden Bannatyne was born in 1829, in South Ronaldshay, Orkney Isles; his father being James Bannatyne, an officer of the Fishery Department. He came to Canada at the age of twenty, and engaged with the Hudson Bay Company, in the service of which he remained until 1851. Mr. Bannatyne held office in the provisional government of Louis Riel, and has also been Post-office Inspector for the Province, a member of the Council of Assiniboia, and at a later period a member of the Executive Council for the North-West Territories. He was elected to the House of Commons for Provencher by acclamation, on the 31st March, 1875, Riel, who was previously elected, having been declared an outlaw, and a new writ issued. Mr. Bannatyne retired from parliamentary life in 1878.

Among the newer men in Manitoba public affairs, is Mr. Arthur Wellington Ross, M.P., for Lisgar. He is a Scottish-Canadian, being a son of Donald Ross, of East Williams, Middlesex County. His grandfather, Arthur Ross, of the 78th Highlanders, was one of the first settlers in the Township of Adelaide. A. W. Ross, was born on the 25th March, 1846, in the Township of East Williams, and completed his education at Toronto University. He was Public School Inspector for the County of Glengarry, for about three years, ending November, 1874, and during this period married Miss Jessie Flora Cattanach, of Laggan, in that county. On taking up his residence in Winnipeg, he applied himself to legal study, and was admitted as a barrister-at-law of the Province. During the era of real estate speculation, he invested largely in land, and as his operations were conducted with foresight and prudence, they proved extremely profitable,

and Mr. Ross soon ranked as one of the wealthiest men in Winnipeg. He represented Springfield in the Manitoba Legislature, from 1878 until 1882, when he resigned in order to become a candidate for the House of Commons. In politics, Mr. Ross is a Liberal.

Two of Mr. Ross's co-representatives in the Commons from Manitoba, are also Scottish-Canadians, and like him new members. Mr. Robert Watson, member for Marquette, was born in Elora, Ontario, in 1853, his father being an Edinburgh man. He is a millwright by trade. Mr. Watson went to Manitoba in 1876, and engaged extensively in grain dealing and contracting, his ventures proving highly successful. His political views are Liberal. Mr. Hugh McKay Sutherland, was born in New London, P.E.I., on the 22nd of February, 1843, his family having originally come from Sutherlandshire. His parents removed to Oxford County, Ontario, when he was quite young. He was engaged as Superintendent of Public Works in the North-West, from 1874 until 1878. In the latter year he settled in Winnipeg, and went into the lumber trade. He is a member of the Liberal party.

The prevalence of the Scottish element has been equally marked in Provincial as in Dominion politics. On the organization of the Province of Manitoba, the class of old residents comprising the Hudson Bay Company officials—active or retired—and their descendants, together with the Scots of Kildonan, furnished most of the available legislative material. The Scottish predominance in the management of the affairs of the Hudson Bay Company, has already been fully dwelt upon. It was some years before the newer

arrivals secured the ascendancy in Manitoba politics, and largely displaced the Hudson Bay connection, and the native North-Westerners as popular representatives. It is significant that this change, so far as it has been accomplished, still leaves men of Scottish blood in the foremost political positions, as shown by the salient circumstance that three out of the five Manitoba representatives in the Dominion Parliament are Scottish Canadians of recent immigration.

Though the effect of the influx of population has been to change the complexion of the Manitoba legislature, it is noteworthy that the premier of the province is one of the old regime. Hon. John Norquay, is of mixed Scottish and Indian blood, the latter element being strongly manifested in his aboriginal cast of features, while the qualities of his paternal ancestry have been conspicuously manifested in his career. On his father's side he is of Orcadian descent, his grandfather having come to the North-West from the Island of South Ronaldsay. His father also named John Norquay, was a native of Red River. The Hon. John Norquay was born on the 8th of May, 1841, and received as good an education as the settlement afforded, taking a scholarship at St. John's academy in 1854. He was returned as a member of the first Manitoba Parliament, for the constituency of High Bluff, and in December, 1871, was appointed to a cabinet position with the portfolio of Minister of Public Works and Agriculture. He resigned along with his colleagues in July, 1874, but did not remain long out of office. He joined the administration of Hon. R. A. Davis the following year, and was assigned to the post of Minister of Public Works in May, 1876. Upon the defeat of the Davis ministry in Octo-

ber, 1878, he was called upon to form a new administration in conjunction with Hon. Joseph Royal. Mr. Norquay became Premier and Provincial Treasurer. A disagreement shortly afterwards occurred between the Premier and his colleagues, Messrs. Royal and Delorme, which led to the resignation of the two latter. Several changes were subsequently made in the *personnel* of the ministry. The Norquay administration was sustained in the general election of October, 1879—a re-distribution of constituencies having previously been made. It was considerably strengthened by the accession of Senator Girard and Hon. Maxime Goulet, representing the French element, and has since remained in power. Mr. Norquay, since 1874, has represented the constituency of St. Andrew's. The most important measures of his administration have been the introduction of municipal organizations, the adoption of an extensive system of drainage, by which large districts of swampy and low-lying lands have been reclaimed, and the extension of the provincial boundaries, which has given Manitoba the area of a first-class province. Mr. Norquay's course in connection with the latter question, in its more recent phases, has excited a good deal of feeling against him in Ontario. In commenting upon his course, however, it must in fairness be remembered that as Premier of Manitoba, he has acted strictly in the interests of the province, whose welfare he is pledged to advance, and to whose people alone he is responsible. It does not fall within the scope of the present work to enter into the elaborate technical details of the vexed Boundary Award question, and the respective rights of the authorities which have come into collision on this debateable ground. But, whatever,

be the upshot, the representatives of Manitoba cannot reasonably be blamed for taking advantage of party dissensions at Ottawa and Toronto, to increase the territory of their province. The current political morality of the most enlightened nations has never risen to the lofty plane of voluntarily renouncing an advantage, because its acceptance involved an injustice to other communities. The Golden Rule finds no place among the maxims of diplomacy and, judged by the ordinary standards of political ethics, Mr. Norquay has acted strictly within the line of his duty to his province in pushing her claims. If the final settlement of the question results to the detriment of the strong, but divided Province of Ontario, the Manitoba Premier at any rate will stand guiltless of treachery to a cause to which he owes no allegiance and professed no devotion.

The political lines have not been very strictly defined in Manitoba until the last few years. The tendency at first was to subordinate party divisions to the interests of the province, and for some time the designations of Conservative and Reformer sat loosely upon many of the public men of the province. Of late, however, the identification of the interests of the Norquay administration with those of the Conservative ministry at Ottawa, and the strong party feeling of many of the new settlers from the older provinces, have drawn the lines of party more tightly. The Norquay administration is now strictly Conservative, and the political lines of cleavage in local matters coincide with the divisions of Dominion politics. Some of the more prominent of those of Scottish origin, who have taken part in provincial affairs, may now be sketched in outline.

Hon. James McKay was the eldest son of Mr. James McKay, of Sutherlandshire, who was for many years in the service of the Hudson Bay Company. He was born at Edmonton House, Saskatchewan, and received his education at the Red River settlement. He was for some time in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company and afterwards went into business on his own account as a contractor. He superintended the construction of a portion of the Dawson route. On the creation of the Province of Manitoba he was called to the Legislative Council, occupying the Speaker's chair for several years. He was appointed a member of the first provincial administration, organized in January, 1871, with the office of president of the Executive Council—which office he retained until the resignation of the ministry in December, 1874. Shortly afterwards he became Minister of Agriculture in the Government formed by Hon. R. A. Davis, from which post he retired in 1878 owing to the lingering illness from which he died on the 3rd of December, 1879. Owing to his known integrity and straightforwardness of character and his thorough acquaintance with the aboriginal nature he possessed great influence over the Indians and half-breeds which enabled him to render valuable services in connection with the various treaties by which the Indian title to the country was extinguished. He was married in June, 1859 to Margaret, the third daughter of Chief Factor Rowan of the Hudson Bay Company.

Another prominent member of the Manitoba Legislature who has passed away was Hon. Donald Gunn, a Scot by birth and descended from the clan whose name he bore. Born in the parish of Falkirk, Caithness-shire, in September, 1797, he

came to the North-West in 1813 to engage in the service of the Hudson Bay Company in which he remained ten years, being stationed at York Factory, Severn and Oxford House. In July, 1819, he married Margaret the daughter of Mr. James Swain, of York Factory. On resigning his position in 1823, he settled at Red River. For upwards of twenty years he was one of the Judges of the Court of Petty Sessions, a portion of the time being president of the court. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Manitoba Legislature in the constituency of St. Andrew's at the general election of 1870 and was nominated to the Legislative Council when that body was instituted. He held his seat until the abolition of the Council in 1876. Mr. Gunn was an enthusiastic naturalist, and by years of close observation and study had rendered himself thoroughly versed in the natural history of the North-West. He contributed numerous papers on this subject to the "Miscellaneous Collections of the Smithsonian Institution," and other publications. He was a corresponding member of the latter body and of the Institute of Rupert's Land, and a member of the Board of Management of Manitoba College. He died at St. Andrew's on the 30th of November, 1878.

Hon. Colin Inkster, who succeeded Hon. James McKay as Speaker of the Legislative Council and President of the Executive Council, is another representative of the class which supplied so large a proportion of the public men of Manitoba during the early days of the province. His father, John Inkster, was a native of the Orkney Isles and a Hudson Bay official, who in 1852 was appointed a Councillor of Assiniboia. Colin Inkster was born in the Red River settlement in 1843.

He contested Lisgar unsuccessfully in the Conservative interest in 1871, and on the organization of the short-lived Legislative Council, was appointed one of its members. He resigned office in 1876 to accept a shrievalty.

Alexander Murray, M.P.P., for Assiniboia, is the only son of the late Mr. James Murray, one of the original Selkirk settlers, and was born in Kildonan on April 18th, 1839. He received his education at St. John's College, where, in 1857, he took a scholarship. Mr. Murray who is a Conservative in politics and a strong supporter of the Pacific Railway policy of the present administration, was first returned to the legislature for St. Charles in 1874, and has been a member ever since, excepting during a short interval in 1878, when he occupied the position of Police Magistrate for the County of East Marquette.

Hon. Gilbert McMicken, who occupied the position of Speaker of the Legislative Assembly from 1880 until the general election of 1883, was born in Wigtonshire, Scotland, in 1813. He came to Canada in his nineteenth year, and has occupied numerous responsible public positions in Ontario. He was for many years a resident in the Niagara District where he held several municipal offices, and represented Welland County in the Legislative Assembly of Canada from 1857 to 1861. Mr. McMicken's scientific attainments enabled him to effect two important improvements in telegraphy, which were patented in 1847. He was also the first to span the Niagara River with a wire. He was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate for Canada West during the American Civil War, receiving the special thanks of Lord Monck for the efficient discharge of this responsible duty.

During the Fenian excitement he was Commissioner of Police for the Dominion, and his arrangements for discovering the plans of the Fenians contributed greatly to the repulse of the raiders in 1870. He performed a similar service in connection with the contemplated Fenian attack on Fort Garry, during Lieut.-Governor Archibald's term. He had charge of the Dominion Lands office in Manitoba from the time it was opened, and held the position of Assistant Receiver-General and other official posts until superannuated in 1877. Mr. McMicken was returned for Cartier as a Conservative in 1880, and held his seat until the last general election.

Hon. John H. McTavish, one of the members of the first Manitoba Parliament, is Scottish Canadian, having been born at Grafton, Ontario, in 1837. He came to Red River in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, at the age of nineteen. During Riel's insurrection, he had charge of the business of the Company at the settlement. He was returned for St. Anne by acclamation at the first general election, and retained his seat until April 3rd, 1874, when he was appointed a member of the Executive Council for the North-West Territories. In politics, he takes the Conservative side.

Among other ex-members of the Provincial Legislature of Scottish origin, may be mentioned, Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, a native of Inverness-shire, who represented Portage La Prairie between 1874 and 1880; John Gunn, son of the Hon. Donald Gunn, who sat for North St. Andrews from 1874 to 1878; David Spence, who represented Poplar Point,

in the first Legislature; William Robert Dick, a Scot-Canadian, born in Ernesttown, Ont., elected for Springfield, in 1874; Angus McKay, a brother of Hon. James McKay, and member for Lake Manitoba for the years '70-78; John Taylor, of Orcadian descent, representative of Headingly, 1874-78; and John Aldham Kyte Drummond, son of the late Lieut.-Col. Drummond, of Kingston, who sat for High Bluff for 1878-80.

Hon. Alexander Macbeth Sutherland, the present Attorney-General of the Province, is the third son of Senator Sutherland. His mother Jeannette Macbeth, was a daughter of the late John Macbeth, one of the early Selkirk settlers. He was born at Point Douglass in 1849, and completed his education at Toronto University, where he graduated in 1876. He was returned for Kildonan in 1878, and has represented that constituency in the legislature ever since. Mr. Sutherland entered the Norquay cabinet as Attorney-General, in September, 1882.

Among the accessions to the legislature at the last election, are Charles Hay, Member for Norfolk, born in the Orkney Islands, in 1843, who settled in Manitoba in 1862, a member of the mercantile firm of Campbell, Hay & Boddy, of Portage LaPrairie, an Independent, and Finlay McNaughton Young, who represents Turtle Mountain, born in Chateaugay County, Quebec, of 'Scottish parentage, who is opposed to the Norquay administration.



CHAPTER VII.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

THE designation of "New Caledonia," formerly applied to the British Columbia mainland, and the frequent recurrence of distinctively Scottish names in the local nomenclature, might seem to imply that the Pacific Province would prove especially rich in material for the purpose of the present work. Such, however, is not the case. There is no other Province of the Dominion where the Scottish element of the population is, both actually and relatively, so small as in British Columbia, where, out of a total population of 49,459, according to the last census returns, but 3,892, all told, were of Scottish origin. A due regard for perspective, therefore, requires the curtailment of this chapter to within comparatively narrow limits. Moreover, many of the achievements of the Scot in British Columbia, both as regards early explorations and the Pacific Railway enterprise, have already been largely treated of in previous chapters.

British Columbia is a region of wide extent and varied characteristics. It presents many remarkable contrasts in climate and productions in regions not far apart, owing to the modifying influence of the ocean and the mountain ranges with which it is seamed. Between the Cascade range

and the sea the climate is temperate and moist; the summers beautiful, the winters mild. Vancouver Island is subject to similar conditions. Eastward of the Cascade mountains the extremes of climate are more pronounced. The more southern portion is heavily timbered, and vegetation grows luxuriantly. The yield of grain crops and other agricultural produce is very large, though irrigation is often required. Further to the northward the country becomes drier, colder, and less thickly wooded. On the upper portion of the Fraser River the winter is very changeable, and the cold often very severe. The agricultural region proper terminates in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, the country showing large tracts of fine pasturage interspersed with some arable land. From this point north-eastward to the mountains is the mining region, the principal source of the wealth of British Columbia. In the south-eastern corner of the Province another marked change occurs. The rich, fertile soil of the same latitude further west, is replaced by an arid, sterile tract, sometimes almost tropical in its characteristics and partaking largely of the nature of the great American desert which stretches away to the southward. The elevated plateau between the Cascade Range and the Rocky Mountains averages 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. Near the Rocky Mountains it is broken by the spurs and offshoots of this great continental range, which, with their alternations of ridge and chasm, snow-capped summit and deep-cut river-bed, present a succession of the wildest and most majestic scenes. There are numerous lakes, occupying deep depressions in the uneven surface; the rivers

flow through precipitous gorges, and through the rough, broken mountainous districts, in many directions, sweep broad, undulating stretches of low, sheltered land. The Montenegrin peasantry have a curious legend respecting the origin of the mountains which have given a name to their country. They believe that when the Creator was distributing mountains over the surface of the newly-formed earth, the bag in which they were contained burst just over Montenegro, giving them rather more than their share. To a mind in the anthropomorphic stage it would not require any very great stretch of imagination to lead to the belief that some similar accident must have occurred in British Columbia, so lavish has nature been in the bestowal of her wilder features. Inequality of physical outline appears to be the distinguishing characteristic of the country. The seaboard both of Vancouver Island and the mainland is as broken and indented by harbours and inlets as the interior is rugged and uneven.

The history of British Columbia as a land inhabited by civilized men is a brief and, excepting for the transformation scenes of the gold excitement, an uneventful one. Despite its natural advantages, the progress of the colony has been retarded by its isolated position. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes tells a good story about a party of Bostonians meeting a settler in the backwoods of Maine, who, on learning that his visitors hailed from "the Hub," remarked in a tone of wonderment, "I don't see how you fellers down to Boston kin afford to live so fur off." The humour of the story of course lies in the inversion of the point. Literally speaking, there

are not many who can "afford to live so far off" as British Columbia. Hence her sparse and scattered population. It is only by the establishment of railroad communication with the eastern portion of the Dominion that the immense resources which await exploration will be rendered available, and the mere handful of population increased by influx from Europe and Eastern Canada.

