

MAJOR BOULTON
• ON • THE •



NORTH WEST REBELLIONS.



Fred Middleton
Major-General, Commanding Canadian Militia.

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

North-West Rebellions,

WITH

A RECORD OF THE RAISING OF HER MAJESTY'S
100TH REGIMENT IN CANADA;

AND A CHAPTER ON

CANADIAN SOCIAL & POLITICAL LIFE,

BY

MAJOR BOULTON,

COMMANDING BOULTON'S SCOUTS.

"A restlessness in men's minds to be something they are not, or
to have something they have not, is the root of all
immorality or good."

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REMINISCENCES

North West Territories

Entered according to the Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, by CHARLES A. BOULTON, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.

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TO THE
OFFICERS AND MEN COMPOSING MY CORPS

DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1865,

As a Token of Respect and Esteem for Them,

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

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PREFACE.

THE reminiscences of an actor in two rebellions in the Canadian North-West may not unreasonably be expected to interest the people of the Dominion, and in some degree to arrest attention in the wider circle of the Empire. The peril that menaced the North-West, during both insurrections, was for a time great. In the first revolt, fortune signally favoured the country; and, without bloodshed, Canada was happily delivered from trouble. In the later rebellion, the heroism and endurance of her loyal sons enabled the country to overcome sedition and to quell the rising. How and by whom this was effected, forms the burden of the following pages. To a great extent the work is a personal narrative of the two rebellions; which are here treated of as a whole and in detail. For the personal narrative, no apology, I take it, is necessary, as the record of an eye-witness of passing events of moment has admittedly the merit of freshness and interest. That it has these, the author, with becoming modesty, hopes. I have inserted the names of the officers and men who served in the campaign of 1885, for which I am indebted to the Grip Printing and Publishing Company. It is taken from the list of names already compiled by them for their work. These, with the list of killed and wounded, also the official despatches of Major-General Sir Fred. Middleton and the other commanding officers will, I trust, make it a valuable book for future reference.

THE AUTHOR.

RUSSELL, SHELL RIVER, MANITOBA,

February 4th, 1886.

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ERRATA.

Page 85, title of wood-cut, instead of "Fort Garry," read "Winnipeg in 1869, showing Dr. Schultz's house on the right."

Page 254, for "Milas Riley Jones," read "Miles O'Reilly Jarvis."

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

NORTH-WEST REBELLIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE events which have transpired since Canada first conceived the idea of acquiring possession of the North-West Territory, formerly known as the Hudson's Bay Territory, are of so much interest and importance that I have endeavoured to write an account of them. I may claim to have some little right to undertake this task, as I have myself borne part in many of the scenes here portrayed, and with the exception of Mr. Mair, of Prince Albert, who acted as Quarter-Master of the Governor-General's Body Guard, I am the only one who took an active part in both rebellions that I am aware of. I, nevertheless, realize the responsibility of dealing with questions in which so many prominent men of the country have been actors; but as not a few of the incidents came within my own personal knowledge I have not hesitated on this account to deal with them. I endeavour to give a detailed and connected account of the interest-

ing and stirring events which have occurred in the Canadian North-West, and to add one more book to the many that will go to make its history. I do so with diffidence, feeling that my literary ability is not equal to placing these occurrences before my readers in as attractive a form as would be adopted by one more accustomed to write; but what is lacking in that respect, I have endeavoured to make up by interesting fact and anecdote and by truthful narration.

I open my book by giving an account of the raising of the 100th Regiment, because this circumstance has either been almost forgotten or is unknown to many of the present generation. For the sake of the corps also, in which not a few Canadians spent many years of their lives, I have taken the opportunity of preserving a record of this important event in the history of the country; and because several of its officers and men held positions of trust in the force that was employed during the recent campaign.

The responsibility of governing such a large territory by Canadians who, up to the year 1867, formed a number of separate colonies, and who lacked experience in dealing with such vast interests, was great; and it is an evidence of the ability which our people possess in being able to govern such a Dominion as is now comprised within the limits of Canada. It would be impossible almost to accomplish the blending of so many diverse elements and



Lewis Bay
Albon

interests without occasionally making mistakes; and it is manifest that no little wisdom has been displayed, in being able to correct the mistakes when they occurred. If that wisdom had not been so effectively displayed the whole current of affairs in Canada might have been altered. The same remark is applicable to the conduct of the campaign which has just closed. With the exception of the very few who had seen foreign service, the officers and men upon whom devolved the burden of putting down the late rebellion had no experience in dealing with such an emergency at its commencement or in its suppression. Nevertheless, few mistakes were made throughout the whole campaign, including the events which led up to it; and this fact deserves especial notice.

One prominent object I have in writing my book is to preserve a record of the services of my own men, that they may have for future reference an accurate account of the duties they performed, and that the district in which I live may be able to preserve a history of the late rebellion, and some satisfaction in the part the pioneers of the district were enabled to take in upholding the laws of their newly-adopted country and in helping to preserve their settlements from the dangers which threatened them. In my narrative, if I have given a greater degree of prominence to their services, it is for their sake, and because I feel it a duty I owe to them. A great many

interesting accounts could be written by other members of the force, dealing more minutely with particular events which came under their notice; and it is possible that I have left out a great deal which I either did not witness or have overlooked. As I have written this book, however, on my homestead, where I had no access to documents that would have assisted me, allowance must considerably be made for any shortcomings in this respect.

The narrative will show how, by the ambition of one man, who was utterly reckless of the lives and property of others, a country may be plunged into difficulties. Riel stands out boldly as the chief actor in the history, and his career shows plainly that if he had applied his abilities to seek by constitutional means to give expression to the wants of his people, instead of tyrannically usurping authority to serve his own ambitious purposes, he might have lived to be useful to his country.

Riel played for a big personal stake, and hoped by uniting the Indians and half-breeds to overcome the country and to dictate terms, and he lost. He now stands as an example to anyone who is foolhardy enough to pursue the same tactics in Canada.

At the end of my book I have added a chapter upon the social and political life of the country, feeling that Canada offers the best inducements to intending emigrants to make new and prosperous homes for themselves. In this chapter I have endeavoured to give as much infor-

mation as possible to those of my readers who may purpose moving from the overcrowded centres of the Old World to carve out homes for themselves in the New.

I have touched slightly upon political questions, because I believe it is the duty of every one, no matter in how humble a sphere he may act, to lead his countrymen to higher hopes and aspirations, when the opportunity offers.

I have inserted the three addresses which welcomed myself and my corps on our return home. They are a sample of the patriotic and affectionate greetings which met every officer and man of the Canadian militia on his return to civil life after the campaign. The enthusiasm that prevailed was caused, not only by the admiration of the Canadian people for the manner in which the troops behaved, but from a sense of relief that a general Indian rising—thanks to the valour of the troops—had been averted.

I have also inserted the names of every member of the Canadian militia who took part in the expedition, so far as I could obtain them, in order that they may be able to preserve their identification with so honourable a campaign. As the names, however, are only interesting to individuals, it will not be considered necessary to insert them for any longer time than to give each member of the force an opportunity of purchasing a copy.

I will be glad to receive any corrections or additional

incidents from my readers, to help me to make my work more perfect, in case I might be encouraged by public favour to issue a second edition. And in anticipation of a second edition being called for, I beg to offer fifty dollars for the best verses upon "Patriotism to Canada and Loyalty to the Empire," in accordance with the spirit of my book, to be written by the first of July next, for insertion in a second edition, should it be called for, and forwarded to S. HEATH, 40 Yonge Street, Toronto, or to the AUTHOR, who will take the best means to secure an unprejudiced opinion upon the respective merits of the verses offered for competition.

CHAPTER I

RAISING OF THE 100TH REGIMENT

IN 1858, a favourable opportunity presented itself for me to join the British army, of which I, a lad of sixteen, took eager advantage. The Canadian newspapers were at the time full of the 100th Regiment, which was being raised in the colony for service in India. I had just left Upper Canada College, and, with youthful enthusiasm, was anxious to see something of the world; and a military career seemed to offer a coveted opportunity for gratifying my tastes. There was not at that time the facilities for joining the British army that now offers through the Royal Military College. I had to make enquiries as to what the 100th Regiment was, how it was to be raised, and what chance there was of obtaining a commission.

Previous to the time of which I write, England was horror-stricken at the atrocities of the Sepoy mutiny in India; her Indian empire was at stake, and a handful of English people, who at that time occupied and governed the East Indian Dominions, were in grave peril. The country had hardly recovered from the effects of the Crimean

War when this mutiny broke out. A large portion of the English militia had been called out; twenty-five second battalions had been raised, and the demands upon England's recruiting power were exhausting the available supply. For the first time in the history of the mother-country, England came to one of her great colonies to assist her in recruiting her army, a fact interesting to the Canadian people, as it led to the formation of the first colonial regiment ever furnished for British service abroad.

I cannot pass on without giving some reminiscences of the first ten years' service of the 100th Regiment, which in 1858 marched out of Canada twelve hundred strong. So many of its members are still scattered throughout Canada, that my brief narrative, I venture to think, may not be unacceptable.

The Governor-General, Sir Edmund Walker Head, was entrusted with the authority necessary to raise the regiment and to appoint the Canadian officers. He was to select from among Canadians the whole of the men, four ensigns, eight lieutenants, six captains, and one major. The remaining officers were to be appointed from the army on the arrival of the regiment in England. The colonelcy was given to the Baron de Rottenburg, Adjutant-General of Militia, an experienced military man well qualified to take command.

Obtaining my parent's consent, and accompanied by my father, I set out for Toronto to wait upon Sir Edmund

Head with an application for a commission. To my chagrin I learned that all the commissions had been given away ; but I was relieved at finding that each commission carried with it the responsibility of having to raise a certain number of men. The major had to raise two hundred ; each captain, eighty ; and each lieutenant, forty men. Having received a promise from the Governor-General that, should a vacancy occur, I might obtain it, I immediately returned, determined to raise forty men, and trust to the failure of some officer in procuring the required number.

My father supplied me with what necessary funds I wanted, lent me his waggon and a pair of horses, and I engaged a friend who played the bagpipes, the only musical instrument I could procure in the neighbourhood, for recruiting purposes. With an old-fashioned uniform, lent me by an officer who had early settled in the country, I started off to visit the neighbouring villages to recruit ; and I need hardly say that I was the envy and admiration of every youth of my own age who witnessed my progress through the country. At the end of a fortnight I had got together twenty of as fine, young, backwoods fellows as one could wish to see. With them I marched to Cobourg, thence to Toronto, to have them accepted by the authorities, after which I returned to complete the number necessary to qualify for the commission of lieutenant. I might here say that I secured my first detach-

ment in Peterborough and Lindsay, two growing towns in the interior; and in the neighbouring counties, by taking a different route, in the direction of Campbellford and Percy, I was not long in obtaining the full complement. Great consternation was occasioned in some families who were not accustomed in Canada to have a call from the recruiting-sergeant. One young fellow in Peterborough, named Skeffington, I had great difficulty in secreting from his mother, who was nearly heartbroken at the prospect of losing him. He afterwards became a first-class musician, receiving his first training in the band, and never repented of his venture.

My enterprise was successful. As it happened, one of the officers elect dropped out, and I obtained a commission as ensign.

The regiment was thoroughly Canadian, having been recruited in a similar manner to that which I have related, by the various officers in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec; many of the men being of French origin.

Lieutenant Alexander R. Dunn, of Toronto, an old Upper Canada College boy, and son of a former Receiver-General, was appointed Major. He had distinguished himself in the charge at Balaclava, as an officer of the 11th Hussars, and for his bravery had received the Victoria Cross. Lieutenant Dunn was the only cavalry officer who received the Victoria Cross in the Crimea. It was presented to the general officer of the cavalry

to award, and by the general consent of the survivors of all ranks the choice fell upon him. Dunn having resigned his commission in the 11th, was on a visit to Toronto at the opportune moment, and was anxious to join the 100th, and, as I have said, was successful in obtaining the majority.

The remainder of the Canadian officers for the contingent were selected from the militia in Upper and Lower Canada, and the regiment was organized in the old historic citadel of Quebec.

The regiment, for want of a better, was uniformed in the relics of bygone ages, stowed away among the military stores of the country. It only lacked "pigtales and powder" to make it appear as if one of the Duke's veteran battalions of the Peninsula had come to life. Especially curious to the people of England was the motley uniform of the 100th, for the old coatee had been long forgotten; and on our arrival in England we marched to Shorncliffe Camp in this picturesque but obsolete uniform. The English people wondered what kind of soldiers had landed on their shores.

In the months of June and July, 1858, the regiment embarked from Quebec in three detachments. The first under Colonel de Rottenburg, commanding; the second under Colonel Gordon, of the 17th Regiment; and the third under Major Dunn. We were joined at Shorncliffe by the army officers appointed to fill up the quota,

several of whom were promoted from the 32nd, for their heroic services in the defence of Lucknow. Regulation uniforms—scarlet, with blue facings—were at once furnished the regiment, and non-commissioned officers from the Guards in London were sent for six months to drill all ranks, from the “goose step” up. The regiment was accorded the title of “The Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment,” and the Prince himself, then only seventeen years old, presented the colours, this being the first public act he performed by virtue of his position. Ensigns Moorsom and Ridout, the two seniors of that rank, receiving them from his hands.

The average height of the men was five feet seven inches, a high standard; and under the drill of the non-commissioned officers of the Guards, they soon became proficient in their duties, and acquired so soldierly a bearing that it would be difficult for friends left behind in Canada to recognize them.

Shorncliffe Camp had accommodation for half a dozen battalions, and was a pleasant station, situated on the south coast of England, with high, commanding cliffs overlooking the sea, the French coast being within sight. It was, moreover, within easy reach of Folkstone and Dover, whence the Channel boats ply between the respective ports of Boulogne and Calais. The regiment spent nine months here, and was then ordered to Aldershot, where camp life was on a larger and grander scale.

Here, at that time, were about thirty thousand troops who took part in a grand review, under the Duke of Cambridge, and were inspected by Her Majesty the Queen. In a few weeks, marching orders for Gibraltar were issued, the state of Europe at the time leading us to hope that active service was possible. The regiment embarked at Portsmouth in the year 1859, and in a few days was upon the scene of the famed battle of Trafalgar and within sight of "Old Gib."

Gibraltar rises out of the sea like a huge beaver (the most apt illustration to a Canadian); Europa Point sloping towards the sea, forming, as it were, the flat tail of the beaver, and its head towards Spain, at which point its height is nearly 1,500 feet. The rock commands a portion of the Straits of Gibraltar, and with Cape Tarifa on the Spanish coast and the bold shores of Africa on the south, enclose the straits, which are about fifteen miles wide. Gibraltar and the Spanish Main form a magnificent bay, celebrated in history by the capture, in 1704, of the famous rock-citadel, and its gallant defence, from 1779 to 1782, against the combined forces of France and Spain. A peculiar feature here is, that while the tide rises to an immense height on the Atlantic entrance to the straits, within a few miles, on the Mediterranean side, the tide ceases, hence the latter is called the "tideless sea." The current runs from the Atlantic into the Mediterranean at a rapid rate, and vessels from the bay

are frequently wind-bound, being unable to beat out against the strong current. It was no unusual thing to see at one time several hundred vessels, wind-bound for a month, waiting a favourable breeze to carry them through ; and a grand sight to view them from the New Mole Guard at morning's dawn, with full canvas set, simultaneously taking advantage of the first fair wind. Strong tugs, I believe, are now used to tow vessels out. Gibraltar is a place of marvellous strength, carrying in her batteries and galleries some fifteen hundred guns, all pointing towards the bay and Spanish mainland and straits. The Mediterranean side is inaccessible, on account of its perpendicular rock rising many hundred feet from the level of the sea. Out of the rock have been cut galleries with port-holes for cannon ; and it is possible to point from these galleries and batteries more than a hundred guns at a ship lying in any part of the bay. The only ice ever formed there is, on rare occasions, at the signal station on the top of the rock.

The regiment was stationed at Gibraltar from 1859 until 1863, during which period many stirring events occurred in Europe and America, which, however, did not disturb the peacefulness of the garrison. Notable among these events were Garibaldi's strike for liberty, the war between France and Austria, that between Germany and Austria ; and from the rock could be observed through powerful glasses the fight that was going on between

Spain and Morocco on the opposite coast. The most memorable event, however, that occurred during this period was the great Civil War in America, which astounded the world by its numerous battles, the vastness of the resources displayed, and the determination of "the Northerners," at any hazard, to maintain the integrity of their country.

We had the opportunity of witnessing from the top of the rock the burning by the *Sumter* of several vessels at more than a league distant from us on the Mediterranean side, and the quiet episode of the two American vessels which immediately afterwards occupied our waters in the Bay of Gibraltar. The Confederate cruiser *Sumter*, under the command of the celebrated Captain Semmes, had taken shelter under the guns, and the American war-vessel *Kearsarge*, Captain Winslowe in command, kept quiet watch in Algeciras Bay to see that she did not escape to commit depredations upon American shipping. It was interesting to see the commanders of these vessels occasionally reading together in our library, and enjoying the hospitality of our clubs, the officers of both vessels being entertained in turn by the officers of the 100th Regiment. We were startled one day by the news that Captain Semmes and his officers had taken passage in the mail steamer for England, there to take command of the *Alabama*, which afterwards gained such notoriety. The Captain of the *Kearsarge* was not slow, however, in

following Semmes, whom he finally brought to bay and defeated, in the naval fight near Cherbourg. Captain Semmes with his crew escaped in a steam yacht, the *Deerhound*, to England, a hero for the while.

Life in Gibraltar was full of instruction and amusement. While we were stationed there it was garrisoned by seven thousand men, engineers, artillery, and infantry. It was also the station for several men-of-war, with occasional visits from the Mediterranean and Channel fleets. There was, moreover, good opportunity for visiting the two interesting countries, Spain and Africa, which were both within easy reach. Periodically, the Minister for Morocco, Sir John Drummond Hay, paid State visits to the Emperor in the city of Morocco, on various public missions. It was the ambition of officers to have the privilege of accompanying him on these interesting trips, but one or two only were allowed to go. I was anxious to make this trip, but it was difficult for an ensign to obtain such a privilege, as there were so many senior officers desirous of going. Nevertheless, I determined to make an effort, and went about it in an indirect way. A young officer of my own age, named Prior, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, and myself obtained six weeks' leave to go shooting in Africa. To get across the Straits, we applied to the Captain of the Port, now Admiral Ommaney, for leave to go in the gunboat *Redpole*, which was to convey Sir John Hay down the coast to Mogador. This was

granted, and on arriving at Tangiers, Sir John Hay gave us permission to accompany him as far as Mogador on our shooting expedition, warning us at the same time that we must not expect to go further. We had, however, the pleasure and privilege of accompanying Sir John on his mission throughout. Some presents customary to be given on such visits had been sent out to the Emperor by the Queen, but as these had not arrived we were left at Mazagan to await the coming of Lord Dangan, who was expected with them. Lord Dangan, however, did not arrive with the presents. When they came forward, we consequently went on with them, under an escort of Moorish cavalry, to Morocco. This was a somewhat hazardous trip at that time, on account of the disturbed state of the tribes. I got a sunstroke on the trip, which compelled me to return to Gibraltar before its termination, but not, however, without having seen one of the most interesting parts of Africa and the relics of Moorish grandeur.

The following year an opportunity presented itself of paying a visit to Canada with a friend, who intended venturing across the Atlantic in his yacht of a hundred tons burden. Having obtained leave, we sailed from Gibraltar on the twenty-third of March, and after visiting Xeres, famous for its sherry, and Seville, the capital of Andalusia, sailed from Cadiz on the thirtieth inst., straight west to the Azores, thence north to St. John's, Newfoundland. As far as the Azores we enjoyed beautiful weather,

but from these islands until we reached St. John's, on the first of May, there was a continuous succession of severe gales. Our intention was to go up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, but the ice had not gone out of the river. We saw two or three shipwrecked crews badly frozen in their open boats attempting to get in during that cold and stormy period. Our plans were changed in consequence. I took steamer for Canada by way of Boston, and my friend intended remaining to have some fishing, and was shortly to follow in his yacht, and pick me up at Halifax on my return from Ontario. Unfortunately, however, while off the Banks, his yacht was wrecked on an iceberg, but he and his crew were saved in the gig. At St. John's Newfoundland, the people viewed with astonishment this little yacht anchored in their Bay, supposed by some to have been sent out by the Prince of Wales, who had visited their island on his trip to Canada and the United States the previous year. After spending two or three months in Canada, I returned to Gibraltar by mail steamer.

It was at Gibraltar I first had the pleasure of meeting General Middleton, Commander of the Canadian Militia, but at the time Brigade-Major of the garrison. I was out yachting with Colonel Dunn in the Straits of Gibraltar, when we had the misfortune to lose overboard Captain Coulson, a brother officer of my regiment. A brother of this officer was recently in Canada as A.D.C. to Lord Dufferin. The sea was running high and the current was

against us. After making several ineffectual attempts, under close reef, we found it impossible to put about and pick him up. We cruised about all night, and returned in the early morning to tell the sad tale. A fortnight afterwards occurred an incident of interest. We were out yachting in the Bay, and without any warning, Captain Middleton (now General, Sir Fred. Middleton), who was with us, jumped overboard, and shouted out, "Man overboard," with the view of giving us some practice. We failed to pick him up for half an hour, when he was pretty well exhausted.

Gibraltar is a charming garrison station, with a sufficient amount of duty to obtain a thorough military training, guard duty coming round every third night. The 100th Regiment embodied in its ranks a large number of educated men. Among these was a young college graduate, who possessed a strong poetic temperament, and was given to rhyming on every possible occasion. While at Gibraltar this youth happened to be on sentry duty, and was accosted by the officer going the rounds, when the following ludicrous dialogue occurred :

Officer.—What are your orders, sir ?

Sentry.—Sir, my orders were to guard the shot and shell,
Likewise the water in the well,
And all the shrubs and trees about,
And challenge all when lights are out !

Officer.—Who the d——l gave you such orders, sir ?

Sentry.—Sir, these were the orders I received
From the sentry I relieved.

Many similar incidents could be related of our garrison life at this time. The amusements of the place were numerous. A good pack of hounds was kept, which had occasionally been transported across the Straits to take a run in Africa. There was a spring and autumn race meeting, which was entered into enthusiastically. Cricket and football and all the athletic amusements that soldiers enjoy were also indulged in. The carnival, the chief features of which were the *bals masques* at the theatre, was among the old standard institutions of the place, and gave rise to many an intrigue, creating great interest for on-lookers. Sir William Codrington, of Crimean fame, was the Governor of the Garrison, and about that time became father-in-law to the gallant General Earle, then his military secretary, and who lately lost his life in the Soudan.

In 1861 Colonel de Rottenburg retired from the service, and, by purchase, Lieutenant-Colonel Dunn succeeded to the command of the regiment. Colonel Dunn, however, did not remain long attached, for he exchanged to the 33rd, then in India, and afterwards was in the Abyssinian campaign. Colonel Dunn was one of the few who lost his life during the advance on Magdala, having been accidentally shot while out on a day's sport.