The question of which of the early navigators who explored the Pacific coast of North America is entitled to the credit of having first entered the waters of British Columbia is a much disputed one. Sir Francis Drake, in an expedition which sailed from Plymouth in 1577, reached the 48th parallel of latitude in prosecuting his search for a north-east passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and laid claim to the country between that point and the 43rd parallel, naming it "New Albion." In 1625 a narrative was published in England by Michael Lock, concerning the adventures of Juan de Fuca, whose true name was Apostolos Valerianos, a Greek pilot, said to have been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, in 1592, with three vessels on a voyage of exploration northward along the coast. He claimed to have sailed through the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland of British Columbia. The inaccuracies in the narrative of his alleged discoveries, exposed by Captain Cook and other explorers, led to its being subsequently discredited, and doubts even thrown on the existence of the old Greek sailor. Nevertheless, whether he or another is rightfully entitled to the honour of being

"—the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea,"

the name of Juan de Fuca Strait preserves the memory of that ancient mariner. Other expeditions were subsequently fitted out by the English and Spaniards, in search of the North-west passage between the two oceans. It is often the case that the search after the unattainable, the impossible, and the non-existent, results in discoveries of tangible and permanent value to mankind. As alchemy was the parent of chemistry, and astrology gave birth to astronomy, so the search for the North-west and North-east passages carried on for years by the maritime nations at great sacrifices, though futile as to the immediate objects in view, did much to enlarge the sphere of geographical knowledge. The discoveries of Captain Cook and others disclosed the general trend of the coast line. Captain Kendrick, an American, is another for whom the credit of being the first to sail through the gulf between Vancouver Island and the mainland, has been claimed. He is said to have made this voyage in 1788. It was during this year that Captain Meares, who was associated with Captain Douglas in a voyage of discovery under the auspices of an association of merchants in Bengal, reached the Straits of Fuca, which had not been found by Cook, ascended the channel about thirty leagues in a boat, and formally took possession of the country in the name of the Crown. He was not, however, able to land, as the natives made an obstinate resistance and compelled the party to return to their vessel. Difficulties shortly afterwards arose between the English and the Spaniards as to their respective rights in the Pacific coast. To adjust this dispute Captain Vancouver, formerly a lieutenant serving under Captain

Cook, was commissioned in 1790 to negotiate with a Spanish commission at Nootka Sound, and in addition was charged with the duty of making an examination of the coast, in order to throw further light upon the problem of a passage between the two oceans. After some exploration in other directions Vancouver entered the straits of Juan de Fuca in 1792, and after encountering many obstacles succeeded in piloting his ships through the archipelago of the Gulf of Georgia and reaching the Pacific by way of Johnstone's Strait—thus clearly establishing the mythical character of the North-east passage supposed to exist in that direction. During a portion of this voyage the expedition had remained in company with a Spanish exploring party whom they encountered in the straits, and out of compliment to the Spanish commander the name originally bestowed upon the island—the existence of which was for the first time definitely established—was the "Island of Quadra and Vancouver." The first portion of this cumbrous designation was soon abandoned and the name fixed as Vancouver Island, in honour of the real discoverer.

While Vancouver Island and the Pacific coast was little by little becoming known by the discoveries of maritime explorers approaching it from the West, the interior of British Columbia was being penetrated from the East by the same enterprising and dauntless class of pioneers, who were the *avant couriers* of civilization in the North-West Territories. The part taken by the adventurous Scots, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Fraser and Thompson—whose names borne by three majestic rivers will perpetuate for all time the memory of

their daring and endurance—has already been set forth in the pages devoted to the early history of the Fur Trading Companies. These discoveries were turned to practical account in 1806, when the first fur-trading post, founded in British Columbia, was erected a short distance from the great Fraser River, by Simon Fraser. The Hudson Bay Company shortly afterwards established a post at Stuart's Lake, and the country was soon dotted with the establishments of the rival North-West and Hudson Bay companies. It was not until this time that the designation of "New Caledonia," which had previously been indefinitely used in connection with the coast line, was generally applied to the entire region of the British Columbia mainland.

The rival fur trading companies were united in 1821, under the title of the Hudson Bay Company, and in the same year obtained a charter guaranteeing them the exclusive trade of the region—a monopoly of which they remained in possession until the discovery of gold rendered it necessary to establish a colonial government, and throw the country open for settlement. It was not until 1843 that the Hudson Bay Company established themselves on Vancouver Island. At that time Mr. (after Sir) James Douglas was chief agent of the company for all their territory, west of the Rocky Mountains. His headquarters were for some time in Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory—under his direction a party of forty men, in charge of a Scottish official of the company, named Finlayson, landed at Victoria, then called by the natives Tsomus, from the name of the tribe. They met with no opposition from the Indians, from whom Mr. Douglas purchased the site for the contemplated fort. They

at once set about the erection of the buildings, which were completed during the following year. In 1846, when by the Treaty of Oregon, Fort Vancouver was embraced in the territory of the United States—the Pacific headquarters of the company were transferred to Victoria. The fort, and the little settlement which, gradually opening up around it, continued to be for many years the only spot on the Island reclaimed from the wilderness.

Before proceeding further with the narrative of the settlement of British Columbia it will be advisable to present a few biographical details in relation to the strong and salient character just introduced upon the scene, whose after career exercised so powerful an influence upon the fortunes of the colony. James Douglas was born at Demerara, in the South American colony of British Guiana, on the 14th of August, 1803. His father, who had emigrated from Scotland to British Guiana a short time previously, was in poor circumstances. Young Douglas was left an orphan at an early age, and in 1815, when but twelve years of age, accompanied an elder brother to push his fortune as so many others of his nationality have done in the great North-West. The rivalry between the Hudson Bay and North-West companies was, at that time extremely keen. James Douglas entered the service of the latter, bringing to his avocation remarkable physical strength and powers of endurance, an iron constitution, and a bold, resolute spirit. As he grew to manhood these qualities were developed and strengthened by the character of the arduous service in which he was engaged, and he soon began to display those rare intellectual qualities of prudence, determination, and executive capacity which

early marked him a born-leader of men. His business faculties and the tact he exhibited in his intercourse with the Indians secured his rapid advancement to posts of increased responsibility. After the amalgamation of the companies he became chief factor, in which capacity he visited the remotest outposts of the company. His wanderings were attended with many formidable perils. Once he was made captive by a tribe of British Columbia Indians and detained for many weeks. He contrived at length to effect his escape, and after enduring severe hardships succeeded in reaching one of the forts of the company in an exhausted condition. His re-appearance was hailed with mingled delight and astonishment for he had long been given up as dead. In 1833 he was appointed to the Chief Agency for the region west of the Rocky Mountains, and as we have seen, planted the first settlement on the shores of Vancouver Island ten years later. In 1851 he became Governor of the infant colony established under the auspices of the Hudson Bay Company, his commission being renewed for a further period of six years in 1857. When Vancouver Island was constituted a Crown Colony in 1859, with Victoria as its capital Mr. Douglas was appointed Governor and received the dignity of a C. B. British Columbia having been organized as a colony in 1858, the Governorship was also vested in Mr. Douglas. How admirably he exercised his arduous and responsible functions, in this double capacity, in the face of circumstances requiring the most delicate tact, the firmest resolution, and the clearest judgment the narrative of the colony's progress will show. In 1863 he received the honour of Knighthood as a recognition by the Imperial

Government of his inestimable services. He withdrew from public life in 1864, when his commission as Governor expired, and after making the tour of Europe returned to spend the evening of his days in the land whose best interests he had spent his life in advancing. He died at Victoria on the 2nd of August, 1877, in his seventy-fourth year. Sir James married in 1827 Miss Connolly, a daughter of the Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company, at Red River, by whom he had a numerous family. Mr. James W. Douglas, his eldest and only surviving son, was for some years a representative of Victoria in the Provincial Legislature.

Let us resume the thread of the narrative of the rise of the colony of Vancóuver Island, which in 1848 comprised merely the Hudson Bay Company's fort on the site of the present city of Victoria. The company applied to the British government and obtained a charter granting them the absolute control of the island for a term of ten years from January, 1849. This privilege was granted on the condition that they should establish a colony, and use exertions to attract population. Mr. Richard Blanchard was sent out from England as the first governor, but after two years returned to England, being succeeded by Mr. Douglas in November, 1851. His first official action was one eminently characteristic of the man, and in strict accordance with the just and politic conduct towards the aborigines, which has been the secret of the remarkable success of the Hudson Bay Company in maintaining the serviceable friendship of the Indian tribes. He assembled all the natives in the neighbourhood of Victoria and paid them in full for the lands appropriated by the whites. The wisdom, as well as the humanity of

this policy, is apparent. The Indians were then both powerful and warlike, and on frequent occasions it required all the prudence and decision of character possessed in such large measure by Governor Douglas to avert the horrors of savage warfare. It was necessary while treating with the Indians with fairness and honesty, to impress upon them the lesson that attacks upon the lives and property of the settlers would be firmly punished. In the winter of 1851, a shepherd was murdered by Indians at Christmas Hill, the perpetrators of the crime taking refuge at Cowichan. An expedition was sent in pursuit, consisting partly of sailors from Her Majesty's ship *Thetis*, and partly of volunteers from the settlement. On the arrival of the avengers, one of the murderers was given up. The other fled and was followed to Nanaimo, where he was finally captured, and both were shortly afterwards executed. A similar expedition organized not long afterwards for the capture of an Indian who had shot and severely wounded a white man at Cowichan, nearly involved more tragical consequences. The tribe at first refused to surrender the offender, who, emboldened by their support, levelled a musket at the governor. The small force at the command of the latter prepared to fire on the natives, and nothing apparently could avert a bloody conflict. The murderer drew the trigger but without effect, and was at once seized by the tribe, delivered to the expedition, and hanged with all the due formalities of the law. Lessons such as these speedily impressed the red men with a wholesome respect for the authority of the government, which during the exciting times of the gold fever did much to restrain lawlessness and disorder. The troubles between the

different tribes of Indians, and their collisions with the colonists frequently threatened to result in a general outbreak, but the vigilance of the Governor always averted the crisis. Attempts were made by the savages from time to time to possess themselves of the fort, but the resource and decision of character displayed by Governor Douglas baffled the schemes of the Indians, who were conciliated, while at the same time overawed. The proverbial hand of iron in the glove of velvet was never more forcibly exemplified than in his dealing with the natives of Vancouver Island.

The work of colonization proceeded very slowly. In 1853 the white population of the Island only numbered about 450, two-thirds of these being at Victoria. The total quantity of land applied for up to the end of that year was 19,807 acres, of which only 1,696 acres was then in occupation by individual settlers. These figures are taken from a description of Vancouver Island by Col. W. Colquhoun Grant, whose nationality is sufficiently indicated by his name, and who is described as the "first colonist." This paper was read before the Royal Geographical Society of London on the 22nd of June, 1857—and its references to the various undertakings for the development of the Island seemed to indicate that a large proportion of these early settlers were Scotchmen. Speaking of the mineral resources, Col. Grant states that coal was first discovered at Nanaimo in 1850 by Mr. Joseph McKay, who was directed to it by the Indians of the neighbourhood. He notes that the efforts to find workable coal at Beaver Harbour, the most Northern settlement, proved unsuccessful, although "a shaft was sunk to the depth of ninety feet by the Messrs. Muir, the miners who

were first sent out from Scotland by the Hudson Bay Company." A Mr. Gilmour is also mentioned in connection with mining operations. Nanaimo is described as "a flourishing little settlement with about 125 inhabitants, of whom thirty-seven are working men, the remainder women and children; there are about twenty-four children at a school presided over by Mr. Baillie." In fact almost every name mentioned has a distinctively Caledonian ring. The first white man to accomplish the feat of crossing the Island diagonally from Nimpkish River to Nootka Sound was Mr. Hamilton Moffatt, who undertook an exploratory tour in 1852, and reported favourably as to the character of that region for settlement.

In the year 1856 representative institutions were granted to the colonists, and the first Parliament, comprising seventeen members, assembled on the 12th of June. Governor Douglas, in his inaugural speech, aptly comparing the growth of the colony to that of its native pines as being slow but hardy. The organization of this embryo legislature is notable as the first instance in which representative institutions had been established in a British colony at so early a stage of its development.

By the discovery of gold in large quantities on the mainland, the circumstances of the colony were completely altered, owing to the sudden influx of miners and the large class of adventurers of all kinds who always throng to a newly-discovered El Dorado. As early as 1850 the precious metal had been found in Queen Charlotte's Island, but only in small quantities; and some time before the actual discoveries which caused the excitement it was understood that

gold existed on Fraser River and throughout the Central Cascade Range in this direction. The first to bring to light these hidden treasures, and communicate to the world the richness of the gold-producing region, were Scotsmen. In 1854 Capt. McClelland in charge of the survey for the military road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Steilacoom, on Puget Sound, through the Nachess Pass, unearthed gold in considerable quantities, his men sometimes obtaining two dollars' worth a day with the pan. The first official announcement of the existence of valuable gold deposits was made in a letter addressed by Governor Douglas to the Colonial Secretary, on April 16th, 1856, in which he stated that Mr. Angus McDonald, clerk in charge of Fort Colville, one of the trading-posts on the Upper Columbia district, had reported to him the finding of gold in quantities sufficient to yield from £2 to £8 daily to those engaged in the digging. The news spread rapidly. Prospecting parties soon started out in all directions, and met with encouraging success in their explorations. Then came an immigration of gold-seekers from abroad, to which nearly every civilized nation, as well as many uncivilized, contributed its quota, the greater proportion, however, coming direct from the gold-fields of California and the adjoining American territories. Explorations in Vancouver Island were only moderately successful and the more extensive discoveries on the Fraser River made this the objective point of the influx. As Victoria was the nearest considerable settlement, and the centre of supply, its growth at once received a tremendous impetus. The excitement reached its climax in the season of 1858, when fully twenty thousand people landed at Victoria, on their way to

the diggings. Both house accommodation and the supplies of provisions and other necessaries were quickly exhausted, and a period of inflation set in. Prices rose to almost incredible figures. Flour was held at thirty dollars per barrel; lumber brought one hundred dollars per thousand feet. The lack of buildings was supplied temporarily by the erection of tents, which rose in all directions around the city. Building operations went forward with great rapidity, and over two hundred houses were erected in the course of a month. Speculation in real estate rose to a high pitch. Extravagant prices were asked and paid for town lots, and rents were enormous. The value of property went up fifty-fold in a few weeks. The speculative craze at Victoria rivalled, for a time, the gold excitement on the banks of the Fraser. The fate of those who went forward to the gold fields was the usual one of treasure-seekers. The difficulties in the way of transportation were very great. The country tributary to the Fraser resembles other mountainous countries in the same latitude, where the streams begin to swell in June and reach their lowest ebb in the winter. The few who reached the scene early in the spring succeeded in obtaining large amounts of gold from the banks not yet covered by the periodic rise of the waters. The bulk of the miners, who did not arrive until later in the season, found the richest mining lands submerged. Many returned, crestfallen and disappointed, to Victoria, and the story of their reverses broke the spell under which Victoria had risen like a creation of enchantment. Miners and speculators alike returned to California by thousands; the days of inflation were over.

and a period of commercial depression succeeded. The population of the city fell as low as 1,500.

Meanwhile the few hundred miners who persevered in spite of all obstacles and pressed on undeterred by the ill-success of the thousands who had turned back discouraged, were subjected to the greatest hardships and perils in making their way through a region hitherto untravelled by white men, and destitute of roads and habitations. Mr. Macfie, in his book on British Columbia, thus describes the dangers and difficulties of the river trail to the gold fields of the Fraser :

“ Before the line for the Lillooet route was generally known, parties of intrepid miners, anxious to be the first to reap its benefits, tried to force their way through all the difficulties opposed to them. The misery and fatigue endured by them was indescribable. They crept through underwood and thicket for many miles, sometimes on hands and knees, with a bag of flour on the back of each ; alternately under and over fallen trees, scrambling up precipices, or sliding down over masses of sharp projecting rock or wading up to their waists through bogs and swamps. Every day added to their exhaustion, and worn out with privation and sufferings one knot of adventurers after another became smaller and smaller, some lagging behind to rest or turning back in despair.”

The few who were able to surmount these obstacles frequently realized the hopes which had prompted them to the undertaking. Over half a million of gold was shipped from Victoria in the three months ending with October, 1858, a

sufficient indication of the richness of the mines. The following year the tide again set in, though not in such large volume, and the gold mining industry began to be steadily pursued. In 1861, according to the correspondent of the *London Times*, 5,000 persons were engaged in mining, and the yield amounted to \$6,700,000. In 1862 the discovery of the Cariboo mines gave a renewed impulse to the rush of immigration, and the scenes of 1857 were repeated. Speculation again ran riot in Victoria, and the wave of eager gold hunters again surged eagerly onward through a rugged and almost impenetrable wilderness. Cariboo was four hundred miles inland, the only road being an old Indian trail over the rivers, among the mountains, and through dark, and tangled forests. Again the result was bitter disappointment to the great majority, who returned to civilization footsore, ragged and often utterly broken down in constitution, while a few reaped a rich reward for their toils.