Through the courtesy of Colonel Sweeny, formerly of the 4th King's Own, and now a resident of Toronto, I am able to append here the facts connected with the death of Colonel Dunn. As Colonel Sweeny was at the time

Provost-Marshal of the First Division of the Abyssinian Expeditionary Force, commanded by Lord Napier, and had the painful duty of collecting the evidence of Colonel Dunn's death, the facts may be relied on as related by Colonel Sweeny. Colonel Dunn was a great sportsman and a capital shot, and had gone out on one occasion for a day's shooting on the upper plateau at the head of the Soorow Pass. Taking with him a rifle, with hair trigger attachment, he appears to have tired of his exertions, and sat down to rest on a stone, despatching a native attendant for water to a stream near by. On the return of the native, he found the Colonel still seated on the stone, with the rifle lying across his knees. The Colonel, on reaching forward to take a drink from the leather mussack, or Government water-skin, allowed the rifle to slip from his knees, and in falling to the ground with some force it exploded the charge in one of the barrels, which entered the Colonel's body, killing him instantly. His body was brought to camp, where his loss was mourned by the whole force, for no more popular officer ever commanded the 33rd, and he was a general favourite with all ranks composing the expedition. But he was specially beloved by his own men; and seldom was such unfeigned regret seen as was manifested by all officers and men under him at the sad news of his untimely death. He was buried at the little cemetery near the camp with military

honours, the whole force being present at the obsequies. A sentinel stone marks his lonely grave.

I may here relate an accident that befel me while in Gibraltar, through the recklessness of an officer, as a practical joke. While returning from my detachment at Catalan Bay, I met some officers who were practising with their pistols. One of them boasted that he could cut a hole through my hat, and to do this he presented his pistol. Turning my head slightly to one side, not dreaming the pistol loaded, I received a severe bullet wound upon the crown of my head. I was immediately a subject for surgical skill, and the doctors assembled to deal with my case. They probed and cut away to ascertain the damage, but my head being so swollen they were unable to find the bullet. When cut out two years afterwards, the bullet was found flattened on the skull. In the meantime I recovered; but for a while the officer had painful visions of manslaughter floating before him.

Another interesting reminiscence of our stay in Gibraltar was the arrival of a French man-of-war conveying troops to Mexico, for the aid of Maximilian. The vessel was on fire in her coal hole, and the troops had to be disembarked and the vessel unloaded in order to put out the fire. The troops camped near us on the neutral ground, a strip of land between the British territory and the Spanish mainland. We followed with interest the

report of their fortunes for awhile, until the sad death of the unhappy Maximilian.

A reminiscence of sunny Spain would not be complete without recalling the national amusement of bull-fighting, so I shall attempt to give my recollection of the brutal spectacle.

The professional bull-fighter generally joins some itinerant company, which, like a theatrical or circus troop, stars it over the country, going from place to place to pander to the national tastes. The chief is the matador, armed with a finely-edged sword, who puts the finishing stroke to the unfortunate animal after it has been baited for some time in the ring. The matador rises or falls in public estimation according to the skill with which he dispatches his victim. He is an important personage in the social life of Spain; and El Tato, the matador of those days, was supposed to be in high favour with the Spanish Queen. The chulillos, or cloakmen, are armed with large silk cloaks of various colours, with which to distract the attention of the bull. Their skill lies in so placing the cloaks that the bull rushes past them leaving them unharmed, and in this operation they have to be very nimble. The banderillos are men armed with barb-pointed sticks, decked with ribbons and coloured tissue-paper, to worry the bull. The picadors are the horsemen, and they are veritable caricatures of their

calling. They are usually mounted on the sorriest nags it is possible to find, horses that have been saved from the knackers, so that expense in the destruction of horse-flesh may not interfere with the pastime, for a fairish number of horses have to be sacrificed to make the day's sport meet the satisfaction of the audience, and rank with any degree of merit. The men, for their protection, are cased in lead, leather, or heavy woollen clothing, and are an unwieldy, helpless looking lot. They are each armed with a long lance, with a three cornered point to it, which keeps the bull at a respectful distance. Woe betide the unfortunate picador who happens to touch the bull with his lance behind the shoulder, for the wrath of the audience then falls upon his head.

The bulls are bred for the purpose, and are magnificent looking animals, with fine heads and long symmetrical horns. The bull ring is a large enclosure, surrounded by a wall sufficiently high to prevent the bull jumping in among the audience. Ranged round this enclosure are the spectators, on seats capable of holding from five to ten thousand people. There are no reserved seats or dress circle; but there are privileged positions, priced according to the degree of shade that the spectator is able to pay for, to avoid sitting for several hours in the sweltering sun of a tropical climate. The spectacle is presided over by the highest

official in the district, and may be graced by the presence of the Queen. The beginning of the fight is announced by a flourish of trumpets, from trumpeters seated near by the government box, and then the company of bull-fighters march in, headed by the matador, chulillos, picadors, etc., in their picturesque costumes. They form up in front of the presiding officer, when a little speechifying is done, after which they all march past him, the picadors presenting their lances to have their sharp points measured, which are not allowed to be of greater length than three-quarters of an inch. They then take up their stations in the ring to await the fray. A small door alongside the entrance by which they come into the ring is suddenly opened, and a magnificent bull, which is generally goaded a little before entering, to work him up to fighting pitch, rushes into the presence of the enthusiastic spectators. Struck with astonishment at the unusual surroundings, the bull, however, quickly collects himself, and spying a chulillo makes a dash for him, which he nimbly eludes by placing his cloak on one side to attract the charge. The bull then rushes on, spies an unfortunate horse, and with his whole force charges down. The picador wards off the charge by his lance, when the now infuriated animal turns and probably this time succeeds in charging another horse, ripping him up with both horns, and overthrowing the picador. The cloakmen now gather round, and attract the bull away with their

cloaks so as to save the prostrate, unwieldy man, who, if his horse is able to stand, is replaced on it, and the excitement is kept up for some time further, until probably two or three horses have been killed.

Many hairbreadth escapes occur in the *melée*, and the nimbleness of the bull-fighters, running all over the ring, drawing the bull here and there in its fury, amuse and astonish the spectators. The bull is now beginning to weary and flag, so barbed sticks, covered with variegated tissue-paper, are brought in, and a *banderillo*, taking one of these, has to face the bull and stick it in the animal's shoulder. This is repeated two or three times, until the bull rushes round with half-a-dozen of these sticks dangling about him, tearing his flesh and mangling him. Finally a couple of barbed sticks are used, with fire-crackers attached, and these are driven in and lit, covering him with smoke and fire. The bull is then supposed to be ready for the *matador* to dispatch. This personage now comes in, with a small square flag and his sword, and, awaiting his opportunity, at the moment when he can get the bull to lower his head to charge, he pierces him in the shoulder-joint with his long blade through the heart, the point of the sword coming out underneath the body. This thrust requires the greatest skill on the part of the *matador*, so as to plunge his weapon in the vulnerable spot. Any failure to do this brings down the wrath and excitement of

the thronged multitude. The whole scene is one of intense excitement, as perilous situations are dexterously avoided by the skilful and active men. Often horses fall under the maddening charges of the bull, the people the while applauding and shouting, showing their signs of approval or disapproval according to the varying circumstances. When the noble animal lies stretched in the ring, the trumpets sound, and four gaily caparisoned mules gallop in and are fastened to his horns, then gallop out again with their mangled burden. Thus ends the first scene. For two pesatas, one has the satisfaction of seeing eight bulls killed in like manner, with about ten to fifteen horses, not to mention two or three accidents to the men, which sometimes prove fatal. It is a brutal sport for a nation to retain in these boasted days of a high civilization.

In the autumn of 1863 we received marching orders for Malta, having spent four pleasant years on the Rock. Several of the regiments with us during this time accompanied us in the change of quarters; the 7th Fusiliers and the 25th King's Own Borderers were of the number.

Malta is distinguished for its ancient aristocracy, though it is sadly degenerated since the days of the Knights of St. John. Altogether, garrison life passed pleasantly there. Our stay was saddened by the loss of many men through an outbreak of cholera. From Malta the regiment was ordered to Montreal, returning to

Canada after eight years abroad, and just after the Fenian excitement of 1866.

Canada at this time was strongly garrisoned by British troops, having been sent there in 1861, on the occasion of what is known as the "Trent Affair." The American people approved of the bold conduct of Captain Wilkes in that affair, and the British public resented it as an insult. For a while there were strained relations between the two peoples, but the good sense of the governing powers at Washington, in giving up the prisoners, avoided what might have been a very serious difficulty. The Emperor Napoleon was anxious to recognize the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent power, but England declined, and the American people were left to deal with their great civil war and to re-establish their government. We expected every moment to be under orders about this time. *The Queen*, one of H. M. line-of-battle ships, had hammock hooks fastened up for us all ready, but the order never came for embarkation. Canada, however, having been taken advantage of by the Southerners, as a place of refuge where they might concoct schemes on the northern frontier of the United States, to assist their friends on the Southern frontier, was not held blameless by the Federal Government; and the Fenians took advantage of this feeling to commit a series of invasions of Canada, to stir up their Irish compatriots, and to maintain their organization for

the personal ends of their leaders. In 1866 a number of the Fenians who had made a descent upon Fort Erie, were captured, tried, sentenced, and imprisoned in the Kingston penitentiary, but through the clemency of the Canadian Government were ultimately released. This was the last serious attempt at Fenian invasion, though the organization is still maintained in the United States.

The 100th Regiment, after arriving in Montreal, was divided into two detachments. The right wing remained in Montreal under the command of Major Cook, while the left wing was sent to Ottawa, to be stationed there, under the command of Colonel Campbell.

Upon the completion of ten years' service, in 1868, many officers left, and a great many men preferred to remain in Canada to re-enlisting. The regiment returned to England in 1869 to put in a term of home service, and was thence ordered to India, where it still remains, finishing the usual period of Indian service.

For a short time after the regiment was raised, the Home Government kept up a recruiting depot in Canada, under Captain John Clarke; but the expense of transporting troops to England did not justify the maintenance of this recruiting depot. For many reasons this was unfortunate, as there is a true military spirit in Canada, which would have been a decided advantage for the Imperial Government to foster. A considerable

portion of the population of Canada sprang from the United Empire Loyalists, who, after the Declaration of Independence of the United States, in 1776, preferred to resign their homes, their lands and their property, in order to remain under British rule. They came to Canada and laid the foundation of prosperous settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and round Lakes Ontario and Erie, where they hewed homes for themselves out of the dense forests that lined the shores of these lakes.

The discharged soldiers of the 100th Regiment went to their respective homes in various parts of the country, and to-day many of them occupy positions of honour and trust, in virtue of their military experience and discipline. Not a few of them joined the militia regiments that were raised in 1870, to accompany Colonel, Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition to the North-West Territory, for the suppression of the first Riel Rebellion. Colonel Casault, of Quebec, a former officer of the 100th, was appointed commander of one of these militia battalions; and many other officers and men were appointed to military and civil positions and to the police force of the country, whose experience was found of great advantage. Among others, I might mention Colonel Duchesnay, Deputy Adjutant-General of Quebec; Colonel Fletcher, Colonel De Bellefeuille, Colonel Van Straubenzie, who joined the regiment in England, now Deputy Adjutant-General, at Kingston; Colonel Grasett,

who commanded the Royal Grenadiers in the late campaign; Captain Hudson, of London; Sergeant-Major Burn, who put in his full twenty-one years in the Hundredth and now enjoys his pension, and who acted as Sergeant-Major of the 7th Fusiliers of London during the last campaign; Lieut. Carriere, manager of a leading bank in Ottawa; Lieut. Brown Wallis, now in the Department of the Interior, Ottawa; Sergeant-Major Rance, now in the Post Office Department, Ottawa; Quarter-Master Grant, in the Militia Department, now superannuated; Carrol Ryan, who was the regimental poet, now a leading journalist in Ottawa; E. A. Bailey, a prominent member of the Farmers' Union, of Manitoba, who is also a journalist; Lieut. William Palmer Clark, for some time an Indian agent in the North-West; Lieut. J. G. Ridout, of Toronto; Colonel Lake, of Broadview, N. W. T., and many others who took part in the past campaign under General Middleton, all qualified by discipline in the regiment. Colonel Davidson, a cousin of Colonel Grasett's, remained in the service, and now commands the 19th Regiment.

The raising of the 100th Regiment in Canada, in 1858, has been of no unimportant service in fostering the military spirit of the country, and in maintaining loyalty to the British Crown; for the twelve hundred men of this regiment were taken from the homes of Canadian settlers, who keenly followed the fortunes of their friends through

the vicissitudes of British military service. It would not be unwise on the part of England to revive the recruiting depot in Canada, that was withdrawn in 1861, as many good men could be enlisted who would prove a valuable connecting link between the Crown and the Colonies. No more serviceable material for the army could be found anywhere than is to be found in all parts of Canada—men of good physique, inured to hardships, accustomed to the use of weapons, and full of experience and resource. England now draws annually a number of capable officers from our Military Colleges; and I venture to think that she would profit greatly by recruiting the rank and file of her army from the brawn and muscle of Canadian yeomanry.

In thus calling to mind the raising, now nearly thirty years ago, of this Canadian Regiment for British service abroad, the advantages to Canada as well as to England cannot be overlooked.

I append a list of officers of the 100th in 1858, which will doubtless be interesting to those who had relatives or friends in the regiment:—

COLONEL:—Lord Melville, K.C.B.

* LIEUTENANT-COLONEL:—George de Rottenburg, C.B.

MAJOR:—James Henry Craig Robertson.

* V. C.:—Alexander Roberts Dunn.

CAPTAINS:—Thomas Matthew Luz Weguelin, Robert Bethune Ingram, Percy G. Batfield Lake, Henry Cooke,

James Clery, Henry George Browne, *John Clarke, *Terrence Waverly Smythe, *George Macartney, *Charles John Clark, *Richard Charles Price, George Pilkington Blake.

LIEUTENANTS:—George Bell Coulson, John Lee, Adjt.; James Lamb, Fred. Wm. Benwell, Henry Lionel Nicholles, Joseph Dooley, Richard Lane Bailiff, *John Fletcher, *Louis Adolphe Casault, *L. C. A. L. De Bellefeuille, *Phillip Derbshire, *Alfred Edwin Rykert, *Charles Henry Carriere, *Henry Theodore Duchesnay, *Brown Wallis.

ENSIGNS:—Constantine McD. Moorsom, Frederick Morris, *John Gibbs Ridout, *Henry Edward Davidson, *Charles Arkall Boulton, *Thomas Henry Baldwin, *William Palmer Clarke. In 1867 Colonel Grasett was appointed Ensign.

PAYMASTER:—Joseph Hutchison.

ADJUTANT:—Lieut. John Lee.

INSTRUCTOR OF MUSKETRY:—Ensign F. Morris.

QUARTER-MASTER:—George Grant.

SURGEON:—William Barrett, M.D.

ASSISTANT-SURGEONS:—Thos. Liddard, Daniel Murray.

Those marked with an asterisk are the Canadian Officers.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA'S ACQUISITION OF THE NORTH-WEST.

THE last Parliament of old Canada, under the Act of 1841, which united the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, met in 1866. Prior to this date Canadian statesmen had conceived the idea of the consolidation of British power on this continent, and the scheme met with the approval and assent of the Imperial authorities. Having discussed preliminaries, a council of the leading members of the Governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec then met for the purpose of agreeing upon the terms of the confederation of these Provinces, and providing at the same time for the entrance of Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and British Columbia, then separate Crown Colonies. The conference also contemplated the inclusion of that large tract of country known as the North-West Territory, lying between Ontario on the east and British Columbia on the west, then under the government of the Hudson's Bay Trading Company. On the first day of July, 1867, was issued the proclamation, by the Imperial Parliament, whereby the first four named Provinces were united in one grand confederacy,

MANITOBA
part of the
NORTH WEST TERRITORIES

Provincial boundaries ————
Land Districts ———— County Boundaries ————
Railways ———— Township Lines ————
Proposed Railways ————
Line of Works of Survey ————
Wounded Police Stations & Towns



known as the Dominion of Canada. This was the natal day of what in the future will no doubt prove to be a great nation.

One of the first acts of the new Parliament was to provide for the transfer of the North-West Territory to the Dominion of Canada. Negotiations, however, had first to be opened up with the Hudson's Bay Company, which for many years had enjoyed a charter giving them exclusive trading privileges in furs. Their charter was granted them as early as the reign of Charles the Second. The Company's means of access to England was chiefly by the shores of Hudson's Bay, the communication being maintained by an annual ship which brought out the season's outfit and carried back the furs. Thus isolated from Canada, little was known to the Canadian people of the vast resources of the Hudson's Bay region. But the value of the fur trade had early attracted the enterprise of the inhabitants of the shores of the St. Lawrence, and under the title of the "North-West Company" an association of traders, penetrated the confines of the vast territory. It is thus due to Canadian enterprise that this fertile belt is now under the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

The North-West is a country of "magnificent distances." Commencing at the head of Lake Superior, the traveller visiting the region will pass for over four hundred miles through a rough country of rock

and small timber, supposed to contain a good deal of mineral wealth. About twenty miles east of Winnipeg he will then come to open prairie, which extends in one vast plain for a distance of eight hundred miles, gradually rising in steppes to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. The forty-ninth parallel of latitude separates it on the south from the United States territory. This boundary line was marked out a few years ago by a joint commission, consisting of a company of Royal Engineers, under Major Cameron, and a company of American Engineers—Colonel Forrest representing the Canadian contingent. The prairie region is drained by numerous rivers, the greater number of which take their rise in the Rocky Mountains, some finding their outlet in the Arctic Ocean by the noble Mackenzie River, others in the Hudson's Bay through the two main outlets, the Churchill and the Nelson. These interior rivers have cut for themselves deep channels through the prairie, the bed of the streams being from two to three hundred feet below the prairie level. As a consequence, the smaller rivers and streams have worn for themselves deep gullies to reach the level of the main rivers, so that in travelling through the country these deep and precipitous gullies have frequently to be crossed, their natural scenery, which is bold and striking, relieving the great monotony of the prairie. The vegetation of the country is luxuriant and diversified; so much so that it is never customary, in travelling

with native ponies, to carry oats for fodder. Numerous ponds and lakes everywhere abound, some of which are salt; the fresh water lakes being also more or less impregnated with alkali. The prairies and streams are the homes of a great variety of fur-bearing animals, which are trapped by the Indians and half-breeds, and are brought to the Hudson's Bay Company's posts for trade. The standard of trade before the introduction of currency was one skin. A pound of tea, instead of being six shillings, represented so much value in skins; the trade mark being designated in the motto of the Hudson's Bay Company, *Pro pelle cutem*. The rule of the Hudson's Bay Company was purely paternal in its character. Its officers dealt honourably with the Indians, and so obtained their confidence. If an Indian proved a defaulter, his name was put upon the books of the Company at every post where he was likely to visit, and he was not allowed to obtain any supplies. This made dealings on the part of the Indians also honourable, greatly to the protection of the Company. The private trader who made advances to the trapper had no surety that furs would be brought in to repay him; but it was not so with the Hudson's Bay Company, whose equitable management amply protected them. When any difficulty did occur it was generally smoothed over by the tact of the Company's officers. Thus this vast region with its hand-

ful of a nomadic population was peacefully and well governed up to the time of the transfer to Canada.

Although the country was hidden from the eyes of the world, being separated from civilization on all sides by hundreds of miles of dense forests or trackless prairies, it has an intensely interesting history. This history covers a period of over two hundred years, and is replete with incidents which reflect credit on the adventurous spirits who in those early days sought to extend the commerce of the world, going hand in hand with the other agencies which promote Christianity and civilization. As an example of the complete isolation of this vast region, a pleasing fact may be recited, the truth of which is vouched for by the employés of the Hudson's Bay Company. One of the officers of the Company, not wishing to give up his old-fashioned liking for the morning paper, was in the habit of having sent to him, by the one annual sailing vessel which kept up communication with the territory and conveyed the supplies to and from England, a complete file of the *Times* of the previous year. Every morning this conservative old gentleman would digest his paper while digesting his breakfast, the journal losing nothing in interest by being a year old, while his faithful old servant had the corresponding pleasure of saying "Your morning paper, sir." These old officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who led an isolated life in the loneliness of the great North-West, have left behind them

a memory that will long beneficially influence the country; and after leaving the service many of them settled down in comfort in Canada, whither their good record followed them.

The history of the Hudson's Bay Company is one of great interest. It tells of stirring times when the great trading company of England had to hold its own at the point of the pen or the bayonet. The Company had one principle, which all the officers rigidly acted upon, namely, to hide from the world any knowledge of the extensive and valuable resources over which they held sway, dreading the influx of an enterprising population, which might wrest from them their valuable fur trade and demoralize the hunting qualities of the Indian.

The value of the resources of the region was first discovered by the French, who then occupied Old Canada, called New France, after the Gallic motherland, and in contradistinction to the colonies to the south, called New England. The Jesuit fathers, who seem to have been ever among the most adventurous in disseminating Christianity among the aborigines, first brought to light the magnificent inland sea, called Lake Superior. Their report of the country brought from Quebec, in the year 1666, the adventurous spirits De Grosselier and Raddison, who sought to extend exploration. These travellers entered the Kaministiquia River, at the head of Lake Superior, and found their way by the

chain of lakes and rivers westward into Lake Winnipeg, and from there, under the guidance of the Assiniboines, travelled northward to the shores of Hudson's Bay. In the following year they returned; and it was through the information they were able to give of the valuable resources of the interior of the country, and of the easy mode of communication by way of Hudson's Bay and Straits, that led to the celebrated charter being sought for and obtained by Prince Rupert and "his honourable company of gentlemen adventurers," trading to Hudson's Bay.

The history of the country for many years afterwards was one of enterprise and adventure, the competition for the possession of Hudson's Bay being very frequently and hotly contested by the French from Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company from England, assisted occasionally by the New England colonists from Boston. The Canadians, having known for many years the great value of the fur trade of the interior, extended their operations by means of the North-West Company, their channel of communication being by way of the head of Lake Superior and the chain of lakes and rivers running into Lake Winnipeg. The Hudson's Bay Company competed for this trade on the same ground, entering the country by way of Hudson's Bay. For some years the rivalry between the two companies was of a friendly character, but gradually the Hudson's Bay Company, becoming

jealous of the success of their rivals, sought to expel them, and claimed exclusive possession of the country, under their charter from King Charles.

The Earl of Selkirk, a philanthropic and adventurous nobleman, who selected this region for his enterprise, was for some years a leading spirit in the country. He had acquired influence over the Hudson's Bay Company by large purchases of their stock, and in 1812 conceived the idea of placing a settlement in the interior, partly to place labour on the soil, useful to the Company, and partly to assist himself in withstanding the encroachments of his rivals, the North-West Company. These settlers were brought from Scotland by way of Hudson's Bay. Their early history is one of difficulty, danger and disaster, which many a time threatened extermination; but their natural hardihood overcame all obstacles, and the descendants of these enterprising settlers, in time, made comfortable homes for themselves. They formed a considerable portion of the population at the time of the transfer of the country to Canada, and to-day reap the benefit of the enterprise of their ancestors.