In 1858 a government was organized on the British Columbia mainland, Mr. Douglas being appointed Governor. He found himself placed in a most embarrassing and difficult situation. A large influx of the rough mining population of California rendered it necessary to use every precaution to prevent the lawless spirit which long made that State a by-word for turbulence and disorder gaining the ascendancy on British soil. Roads and bridges were urgently required, and the revenue raised from customs duties proved totally insufficient for the purpose. In 1862 the only method of transportation was by mule-trains. Freight to Cariboo was one dollar per pound. The commonest necessaries of life were hardly obtainable at any price. The Governor, in order to

provide the means of carrying on the work of administration, imposed taxes which at the time created a great deal of discontent, and for which he has since been severely censured, on the ground that such restrictions tended to check immigration and to retard the development of the colony. Two dollars, head-money, was charged on each immigrant, each miner was required to pay a royalty of five dollars, every trader was obliged to obtain a permit, for which a charge was also made, and numerous like imposts were enforced. It is easy to condemn this policy and that pursued in connection with sales of land as restrictive and illiberal. But, practically, Governor Douglas had no other alternative. A revenue must be had somehow, if the laws were to be enforced and the most ordinary requirements of civilized government introduced into a suddenly populated wilderness. Time has amply vindicated Governor Douglas' beneficent policy. By his foresight and determination the worst of the evils usually attendant upon a rush of gold-seekers to a new country were avoided. There was some violence and disorder among the miners, as well as occasional collisions with the Indians, but on the whole life and property were remarkably secure, and the law was respected as it never has been under similar circumstances in the United States.

Despite the unwelcome taxes imposed the revenue was unequal to the construction of roads to the mines at Cariboo. This was accomplished at length by raising a loan of £100,000 in England and giving companies the right of levying tolls for constructing some of the more important roads and bridges of the system. The work was completed in 1863, when it became possible to send freight forward by waggon

instead of on the backs of mules. The effect was at once apparent. Supplies being obtainable at reasonable rates, population flowed in, and the mining industry of British Columbia, divested of its spasmodic and uncertain character, settled down upon a steady and permanent basis. The construction of these roads, which have done so much for the prosperity of British Columbia, is justly regarded as the crowning achievement of Governor Douglas, who shortly afterwards terminated his public career, not without having given to the world such an ample vindication of his course that the public opinion of the colony pronounced unmistakably in his favour. Not the least memorable feature of the last few years of his term of office was the part he took in 1859 in the peaceful settlement of the San Juan difficulty, when war seemed almost unavoidable. By his coolness and discretion the matter was settled for the time by an agreement arrived at between himself and General Scott, as American Commissioner, for a joint occupation of the island until the matter could be finally disposed of by arbitration.

In 1866, the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united under the latter designation, and on the 20th July, 1871, the union with Canada was accomplished, concerning which full details have already been given. How that measure has conduced to the prosperity of British Columbia may be gathered from the census returns which show that the population exclusive of Indians, has increased from ten to twenty-three thousand within the decade. But the full realization of the advantages of union are yet to come, as her future prosperity is bound up with the completion of the railway which will bring her into com-

munication with Eastern Canada and direct the flow of immigration to her rich agricultural and mining lands.

Reference has previously been made to some of the British Columbia representatives in the Dominion Parliament of Scottish origin. Another name, which is deserving of mention is that of Robert Wallace, one of the first members elected from the Pacific slope on the accomplishment of the union. He was born in the City of Glasgow in 1820. Mr. Wallace is a commission merchant in Victoria, and took a prominent part in the movement in favour of union with Canada. He was president of the convention of delegates of the Confederation league held at Yale in September, 1868, for the purpose of accelerating the admission of British Columbia into the Dominion. He was returned for Vancouver Island as a Conservative in December, 1871, but only occupied his seat during one session, being succeeded by Sir Francis Hincks.

A large proportion of the members of the provincial legislature since the union have been of Scottish origin. Hon. John Robson, a member of the present administration is a Scottish Canadian; he was born at Perth, Ontario, on the 14th of March, 1824. Mr. Robson was mayor of New Westminster in 1866, and held the position of paymaster of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia from 1875 until that office was abolished in 1879. He represented New Westminster and Nanaimo in the legislative council of British Columbia from 1866 until 1875. He was elected to the legislative assembly for New Westminster at the last general election of July, 1882, and in January, 1883, became a member of the administration of Hon. W. Smithe, with the

portfolio of the provincial secretary and minister of finance and agriculture. He is a Conservative in his political views

Among the Scots who have held seats in the assembly of late years but are not at present members, are James W. Douglas, eldest son of the late Governor Douglas, born in Victoria in 1846, who represented the City of Victoria in the legislature of 1875-8; Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, a Scot by birth, who sat in the Vancouver Island Assembly before the union, and represented Victoria District between the years 1874-8; William A. Robertson, born in Perthshire, Scotland, who was elected in 1874 for Victoria District; William Morrison, a Scotsman, who came to British Columbia in 1862, and was returned for Lillooet in 1875; and Donald McGillivray, a Scottish Canadian from Glengarry, born in 1838, a representative of New Westminster between 1878 and 1882.

The present House includes among its members William Monroe Dingwall (Comox), whose ancestors were farmers near Dingwall, Ross-shire, where he was born in 1851, and who came to British Columbia in 1876, and is now in business at Comox as a general merchant; Robert Duns-muir (Nanaimo), born in Hurlford, Ayrshire, in 1825, an extensive proprietor of coal mines, and George Archibald McTavish, (Victoria District), born at New York in 1856, of a family from the Island of Islay, a seed grower and stock breeder, and formerly president of the Agricultural Society of the Province. All these are of Conservative opinions and supporters of the Smithe administration. Judging by the names there are several other legislators who might be entitled to a notice here were the data as to their birth or parentage obtainable.



CHAPTER VIII.

JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE.

HERE is no sphere of the intellectual life of Canada in which Scotsmen have from the first been more prominent than that of journalism and literature. It will be impossible within the limited space now remaining at our command, to give as comprehensive a survey of this field as would be desirable, but this is to be the less regretted as a great portion of it has already been traversed in connection with the political history of the country. Most of the leading journalists of the past have been keen politicians, and active participants in public life, as is usually the case in a new country where the process, known to the political economist, as subdivision of labour, and to the scientist as differentiation of functions, has not been carried to the same degree as in older communities. Political writers and speakers hold much the same relative positions as attorney and counsel. The latter functions, separated in England, are nearly always united here, and so to a large extent with the former. True the process of social evolution is rapidly bringing about a change, but in the exciting struggles of the past it was frequently the case that those who framed the pleadings and worked up the case for the respective parties, also urged it *viva voce* before the parliamentary

tribunal, and the supreme court of the hustings. The journalists who remain to be dealt with, therefore, are those who have either not taken a conspicuous part in active political life, or who have entered it subsequently to the issue of the preceding portion of this work.

There is probably no man on the press in Canada to-day possessing a larger measure of that indefinable quality known as "newspaper sense" than Mr. John Gordon Brown, who succeeded his brother the late Hon. George Brown as editor of the *Toronto Globe*. The public have never yet realized to how great an extent the success of the *Globe* was due to the sound judgment and rare executive capacities of the younger brother. Hon. George Brown as ostensible and virtual leader of the Reform party attracted so large a share of the public attention, and his reputation as a public man was so indissolubly linked with the name of the journal upon which he held the leading position, that the intrinsically important part taken by his relative in the less obtrusive sphere of journalism proper was necessarily thrown into shadow. John Gordon Brown was born in Alloa, Clackmannanshire, on the 16th of November, 1827, being the junior of his brother by some six years. He received his education partly in Edinburgh and partly in New York, to which latter city he came with his parents in his eleventh year. Some five years later he arrived in Toronto. He was connected with the *Globe* from the time of its foundation, excepting during comparatively short intervals. He edited the *Quebec Gazette* for about a year during one of these periods and also travelled a good deal in Europe from time to time. In 1851 he visited the great International Exhibition in London, con-

tributing a very comprehensive and interesting series of descriptive letters to his newspaper. From the time of his return the editorial department of the *Globe* was mainly under his control, subject of course to the broad general lines of policy laid down in respect to its political course. Hon. George Brown for very many years before his untimely death concerned himself but little with the every-day details of editorial management, devoting himself almost altogether to the commercial department and political matters not directly connected with the newspaper. It was Mr. Gordon Brown's close and practical supervision and forcible pen which during these years maintained and extended the well won prestige of the *Globe*. When his brother fell by the hand of a murderer, many people who were in ignorance of the real relation in which Mr. Gordon Brown stood to the journal, expected a marked falling off in vigour and interest. But as time wore on it became plainly evident that its old-time reputation was destined to be fully sustained by his formal elevation to the position he had long virtually occupied. Mr. Brown's leading idea was to make the *Globe* before all things a newspaper, and while remaining faithful to the traditions of Liberalism to assert a wider liberty of expression than the narrow trammels of party conventionalities had previously permitted. His attitude towards the Liberal leaders was not unlike that of the public man who when accused of disloyalty to the Sovereign, replied that he could never so far forget his duty to His Majesty as even to entertain a disloyal thought, but that he did not consider himself bound to be loyal to the king's "man servant and his maid servant, his ox and his ass." Mr. Brown was of too indepen-

dent a spirit to permit every ward politician, pettifogger and on-hanger claiming to be an adherent of the party, and to speak in its name to sway his course or use the columns of the *Globe* for their personal advantage. At the same time he spared no pains or expense in improving the paper, and developing that feature of many-sidedness which had not previously been a characteristic of the Canadian press. It would be out of place here to enter into the cause, or rather the combination of causes, which resulted in Mr. Brown's retirement from the control of the journal to the development of which he had devoted his life's best energies. Suffice it to say that of all concerned directly or indirectly in the matter, Mr. Brown has least reason to fear full publicity. Shortly after the change he was appointed Registrar of the Surrogate Court in Toronto. Mr. Brown possesses a thoroughly cultivated mind and a vast store of general information, the result of a remarkably wide range of reading. He has been a keen student ever since boyhood, and in addition to diligent perusal of the abundant standard works of literature has kept *en rapport* with the spirit of modern thought and research. He is an excellent judge of character, and to this intuitive knowledge of the dispositions and capacities of men, his success in a position requiring large administrative ability was in no small measure due. There are few men in this country who possess an equally full and accurate knowledge of the politics of Continental Europe as he has acquired by his personal observations as a tourist followed up by extensive reading.

Mr. John Cameron, Mr. Brown's successor in the editorial chair of the *Globe*, is a Scottish Canadian. He was born in

Markham Township, Ontario, on the 22nd of January, 1843, his father being from Argyllshire and his mother a native of the North of Ireland. Removing when a boy to London, Ontario, he learned the printing trade in the office of the *Free Press*. Immediately on the expiration of his apprenticeship Mr. Cameron, then about twenty-one, conceived the bold idea of establishing an evening paper in London. He had no means, and the paper, in order to live, would have to pay its own way from the start. Such an undertaking now-a-days would be utterly Quixotic, but at that time the demands of the public in the way of news, were much less exigent and expenses in every department much smaller than to-day. The *Evening Advertiser* was accordingly launched on the 27th of October, 1863, and fortune smiled propitiously upon the venture from the outset. The paper was at first of very small dimensions, but it really in the language of the prospectuses "filled a long felt want," and grew in circulation, size and prestige 'year by year until it ranked among the prominent dailies of the province. Morning and weekly editions were published, and a valuable newspaper property built up. Of course this was not accomplished except by long years of persistent, unremitting labour on the part of Mr. Cameron and his brother William, who was associated with him in the enterprise. A specialty of the paper is the short, crisp, pungent paragraphs in which the politics of the day are discussed—a style of writing a good deal less common when first adopted by the *Advertiser* than it has now become. During his editorship of that paper, Mr. Cameron visited Great Britain and the European Continent, giving his impressions in a

series of graphically written letters to his journal which were afterwards republished in book form.

Mr. Cameron became editor and general manager of the *Globe* in December, 1882, his position on the *Advertiser* being taken by Hon. David Mills as editor, while Mr. William Cameron assumed the business management. Under Mr. John Cameron's direction, a policy of rigid economy was adopted in the *Globe* office, many expenses deemed superfluous being cut off. The prevailing idea in the arrangement of news matter is that of brevity and condensation in place of the extended notice formerly bestowed on matters of secondary importance. Mr. Cameron has always been a Liberal of somewhat advanced views, and an advocate of temperance reform and the enlargement of the sphere of woman. He is essentially a man of tact, shrewdness and resource, and though criticism has not been silent as to the effect of the change upon the style of the great newspaper, the destinies of which have been entrusted to his keeping, it must be admitted that he has, on the whole, borne well the trying ordeal of comparison with his veteran predecessor.

Mr. William Houston, the recently appointed Librarian of the Ontario Parliamentary Library, was born in the County of Lanark, Ontario, on the ninth of September, 1844. He is of Scottish ancestry, his father being an Orcadian from Mainland, near Stromness, and his mother of mixed Highland and Lowland origin from Glasgow. Both parents came to Canada in youth with the early settlers of Lanark, and were subjected to the hardships and privations incidental to that period. Mr. Houston received only a common school education in his boyhood, in Lanark and Bruce counties, to

which latter he went at the age of thirteen, shortly after the region had been thrown open for settlement. Here he spent some years in school teaching. Determined to obtain a thorough education he went to the University of Toronto, at an age somewhat later than the usual period of college life and graduated with honours in 1872. He entered immediately upon the profession of journalism obtaining a position on the staff of the *Toronto Globe*. He continued in connection with that newspaper for eleven years, with the exception of brief intervals when his services were engaged by the *St. John Telegraph*, and the short-lived *Toronto Liberal*. In the latter part of 1883, he was appointed to the office he now holds for which he is well fitted by his intimate knowledge of Canadian political history, no less than by his literary information and the painstaking accuracy which is so marked a feature of his character. His journalistic career was marked by great assiduity and a thorough grasp of the questions with which he undertook to deal. His style is not ornate, but his points are always clearly and forcibly put from a practical common sense standpoint. In short he has the national characteristics of soundness and clear-headedness in an eminent degree.

Mr. Christopher Blackett Robinson, the editor and proprietor of the *Canada Presbyterian* newspaper, is a Canadian by birth, of partly Scottish and partly English descent, the former element predominating. His father was born in London, but was educated and for many years resided in Scotland. His mother was of Highland extraction, belonging to the Clan Gunn. Mr. Robinson was born in Thorah Township, in the County of Ontario, in 1837.

He engaged in journalism in his twentieth year, editing the *Canadian Post*, then published in Beaverton, for a couple of years. In 1861 the paper was removed by Mr. Robinson to the rising town of Lindsay, where he continued to publish it for about ten years. It was greatly superior to any newspaper ever previously issued in that section of the province, and, under Mr. Robinson's able management, soon became a valuable newspaper property, taking high rank among local weeklies. In 1871 Mr. Robinson parted with the *Post* and removed to Toronto, where he commenced the publication of the *Canada Presbyterian*, which, under his energetic and prudent control, speedily attained a marked success. Without seeking to be in any sense the official organ of the Presbyterian Church, the *Presbyterian* has won for itself appreciation as a fearless and forcible exponent of the general public opinion of that body, and the recognised vehicle of intelligence specially affecting its interests, and indicative of its progress. Mr. Robinson has also built up a large and flourishing book and job printing establishment, and is the publisher of *The Week*, the new literary journal just issued under the editorial charge of Mr. Charles Goodrich Roberts, whose poetical talents have been widely recognised.

Mr. Thomas McQueen, the founder and for many years the editor of the *Huron Signal*, published at Goderich, was a shining instance of the aptitude frequently displayed by the sons of the Scottish peasantry for rising to positions of eminent usefulness and honour. He was "self-made" in the best sense of that much abused phrase by the cultivation of all his intellectual faculties. Born in Ayrshire about the

year 1803 of humble parentage his school education was extremely limited, as he was early necessitated by the pressure of poverty to contribute by his labour to the support of the family. The turning point of his life was an accident sustained in boyhood, which rendered him permanently lame and afforded him the opportunity for indulging his natural bent for study and reflection. He became a stone mason by trade and soon distinguished himself as an eloquent and brilliant advocate of the rights of labour. While continuing to work at his trade he threw himself with intense and consuming earnestness into the vanguard of the ranks of labour reform, as orator and writer. He was a poet of no mean order and published several volumes of poems which largely partook of the tendency of his prose writing, being instinct with the spirit of progress and liberalism. Mr. McQueen arrived in Canada in 1842 settling in the County of Renfrew, where, for a short time he pursued his original calling. But his strong political feelings were speedily enlisted in the struggle for responsible government and the allurements of journalism were too powerful to be long resisted. The County of Huron appeared to offer a desirable field for the establishment of a liberal newspaper and the first number of the *Signal* was issued on the 4th of February, 1848. It quickly obtained a leading position among the journals of that period, owing to the vigour, incisiveness and soundness of the articles from Mr. McQueen's prolific but always careful pen. He remained steadily devoted to this undertaking during the remainder of his busy and influential career with the exception of a period of about two years during which he occupied a position on a Hamilton newspaper. In 1854,

after he had returned to Goderich, he became a Parliamentary candidate for the County of Huron, in the Reform interest, but was defeated. His labours in the liberal cause were unceasing and to the last he continued to cherish a warm interest in the class from which he sprang and to work for their intellectual and moral advancement. He was no mere partizan valuing success and the prizes of office more than consistency. To him success was worthless excepting as it resulted in advancing the principles which he had so deeply at heart. His death which took place on the 25th of June, 1861, left a void not easily or soon replaced in the ranks of local journalism.