Another element of the population, and forming about half of it, is that composed of the descendants of the employés and *voyageurs* of the North-West Company; nearly all of whom are of French origin. The French section settled on the banks of the Red River, to the south of the Assiniboine, while the English occupied the north.

The Earl of Selkirk, to carry out his plan of settlement, obtained a grant from the Hudson's Bay Company of a tract of land, consisting of a narrow strip on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. His title to this tract was completed, but it aroused hostility on the part of some of the shareholders of the Company at the time it was made, and in 1835 was repurchased from his heirs for £35,000. The noble earl, however, as chief of the Company, so pressed forward his plans and operations that the country was continually embroiled in conflict, greatly to the injury of trade. The North-West Company held their own, and an amicable solution of difficulties was finally arrived at by the amalgamation in 1821 of all interests. Since that period the Hudson's Bay Company has peacefully and successfully carried on the joint trade. The country, however, was not altogether without an occasional excitement, in the fights that took place between hostile tribes of Indians.

At that early time the prairie was covered with countless herds of buffalo, producing the staple article of food for the Indians of the plains. The buffalo were valuable for their hides and meat. As the settlers and employés of the Company increased and intermarried with the Indians, they began to take part in the chase, and large camps were organized by the half-breeds who went hundreds of miles into the interior to take part in the sport and participate in the valuable trade. The Indians, often resenting

their interference, had many a feud with the half-breeds, who, however, always held their own. These fights gave as much pleasure and excitement to the contending parties as the chase itself. Thus was the population of the country reared, amidst adventure and sometimes angry contest, which was much to their liking and more congenial to their habits than the humdrum life of a farmer.

The population of the country, in 1869, was made up of about five thousand French, five thousand English and Scotch half-breeds, and a small number of Europeans and Americans, with whom were a handful of Canadians. The leading spirit among the latter was Dr. Schultz, who came into the country when a young man, and took a stand antagonistic to what he deemed the despotic rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. There can be no doubt that the difficulties created by him brought to the notice of those interested the advantages of opening up the magnificent country and of placing its resources at the enterprise of a future population. Dr. Schultz's name is historically connected with the new order of things; and he proved as difficult a problem for the Company to solve, in connection with their trade monopoly, as they had had for some time; and without knowing who was right or who was wrong, his share in the troubles occasioned many disputes in old Canada. There is no doubt either that the difficulties he got into with the Company brought forcibly before the Imperial and Canadian Governments

the necessity for a change of administration. Dr. Schultz played no unimportant part in the troubles that followed the transfer of the country to Canada, and to indicate the feeling that existed prior to the transfer, an attempt was made by Mr. Thomas Spence to form an independent government at Portage la Prairie, supposed to be outside the limits of the Company's rule. Of course such an act was illegal, and when discovered to be so, proceedings towards independence went no further. But this was the commencement of an effort on the part of the people to obtain a greater voice in the conduct of affairs involving their interests.

Before negotiating with the Imperial Government for the transfer of the country, it was necessary to purchase the claims and vested interests of the Hudson's Bay Company in the region. These interests were exclusive trading rights, granted them by their charter; and as they claimed a vested interest in the soil, they valued the privilege which they held very highly. The Canadian Government sent the late Sir George Cartier and the Honourable William Macdougall to England to negotiate with the directors of the Company, whose headquarters were in London. The Company were inclined to drive a hard bargain, and it was difficult for the commissioners to negotiate on terms acceptable to Canada. But as a failure to negotiate would interfere with the settled Imperial policy in regard to Canada, the Duke of Buckingham and

Chandos, then Colonial Secretary, intervened and brought about a satisfactory agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the commissioners. The terms of this agreement were a money payment of three hundred thousand pounds, and one-twentieth of the lands as they were surveyed, to be selected by the Company within fifty years, also a reservation around each of their principal posts throughout the country. Having concluded the bargain, the Canadian Parliament passed an Act confirming it, and empowering the Government to pay over the purchase money. The Government now gave to the North-West Territory a Constitution, under which it was in future to be governed; and Canada at once became possessed of a vast colony of her own, and in good faith accepted the trust reposed in her to govern the immense region. Being anxious to carry out this trust, she lost no time in providing the machinery for its development and government.

In the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company two diverse elements existed; one, the shareholders, whose interests sought large financial returns for their investment, the other, the Company's officers, who, besides their pay, in time obtained an addition to their income, in a percentage of the annual profits, as a reward for long service.

It is important to note that the negotiations thus concluded were made solely with the shareholders in London,

and without reference to their large army of employés scattered throughout the Territory. Neither was regard paid to the local population in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry, which had now increased to about twelve thousand souls, and which had very scant information about the great political change about to come over them. It was felt by leading men in the settlement that to bring about such a political change without danger to the country, a few troops were necessary; but the Imperial Government either did not wish to interfere in the mode of transfer or felt that it was the duty of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company to arrange the transfer on their own responsibility. No steps, however, were taken to place a small protective force in the country.

In their eagerness to open up communication with and take possession of the country, the Canadian Government, in advance of the Imperial proclamation transferring the country to Canada, in the early part of 1869 sent a surveying party to locate and construct a highway between Winnipeg and the Lake of the Woods, giving communication by aid of the water-stretches from there to Lake Superior. This was followed by a surveying party, under Colonel Dennis, to run the meridian lines and lay the foundation of the future surveys of the territory, upon the American principle, of square blocks containing six hundred and forty acres each, with a road allowance around the four sides. This proceeding created

a feeling of hostility among the population, which had not been consulted, and were not cognizant of any policy propounded, or that might be pursued towards them, in regard to their holdings. The region had been surveyed by the Hudson's Bay Company with the view of giving river frontage to the settlers, and the farms of the people were laid out in narrow strips of land, two miles deep by a few chains wide, fronting on the Red and Assiniboine rivers. In addition to this the settlers possessed what was termed "a hay privilege," or a similar strip of land running two miles into the prairie. The churches also had grants of land for educational and religious purposes. The titles of these lands were not held in fee simple, but as leasehold from the Hudson's Bay Company. The Canadian Government, therefore, who had become possessed of the sovereignty of the soil, had they so willed, might possibly have set aside this mode of survey and ignored the settlers. This was the feeling among many of the half-breeds; and there were not a few who fostered the idea that the Canadian Government would not deal justly in the matter. There were others of the population who, though bound by ties to England, owed no allegiance to Canada, and did not feel disposed to assist in bringing about a change the effect of which might possibly imperil their interests. A few Canadians, chief among whom was Dr. Schultz, had travelled extensively over the territory, and had mainly been the means

of disseminating the information in Canada as to the value of and resources of the country. These Canadians were eagerly looking forward to the consummation of the transfer, and were not in sympathy with the governing power of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose policy had naturally been one of isolation in the interests of their trade. Such was the state of feeling in 1869, when the surveying parties alluded to arrived on the scene.

CHAPTER III.

RIEL BLOCKS THE WAY.

I ACCOMPANIED Colonel Dennis's party, and arrived in the territory in July, 1869. We journeyed through the United States by rail to St. Paul, then a small American frontier town on the Mississippi. The place has since grown to a large city of 120,000 inhabitants, and has a rival near by, in Minneapolis, with a population almost equal to that of St. Paul. At St. Cloud we purchased horses and waggons to convey us across the prairie, four hundred and fifty miles north to Winnipeg. This route by trail had now become the chief highway from the railway terminus on the Mississippi to the Hudson's Bay Territory, and at St. Paul hundreds of Red River carts were assembled to convey stores and supplies into the interior. These carts were of native manufacture, constructed entirely without iron, the transport of such heavy material being too costly for so long an inland carriage to admit of its use. The harness consisted of what is called "shagannappi," being the raw hide of the buffalo dressed for the purpose. The term "shagannappi" came to be applied by the new settlers to everything in

connection with a Red River outfit. The journey was a long monotonous one, over a level, treeless prairie, with no habitations, until we reached the small frontier village of Pembina, at the boundary between the two countries. After crossing the boundary line we came to the Hudson's Bay post of Pembina, and a few miles further we reached what appeared to be an old settled country. The changed aspect of things was very marked, and one could not help being impressed by it, in coming upon a comparatively well-cultivated settlement in the heart of an immense region which for two centuries had so little communication with the outer world.

The principal fort, or depot, of the Hudson's Bay Company was Fort Garry, now the site of the flourishing city of Winnipeg. It was situated at the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The Red River, which is navigable for about 400 miles, takes its rise in American territory, and flows northward, through Lake Winnipeg, to Hudson's Bay. The Assiniboine, also navigable, empties into the Red River, about thirty miles from Lake Winnipeg, rising in the west in Canadian territory. For a time the English Government maintained troops at Fort Garry, and some of the rifles, ammunition and stores were retained when the last detachment left. Another principal station of the Hudson's Bay Company is York Factory, on the Hudson's Bay, the port through which all the supplies were conveyed to the interior and

from which furs were exported to England. The fur that was trapped and purchased in the interior generally took two, and sometimes three, years before it found its way to a market in Europe, the extensive inland carriage being tedious and uncertain. There are many other posts of the Hudson's Bay Company which are still much isolated, such as the posts on the Mackenzie and Yucan rivers, and other points close to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, which are as remote from civilization as in times gone by.

The hardships the employés of the Company had to suffer may be imagined when we state that a year's rations for an officer was one bag of flour, while the men got none, and what is generally considered as necessaries of life they had to do without. Fish, cariboo and wild fowl are the chief articles of diet at these remote posts.

Sir George Simpson was a notable character in the history of the country, and for forty years subsequent to 1821 governed it for the Hudson's Bay Company with ability and discretion. The Hudson's Bay officer who occupied the position of the Governor of the Territory in 1869 was Mr. Wm. McTavish. He was unfortunately prostrated with illness at the time the difficulties arose over the transfer of the country, or he might have wielded a greater influence than he did.

When the surveying party arrived, the first thing done was to send the horses down to Point du Chene and

leave them with those of Mr. Snow, the overseer of the construction of the road before referred to. Some of the party were struck with the beauty of the country in that neighbourhood, and determined upon taking up land. Then and there they selected a tract and staked it out for future occupation. This gave rise to jealousy on the part of the half-breeds in the neighbourhood, who watched their proceedings; and Riel, as it turned out, followed us down to ascertain what our movements were likely to be. It was not difficult for him to persuade the half-breeds that this act was hostile to their interests, and they assembled to intercept us on our way. Riel, who came with the half-breeds as their spokesman, warned our party that they must not survey the land or take possession of any of it. The words of his argument I have forgotten, but the gist of it was to the effect that the country was theirs, and that we had no right to it and must not survey it. We informed him that we were only employés of the Canadian Government and had no control over our movements. There was no show of violence or hostility in this demonstration, and it did not strike us as being of importance at the time. It was, however, the first scene in the drama that was about to be enacted; and I have no doubt gave the idea to the half-breeds of acting in a similar manner, which resulted in what is known as the "stake claims." The party left their horses and returned to Winnipeg, where Colonel

Dennis organized a surveying party, with Red River carts and ponies as transport, then returned to Pembina and went west along the boundary line for about ten miles. Under the superintendence of Colonel Dennis, assisted by Milner Hart, now inspector of surveys for the North-West, we there commenced to run the principal meridian line straight north, upon which the future surveys were to be based.