One of the best known writers on the Ontario press is Mr. John Maclean, who was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 10th of April, 1825, his grandfather, of the same name, having come from the Island of Mull. He is descended by his mother's side from the Cummings of Gallowayshire. He came to Canada in 1838, but it was not until 1862 that he turned his attention to journalism being for many years engaged in commercial pursuits. For four or five years he was the Hamilton correspondent of the *Globe*, and an editorial writer for the *Hamilton Times* and other Reform journals. Though a thorough Liberal, he was convinced of the necessity of a protective policy, which he advocated from time to time as opportunity offered. In 1867 he took the matter up in a more comprehensive manner, and wrote a pamphlet entitled "Protection or Free Trade," four thousand copies of which were sold by subscription. Two years afterwards Mr. Maclean started the *People's Journal* for the advocacy of protective principles. It was published for about

a year in Hamilton, but in 1870 the office was removed to Toronto. After full and repeated exchange of views with the leaders of both political parties Mr. Maclean made up his mind that he could no longer remain connected with the Reform party as it appeared indissolubly wedded to Free Trade principles. He accordingly gave his support to Sir John Macdonald solely on the ground that the cause of protection seemed likely to be taken up by the Conservatives. The publication of the *People's Journal* was discontinued early in 1872, the editor being engaged on the staff of the *Toronto Mail* with the understanding that the paper was to advocate protectionist principles. Here he remained for upwards of six years during which he made his influence powerfully felt in the agitation for the adoption of the National Policy. After the restoration of the Conservatives to power Mr. Maclean was engaged for two years in Ottawa in special statistical work for the Minister of Finance, and acted for some months as Secretary to the Board of Appraisers of the Customs Department. He returned to journalism in 1881 when he became editor of the *Canadian Manufacturer* on its removal to Toronto—a position he still holds. He is also a frequent editorial contributor to the *Toronto World*. Mr. Maclean's style is clear and vigorous, and his articles show a thorough mastery of the class of questions with which he principally deals, while surprisingly free from the limitation of view which too often accompanies the concentration of thought into particular channels. Although a specialist he retains a broad outlook on political and social life.

The pen-name of "The Whistler at the Plough" has been familiar to the reading public of Britain for nearly half a

century, and during later years has become widely known throughout Canada. Alexander Somerville, was born on the fifteenth of March, 1811, in the parish of Oldhamstocks, Had-dington-shire, being the youngest child of James and Mary Orkney Somerville. He is of Norman descent by his father's side and draws through his maternal ancestry a strain of Scandinavian blood. His early training was of the kind which has developed so many sterling qualities among the Scottish peasantry, and secured a foremost place in the world for such a large proportion of those who leave their ranks to push their fortunes in other countries. His body was nourished by homely fare and strengthened by rustic labour while his intellectual faculties were stimulated by reading of a substantial character. From infancy he displayed that love for the beauties of nature and enthusiasm for rural life and scenery which distinguishes his writings. The earlier years of Mr. Somerville's manhood were passed in military service, and in 1832, he became the central figure in an episode which excited a great deal of public indignation. For a slight breach of discipline at the military riding school, in Birmingham, he was tried by court-martial and according to the inhuman code then in force was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. Half of this punishment was actually inflicted. The alleged violation of military rule was a mere pretext, the real cause of the brutality of the authorities being Mr. Somerville's refusal to become a political informer. The agitation which ensued upon the carrying out of this shameful sentence had a beneficial effect in mitigating the injustice and severity of military discipline. During the years 1835-37, Mr. Somerville served in

the Auxiliary Legion in Spain, under Gen. Sir De Lacy Evans, as colour-sergeant in the 8th Highlanders. His superior officers have testified in strong terms as to his bravery and efficiency in the performance of his duties. After leaving the army he turned his attention to newspaper writing and his graphic descriptive sketches under the signature of the "Whistler at the Plough" full of local colouring and written in a readable sketchy vein soon attracted widespread attention. During the twenty years between 1838 and 1858, Mr. Somerville represented several leading metropolitan papers, travelling all over the United Kingdom, describing local industries and institutions, sketching the condition of the people and describing, in short, everything noteworthy that came within the range of his keen powers of observation. These letters were largely reproduced by the British provincial press, and became a powerful factor in moulding public opinion upon current political questions. "I know nothing in the English language," wrote the late Mr. Cobden, "which for graphic narrative and picturesque description of places, persons and things surpasses some of the letters of Alexander Somerville, the 'Whistler at the Plough.'" He rendered efficient aid to the agitation in favour of Free Trade, and in the years 1848-50 wrote a "History of the Fiscal System," and various other papers for the Financial Reform Association of Liverpool. Mr. Somerville was not at any time a dogmatic advocate of Free Trade in all commodities. In Canada he soon observed that the conditions of manufactures and commerce were not the same as in Britain. During the last twenty-three years he has travelled extensively in Canada, sending to many Eng-

ish journals vivid and interesting pen-pictures of our natural scenery, and our industrial conditions. His writings have undoubtedly done much to familiarize the British people with the realities of Canadian life, and to disabuse their minds of the misapprehensions respecting this country which so long prevailed. His is an industrious and a facile pen and few journalists have had a more active and varied experience of, or are more familiar with, life in all its phases than the "Whistler." He has for some years been a resident of Toronto, having adopted Canada as his home.

Among the new members returned to the Dominion Parliament in 1882 were two leading representatives of the local press of Ontario—both Scotsmen. James Innes was born in Huntley, Aberdeenshire, on the 1st of February, 1833. He began life as a school-teacher in his native land, but on arriving in Canada, in 1853, adopted the vocation of journalism. In 1862 he became editor and publisher of the *Guelph Mercury*, which has a high standing among the Reform newspapers of Western Ontario. Mr. Innes has been a High School Trustee for a number of years, is chairman of the Guelph Board of Education, and has taken an active interest in many public enterprises. He was always on the Reform side of politics, and was returned in that interest for South Wellington at last general election. James Somerville is also a life-long Reformer. His parents came from Fifeshire, Scotland, about half a century ago, settling in Dundas, where he was born, on the 7th of June, 1834. After receiving a good education at the public and grammar schools of his native town, he acquired a knowledge of the newspaper business, and in 1854 established the *Ayr Observer*. In

1858 he disposed of this journal, and returned to Dundas, where he started the *True Banner*, which he has successfully conducted ever since. For many years Mr. Somerville has been prominent in municipal matters, having occupied the position of Warden of Wentworth County and Mayor of Dundas, as well as many less important trusts. He represents North Brant in the House of Commons.

Alexander Whyte Wright is well known in connection with journalism and political agitation though not at present actively engaged in either direction. He was born in Markham Township, at what is now the village of Elmira, about the year 1845, his father being from Glasgow and his mother from Fifeshire. He was engaged for several years in the woollen and carpet manufacturing industries in Preston and St. Jacobs. In 1874 he became regularly connected with the press, though, for several years previous he had from time to time contributed fugitive articles to various journals. He edited, with marked ability and power, the *Guelph Herald*, *Orangeville Sun*, and *Stratford Herald*; and, in 1876, came to Toronto and took charge of the editorial department of the *National*. He took a prominent part in the National Policy agitation, supplementing his journalistic labours by the delivery of numerous speeches throughout the country in favour of a protective tariff. Being an apt, ready speaker, well-versed in the details of the question and the practical needs of Canadian industries, and having unusual powers of repartee and illustration, his services on the stump were greatly in demand during the campaign of 1877. After the triumph of the National Policy, Mr. Wright turned his attention to other

and less popular reforms, advocating the adoption of a national paper currency with the same zeal and enthusiasm which had animated him in the struggle over the tariff question. In the fall of 1880 he came forward as a candidate for West Toronto for the House of Commons on a platform embracing national currency, and other measures. His views, however, did not meet with general acceptance. Shortly afterwards Mr. Wright withdrew from journalism, and became Secretary of the Manufacturers' Association, and also of the Niagara Steel Works. As a popular orator, Mr. Wright holds a leading position. He is a man of marked individuality, not afraid to reason from first principles, and totally devoid of that slavish deference to authority and conventional opinion which has done so much to sap the intellectual vitality of Canadian life, and render much of the journalistic field an arid waste of platitude interspersed with oases vivid with a tropical luxuriance of invective. He has given much thought to the social question, in its various phases, and is an unswerving advocate of the rights of labour.

The name of "Cousin Sandy" will be remembered by a great many of our readers in connection with the press of a dozen years ago, many telling prose contributions and poetical squibs appearing in different journals over that signature. Their author was Mr. John Fraser, a Scot either by birth or descent, who, prior to emigrating to Canada achieved a considerable reputation in England in connection with the Chartist movement. He possessed great power of sarcasm and invective, which found full scope for their exercise in that memorable struggle for the rights of the peo-

ple. His original vocation was that of a tailor, which he followed for a considerable time at Stanstead, in the Province of Quebec, indulging at the same time those literary pursuits for which he had a natural gift. He afterwards accepted the position of canvasser for a prominent book-publishing firm in Montreal, and in this capacity his travels extended widely throughout Canada. His versatile talents and genial disposition secured him a wide circle of friends and acquaintances wherever he went. He distributed his contributions among a number of newspapers, mostly of the Liberal school of politics, many of his clever satirical verses appearing in the *Montreal Herald*. He met his death by accident at Ottawa, in the early part of June 1872, by falling down the precipice in rear of the Parliament Buildings. He struck the rocks in his descent and was instantly killed.

Mr. George Maclean Rose has been so long and prominently associated with the development of Canadian literature that his name may well be introduced in this connection. He was born in Wick, Caithness-shire, Scotland, on the 14th of March, 1829, and learned the printing trade in the office of the *John O'Groat Journal*. A year after he had attained his majority the family settled in Canada. He entered the employ of Mr. John C. Beckett, of Montreal, who was then engaged in the publication of the *Montreal Witness* and other journals. After the death of his father, which took place in 1853, the care of the family devolved upon him. The means at his command were but scanty, but in partnership with his elder brother, Henry, he started a small job printing office. By strict industry and economy they ob-

tained a fair measure of success. In 1856 they dissolved partnership, George having become convinced that Western Canada offered more scope for his energies than Montreal. In connection with Mr. John Muir he established the *Chronicle*, in the village of Merrickville, but he did not remain there any length of time. Among his other engagements about this period, was that of city editor of the London *Prototype*. In 1858, he came to Toronto as manager of the printing office of Mr. Samuel Thompson, for whom he published the Toronto *Atlas*, started in opposition to the *Colonist*, which had taken ground adverse to the government of the day. Mr. Thompson having obtained the contract for government printing, Mr. Rose was assigned to take the management of the office in Quebec, whither he removed in 1859. This arrangement did not long continue. Mr. Thompson found himself unable financially to carry out his contract alone, and a company was organized for the purpose, including Mr. Rose and Mr. Robert Hunter, an experienced accountant. Mr. Thompson retired from the business altogether soon afterwards, leaving it to the new firm of Hunter, Rose & Co., who completed the contract and secured its renewal. On the removal of the seat of Government to Ottawa in 1865, the firm of course followed. A large and lucrative business was soon built up, and in 1868, a branch was established at Toronto, the firm having secured a ten years' contract for the printing of the Provincial Government. In 1871 their relations with the Dominion Government terminated, and the business was consolidated in Toronto. The firm now entered extensively into the business of publishing Canadian reprints of English copyright

books, principally the popular novels of living writers, for which a ready market was found. The firm honestly compensated the authors whose works they reproduced, although this of course placed them at a disadvantage as compared with the piratical publishers of the United States. Another and probably a greater service to the intellectual progress of the country rendered by this enterprising firm, was the publication—at first for others, but latterly at their own risk—of the *Canadian Monthly*, the last and by far the best literary magazine ever issued in this country. This venture unfortunately did not prove pecuniarily successful, and though sustained for many years with a liberality and public spirit highly creditable to the publishers, was at length discontinued. In 1877 the death of Mr. Hunter left Mr. Rose the sole member of the firm, and a year afterwards he took his brother Daniel into the concern, the well-known firm name being still retained. Widely as Mr. George M. Rose is known to the Canadian people as a successful and enterprising publisher, he has acquired a still more extensive reputation by his unselfish exertions in the cause of temperance and moral reform. A life-long total abstainer and prohibitionist, he has taken an active part in temperance work in connection with various organizations. He has attained the highest offices in the gift of the Sons of Temperance in the Dominion, having been several times chosen to fill the chair of Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Order both in Quebec and Ontario, and has also held the second highest position conferrable by that Order for the whole continent, having been Most Worthy Associate of the National Division of America. His heart and purse are always open to the ap-

peals for the advancement of the temperance cause, which he regards as being of vastly more importance than mere party issues. Though a Liberal politically he regards all public issues from the standpoint of temperance reform. Personally Mr. Rose is genial, sociable and unassuming. As his career shows, he has abundant business capacity, and the enthusiasm which forms so strong a feature of his character is well regulated by a fund of practical common sense.

Mr. David Wylie, of Brockville, known as the "father of the Ontario Press," was born in Johnstone, Renfrewshire, Scotland, his parents being William and Mary Orr Wylie, on the 23rd of March, 1811. He evinced a taste for reading at an early age. In January, 1826, he was apprenticed to the printing trade in the office of Stephen Young, Paisley, where he remained for upwards of three years, finishing his term of apprenticeship at the University Printing office, Glasgow. He first commenced to write for the *Greenock Advertiser*, to which he contributed some short stories and sketches in addition to ordinary journalistic work. He afterwards held a situation on the *Glasgow Guardian* for about a year and a half. Subsequently he went to Liverpool where he became reporter and proof reader on the *Mail*, remaining in that employment for about eight years. After a period spent in Manchester on the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, the organ of the Free Traders, Mr. Wylie returned to his native land taking the management of the *Fife Herald*, published in the town of Cupar, at that time edited by the celebrated Mr. Russell afterwards of the *Edinburgh Scotsman*. In the year 1845 he was offered a situation in Montreal by Mr. John C. Becket, then publisher of the *Witness*

and several other serials. He accepted the proposition and for several years remained in Mr. Becket's employ. In 1849 he became parliamentary reporter for the *Montreal Herald* besides doing a great deal of miscellaneous work for the press of Montreal. Later in the same year he came to Brockville and took charge of the *Recorder* which under his able management soon became noted as a powerful Reform journal and commanded a wide-spread influence in that section of the Province. He continued to edit the *Recorder* for nearly thirty years. During the last few years of his proprietorship he issued a daily edition which met with encouraging success. Mr. Wylie is a poet of marked ability and taste, and in 1867 issued a collection of his poems under the title of "Waifs from the Thousand Isles" which met with deserved acceptance at the hands of the public. He revisited Scotland in 1870, being commissioned by the Ontario Government to present the claims of Canada as a field for settlement to the Scottish people. He delivered numerous addresses on that subject in addition to writing a series of letters to the *Glasgow Herald*, in which the advantages held out by Canada to intending emigrants were fully set forth. While resident in Montreal Mr. Wylie became connected with the volunteer force with which he has ever since been associated, having risen to the rank of Lieut-Colonel and Paymaster of Military District No. 4. For upwards of twenty years he has been Chairman of the Board of School Trustees and has taken an active interest in many public enterprises.

Evan MacColl, who has gained a wide celebrity both as a Gaelic and an English poet, was born at Kenmore, Loch Fyne-side, Scotland, on the 21st of September, 1808, in

which neighbourhood he was known as "*Clarsair-nam-beann*" or the Mountain Minstrel. He was the child of parents in a humble walk of life, though boasting a long lineage his paternal ancestors being the MacColls of Glasdrum Glen-creran. His mother belonged to the Clan Cameron and the poetic faculty of MacColl was inherited from her. Evan received a fair education, his father, though ill able to afford the expense, engaging a tutor for him in order that he might have advantages superior to those which the village school could afford. He soon acquired a decided taste for literature and read with avidity such books as came in his way. The perusal of Burns' poems and some of the standard English classics gave a marked impetus to the literary bent of his mind and when hardly out of his boyhood he began to compose poetry. He was during his youth employed in farming and fishing, but though the nature of his avocations retarded they did not suppress his intellectual development. Evan MacColl was not destined to be a mute inglorious Milton, and chill penury did not "freeze the genial current of his soul." In 1837 he became a contributor to the *Gaelic Magazine* then published in Glasgow. His poems excited much interest and speedily won a reputation for the youthful author. Before long a collection of his Gaelic poems was published under the title of "*Clarsach nam Beann*," or "Poems and Songs in Gaelic." This was followed by another collection under the title of "The Mountain Minstrel, or Poems and Songs in English." This publication won him fresh laurels and many competent literary authorities were loud in his praise. Dr. Norman McLeod, editor of *Good Words*, wrote as follows: "Evan MacColl's poetry is the pro-

duct of a mind impressed with the beauty and the grandeur of the lovely scenes in which his infancy has been nursed. We have no hesitation in saying that the work is that of a man possessed of much poetic genius. Wild indeed and sometimes rough are his rhymes and epithets, yet there are thoughts so new and striking—images and comparisons so beautiful and original—feelings so warm and fresh that stamp this Highland peasant as no ordinary man.” Mr. MacColl’s family emigrated to Canada in 1831 but he remained behind, and in 1837 procured a clerkship in the customs at Liverpool. Here he remained until 1850, when his health having become impaired he visited his friends in Canada. Here he met with Hon. Malcolm Cameron, then in office and was by him offered a position in the Canadian Customs at Kingston which he gladly accepted. He remained in this post for thirty years being superannuated about the year 1880. He has written numerous poems, chiefly of a lyrical character, during his residence in Canada, one of the most noted of which is his *Robin*, written for the occasion of the Burns Centennial celebration in Kingston, the easy and melodious expression of which is in excellent imitation of Burns’ own style. He has been for many years the bard of the St. Andrew’s Society of Kingston, and his anniversary poems are greatly appreciated by all Scotsmen. Mr. MacColl is a thorough Scot in his tastes, sympathies and characteristics. His nature is simple and sincere and his many amiable qualities have won the sympathy and esteem of a wide circle of friends. His poetic gifts have been transmitted to his daughter, Miss Mary J. MacColl, who recently published

a meritorious little volume of poems entitled "Bide a wee," highly commended for their sweetness and delicacy.