We were now out upon the open prairie, far removed from any society, and had no opportunity of knowing what was going on in the settlements. We ran our meridian line north as far as Shoal Lake, on the east side of Lake Manitoba. Further proceedings were stopped by winter, which came upon us suddenly. We read in the papers, which occasionally came to hand, that the Hon. Mr. Macdougall had been appointed the first Governor of the North-West Territory, and was on his way up. We also learned that Major Webb, another surveyor, had been interfered with by Riel and some half-breeds in his surveys, and, awaiting orders, had abandoned them. Mr. Webb had apparently been infringing upon the outside two mile limit which was claimed as hay privilege, and he thought it prudent to desist.

Colonel Dennis, in charge of the surveying parties, felt annoyed at the interference with his work, but found that he was powerless in the matter. He applied to the authorities, the Council of Assiniboia, and asked them

to take action: but they expressed themselves as also powerless, and confined themselves to remonstrances. Unfortunately, Archbishop Tache, one of the most influential men in the country, especially with his own people, was absent. The Archbishop had gone to take part in the celebrated Œcumenical Council, at Rome, and on his way thither he called at Ottawa to ascertain from the Dominion Government what were their intentions on acquiring possession of the country. But the Government had already made provision by Act of Parliament for the government of the territory, and no fresh legislation could be obtained before the following session, so Archbishop Tache went on his way to Rome without effecting anything on behalf of his people.

The Honourable Mr. Macdougall, who had probably taken the most active interest in the acquisition of this territory by Canada, and had urged it upon Parliament by able speeches, and had also, in conjunction with Sir George Cartier, negotiated for the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's rights with the Imperial Government, had been appointed the first Governor of this new territory, no doubt as a reward for his services in connection therewith, and as the best fitted to launch the young colony on its new career.

The priest, Père Lestanc, who was left behind in Archbishop Tache's place, was a gentleman apparently

with more zeal than discretion in the midst of a difficulty such as the present. He came from France, and was not imbued with the Canadian instincts that most of his clergy possessed. His actions gave rise to the feeling that the Roman Catholic church was in sympathy with the extreme measures enforced by Riel. The attitude of the church seemed more clear, when O'Donohue, who at that time was being educated for the priesthood at Saint Boniface, and was a teacher there, saw fit to leave those duties to join Riel and to become his right hand man during the rebellion that immediately followed. With some honourable exceptions, the Americans, of whom there were a few, were hostile, and were fain to fan the flame of discontent, that advantage might possibly accrue to them or their country. The Canadians, who were not numerous, were enthusiastic over the transfer of the territory to the Dominion. Dr. Schultz, at the time, undoubtedly represented this feeling, and was most popular among the Canadians. Colonel Dennis advised the Hon. Mr. Macdougall, the Governor, who had just arrived at the boundary line, of the state of affairs that existed at Fort Garry. The Governor unfortunately over-estimated his own power and under-estimated that of the rebels. He had heard rumours on his way from St. Paul of the probability of resistance; and on his arrival at Pembina, on the 21st of October, 1869, he

was handed a letter warning him not to enter the country.*

Disregarding this letter, the Governor pushed on to the Hudson's Bay Company's post, about two miles north of the boundary, accompanied by the Honourable Albert Richards as his Attorney-General, Mr. Provencher, Dr. Jakes, and some of his own family. Mr. Macdougall deserved the greatest sympathy for the unfortunate position he now found himself placed in. He had travelled by land conveyance four hundred miles from St Paul in the month of October, and was now advised by Mr. McTavish to remain at Pembina and await developments, rather than attempt to enter the country. To attempt a return journey at the commencement of a north-west winter seemed to the Governor out of the question. He therefore determined to await the drift of events, trusting that something would turn up to relieve him from the awkwardness of his position. Pembina was a small frontier village where the accommodation was scant and of a very inferior description. It gave great satisfaction to his opponents, of whom there were a number at Pembina, to have at their threshold a

* À Monsieur W. Macdougall.

Monsieur,—Le comité national des Metis de la Rivière Rouge intime à Monsieur W. Macdougall l'ordre de ne pas entrer sur le territoire du nord ouest, sans une permission spéciale de ce comité.

Par l'ordre du Président, JONAS BUCK.

LOUIS RIEL, *Secretary.*

Daté à St. Norbert, Rivière Rouge,
ce 21^e jour d'Octobre, 1869.

Governor who could not further approach his territory ; and Mr. Macdougall had to suffer many petty indignities, added to the anxiety that he felt over the state of affairs in the country.

Reil began by protests and warnings, but soon he assumed more active measures. By the time the Governor arrived in Pembina he had a small force under his command, at River Sale, where he erected a barricade to guard the entrance into the country. His force at first did not exceed seven men ; but being unopposed his followers soon increased. The French half-breeds, from their experience of past excitements, were nothing loth to go in for a little fighting. Riel, finding that the Governor had ignored his warning, forwarded by messenger to Pembina, sent a party to drive him across the line by force, if necessary. Situated as he was, isolated from every friend and support, the Governor could offer no resistance ; so he retired across the line, and took up his quarters in Pembina. Probably, had he not dreaded the effects of the winter's journey, back across the plains of Minnesota, he would have returned at once to confer with his colleagues at Ottawa. Being encouraged by the offers of loyal assistance in the country, he determined, however, to remain ; and, as it turned out, it was unfortunate he was so advised, as his presence acted as a red rag to the opposition ; though it was supposed that the country, in a month's time, would

be part and parcel of the Dominion. Mr. Provencher and Major Cameron thought that they would try and get in to confer with the legal authorities in the country, in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation of interests. Riel, however, was too cunning to allow anything to interrupt the current of events, which he felt would bring him into importance and satisfy his ambition and vanity. From my knowledge of Riel, at this time, I venture to affirm that his motives were more those of personal ambition and aggrandizement than consideration for the good of his people, and his subsequent action confirms this opinion. He was clever enough to make tools of every one who came in his way, not even excepting the clergy, some of whom were his admiring supporters.

Having succeeded in stopping the surveys, in banishing the new government, and in turning back the Governor's emissaries, Major Cameron, a British officer, and Mr. Provencher, one of the Governor's council, Riel now felt that he could make a bolder and more determined move. He conceived the idea of taking possession of Fort Garry, seeing, by this time, that the sinews of war were necessary for his complete success. Fort Garry was the central depot of the Hudson's Bay Company, where enormous stores were maintained for the trade of the interior, and where large quantities of furs were made ready for shipment. Riel shrewdly saw that the Fort

would prove a rich prize to enable him to carry on his operations, conceived in no illiberal spirit. The settlement was astounded one day by the news that Riel had occupied Fort Garry, although the move had been anticipated by Mulligan, chief of the Company's police, and by Hyman and others. The excuse he offered to the Governor for this act was that he heard an attempt was about to be made to seize the Fort by some other party in the country. Without any warning, Riel marched up about a hundred men from River Sale, entered the Fort, and informed Mr. McTavish, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, that he had come to protect it. Riel, at first, seemed to realize the effect of so bold a move, and for a day or two he permitted no other act. Gradually, however, he became emboldened and he seized the property of the Hudson's Bay Company for his own purposes. He now occupied a very strong position, being protected by the Fort, and surrounded by his own men. The Fort contained the arms and ammunition of the troops which used to be stationed there, together with several cannon and ample ammunition. It also contained everything necessary for the support and pay of a considerable force, with the comfortable quarters of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, which Riel was not long in occupying for his own luxury and comfort. Mr. Macdougall, the new Governor, had taken advantage of the season to have



FORT GARRY.

his furniture brought down by the Red River boats, and this Riel also seized and appropriated for his own use. At first he did not attempt to interfere with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, but after a little he required the clerks in the store to honour his orders and requisitions. He then regularly employed his men as soldiers at the rate of fifteen to twenty dollars a month, paying them by orders on the store. Most of his people Riel found would not act as willing soldiers in the cause he had taken up, and he had resort to threats and all manner of deception to keep his recruits up to the proper number and to exact due subordination.

There was method in all Riel's plans. He formed a council, putting forward a man named Bruce, a French half-breed, as figurehead. This was previous to the erection of the barricade at River Sale. There did not seem to be any disposition on his part, or that of his people, to oppose the cession of the country to Canada; but the opposition he offered seemed to be confined to the entrance of the Governor or the establishment of the authority of Canada until certain rights, which he and his supporter claimed to be their privilege and to have been granted them as inhabitants of the country, had been conceded. As his successes filled him with vanity and ambition his designs changed, and there is no doubt he conceived the idea of forming an independent government and handing it over to the United States

for a good round sum. On Archbishop Tache's return he put him off this conceit and brought him to his senses.

Correspondence was meanwhile passing between the Hon. Mr. Macdougall and Governor McTavish. The former pressed on Mr. McTavish the necessity of exerting his authority to put down the resistance offered to his entry; but Governor McTavish confined his efforts to remonstrances with Riel. He has been blamed for apathy; but, on his behalf, it is fair to say that the negotiations for the transfer of the country seemed there to have been carried on in a loose way, so far as the population existing in the territory at the time was concerned.

Mr. Macdougall came up to the country as its future Governor ahead of his authority. The news of his arrival and his progress was heralded in advance by the press, and Mr. McTavish was called upon to deal with an insurrection brought about by circumstances which he could not well control, and in an affair over which he had little or no jurisdiction. The responsibility he might incur in dealing with so delicate a matter was greater than he no doubt felt himself able or willing to shoulder. In the light of subsequent events, it is clear that had he attempted to bring in Mr. Macdougall by force, he would have assumed a grave responsibility. He even declined the offers of assistance that were made to protect Fort Garry before Riel occupied it, to avoid raising a hostile element in the country. In all of this he must now be

judged as having acted wisely ; although it was so far fortunate for Canada that this rising occurred before the transfer took place, else she would have had to establish her authority single-handed.

To throw some light upon the deliberations that led to this inaction, I insert an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia, held on the 25th of October, 1869. This Council was the governing body of the territory. There were present on this occasion Judge Black, who, in consequence of the illness of Mr. McTavish, presided ; the Right Reverend, the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, Dr. Cowan, Dr. Bird, Messrs. Dease, Sutherland, McBeath, Frazer, and Bannatyne. Riel and Bruce, a French half-breed, who were known to be the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, had been invited to attend this council meeting and were remonstrated with for taking up arms and the criminality of the proceedings was pointed out them. The minutes go on to say : " That Mr. Riel refused to adopt the views of the Council, and persisted in expressing his determination to oppose Mr. Macdougall's entrance into the settlement, declining even to press the reasoning and advice of this Council upon his party, although he reluctantly promised to repeat to them what he had just heard, and inform Governor McTavish of the result by Thursday at 11 o'clock. Mr. Riel and Mr. Bruce having retired, the Council resumed the consideration of the subject before

them, and the expediency of calling out an armed force to meet and protect Mr. Macdougall was suggested. But as it was seen that it would be from the English-speaking portion of the community that such a force, if forthcoming at all, would be chiefly drawn, the result would evidently be to bring into armed collision sections of the people who, although they had hitherto lived together in comparative harmony, yet differed from each other so widely in point of race, language, and religion, as well as in general habits, that the commencement of actual hostilities would probably involve not only themselves but the surrounding Indians in a protracted and sanguinary struggle. The Council therefore felt that without a regular military force to fall back upon they could hardly be held justified under the circumstances in resorting to measures so full of possible mischief to the whole country.