An old time journalist who, in his day, did excellent service in the cause of political and religious freedom, is Mr. James Lesslie, whose family took a prominent part in the commercial and public life of the then town of York. His father was Edward Lesslie, a native of Dundee, Scotland, who carried on an extensive book and stationery business in that town for many years. Mr. Edward Lesslie had a family of twelve children, and rightly considering that their prospects in life would be improved by emigration to the New World, determined to settle in Canada. In 1820 John Lesslie, one of the sons, came out in advance of the rest of the family, and selected the town of York as a good field for commercial enterprise. It was then little more than a village, the buildings being of wood, and the streets chronically in the condition which earned it the *soubriquet* of "Muddy Little York." John Lesslie began business in a two story house opposite the English Church, at that time a wooden structure on the site of the present St. James' Cathedral. In accordance with the customary practice at that time, he kept a general stock of goods, but his specialties were books and drugs, in which lines he had for some time a monopoly. William Lyon Mackenzie, who arrived at York shortly afterwards, found employment for a time with Mr. Lesslie, and in 1821 was entrusted with the management of a branch store opened in Dundas. The other members of the Lesslie family came out in 1822, and the following year, making their home in Dundas. The business of "Lesslie & Sons" was extended, another branch being

opened in Kingston. Mr. Edward Lesslie died in 1828, and some years afterwards the firm was reorganized, John retaining the Dundas branch, and the interests of the others being concentrated at Toronto under the name of "Lesslie Brothers." The partnership continued until the death of Mr. William Lesslie, in 1843. Mr. James Lesslie took a leading part in many social and public movements of a moral and intellectual character. He was President of the "Young Men's Society," organized in 1833 on a basis somewhat similar to the Young Men's Christian Association of to-day, and Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute established in the same year. When the town of York became the city of Toronto in 1834, Mr. Lesslie was chosen alderman for St. David's ward. In 1836 he took a leading part in conjunction with James Hervey Price, James Beaty and others in establishing the House of Industry, and about this time made his influence strongly felt in combating the Church of England ascendancy in public affairs. He was appointed cashier, and afterwards President of the "Bank of the People," a joint stock institution, established in 1835, in opposition to the chartered banks under Family Compact control. This bank successfully passed through the trying ordeal of the crisis of 1836, and in 1840 was merged in the Bank of Montreal. In February, 1836, Mr. Lesslie was chosen in connection with Mr. Jesse Ketchum to deliver to Sir Francis Bond Head the celebrated "rejoinder" to the official reply of His Excellency to an address presented by the citizens—a proceeding which being contrary to official etiquette required no little tact, and was adroitly accomplished. When the insurrection of 1837 broke out, James and Wil-

William Lesslie, whose influence had been thrown on the side of law and order, were subjected to imprisonment simply because they were known as staunch advocates of civil and religious liberty. Their premises were occupied and plundered by the disorderly militia—a proceeding said to have been ordered by Attorney General Hagerman. After examination by the Commissioners of Treason, both brothers were released. William shortly afterwards started on a journey to be married, and was again arrested on the stage when near Kingston, and without any legal formality thrown into jail at that town, and treated as a convicted felon. The matter was brought to the notice of Sir Francis Bond Head, but he refused to interfere. Such outrages were perpetrated with great frequency at this time by the official party. The extent of this persecution of the friends of constitutional reform, led James Lesslie to transmit a strong memorial to the Imperial Government through Sir Henry Parnell, then the representative of Forfarshire in the House of Commons. It formed the subject of a dispatch from the Colonial office to Lieutenant-Governor Head, who, in his published correspondence, stigmatized the Lesslies, and all constitutional Reformers as “notorious republicans.” Very many left the province, as political progress and redress of existing wrongs appeared for a time hopeless, and the Family Compact entrenched the more firmly in power by the abortive attempt to overthrow them. A scheme for a general emigration to some of the newer territories of the United States was set on foot, and a society formed for this purpose, entitled “The Mississippi Emigration Society,” of which Mr., now Sir Francis Hincks, was secretary. Three

delegates were chosen to proceed to the Far West and select a site for the proposed Canadian colony, viz.:—Mr. Peter Perry, representative of Whitby, in the legislature; Mr. Thomas Parke, member for Middlesex, and Mr. James Lesslie. They selected Davenport, Iowa, then a small village, as the most promising location. Mr. Lesslie suffered from a severe attack of bilious fever, owing to the hardships endured by the party in their travels through a wild and uncivilized region. The scheme eventually fell through owing partly to the conciliatory course of Lord Durham, and the prospects held out by him of speedy reform.

About 1844, James Lesslie purchased the *Examiner* newspaper, published in Toronto, from Mr. Hincks, who then went to Montreal and became editor of the *Pilot*. His brother, Mr. Joseph Lesslie, assisted him in the editorial conduct of the paper for a year or more, when he gave it up, James Lesslie carried on the paper successfully, and his able pen rendered it a powerful factor in the conflict for religious equality. In 1854, the question was forever settled by the abolition of the State Church, when he sold out the paper to Mr. Brown, of the *Globe*. In 1855, he disposed of his book, stationery and drug business, and two years later purchased the homestead of Hon. James Hervey Price, near the village of Eglington, where he now resides having passed his 80th year. His brother John, also an octogenarian, lives in Dundas with his unmarried sister, Helen.* Two other sisters, Mrs. John Paterson and Mrs. Robert Holt, widows, also reside in that town. Charles Lesslie, who went to Davenport, Iowa, in 1839, is resident there, but in feeble health.

* John Lesslie has since died.

Mr. Daniel Morrison was for a long time connected with the Toronto press and obtained a high reputation as a powerful and sarcastic writer. He was the son of Rev. Mr. Morrison, of Inverness, Scotland, and came to Canada at an early age. For some time he was engaged in farming in Wentworth County, and subsequently edited the *Dundas Warder*, in which capacity he speedily achieved a reputation as an able journalist. He afterwards obtained a position on the Toronto *Leader*. In conjunction with Mr. George Sheppard he purchased the *Colonist* from Mr. Samuel Thompson and continued to edit that journal until 1859, when he was appointed by the government one of the provincial arbitrators. The year following he resigned his office and accepted the editorship of the Quebec *Morning Chronicle*. In 1861 he had charge of the London *Prototype* and shortly afterwards went to New York, where he was engaged on the staff of the *Tribune* and other journals. He returned to Canada some years afterwards, having accepted the position of editor of the Toronto *Telegraph*. He died about the year 1869. In 1858 he married the talented Canadian actress, Miss Charlotte Nickinson, who survives him.

Reference has already been made very briefly to Mr. John Galt, the father of Sir Alexander T. Galt, and known as a distinguished Scottish novelist and the founder of the city of Guelph. Mr. Galt was born in Irvine, on the 2nd day of May, 1779. The following year his father, who was the captain of a ship in the West India trade, left Ayrshire and took up his residence in Greenock, in which town John Galt received his education. He early manifested a strong predilection for study and literary composition, which

was fostered by congenial associations. During his youth he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1804 he quitted Greenock for London, where he started in business on his own account, in partnership with a young man named McLachlan from the same part of Scotland. While engaged in this venture, Mr. Galt published an epic poem on the battle of Largs, and continued to pursue his literary studies with indefatigable industry, especially in the direction of metaphysics, political economy, and *belles lettres*. In the course of two or three years his business affairs became heavily involved, and insolvency followed. Mr. Galt then went abroad for his health. At Gibraltar he made the acquaintance of Lord Byron, then in the first flush of his literary triumphs, and his friend Mr. Hobhouse, and for some time accompanied them on their tour. He afterwards visited Sicily, Malta, and Greece, where he renewed his acquaintance with Byron, and had an interview with Ali Pacha. Constantinople and the Black Sea were also visited. The literary fruits of this tour were a series of *Letters from the Levant*, which attained considerable success. Mr. Galt during the period of his absence from England, also outlined several dramas, which were afterwards completed and published. *The Ayrshire Legatees*, issued in 1820, was, however, the work which thoroughly established his reputation, in the line particularly his own, of a graphic delineator of the provincial life of Scotland. He followed up this vein by *The Annals of the Parish*, a book of superior power, which appeared in 1820. Having made his mark in literature and secured a wide circle of admirers, his works succeeded each other rapidly. *Sir Andrew Wylie, The*

Recital, *The Steamboat* and *The Provost*, followed in succession. Mr. Galt was not so successful in the direction of historical romance, to which he next turned his attention. *Ringan Gilhaize*, a tale of the Covenanters, was the first of his essays in this line. It was succeeded by several others which, though comprising many effective scenes, and some brilliant descriptive writing, were nevertheless, uneven and lacking in the naturalness and sustained interest of his previous books. *The Last of the Lairds* was published just before he left England for the scene of his labours in Canada, in 1826. His connection with Canada was brought about by his appointment as agent to urge upon the Imperial Government the claims of Canadians who had sustained losses by the American invasion during the war of 1812. The negotiations and investigations that ensued, led to the organization of the Canada Company for the acquisition and settlement of a large tract of land in the Western Peninsula of Upper Canada. The company procured a grant of 1,100,000 acres in one block. A scheme for emigration on a large scale was adopted. Mr. Galt was appointed superintendent, and began the work of colonization by selecting a site for a town. The spot upon which Guelph now stands was fixed upon as the most eligible, and on the 23rd of April, 1827, Mr. Galt set out from the town which bears his name—bestowed upon it by Hon. William Dixon, before his arrival in the country—accompanied by the eccentric Dr. Dunlop, Mr. Prior, an employé of the company, and a couple of labourers. A large maple tree was selected which was cut down, when the party with due formality, drank prosperity to the city of Guelph. The present im-

portance of that rapidly growing commercial centre vindicates the foresight of Mr. Galt. In view of its recent admission to the civic status the following passage from Mr. Galt's autobiography is of interest—"In planning the city," he says, "for I will still dignify it by that title, though applied at first in derision, I had, like the lawyers in establishing their fees an eye to futurity in the magnitude of the parts."* He reserved sites for Catholic, Episcopal, and Presbyterian churches upon rising ground, which have been long since adorned with handsome edifices. The building of a school-house was undertaken by the company. The road work and other improvements undertaken, soon attracted an influx of settlers, and the new community grew rapidly, and the price of land speedily rose. Shortly afterwards Mr. Galt undertook an extended voyage on Lake Huron, and visited Detroit, Buffalo and other localities in the United States. The Canada Company's affairs did not prosper despite the energy of Mr. Galt. The stock of the company was heavily depreciated, and various troubles and disagreements occurred. The indefatigable superintendent still pursued his plans for opening up the land for settlement on a large scale. He caused a road nearly a hundred miles in length to be constructed through the dense forest, with which the Huron tract was then covered, by which an overland communication was, for the first time, established between Lakes Huron and Ontario. The labourers employed were paid partly in money and partly in land. Mr. Galt's relations with the directors of the company becoming unsatisfactory, owing to their considering the outlay

* Autobiography of John Galt, Vol. II. 54. *Am. Edition.*

incurred in these improvements extravagant, his connection with the company terminated in 1829, when he returned to England, and recommenced his literary labours. He shortly afterwards produced a novel entitled *Laurie Todd*, which was followed by *Southennan*, a romance of the days of Mary Queen of Scots. A *Life of Lord Byron* which excited a great deal of angry criticism ran through several editions. In 1834 Mr. Galt published *Literary Miscellanies*, in three volumes. His health, shattered by a very arduous and wearying life, shortly afterwards broke down completely, and he returned to end his days in his native Scotland, dying at Greenock on the 11th of April, 1839, after several attacks of paralysis. The best vindication of the wisdom of Mr. Galt's course as superintendent of the Canada Company is the success which ultimately attended this enterprise, consequent upon his exertions.

There are several other journalists worthy of an extended notice concerning whose careers, we would gladly present a few details were the requisite data accessible. Among them we may mention Messrs. John Dougall and James Redpath Dougall, of the *Montreal Witness*—a journal which takes a deservedly high rank, no less as an enterprising and well-edited newspaper than a staunch advocate of social and moral reform, especially the cause of Temperance. Mr. John Dougall has been the principal proprietor of the *Witness* for many years, his controlling idea being to establish a daily paper in which the spirit of earnest, practical religion should pervade every department. In the face of many obstacles he succeeded in what a great many people considered a hopeless experiment. A similar venture in

New York did not prove equally satisfactory, and after a hard struggle the New York *Daily Witness* was discontinued. The weekly issue, however, still flourishes, Mr. John Dougall devoting his principal attention to the New York establishment, while his son, Mr. J. R. Dougall, has charge of the Montreal publications.

Alexander McLachlan, poet and lecturer, is the son of a Scottish mechanic, and was born in the village of Johnstone, Renfrewshire, in the year 1820. He is largely self-educated, his schooling having been very limited; but being of a studious and thoughtful disposition he early gained an extensive knowledge of English literature. He followed for some years the trade of a tailor, and during his youth took a leading part in the Chartist movement, which at that time flourished in Britain. His poems are largely tinged with the spirit of this agitation, Mr. McLachlan having through life retained a strong sympathy for the victims of social injustice and oppression. In 1840 he emigrated to Canada, quitting the needle for the axe and the plough. He settled in the backwoods, and his rich experience in the hardships and struggles, triumphs and pleasures of life in the bush, furnished the material for some of his most characteristic poems. Mr. McLachlan published several volumes of poetry, the last, which embraced the cream of his previous writings as well as many new poems, appearing in 1874. In the same year he revisited Scotland, where he delivered many lectures and addresses, dealing with Canadian life, and literary and philosophical subjects. Much of Mr. McLachlan's poetry is well worthy of a place beside the utterances of more celebrated British bards, who, by the acci-

dent of residence near the heart of the empire, have attained a renown which no Canadian, no matter how deserving, could hope to acquire. He is pre-eminently one of the poets who, according to the old proverb, are "born, not made." His style is simple and natural. There is no straining after effect, no attempt to simulate a poetic fervour that is not genuine and heartfelt. He is no mere rhymester dealing in pretty conceits and elegant trifling, but appeals to the strongest and most deeply-seated emotions of humanity. The clearness and simplicity of his writings are in marked contrast to the involved sentences and confused meaning of the "incomprehensible" school of poetic thought so much in vogue. He is a poet of the people, and has much of the freshness and spontaneity, as well as the force and beauty of Burns, whose influence, as well as that of Wordsworth, appears traceable in McLachlan's mode of thought and expression. His poems breathe an intense love for nature and the freedom and freshness of rural life, and he has given some of the finest descriptions of the glorious scenery of our forests, rivers and lakes. His most noticeable fault is a tendency to repeat the same phrase somewhat too frequently. In dealing with the great problems of life and thought he evinces broad sympathies with humanity and faith in its noblest aspirations. In private life Mr. McLachlan, who is still engaged in farming, is one of the most genial and loveable of men. He has rare conversational powers, and when in congenial society his native eloquence and humour impart a vivid interest to every subject upon which he touches. Alexander McLachlan has received but scant justice at the hands of those who assume to be the special

guardians and promoters of Canadian literature. The devotees of that superficial "culture" which regards form of expression more than the underlying thought, have extended to his poetic genius such a cold and grudging recognition as that which drew from the indignant heart of the poet Burns his scathing satire upon the literary precisians and pretenders of his day :

—“ An’ syne they think to climb Parnassus
By dint o’ Greek ? ”

Had the Ayrshire bard himself appeared in the present generation would he have been appreciated by these sticklers for poetic formalism ? It is very doubtful. Apart altogether from the verdict of this class of critics, it is not creditable to the Canadian people that a singer of the power and pathos of Alexander McLachlan, should not have met with wider and more general appreciation than has been accorded him. True, his is by no means a singular experience, and much of the best literary work of Canada has been but poorly rewarded. The people who take no pride in their poets and who pass over really able and meritorious home writers in favour of foreigners, are yet very far from the attainment of a robust national and patriotic feeling :

“ Spoke well the Grecian when he said that poems
Were the high laws that swayed a nation’s mind—
Voices that live on echoes—
Brief and poetic proems,
Opening the great heart-book of human kind.

“ Songs are the nation’s pulses, which discover
If the great body be as nature willed.
Songs are the spasms of soul
Telling us what men suffer.
Dead is the nation’s heart whose songs are stilled ! ”



CHAPTER IX.

ADDENDA.

IN a work of the present character and extent, it was almost impossible, while pursuing the slight thread of historical continuity which we have tried to keep in view, to avoid the omission of names of many who are entitled to a notice in these pages. In the scanty space yet remaining at our disposal the endeavour will be made to rectify this defect as far as may be, by brief sketches of those Canadian Scotsmen of note who have hitherto been passed over altogether or received a merely casual mention.

Probably the man who above all others has done most for the commercial development of Canada was the late Sir Hugh Allan—to whom but scanty reference has already been made in these volumes. Sir Hugh came of a seafaring family, his father being Captain Alexander Allan, a shipmaster engaged in the trade between the Clyde and Montreal, and two of his brothers being also sailors. He was born at Saltcoats, in Ayrshire, Scotland, on the 29th of September, 1810. The nautical associations of his earlier years made a powerful impression upon him. He was constantly thrown into the company of sailors; and familiarity

with maritime life resulted in that strong predilection for the water described by Byron's well-known lines—

And I have loved thee, Ocean ! and my joy
Of youthful sports was on thy breast to be
Borne like thy bubbles onward, from a boy
I wantoned with thy breakers—they to me
Were a delight, and if the freshening sea
Made them a terror—'twas a pleasing fear
For I was as it were a child of thee,
And trusted to thy billows far and near.

There is little doubt that his future career as the founder of the line of vessels that perpetuates his name was largely determined by his early training and surroundings. His scholastic education was but scanty, and at the age of thirteen Hugh Allan entered the employ of Allan, Kerr & Co., a shipping firm of Greenock. Here he remained for about a year acquiring some knowledge of the business for which he displayed a decided aptitude. Acting on the advice of his father he resolved to emigrate to Canada, and arrived at Montreal in the spring of 1826. The difficulties and delays experienced by his father's vessel, the *Favourite*, in making the passage up the St. Lawrence on this trip, indicate the then primitive state of the now extensive shipping interest of our commercial metropolis. A strong head wind prevailed, and the solitary steam-tug which then sufficed for the commerce of the port, was unable to tow the ship up the St. Mary's current. The services of a dozen yoke of oxen were called into requisition, but even this additional power was unavailing, and it was not until a large gang of men from a shipyard at Hochelaga had lent their aid that the vessel was enabled to drop anchor opposite Montreal. There were no wharves at that time. The bank shelved down in

its natural condition and landing cargoes by means of a long gangway was a difficult and tedious process.

The future steamship king obtained a situation with the firm of William Kerr & Co., dry goods merchants, which he retained for three years, acquiring an excellent knowledge of business methods. He also mastered the French language and endeavoured to remedy the defects of his lack of education in boyhood by assiduous study. He determined to revisit for a while his native land, but previous to doing so took a trip through Upper Canada and New York State. After spending a few months in the old country Mr. Allan returned to Canada in the spring of 1831, and obtained a situation with the firm of James Millar & Co, Montreal, shipbuilders and commission merchants. Here he was engaged for some time in buying and shipping wheat, and he turned his knowledge and experience to such good account and devoted himself so thoroughly to the interests of the firm that after four years of service in a subordinate position he was admitted to a partnership in the year 1837. When the rebellion of 1837 broke out he joined the Fifth Battalion as a volunteer and was speedily promoted to a captaincy. The death of the senior partner in 1838 resulted in a change of the style of the firm to that of Edmonston & Allan. The business continued steadily to develop in both its branches. In 1841 the firm were employed by the Governor-General, Lord Sydenham, to build a steam frigate which bore his name. They also constructed a small screw steamer for the Government called the *Union*, notable as one of the first vessels of that description built in the country. The following year the firm turned their attention to

the improvement of the navigation facilities of the port—building a powerful tug-boat and several barges to lighten vessels up and down the river. About 1845 they temporarily discontinued ship-building, devoting themselves for some years to the management of their vessels and other commercial interests. About this time Mr. Allan's younger brother, Andrew, acquired an interest in the firm, which after some other changes of nomenclature eventually adopted the style of Hugh & Andrew Allan. In 1851 the ship-building branch of their business was resumed, owing to the proposals of the Government with a view to the establishment of a line of iron screw steamships between Liverpool and the St. Lawrence. The first contract was given to a Glasgow firm, but after a trial of a year and a half, the arrangement with them was abandoned as unsatisfactory, and the Allans succeeded in making terms with the Government. The first vessel built for this line was the *Canadian*, which made her first trip in 1853. The mail service was commenced the following year, the trips being fortnightly between Liverpool and the St. Lawrence during the season of open navigation, and monthly to Portland during the winter. The firm surmounted great difficulties and sustained heavy losses at the outset of this great enterprise, but by perseverance, energy, and judgment, succeeded at length in obtaining public confidence and placing the Allan Line on a firm and profitable basis. The four vessels at first engaged in the service were before long supplemented by additional ones. In 1857 the public demanded more frequent mail communication with England, and the Government determined that the service should be weekly throughout

the year. Four larger steamships were built, and the weekly mail service set on foot on the 1st of May, 1859. This great enterprise gave an immense impetus to the commerce of Montreal, and in connection with the other undertakings of the Allans did more than any other cause to give Canada a high place on the roll of maritime nations. The firm also established a line of steamers plying between the St. Lawrence and Glasgow. The improvement of vessel architecture seriously engaged their attention, as they were determined to spare no pains or expense to attain the style best adapted to secure the safety and convenience of their passengers. They were the first to build steamers for the Atlantic service with the spar or flush deck now generally conceded to be a great improvement in construction, though strongly opposed at the time of its first introduction. The Allan fleet is one of the most numerous and important on the globe, and is managed upon a strict system of organization and discipline by which regular promotion is secured to competent and deserving employés, and nothing left undone to secure thoroughness and efficiency in every detail. In 1881 the Allans owned twenty-four ocean steamships with an aggregate of 76,130 tons and thirteen Clyde-built clippers with a tonnage of 19,016. On more than one occasion the Imperial Government have availed themselves of the company's steamers for the transportation of troops in war time.

The remarkable business enterprise and foresight of Mr. Hugh Allan found scope in many other directions than that of his maritime undertakings. He has been identified in one way or another with nearly all the important commercial enterprises of a corporate character undertaken in Mon-

trepreneur during his time. He was a leading promoter and a director of the Montreal Telegraph Company, a member of the directorate of the Atlantic Cable Company, and largely interested in many banking and other mercantile organizations. And wherever his good judgment was largely called into requisition in the conduct of such undertaking, they were almost uniformly crowned with success. His connection with the unfortunate Pacific Scandal, which has been already fully explained, is an exceptional feature in a career almost uniformly characterized by creditable public spirit and sound discretion. When Prince Arthur visited Canada in 1869 he was entertained by Mr. Allan in right royal style at his mansion of Ravenscraig, in Montreal, and at Belmere his summer residence on the beautiful shores of lake Memphremagog. In recognition no less of his eminent services to the commercial interests of Canada than of his hospitality to the Prince he received the honour of knighthood at the hands of Her Majesty in the year 1871. Sir Hugh was married on the 13th of September, 1844, to Matilda, second daughter of Mr. John Smith, of Montreal, by whom he had a numerous family. He died towards the close of 1882, leaving a fortune estimated at about six million dollars.

A prominent figure in the early annals of the Bay of Quinté District was Rev. Robert McDowall, the pioneer of Presbyterianism in that section of the country. His parents emigrated from Dumfriesshire, Scotland, and settled in the State of New York. Robert McDowall was born in Saratoga County, on the 25th of July, 1768, received his education at William's College, Schenectady, N.Y., was ordained as a minister

of the Reformed Dutch Church at Albany. In response to a requisition from Canada he was sent over the border by that body as a missionary in 1798, making Fredericksburg his headquarters. He had a widely extended field of labour among the then scattered and isolated settlements along the frontier. His labours were incessant and he was exposed to all the hardships and perils of travel through a wilderness destitute of roads, and infested with beasts of prey and hostile Indians. He usually journeyed on horseback, but sometimes afoot, and made many voyages in Indian canoes, braving with extraordinary courage the dangers by land and water. These journeys extended as far east as Quebec, and on one occasion at least he travelled as far West as Middlesex County. Mr. McDowall was of a robust physique, lithe and muscular, qualities which often stood him in good stead in encountering perils to which a man of weaker physical frame must inevitably have succumbed. He was a welcome visitor in the lonely cabins of the settlers. He preached to congregations hastily assembled in the open air or in some available barn or schoolhouse, and held his auditors entranced by the power and soul-stirring eloquence of his discourses. His ready humour, lively wit and cordiality of manner in social intercourse rendered him almost universally popular. For years he was the only available minister in a large district for solemnizing the rites of marriage and baptism, and his advent would often be the signal for the assembling of numerous candidates for the matrimonial estate or admission to the visible church, the ceremonial having been perforce deferred for sometime until his arrival. As money was then very scarce his services in

celebrating the marriage rite were often gratuitous, and sometimes the contracting parties testified their appreciation by offering what would now be considered out of place. It is stated that one grateful bridegroom paid his tribute in the form of a load of pumpkins. It is recorded in Dr. Canniff's history of the "Settlement of Upper Canada" that on one occasion Mr. McDowall walked all the way from the Bay of Quinté to York following the lake shore and swimming the rivers that could not be forded. In 1837 he was appointed by the Synod a member of a committee instructed to consider the propriety of sending a deputation to Scotland for the object of establishing a Collegiate Theological Institution and took a deep interest in the work preliminary to the establishment of Queen's College and University at Kingston. An interesting relic of his ministry is his record of marriages and baptisms now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. R. J. McDowall, of Kingston, which contains about 3,000 entries. Mr. McDowall was an earnest temperance reformer and probably the first public advocate of total abstinence in this country. This veteran pioneer in the cause of religion closed his long and useful life on the 3rd of August, 1841. He left a widow and family, having at an early period of his ministry married Hannah Washburn, daughter of Ebenezer Washburn, M. P., and sister of Hon. Simeon Washburn, Senator.

Lachlan McCallum, of Stromness, for many years M. P. for Monck, was born in Argyllshire, Scotland, on the 15th of March, 1823, and emigrated to Canada in 1842. He settled in Haldimand County where he engaged extensively in contracting and ship-building. He received several con-

tracts from the Government for the construction of harbours on Lakes Ontario and Erie.

During the Fenian raid of 1866, Mr. McCallum commanded the Dunnville Naval Company at Fort Erie. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the representation of Haldimand in the Canadian Assembly at the general election of 1862, but was more fortunate in 1867, when he was returned for the Dominion House of Commons for Monck. He represented the same constituency in the Ontario Legislature for a year, resigning in 1872, when dual representation was abolished. He was a candidate for the Commons in 1872, but was defeated by Mr. J. D. Edgar, but in 1874 he was again elected over the same opponent, though the following year he was unseated for bribery committed by his agents. He was, however, re-elected the same year, and defeated Mr. Edgar again in 1878. Mr. McCallum is a Conservative in politics, and his practical common sense and technical knowledge made him a useful member of the House.

Hector Cameron, Q.C, and member of the Dominion House of Commons for the North Riding of the County of Victoria, is the son of Assistant Commissary-General Kenneth Cameron, and was born at Montreal, on the 3rd of June, 1832. By his father's side, he is descended from the Glen Dessary branch of the Clan Cameron of Inverness-shire. His mother was the daughter of Mr. Robert Selby, of North Earl, Northumberland, England. The family returned to England during Hector Cameron's boyhood, and he was sent to King's College, London, and afterwards to Trinity College Dublin, where he graduated in 1851. Returning to Canada the same year, he took the degree of M.A. at Toronto Univer-

sity. General Cameron was subsequently assigned to duties in connection with the Commissariat Department in Montreal, where he died in 1855. After Hector Cameron had completed his University studies he entered upon the study of the law, with his distinguished namesake, Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron, and was called to the bar in 1854, when he at once commenced the practice of his profession. In the year 1858 he entered into partnership with Hon. Adam Crooks. This connection was dissolved the following year, when Mr. Cameron received into partnership the late Mr. Thomas Moss, who afterwards rose to the position of Chief Justice. In 1864 Mr. Moss retired, Mr. Cameron practised alone until 1876, when he became the leading member of the firm of Cameron & Appleby. His practice has for many years been large and lucrative, as he sustains an excellent reputation as a skilful and profound lawyer. He was created a Queen's Counsel in 1872. A large share of Mr. Cameron's practice is in connection with railway and telegraph companies, for several of which he has a standing retainer. He has also taken a prominent part as director in several railway undertakings. For many years he has taken an active interest in politics. He contested South Victoria unsuccessfully for the House of Commons in 1867, and was again on the losing side in 1874, when he received the Conservative nomination for the north riding of the same county. Better success attended him in a subsequent contest in the latter constituency the year following, his temporarily triumphant opponent, Mr. McLennan, having been unseated. Although the second contest was at first decided in favour of Mr. McLennan, a scrutiny of votes gave the seat to Mr. Cameron, and

he has since retained it, being returned at the two last general elections. His course in Parliament has been consistently Conservative, and he is a hard-working and useful member. He has occupied the responsible position of chairman of the Private Bills Committee. When he takes part in the debates of the House it is generally in relation to some legal point, his professional standing giving great weight to his views upon all such questions. Mr. Cameron was married, in 1860, to Clara, eldest daughter of Mr. William Boswell, barrister, of Cobourg, by whom he has two children.

William Clyde Caldwell, member of the Provincial Legislature for North Lanark, and a prominent man in local affairs, was born in the village of Lanark, on the 14th of May, 1843, his parents being Alexander and Mary Ann Campbell, both natives of Scotland. He was educated at Queen's College, Kingston, graduating in 1864. He engaged in the lumbering industry, which was also his father's principal business. His operations during late years have been very extensive, the out-put of his saw-mills amounting to about 6,000,000 feet annually, of which a large proportion is shipped to Oswego, in New York State. Mr. Caldwell is also a miller, and has devoted considerable attention to farming. He is known in his locality as an energetic and public-spirited man, and has held a number of municipal offices. A vacancy occurring in the representation of North Lanark in the Provincial Legislature, in 1872, owing to the resignation of Mr. Daniel Galbraith, Mr. Caldwell was elected in the Reform interest. He sustained a defeat in the general elections of 1875, but was again returned in 1879 and in 1883. His name has become familiar to the public of late years, by

reason of the constitutional conflict over the passage of the Rivers and Streams 'Bill by the Local House, and its disallowance by the Dominion Government, the question as to the right of the proprietor of land, through which a navigable stream flows, to prevent its use by parties owning timber limits on the upper waters, having been first raised in connection with his lumbering operations. In politics, Mr. Caldwell is a Reformer.

James Hall, of Peterborough, a former member of the Canadian Parliament, both before and after Confederation, was born in Clackmannanshire, Scotland, in 1806, his father being a merchant of the same name. He received his education in the grammar school of his native town, and studied the profession of civil engineer in the office of his brother, Francis Hall. In 1820, the family came to Canada, settling in the Township of Lanark, then a wilderness. Their house was, in fact, the first built in the township. After remaining for some time on the farm, James Hall, junr., started a store and distillery which he sold in 1830, going to Halifax, N. S., where for about two years he practiced his profession as a civil-engineer and surveyor. Returning to Lanark, he engaged for a short time in the tanning business, first in Lanark and afterwards in Peterborough, to which town he removed in 1834. Here he was also concerned in extensive commercial operations, buying wheat largely, and shipping flour to Montreal and lumber to New York State, being the first man in the neighbourhood to engage in those enterprises. He was elected as Parliamentary representative of the united Counties of Peterborough and Victoria in 1848, and retained his seat until 1852. He gave up business in 1856, and in

the same year was appointed Sheriff of the united Counties. The separation of the counties took place in 1863, Mr. Hall retaining the shrievalty of Peterborough until 1872, when he resigned, and again went into politics, being elected member of the Dominion House of Commons for East Peterborough in 1873. He remained in public life until 1878. He was a consistent Reformer during his parliamentary career. Mr. Hall has also held several municipal offices, including that of Mayor of Peterborough, and has always maintained a lively interest in anything tending to promote the moral and intellectual welfare of the community, having been President of the Peterborough Literary Club and Mechanics' Institute, and an active Sunday school worker. He married, in 1830, Jane Albro, daughter of Samuel Albro, of Dartmouth, N. S., who died in 1868, and by whom he had a large family. James Albro Hall, his eldest son, succeeded to the shrievalty of Peterborough on his father's resignation, and one of his daughters is the wife of Mr. Sandford Fleming. Mr. Hall was re-married, his present wife being the daughter of Fergus Ferguson, of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Donald Guthrie, Q. C., of Guelph, who for several years represented South Wellington in the House of Commons, is a native of Edinburgh. The date of his birth is May 8th, 1840. His father, Hugh Guthrie, was in business for many years in the Scottish capital. Donald Guthrie came to Canada when about fourteen years of age, and was articled as a law student to Hon. Oliver Mowat. He completed his legal education in the offices of Mr. John Helliwell, Toronto, Hon. A. J. Fergusson-Blair and Mr. John J. Kingsmill, Guelph. He was admitted to practice as an attorney in

1863, called to the bar in 1866, and created a Queen's Counsel in 1876. Mr. Guthrie is a senior partner in the firm of Guthrie, Watt & Cutten, of Guelph, and has a brilliant reputation as a forensic orator. He is Solicitor for the County of Wellington and the City of Guelph, and holds other important and responsible positions. In 1876 he was elected to Parliament for South Wellington, on the resignation of the sitting member, Mr. David Stirton, and in 1878, which proved a year of disaster to many Reform representatives, was re-elected. Mr. Guthrie is one of the leading citizens of Guelph. His wife, to whom he was united in 1863, is a sister of Rev. Dr. D. H. MacVicar, Principal of the Presbyterian College at Montreal.