The Council, having learned that a number of the most intelligent and influential people among the French were not implicated in the hostile movement against Mr. Macdougall, adopted the following resolution, which was moved by Mr. Bannatyne, and seconded by Mr. McBeath, viz. :—

That Messrs. Dease and Goulet be appointed to collect immediately as many of the more respectable of the French community as they could, and with them proceed to the camp of the party who intend to intercept

Governor Macdougall, and endeavour, if possible, to procure their peaceable dispersion ; and that Mr. Dease report to Governor McTavish on or before Thursday next as to their success or otherwise."

This is the reason of the Council's inaction, and that of the Hudson's Bay Governor. The same reason made it difficult for Mr. Donald A. Smith to get the French half-breeds to take a constitutional course, for Riel held personal sway over them. The loyalty of the Metis was to themselves, as British subjects descended from Canadians ; the loyalty of Riel and his council was to himself alone.

Canadians naturally looked upon the act of insurrection as a breach of faith. At much trouble and expense they had completed a bargain with the Hudson's Bay Company, and they felt that it should be carried out and the country be peaceably handed over. Until this was done and peace restored, the Canadian Government temporarily withdrew from the bargain, taking the ground that while Canada had bound herself to pay over the money, the Hudson's Bay Company, on the other hand, was bound to hand the country over to Canada.

CHAPTER IV.

RIEL IN THE ASCENDANT.

LET us now return to matters that were creating an excitement in the Canadian world, and to the delicate position in which the Honourable Mr. Macdougall found himself placed. As Canadians on the spot, we beheld with pleasure the advent of the Lieutenant-Governor, and were disposed to judge severely all who were not inclined to view the coming of the Queen's representative in the same light. In this we represented the ambition and hopes of Canada, in having so magnificent a domain added to her boundaries, the value of which, being resident in the country, we thoroughly appreciated. We could not enter into the feelings of those who were about to be subjected to a new order of things, the effect of which no one, at this time, could know. There was, however, a general feeling in the country that a change of government was desirable, otherwise greater opposition might have arisen to its occupation by Canada, which would probably have altered the current of affairs. As things were, the Imperial Government, when it realized that there was opposition to the transfer on the part of

the local population, refused to consummate the bargain made, or to send troops to establish the sovereignty of Canada without the people's consent, or rather without a due recognition of their claims.

Riel, about this time, irritated the people by petty acts of tyranny. He seized and opened the mails. He stopped Dr. Schultz's freight and examined it, as he claimed, to see whether there were any arms or ammunition concealed, and to collect the customs duties upon it. He seized the printing press of a local journal, the *North-wester*, belonging to Dr. Bown. On the 6th November he entered the printing office with about twenty armed men, requiring Dr. Bown to do some printing for him. Bown refused, and was arrested and placed under guard, and while he was under arrest Riel used his office to do the necessary printing. About this time, also, Captain Cameron, with his man-servant, drove to the barrier at River Sale, having left his wife—a daughter of Sir Charles Tupper—at Scratching River to await her husband's return. Captain Cameron arrived safely at the barrier, and seeing he could not drive through the obstruction, sitting up in the seat with his arms folded across his breast, he ordered the rebels to remove "that blasted fence." The half-breeds laughed; but liking the pluck of the Captain, they took his horses by the bridles and led him up to Father Richot's house, where, it is said, he was invited in, some refreshments were offered, and,

after a quiet chat, he was ordered to proceed on his return journey to Pembina. It was Riel's tyrannical acts at this time that prevented the English-speaking portion of the community from working harmoniously with the French half-breeds, in an honest desire to meet the views of the Canadian Commissioners who were sent with full powers to satisfy the people that their rights would be respected. Had Riel not been seeking to gain personal power, the unfortunate results which followed would have been avoided.

Direct communication with Fort Garry having been cut off by the seizure of the mails, Colonel Dennis determined upon going to Pembina to confer personally with the Governor. Accompanied by Mr. Hallet, an intelligent and loyal half-breed, he set out from Fort Garry on the 1st of November for Pembina, crossing the prairie to avoid the main trail. Arrived there, he remained till the 1st of December, when he returned with a commission from the Governor appointing him Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace. Events now crowded upon one another with rapidity, and Riel's actions became bolder day by day. About Fort Garry he exercised supreme and unquestioned authority.

Being in full possession of the Fort, and feeling the strength of his position, Riel commenced to lay his plans for the assumption of further power. In this he was anxious to have the countenance of the English-speaking

part of the population. When he took possession of the printing office of Dr. Bown, he had a proclamation printed, calling a meeting, composed of his own council and twelve delegates, who were to be selected from the various English parishes, to discuss the affairs of the country. The English settlers hesitated to countenance in any way the proceedings Riel had initiated; but in the hopes that their counsels might lead to a peaceful solution of the difficulties, they determined to attend the meeting. The convention assembled in the Court-house of the settlement near Fort Garry, on the 16th of November, and was guarded by an armed force. In the meantime Mr. McTavish had entered a protest against the unlawful acts which had already been committed, and this was read and discussed at the meeting. This protest or proclamation was issued on the 12th of November, upon the demand of a number of influential people, who thought public notice should be taken of the illegal proceedings. Riel expressed his intention of forming a provisional government, and the convention felt it was only invited to carry out his behests and to give the appearance of countenancing them. The members present were not disposed to overturn the lawful authority which at the time existed, and which was only lying dormant in consequence of the authority Riel had usurped. The convention adjourned till the 1st of December. In the interim, there were those at work

who still hoped to smooth over the difficulties by allowing authority to revert to its legal channel. They found, however, that Riel was determined to press his own authority. He had prepared what he called a "Bill of Rights," which, in itself, with the exception of some unconstitutional clauses, contained no disloyal or objectionable features. This was passed by the convention. The English members made an attempt to bring about a conference with the Governor upon this basis, but Riel took a personal stand against the latter and would not listen to reason. They therefore dispersed, feeling that they could not join in the unreasonable opposition Riel seemed determined upon giving, and which was likely to jeopardize the peace of the settlement. The colony was isolated from the outer world by hundreds of miles of prairie, with an Indian population in their midst, which, it was feared, would take advantage of the excitement to commit depredations.

While matters in the settlements had reached the stage I have related, the Governor still remained at Pembina, awaiting the date upon which it had been arranged that the proclamation should be issued transferring the territory to Canada. Mr. Macdougall, no doubt, unaware of the altered policy of the Canadian Government, and thinking that the Queen's proclamation, which by pre-arrangement was to issue on the 2nd of December, would duly arrive, and that it had been only

delayed in the mails, and being also impatient at his detention in Pembina, he boldly determined upon a *Coup d'Etat*. He issued a proclamation of his own, proclaiming himself Governor of the territory, and crossed the boundary line for the purpose of reading it on Canadian soil and giving it full legal effect. At the same time, by virtue of this proclamation, he commissioned Colonel Dennis to enter the territory and raise a force to quell the insurrection, giving him extended powers in the premises. About the 20th of November, Mr. Newcombe had gone out to Pembina to the Honourable Mr. Macdougall, to see what was to be done about protecting the Government provisions. Mr. Macdougall kept him there and sent him back with copies of his proclamation in French and English; and after many adventures he arrived on the 30th of November. Colonel Dennis arrived on the following day, by way of St. John's, with a further supply of the proclamation, and handed them to me and others to copy out, and have posted up in conspicuous places, as the printing presses had been seized by Riel. This task we gladly undertook, feeling that a lawful authority now existed which would make itself felt. Colonel Dennis informed us of his intention to raise a force and establish the authority of the Governor; and instructed me and others to follow him to the Stone Fort, which was a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, thirty miles down the river towards Lake

Winnipeg. The proclamation we posted up in various parts of the settlement, and I, with Mr. Hart and others of his surveying parties, followed him to the Stone Fort, Major Webb being sent to Portage la Prairie there to organize four companies. We found that good feeling existed on the part of the English-speaking people, who were desirous that a vigorous and legal authority should be established to deal with the serious aspect of affairs. Colonel Dennis set vigorously to work, called upon the people to support him, and organized a force intending to deal summarily with the usurper Riel, and those who had joined him.

The effect of the proclamation upon the people of Winnipeg was very marked. They soon saw that submission to the new authority would become necessary, and that a choice would have to be made between the Provisional Government, sought to be established by Riel, and the Canadian Government, represented in the person of Colonel Dennis.

At the time, the tone of the people in Winnipeg was decidedly loyal; and, had Mr. Macdougall's authority been legal, and had Colonel Dennis remained in Winnipeg to enforce it, it would have been maintained. But after the people had recovered from the first surprise, it began to be whispered about that all was not right; and there were some who felt that if the transfer of the country had actually taken place, they

would have been apprised of it. But before these doubts got into circulation, Colonel Dennis had retired to the Lower Fort, and thither all those who wished to join him repaired.

In Dr. Schultz's storehouse was a quantity of Government provisions brought up to supply the surveying parties and the workmen on the Government road during the winter. These provisions were of great importance in the isolated position of the country, for they could not easily be replaced; and as there had been a large addition to the population during the summer, provisions would most likely be scarce. Consequently, a very jealous eye was kept on these stores, especially as Riel fully appreciated their value, and aroused our fears by coming over to Dr. Schultz's place and taking an inventory of the property. Riel attempted to put a guard on the provisions, stating that his reasons for doing so were lest we might take them and be accused of the theft. To hold on to these provisions, and to protect Dr. Schultz's property, were the reasons which led the Canadians to occupy his premises and defend what they felt to be their food for the coming winter. The Canadians all went down to the Stone Fort, to enrol with Colonel Dennis, and the Colonel sent them back to Winnipeg to remain there and keep together for mutual protection. It was on their return to Winnipeg that they occupied the Doctor's premises. On the 4th December a memo-

randum came from Colonel Dennis requesting the Canadians to withdraw from the village; but it was decided, after anxious consultation, to remain, as no better place offered at the time where the party could keep together for safety and protection. In coming to this decision they were influenced by the natural desire to prevent the provisions, upon which all depended for the winter, falling into Riel's hands, while at the time no one thought of the probability of an attack.

Colonel Dennis lost no time in taking active measures for the suppression of the rising. He requisitioned and purchased supplies, arms and ammunition, and proceeded to the formation of companies in various parishes, a duty which he entrusted to me. With the first call for loyal support a large number of Christianized Indians from the neighbourhood of Lake Winnipeg, under Chief Prince, came to offer their services. Individual members also flocked in, and Colonel Dennis soon found that he would have a number of men to tax heavily his commissariat. I immediately left for the parishes, for the purpose of enrolling the different companies, appointing their officers, and drilling them. I found a ready response to the call. In each parish I formed a company of fifty, appointed officers and non-commissioned officers, and arranged for their drill. I went to Winnipeg and formed the men who had returned there into a company, with Dr. Lynch

as Captain, Mr. Miller, 1st Lieutenant, and Mr. Allan, 2nd Lieutenant. - I directed them to remain where they were until further orders; to make no offensive movement; and, if necessary, to defend themselves, but on no account to fire the first shot.

On reaching Kildonan, the parish adjoining Winnipeg, I held a public meeting in the evening, to enrol members of the company, and it was at that meeting I had the first doubts thrown upon the legality of the proceedings which the Governor had taken. I was questioned closely by Mr. William Frazer and one or two others, as to the seal that had been attached to the proclamation, wishing to know if it was under the Queen's seal. I could only reply that I knew nothing about seals, that I was there acting under the orders of my superior officers, and that my duty was simply to enrol men. My explanation was accepted by the majority, who apparently were not anxious to question too closely the authority; and after Judge Black had been consulted as to the legality of the proceedings, I succeeded in enrolling a full company, including Mr. Frazer and those who had been my questioners.