Hon. Peter Gow, of Guelph, Sheriff of the County of Wellington, and formerly a member of the Ontario Ministry, is a native of Johnstone, Renfrewshire, where he was born on the 20th of November, 1818, being a son of John Gow, a boot and shoe manufacturer. His mother's maiden name was Agnes Ferguson, and she came from Argyllshire. He assisted in his father's business until his departure for Canada in 1842. After spending a couple of years in Brockville, he came to Guelph, where he built a tannery and kept a leather store. He continued this business until about the year 1868. During this period he also built a woollen and oatmeal mill, and engaged in other enterprises. Before Guelph attained the dignity of a city, Mr. Gow took an active part in municipal affairs. In 1866, after a lengthened period of service in the town council, he was elected Mayor, an office which he filled with credit to himself and advantage to the citizens, who, on his retirement, showed their ap-

preciation of his labours in their behalf by presenting him with a service of plate. He was the first representative of South Wellington in the Ontario Parliament when it was organized in 1867—and was re-elected by acclamation in 1871. When the administration of Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald was overthrown in the same year, Mr. Gow entered the Cabinet organized by Mr. Blake, with the portfolio of Provincial Secretary. He did not remain long in office, however, retiring with his chief in 1872, though he retained his seat until 1876, when he was appointed Sheriff of Wellington County. Mr. Gow married, in 1857, Mary Maxwell Smith, of Kirkeudbrightshire, Scotland, and has a family of nine sons and one daughter.

David Stirton, Postmaster of Guelph, was born in Forfarshire, Scotland, in 1816, his parents, James and Janet Stirton, emigrating to Canada when David was about eleven years of age. The family settled in the bush about five miles from the present city of Guelph. At that time there were no schools in the neighbourhood, so that, with the exception of the rudiments of instruction, which he had obtained before leaving Scotland, David Stirton's education was entirely self-acquired. He shared in all the labours of "roughing it" in the bush, and for forty-five years, as man and boy, toiled as a farmer in the townships of Guelph and Puslinch. He was long connected with the municipal affairs of the latter township. For nineteen consecutive years, ending with 1867, he represented South Wellington in the old Canadian Parliament, and for nine years after Confederation retained a seat in the House of Commons for that constituency. It is very seldom that any representa-

tive of the people can show such a long-continued and unbroken term of service. Mr. Stirton retired from Parliamentary life in 1876, upon his appointment to the office of Postmaster of Guelph. He has been twice married—in 1842 to Miss Mary Beattie of Puslinch, and in 1847 to Miss Henrietta M'Gregor—having children by both marriages. His brother, Mr. William Stirton was the first male child born in Guelph.

Col. John Walker, of London, was born in Argyleshire, Scotland, in 1832. He was educated in Stirling, and had been for several years engaged in business in Leith and Glasgow, when, in 1864, his abilities attracted the attention of a number of Scottish capitalists, who were in want of an agent to look after their interests at Bothwell, Canada West, where they had purchased some oil lands and other property from Hon. George Brown. Col. Walker soon found that he had no easy task, as the petroleum excitement had attracted to Bothwell a large number of adventurers, including a lawless element, which required to be kept in order. He received a special appointment as magistrate, and his firmness and decision of character in that capacity were of much service in checking the incipient tendency to disorder. In 1867 he took up his residence in London, and entered upon extensive operations in the manufacture of sulphuric acid and oil refining. He speedily became one of the most prominent citizens, and acquired a great influence in public affairs. He has been concerned in a great many important commercial enterprises, and in various ways has contributed to the progress and prosperity of the city with which his interests are identified. At the time of the Fen-

ian raid in 1866, Col. Walker raised a company of volunteers in Bothwell, and afterwards in 1870, when danger was again apprehended from this source, he was assigned to the command of the militia forces at Windsor, having in the meantime attained the rank of major in the 7th Battalion. In 1877 he was advanced to the rank of Colonel, and has since commanded the battalion. Col. Walker is a member of the Council of the Dominion Rifle Association, and one of the vice-presidents of the Ontario Rifle Association. In 1874 Col. Walker received the nomination of the Reformers of London for the House of Commons, his opponent being Hon. John Carling. The contest, which was a very keen one, resulted in Col. Walker's being returned, but the election was controverted, and after a trial which created intense interest throughout the country, he was unseated. He entered upon another contest in 1878, but Mr. Carling was again successful. Col. Walker has been president of the London Mechanics' Institute, and also of the St. Andrew's Society.

Lieut.-Col. Alexander Allan Stevenson, of Montreal, was born in the parish of Riccarton, Ayrshire, in January, 1829. The family came to Canada in 1846, and he was apprenticed to the printing trade in Montreal, serving the latter part of his time in the *Herald* office. In partnership with two others, he started the *Sun* newspaper in 1853. His venture proved successful, the paper gaining a wide-spread popularity. Subsequently, he embarked in a general printing business, which he continued to conduct until the year 1879. Early in his business career, Mr. Stevenson joined the Montreal Mechanics' Institute, of which he was for many years

a most active member, having at one time or other held every office in the list. He was connected with the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada, which, after Confederation, became the Council of Arts and Manufactures for the Province of Quebec. He has held the position of President of the Council, and is at present Treasurer of the Permanent Exhibition Committee for Quebec, which is composed of members of the Council of Agriculture and Arts. Mr. Stevenson is, perhaps, more generally known to the public in connection with military affairs than in any other capacity. In 1855 he assisted in organizing the celebrated Montreal Field Battery of Artillery. He was promoted to a Lieutenancy in 1856, and in the same year succeeded to the command, which position he has since retained. In 1858 this corps had the honour of participating in the great military celebration held in New York in connection with the laying of the first Atlantic Cable. The Montreal Field Battery is the only British military organization that has carried the Union Jack through the streets of New York since the evacuation of the British, a century ago. Col. Stevenson became a Free Mason in 1856, holding various subordinate offices in the fraternity, until, in 1868, he attained the highest position it was in their power to confer, being chosen Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Canada. This office he held for three successive years. He was also appointed by the Prince of Wales, as head of the Knights Templars, Knight Commander of the Temple. He was one of the founders of the Caledonian Society of Montreal, established in 1855, being chosen Secretary, and afterwards occupied the presidential chair for many years. In

1870, Col. Stevenson formed one of a delegation from that society to the convention in New York, which resulted in the organization of the North American United Caledonia Association, which exercises a continental jurisdiction over affiliated clubs and societies. He was also an active member of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, of which he was elected president in 1878. In this capacity he received the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise at the St. Andrew's ball held in their honour on their arrival in Canada. He was elected to the City Council in 1861, serving for six years, during part of which time he officiated as Acting Mayor. In 1882 he was again chosen to a seat in the Council, where he has been of great service to the city. Colonel Stevenson has taken an active part in politics on the Conservative side. In 1874, without his knowledge or consent, he received the Conservative nomination, as a candidate for the House of Commons, for the constituency of Montreal West. His opponent was Mr. Frederick McKenzie, who headed the poll on election day, though, on the petition of Col. Stevenson, he was afterwards unseated on the ground of bribery by agents. Col. Stevenson has been put in nomination as a representative on two other occasions, but in both cases declined the honour.

Rev. Matthew Witherspoon Maclean, pastor of St. Andrew's Church, Belleville, was born in Glasgow, on the 11th of June, 1842, and completed his education at the University of that city. While a divinity student, he visited Canada in 1862, and decided to make this country the field of his labours. He entered the Divinity Hall of Queen's College, Kingston, where he studied two years, afterwards attending a session

of Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey, where he graduated in 1866. Returning to Canada in that year, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Niagara in connection with the Church of Scotland. His first pastoral charge was St. Andrew's Church, Paisley, in Bruce County. Here he found abundant scope for his zeal and energy. The country was newly settled, and the spiritual wants of the people had been but inefficiently and irregularly supplied. Mr. Maclean found himself the only pastor belonging to his denomination within forty miles. His work extended over the large area of five townships, and, in addition to daily pastoral visits, he travelled, every Sabbath, from twenty to forty miles, preaching three times a day. His church increased so rapidly that it became necessary to provide additional accommodation for what had previously been a sparse and dwindling congregation. Three mission-stations were organized at different points in the neighbourhood. After five years of persistent and effective labour in this place, Mr. Maclean accepted a call to the Mill Street Presbyterian Church at Port Hope, where he remained for two years. In 1873 he went to Belleville, where he became pastor of St. Andrew's Church, which is the oldest Presbyterian Church in the city, and comprises among its members and adherents a very large proportion of the most substantial and cultivated people of the city. Since his acceptance of the pastorate of St. Andrew's, Mr. Maclean filled the office of Clerk of the Presbytery of Kingston, in connection with the Church of Scotland, up to the time of the union of the Presbyterian Churches of the Dominion. Mr. Maclean is an able and scholarly preacher, and most zealous in the discharge of the various duties of

his high office. He is also highly successful as a platform speaker, uniting elaboration of thought with fluency and grace of expression.

George Ralph Richardson Cockburn, for upwards of twenty years Principal of Upper Canada College, is a native of Edinburgh, his natal day being the 15th of February, 1834. He was educated at the Edinburgh High School and University, and at his graduation in 1857 took the Stratton Prize. He subsequently prosecuted his classical studies in Germany and France. In 1858 he commenced his Canadian career, having been appointed by the Council of Public Instruction to the Rectorship of the Model Grammar School for Upper Canada. He was shortly afterwards commissioned by the Government to inspect the higher educational institutions of the Province. The results of this investigation, which extended over a period of two years, were given to the public in two comprehensive reports, in which the condition and needs of higher education were elaborately set forth. Mr. Cockburn then visited a number of the principal institutions of learning in the United States in order to familiarize himself thoroughly with their methods. In 1861 the Government appointed him Principal of Upper Canada College and a member of the Senate of Toronto University. He has had a long and successful career as an instructor of youth, and under his able management Upper Canada College has obtained a high reputation both for the thoroughness of its teaching and the excellent moral influences prevailing within its walls. There are few men who have done more for the cause of Canadian education than Principal Cockburn. The celebrated Dr. Schmitz of Edin-

burgh said of him, that he was no ordinary scholar, but a thorough philologist, possessing a good insight into the structure, the relations and affinities subsisting between the ancient and modern languages of Europe, and also characterized him as one of the best Latin scholars that Scotland has produced.

Judge Henry Macpherson, of Owen Sound, is a son of Lowther P. Macpherson, barrister, and grandson of Lieut.-Col. Donald Macpherson, who commanded the fort at Kingston in the beginning of the war of 1812, being afterwards removed to Québec. Donald Macpherson was the son of Evan Macpherson of Cluny, the chief of the clan Macpherson, who took part in the rising in favour of Prince Charles in 1745. Henry Macpherson was born at Picton, Prince Edward County, in 1832, his mother being a daughter of Lieut.-Col. Allan McLean, of Kingston, for sixteen years Speaker of the old Canadian Assembly. He was educated at Kingston Grammar School and Queen's College, graduating from the latter institution in 1851. He studied law with Mr Thomas Kirkpatrick, of the same city, and was admitted as an attorney in 1854 and called to the bar the following year. Mr. Macpherson practised his profession at Owen Sound for about ten years, and in 1865 was made Judge of the County Court of the County of Grey. In 1879 he received the additional appointment of Surrogate Judge of the Maritime Court. Judge Macpherson is a leading Freemason, and has held several important positions in the Order. He is Past Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Canada. He takes a heartfelt interest in local enterprises, and has identified himself with many organiza-

tions of a practical as well as a social character. He was united in marriage in May 1875 to Miss Eliza M. McLean, daughter of Allan N. McLean, of Toronto.

Sir Alexander Campbell, though of English birth is of Scottish descent. He was born in 1821 in the neighbourhood of Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire, his father being Dr. James Campbell. His parents came to Canada when he was very young, first settling in Lachine, and afterwards removing to Kingston, where young Campbell completed his education at the Royal Grammar School. He then turned his attention to the study of the law under Mr. Henry Cassidy, a leading Kingston practitioner, and upon his death, which occurred in 1839, entered the office of Mr. John A. Macdonald. He was admitted to practice in 1842, when he was taken into partnership by Mr. Macdonald, which continued for many years. In 1843 he was called to the bar. Mr. Campbell now entered upon a very successful and profitable course, the firm receiving a very large practice. The beginning of his distinguished public career was his election as an alderman in 1851. He served in this capacity for two years. In 1856 he was created a Queen's Counsel. The Legislative Council having been made elective, Mr. Campbell, in 1858, came forward as the Conservative candidate for the Cataraqui Division and obtained the seat by a handsome majority. He speedily attained a leading position in Parliament by his ability and tact, and in 1863 was elected Speaker of the Council for the remainder of the Parliamentary term. He was now regarded as one of the foremost men in public life, and during the ministerial crisis of March, 1864 was sent for by the Governor-General and requested to organize a cabinet.

He did not feel sure enough of his position to accept the responsibilities of leadership, but took the Commissionership of Crown Lands in the Taché-Macdonald administration. This cabinet fell to pieces before long, but Mr. Campbell retained his port-folio in that which succeeded it. When the Confederation scheme came up for consideration Mr. Campbell strenuously supported it. He was a member of the Union Conference which met in Quebec, in 1864, and during the parliamentary discussion of the subject was its foremost advocate in the Upper Chamber. One of the happiest and most forcible utterances of Mr. Campbell's career is the notable speech which he delivered on the 17th of February, 1865, in reply to the antagonists of Confederation. Upon the organization of the Senate in 1867, Mr. Campbell was nominated as one of the members, and has since been the leader of the Conservative party in that body. He took office as Postmaster-General in the first ministry organized after Confederation and retained that position for about six years. In 1870 he went to England in connection with the negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Washington. In 1873 he became Minister of the Interior, a post which he did not retain long, as in November of the same year the government of which he was a member was driven from office on account of the Pacific Scandal revelations. Mr. Campbell was leader of the Opposition in the Senate during Mr. Mackenzie's five years tenure of office, and upon the return of the Conservatives to power in 1878 became Receiver-General, a position which he exchanged for his old port-folio as Postmaster-General the year following. In May 1879, he was created a Knight of the order of St. Michael and St.

George. He was appointed Minister of Militia in 1880, but a readjustment of offices, which took place in November of that year, restored him to the head of the Post Office Department. Sir Alexander Campbell is a hardworking and useful public official, and an influential party leader. He is not brilliant or eloquent but eminently clear-headed, sound and far-seeing. The unvarying moderation and courtesy of his speeches have done much to elevate the tone of public discussion. In 1855 he married Miss Georgina Frederica Locke, daughter of Mr. Thomas Sandwith, of Beverley, England.

Another Senator of English birth and Scottish blood is Hon. James Skead, who was born on the 31st of January, 1816, in Cumberland—his father William Skead being a Scot. James was about ten years of age when his father emigrated. He remained on a farm near Montreal for some years, and afterwards removed to Ottawa. James Skead grew up with very few educational advantages, and is almost entirely self-instructed. He engaged in lumbering in 1840' and for thirty years had a course of almost uninterrupted prosperity, though more recently he sustained some reverses. In 1862 Mr. Skead was elected as a representative of Rideau Division to the Legislative Council, and retained that position until Confederation, when he was called to the Senate. He contested Carleton unsuccessfully for the Local Legislature in 1867. He was chosen President of the Conservative Convention which met in Toronto in 1874. Among the public and commercial positions which he has held are those of President of the Dominion Board of Trade, of the Ottawa Board of Trade, of the Ottawa Liberal Conservative Association and of the Agricultural and Arts Association of On-

tario. He is largely interested in a number of commercial and railway enterprises and has done a great deal in various directions to promote the progress and welfare of the locality where his wealth has been acquired. He married in 1842 Miss Rosanna McKay, a native of the North of Ireland, and has a large family.

Allan Macdonell was born in Toronto, about the year 1810, and was admitted to the bar in 1832, having studied law in the office of Mr. H. J. Boulton, then Attorney General. In the following year he entered into partnership with the late Sir Allan N. Macnab. Shortly previous to the rebellion of 1837, he was appointed to the shrievalty of the Gore District. When the outbreak occurred, Sheriff Macdonell raised a troop of cavalry, arming and equipping them at his own expense an outlay for which he was never reimbursed. This corps originally enrolled for six months, remained in service for a considerably longer period. Mr. Macdonell resigned the Gore shrievalty, after holding the position for about five years. In the winter of 1846, he obtained from the Government a license for exploring the shore of Lake Superior for mines, and with the aid of friends fitted out a prospecting expedition. At that time, Lake Superior was but little known. There were neither steamers nor sailing vessels upon its waters and the only available mode of transit was by canoe or open boat. The expedition consisting of eleven men with the necessary provisions and equipments, and an open boat of good size started early in the spring of 1847. They experienced a good deal of difficulty in obtaining guides and voyageurs, as the Hudson Bay Company claimed the exclusive control of the Lake Superior

region. Mr. Macdonell was told that he must report the expedition at the Hudson Bay forts along the coast, but he refused to do this, and his enterprise was regarded with a good deal of jealousy by the Company. He was followed by another party of mining prospectors headed by Mr. Shephard, who represented the interests of a number of Montreal investors. The latter body afterwards organized as the Montreal Company, were on a friendly footing with the Hudson Bay Company, and had the advantage of their assistance in the enterprise. Mr. Macdonell, continued his explorations with good success until November, when he proceeded to Montreal and reported his discoveries to the Government. The result of his expedition was the formation of the Quebec Company, in which he merged his interest in the locations secured. Mining operations were carried on successfully for several years. A good deal of difficulty was experienced, owing to the disregard of the rights of the Indians to the soil. In selling the lands occupied by the Quebec Company, which were then in the occupation of the Aborigines, the Government altogether overlooked the claims of the Indians for compensation. The matter was repeatedly brought to their attention. Deputations of the Chiefs of the band were sent to the seat of Government to urge their claims. Mr. Macdonell, who was impressed with the necessity of dealing justly with the Indians, accompanied them on two occasions. The Chiefs had an interview with Lord Elgin, and one of them plainly told him that unless their rights were recognised and compensation awarded them they would drive the miners from their lands. Lord Elgin promised that a treaty should be made with them under

which their interests would be secured. Mr. Macdonell, subsequently had two or three interviews with Hon. Robert Baldwin, the then Premier, who authorized him to assure the Indians that they should have every justice, and that commissioners would be sent without delay to negotiate a treaty. This was done shortly afterwards, but owing to the incompetency of the commissioners appointed, no understanding was arrived at. The result was that the Indians put their threat into execution and resumed possession of their property, closing the mines and driving off the workmen to the number of about 150, without, however, doing any injury either to persons or property. In this course they were supported by Mr. Macdonell, who felt that in no other way could they obtain their rights. A military expedition was sent up to the mines to restore order, and Mr. Macdonell and two of the Indian chiefs were arrested and brought to Toronto. On being taken before the Chief Justice under a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, they were at once released, and the sum of \$400 was paid the Indians as compensation. The question of the Indian title to the lands was finally settled in 1850, when the Government appointed Hon. William B. Robinson to negotiate a treaty under which the Indians received \$20,000 down and a further annual payment of \$4,000 to be increased in proportion to the sales of land, in return for the surrender of their title to all the region extending Northward from Lake Superior to the height of land.

Mr. Macdonell continued for several years longer connected with mining and other interests in the Lake Superior region. In 1850 he projected the construction of a canal around the Sault Ste. Marie on the Canadian side, and had

the requisite surveys and estimates prepared, and a company formed to undertake the work. The charter was refused by the Government, however, being opposed by the Lower Canadians. The want was supplied a year or two later by the construction of a canal on the American side of the Sault. Mr. Macdonell afterwards applied to Parliament for a charter authorizing the construction of a railway westward from the head of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. In his explorations of the country lying west of the Lake, he had acquired from Indians and voyageurs whom he met a good knowledge of the country and its capabilities, and at that early date published a series of letters in the Toronto newspapers advocating the scheme of a Pacific Railway. The application to Parliament was not successful, as the Railway Committee threw out the bill on the ground that it was premature. Mr. Macdonell, however, continued to devote himself to the object of opening up communication with the North West, and in 1858 procured from Parliament the charter of the North West Transit Company, conferring upon them very extensive powers including railroad and canal construction, and the improvement of water courses in any portion of Canada, west of Lake Superior, or north of that Lake or Lake Huron. Sir Allan Macnab was at one time President, and Mr. John Beverley Robinson, Secretary of the company, which, however, did not prove a successful institution, and after some years ceased to exist. Mr. Macdonell is now a resident of Toronto.

The name of Mrs. Moodie is well-known, both to Canadian and to English readers in connection with her descriptive writings—*Roughing it in the Bush*, a book depicting

the difficulties of a settler's life half a century ago is the most popular of her books. Mrs. Moodie is English by birth and parentage, being a member of the celebrated Strickland family. Her husband, Mr. J. W. Dunbar Moodie, was of ancient Orcadian stock. The name was originally spelled Mudie, and is of Scandinavian origin; being derived from the old Norwegian Earls of Orkney. His great grandfather, Captain James Moodie of the Royal Navy, was a distinguished officer who rendered important services to his country in Spain where he succeeded in relieving the town of Denia when it was closely besieged by the French. He was selected by the government after the death of Queen Anne to convey her successor, King George I., to England, and was murdered in the streets of Kirkwall, Orkney, in 1725, at the age of eighty, by Sir James Stewart, an adherent of the Pretender.

The murderer was afterwards brought to justice through the instrumentality of the son of his victim, who was only nine years of age when his father was killed; but determined to revenge his death, and many years afterwards delivered the assassin who had again taken up arms for the Pretender over to the authorities. Sir James, however, committed suicide in the Tower. J. W. Dunbar Moodie was the fourth son of Major James Moodie of Melsetter, in the Orkney Islands, where he was born on the 7th October, 1797. He entered the army as second Lieutenant of the R. N. B. Fusiliers or 21st Regiment of foot in 1813, when about sixteen years of age. He had an early experience of the horrors of war, being engaged in the night attack at Bergen-op-zoom on the 8th of March, 1814, when after entering

the works with a small party of soldiers in the midst of darkness and confusion he succeeded in forcing open one of the gates and lowering the drawbridge. On this occasion he sustained a severe wound in the left wrist from a musket ball which disabled his hand and arm. He shortly afterwards retired from the service on half-pay. In 1819 Mr. Moodie joined his elder brother Benjamin who had emigrated to South Africa, and remained in that country about ten years. On his return to England in 1829, he met at the house of a friend in London, Susanna Strickland, whom he shortly afterwards married. Mrs. Moodie is the daughter of Thomas Strickland, of Reydon Hall, near Southwold in Suffolk, several of whose family became widely known as popular writers. Miss Agnes Strickland, an elder sister of Mrs. Moodie's, published a large number of poetical, fictitious and historical works, the most extensive and best known of which is her *Lives of the Queens of England*. Some years previous to her marriage with Mr. Moodie, Susanna Strickland had united with her sister Agnes in the publication of a volume of *Patriotic Songs* and had written several other books. In 1832, Mr. Moodie emigrated to Canada West and took up land as a half-pay officer, in the Township of Douro, near Peterborough. The experience of the family, like that of very many others whose previous training has not been such as to fit them to encounter the hardships or endure with equanimity the rough associations and coarse surroundings of backwoods life, was extremely disheartening. The story of their struggles to gain a livelihood upon a bush farm for seven

years is graphically told in Mrs. Moodie's work entitled *Roughing it in the Bush*, which won for its talented authoress a wide spread reputation. The book is a narrative of plain facts set forth in a telling, vivacious style, and while it does not in any way belittle the real advantages presented by Canada as a field for emigrants accustomed to hard manual labour, emphasizes a truth that it is well should be known and heeded by intending emigrants, namely, that persons delicately reared, accustomed to a life of luxury, and dependent upon the services of others in the household, do not as a rule succeed in obtaining either pleasure or profit from a farmer's life in Canada. Of course the circumstances have vastly altered since Mrs. Moodie's book was written, and many of the hardships to which the Moodies were subjected are now greatly mitigated even on the outskirts of civilization, but the experience of thousands of later emigrants goes to confirm their experience that the inbred instincts and long established habits, such as fit a man for a professional career in England, do not impart the qualifications needed for a practical farmer in Canada. It would have been better both for the country and for those who have made the mistake of attempting a mode of living for which they were in no respect adapted, had this been more generally understood in Britain.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in 1837, Mr. Moodie immediately offered his services to the Government, and served for several months during the winter of that year in the Provincial Militia at Toronto, and afterwards on the Niagara frontier holding the rank of Captain in the Queen's Own Regiment. In the fall of 1838 he was appointed cap-

tain and pay-master to sixteen companies of militia distributed along the shores of Lake Ontario and the Bay of Quinte. In November, 1839, he was appointed by Sir George Arthur to the shrievalty of the District of Victoria, now the county of Hastings. This position he held until 1863, when he resigned. Colonel Moodie had decided literary tastes, and published several volumes principally relating to his travels and adventures. *Ten Years in South Africa* was issued in England in 1835, favourably received by the press and public, and in 1866 a book from his pen entitled *Scenes and Adventures as a Soldier and Settler*, including a number of miscellaneous sketches some of which had previously appeared in serial form was published in Montreal. Col. Moodie's death occurred on the 22nd October, 1869. His widow is still living, at an advanced age and is a resident of Toronto. A revised edition of *Roughing it in the Bush* was issued in Toronto in 1871. Among her other works are, *Life in the Clearings*, *Flora Lindsay*, *Mark Hurdlestone*, *The World before Them*, *Matrimonial Speculations*, and *Geoffrey Moncton*.

Dr. Daniel Clark, Superintendent of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, Toronto, was born in Granton, Inverness-shire, Scotland, on the 29th of August, 1835. His father, Alexander Clark, was a native of Morayshire. The family came to this country in 1841, and settled near Port Dover, in the County of Norfolk, where his father engaged in farming. In 1850 Daniel went to California, where he realized a large amount of money by placer mining. Returning to Canada the following year, he at once set about obtaining an education. After attending the Simcoe Grammar School for some

time, he pursued classical and medical studies at Toronto, graduating from the Victoria University Medical Department in 1858. He then went to Europe, and took a course of lectures at Edinburgh University, and visited the London and Paris hospitals. After an extended European tour, he returned home in the summer of 1859, and commenced the practice of his profession at Princeton, Oxford County. In 1864 he joined the Federal armies of the Potomac and the James, being attached to the Surgeon-general's department as a volunteer surgeon. He returned to Princeton at the close of the war. Dr. Clark was, for many years, a frequent contributor to periodical literature, especially to the *Medical Journal*, *Stewart's Quarterly*, the *Maritime Monthly*, and the *Canadian Monthly*. He is the author of a work entitled *Pen Photographs*, comprising descriptive sketches of eminent persons, essays, and scenes of travel, published in 1873; and also of a novel, dealing with the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, called *Josiah Garth*. In addition to his miscellaneous literary work, Dr. Clark has written considerably upon professional subjects. In 1872 he was chosen a member of the Medical Council of Ontario, and was re-elected to the position in 1875. During the two following years he filled the Presidential chair of the Council. Among other positions occupied by Dr. Clark, which testify to the estimation in which he is held by the medical profession, have been those of Examiner in Chemistry for the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario, and Examiner in Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence for Toronto University. In December, 1875, he was appointed to the arduous and responsible post, which

he now holds, of Superintendent of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum at Toronto. This step was taken in accordance with the general desire of the medical profession, as unanimously expressed by the Medical Council and other organizations representing that body. The result has more than justified the opinion then formed of Dr. Clark's exceptional qualifications for the charge. As a specialist in the treatment of insanity he has no rival among the profession in Ontario.

Our task is done. It would be an easy matter to prolong it indefinitely, as there are many Scotsmen who have taken minor, though still important and noteworthy parts in the public, professional, and commercial life of the Dominion, the story of whose lives would further illustrate the national characteristics of determination, prudence, and integrity. But our limitations as to space will not permit us to follow up the practically limitless vistas which broaden out upon all sides. The line of discrimination between those included and the greater number whose personal stories remain untold may be deemed an arbitrary, perchance an erratic one; nevertheless, it was essential to draw it somewhere, lest the narration should "stretch out to the crack of doom."

The history of the Scot in British North America has virtually been the history of the country since its occupancy by the British. In politics, especially, the Scot has been, unquestionably, the most prominent of the varied elements which have gone to the making of our national life. By all the qualities of statesmanship, of leadership, of diplomacy, men of Scottish origin have proved their claim to the foremost place among those who have laid the founda-

tions of Canadian nationality. The splendid intellectual and moral gifts of the race have lost nothing by transplantation to an alien soil, but have rather become strengthened by the strenuous conflict and pressure of unaccustomed social conditions, and the action and reaction of new forces. The influence of Scottish opinions, associations, and habits of thought upon the future of Canada must be one of the most potent forces in forming and moulding the national character now in process of evolution. The strong religious instincts, the keen moral perceptions, the resolute will, tireless energy, and acute logical faculty of the Scot, tempered and modified by the qualities of the peoples who share our national heritage, will enter very largely into the fibre of the coming race.

Modern linguistic and ethnological research has exhausted its ingenuity in the only partially successful endeavour to trace back the threads of race origin which make up the warp and woof of the composite Anglo-Saxon people. A document which should show, with measurable precision, the respective proportions of the elements which, since the time of the Saxon invasion, have mingled their blood in the now homogeneous English people, would be deemed of priceless scientific value. It may well be that at some future day, when the Canadian has become a well-defined national type among the races of the earth, blending indissolubly, the characteristics of the ancestral stocks, something more than a mere historical or antiquarian interest may attach to the record of the SCOT IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.



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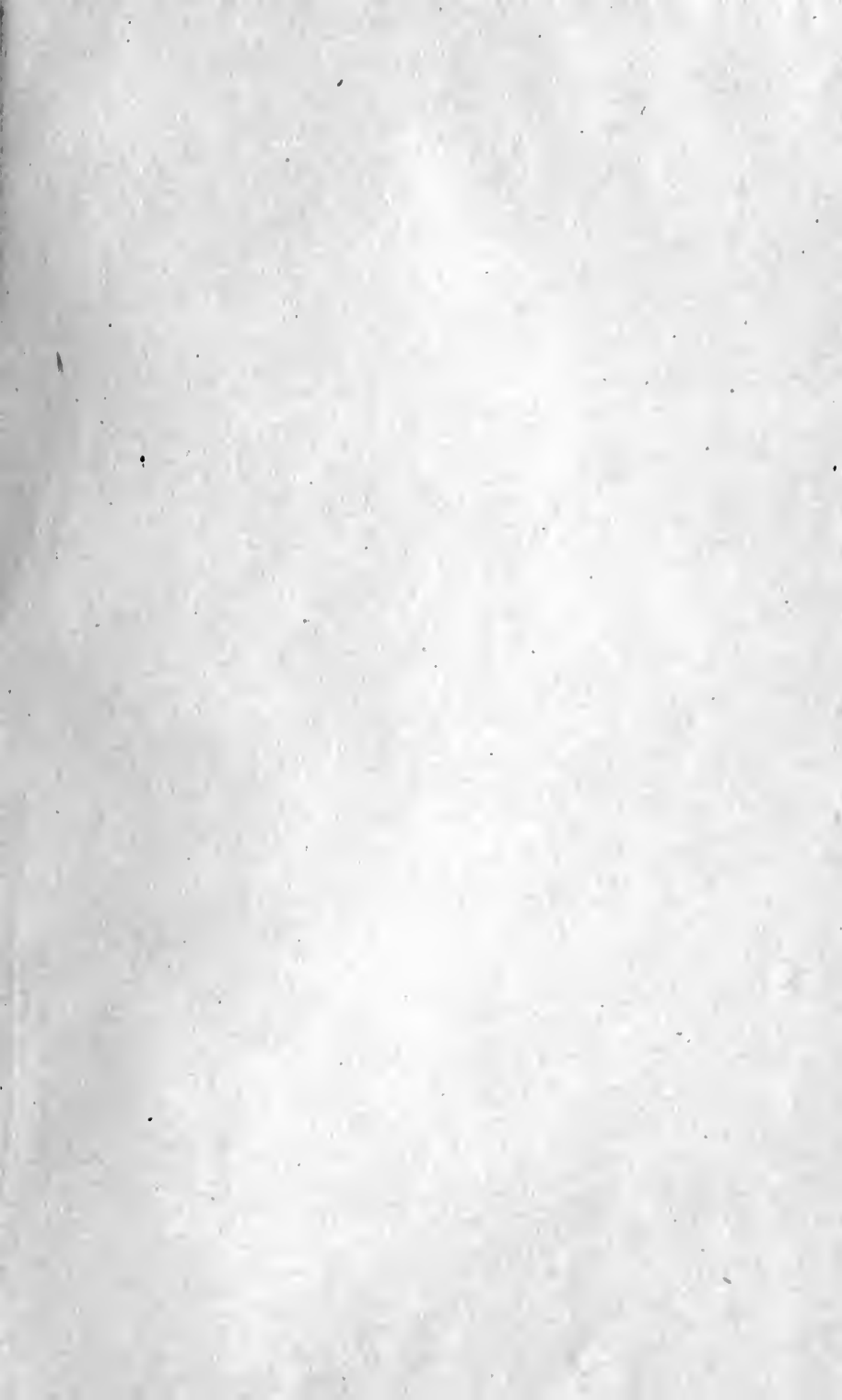
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