On the following day, about the 6th of December, the company fell in, were formed up, and spent the day in drilling. In the evening I intended to pass on to St. James' parish, to enrol a similar company there. But in the afternoon I received a letter from Colonel Dennis

telling me he did not wish Dr. Schultz to occupy his buildings any longer; that he could not support him, and that he wished him to retire. I rode to Dr. Schultz's house, arriving there during the night, and found them all assembled in the two houses. I informed the Doctor of Colonel Dennis's wishes, and a consultation of a few of the leading men was held. It was agreed that it was too late to evacuate the premises that night, but it should be done on the following day. There were a number of ladies present, and arrangements could not at any earlier moment be properly made for their departure. During the night Riel paraded the town with a number of men and performed a variety of evolutions, and about two o'clock in the morning he returned to the Fort. There was much excitement in the town over the action being taken by Colonel Dennis, and in consequence Riel aroused the spirit of his people and called to his support a large following in the Fort. To their great credit be it said, a strong party of the French, under Dease, remained aloof, and steadily refused to be drawn into any unlawful or disloyal action. In fact, I think, very few of the French half-breeds were really disloyal, and, in other hands would have been open to reason. But Riel, by persuasion, insidious arguments, and promises of reward, which he was enabled to make good from the stores he controlled in Fort Garry, succeeded in gathering a strong force. This, however, we did not know at the time, for

Riel's support was drawn from the parishes to the south of the Assiniboine, while the English parishes lay to the north, and little communication was at that time held between them.

Early on the following morning I went on my way to St. James' parish, about three miles to the west of Winnipeg, to enrol a company there. When I left, there were a number of people about and a great deal of excitement. This, however, was the case every morning, and it was expected about noon that Dr. Schultz and those with him would be able to retire without exciting any opposition on the part of Riel. I held a meeting in Rev. Mr. Pinckham's parish about nine o'clock, and, after arranging for the enrolment of a company, I went across the prairie to Kildonan, where I drilled a company during the day, and had provisions and blankets put into a house for the reception of Dr. Schultz's party. About four o'clock in the evening, the party not having arrived, I went up to Winnipeg but was unable to get into the village. I then heard that they had surrendered, in response to negotiations opened by Mr. Snow, who went to the Fort on behalf of the party and the property on the premises. Riel was told that they had only assembled at Dr. Schultz's to protect themselves and their property, and if Riel would guarantee that their lives and property would not be threatened they would retire quietly to their homes. This was answered by a written command

to surrender in fifteen minutes, and backed by an additional force of 200 men. The messenger who brought the message led the party to believe that it would be a mere matter of form, that they would be marched to the Fort and set at liberty, and that all property would be respected. Their hands were tied, by the strict orders that had been issued, that they were on no account to fire the first shot. Of this Riel had heard, and it emboldened him in the action he took. It is fortunate that so much moderation was shown by Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch and others, or hostilities might have commenced on that occasion. The whole party, with the exception of the ladies, were made prisoners on reaching Fort Garry.* Riel was, no doubt, further emboldened in this action by the knowledge, which had now become almost a certainty with him, that the action taken by the Governor was illegal.

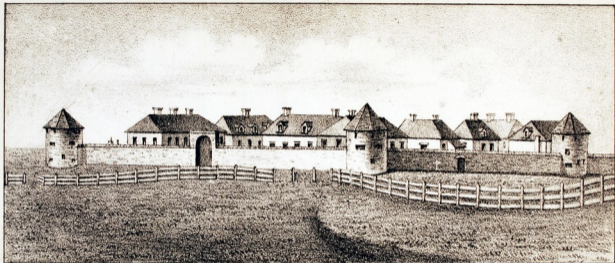
I hastened to return to Colonel Dennis with news of the surrender of Dr. Schultz's party, but was met by a courier with a letter from him informing me that he had abandoned his project and was leaving the country. He instructed me to go to Portage la Prairie and hold a conference with a tribe there of Sioux, asking them to remain peaceable and loyal to the Queen, and not to interfere in the difficulties that had arisen. These Sioux

* This historic house is still standing, and is now called the Royal Exchange. It is nearly opposite the Bank of Montreal, Winnipeg.

were the remnants of the tribe that had committed a massacre in Dakota, in 1863, when twelve hundred whites fell victims to their lust of blood. They found protection under the British Government and had lived peaceably in our midst ever since. I was relieved to find that they had no desire to break the peace, as Chief Little Fox assured me.

Before leaving, Colonel Dennis had taken steps to send similar messages to other tribes, with a request to remain at peace. He instructed me at the same time to remain in the country and do my utmost to keep matters quiet. I proceeded at once to High Bluff and Portage la Prairie to carry out his instructions and was nearly made prisoner on my way thither by a party of Riel's men who were encamped in a house about half way to intercept messengers. While there I met Colonel Dennis, who was on his way to Pembina to rejoin Mr. Macdougall. I remained at Portage la Prairie during the winter, receiving the hospitality of the Rev. Mr. George and Mr. Alcock.

Disquieting rumours were now the order of the day. The sudden collapse of Colonel Dennis's movement and the capture of fifty prisoners, who were detained in the Fort, gave Riel complete control over the country. He, however, confined his jurisdiction to the neighbourhood of Fort Garry and the town of Winnipeg; but his ambition was greatly stimulated by his success, and his



Alexander & Cable, Toronto.

† Spot where Scott was shot.

FORT GARRY IN 1869.
from a photograph by Armstrong, Beere & Hime.

success emboldened some to uphold the authority he had usurped.

We must now revert to what was passing in Canada upon the news reaching it of Riel's acts and of the half-breed depredations.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLOT THICKENS.

COMMUNICATION at the time with the outside world was very slow; four hundred and fifty miles had to be crossed to St. Paul, the nearest telegraph station.

The Honourable Mr. Howe, Secretary of State, who, previous to accepting a portfolio, had been the leader of a party in Nova Scotia strenuously opposed to Confederation upon the terms of settlement, had just visited the country. Mr. Howe had taken a strongly hostile position in the matter of his own province, appealing to the foot of the throne for repeal or for the redress of grievances from which his province suffered. The policy of confederating the provinces being a broad and grand scheme, could not be jeopardized by any precipitate action on the part of one of the provinces; and Mr. Howe, in his loyalty to the crown, no doubt felt that a modification of the terms of union was better than to upset the great work just consummated. With these views he took a seat in the Dominion Cabinet. As a member of the Government, previous to Mr. Macdougall's departure for Manitoba, Mr. Howe paid a visit to the North-West

Territory; and probably from his sympathetic nature, having just come from the agitation of grievances in his own province, he sought for information as to the condition of affairs in Manitoba, suited to his own peculiar views. On his return to Canada, he met the Honourable Mr. Macdougall, his colleague in the Government, who was then on his way to the country in the capacity of Governor. Strangely enough, the two statesmen met and parted without exchanging ideas, or without giving information the one to the other upon the local questions disturbing the public mind in the newly-acquired territory.

A good deal of comment arose from the fact that Mr. Howe did not enlighten Mr. Macdougall upon the result of his inquiries. But Mr. Howe did not realize from the information he obtained that Riel's movements threatened the peace of the country, and wrote privately to the Governor from St. Paul upon matters of general policy.

The Government in the previous session had passed an Act for the administration of affairs in the North-West suitable to a crown colony, and, with the highest motives and in an enterprising spirit, provided for the government of the territory. But finding that, in addition to paying three hundred thousand pounds for the acquisition of the territory, possibly a greater burden might be in store to obtain or enforce possession, the

Government withheld the purchase money, and caused a postponement of the proclamation annexing it to Canada.

The Government, however, sent friendly commissioners, in the persons of Vicar-General Thibault, who had spent many years in the country, and Colonel de Salaberry, to assure the people of their good intentions, and also appointed Mr. Donald A. Smith, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, a commissioner on behalf of Canada. The two former were sent for the purpose of enlightening the French half-breeds as to the good disposition of the Government towards them, and to reassure the people. The latter was armed with a commission giving him more extended powers. They arrived almost simultaneously. But Riel by this time had so agitated the public mind and acquired such power that his ambition knew no bounds. He was therefore not disposed to allow any influence to be used over his people, which would interfere with the plans maturing in his mind for the founding of an independent state, probably flying the stars and stripes, with himself as dictator, in the full enjoyment of all the honours and emoluments of the position. His people, however, were loyal to Canadian connection; so his schemes in that direction were happily frustrated.

Riel was a man of great natural ability. He had been well educated, at the expense of Madame Masson, whose

aid had been obtained by the kind interest of Archbishop Tache, who, recognizing the boy's ability, had hoped to educate him for the priesthood. At the time when the political troubles arose in the settlement, Riel was a freighter on the plains between St. Paul and Winnipeg. While so occupied he acquired much knowledge of the half-breed character, and his education, on the other hand, enabled him to exercise considerable influence on the half-breed in return. At this formative period in his life, he drew a great deal of inspiration from American companions and counsellors, of whom there were not a few at the time in the neighbourhood.

Archbishop Tache's acquaintance with Riel will prove of interest to show the latter's early training and career. Had Riel remained under the guidance of this venerable prelate, he might have been a useful citizen of the country to-day; but his depraved, ambitious nature and lack of moral rectitude has brought him to the unerring fate of the criminal. I here insert the following cutting from a newspaper. On being interviewed the Archbishop made this statement:

"Every old settler knows the facts, but I will again go over the simple story in a few words for the benefit of the public. When I returned to the Red River settlement from the far north to resume my episcopal duties, I found then, in the small college attached to my See at St. Boniface, three Metis lads, one French, one German, and one Scotch, viz., Macdougall (since dead),

Schmidt, and Riel. I found them studying Latin, and took a great interest in their aptness for study. While in Montreal in 1858 I obtained admission for two of them to the College of Montreal, and for the other at St. Hyacinthe College. They went to college that year, and I returned to my diocese. In 1867, while in Montreal on a visit, I met Riel and told him that now that I had secured an education for him he must begin to look out for himself and endeavour to gain a respectable living. He went to the United States and remained there until he returned to his mother in the Red River settlement in the fall of 1868. From the time of his return till the outbreak of 1869 I did not see much of him, being a good deal absent in connection with my duties, so, as a matter of fact, I had but a comparatively slight acquaintance with Riel."

Reil's vanity and self-confidence had been immensely puffed up by the success he had gained through a variety of fortuitous circumstances, which had so far helped him. He could not be called a bold man, for he felt his way, bit by bit, but was clever enough to take advantage of the circumstances favouring his schemes.

He did not at first ignore Mr. Donald A. Smith, as a commissioner from the Canadian Government, but admitted him into the Fort, where he was allowed to take up his quarters with his brother officers of the Company. Here, however, he was virtually a prisoner in his hands, and was not allowed to exercise his authority as a commissioner, but remained a mere spectator of the events daily occurring in and around the Fort. Nor was he able to exercise any influence in obtaining the release of

the prisoners or in mitigating the severity of the rule which Riel exercised in the vicinity of Fort Garry. Neither was the mission of the Rev. Mr. Thibault or of Colonel de Salaberry productive of results, though they were allowed a greater freedom than was accorded to Mr. Smith, whom Riel regarded with suspicion, as an official of the Canadian Government. On their arrival at Fort Garry, Mr. Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry handed their papers to Riel, who took possession of them, and that was the last that was seen of them. Mr. Donald A. Smith was more wary, and took the precaution of leaving his papers at Pembina, in the care of Mr. Provencher, until he could be assured of bringing them in with safety.

The indignities the prisoners suffered while in close confinement were humiliating in the extreme. They were detained for no offence, but merely that Riel might use them to serve his purpose in any way that seemed to him expedient. Their confinement and poor food were not long in telling on them; but they were unable to get release, or any amelioration of their lot, for Riel was obdurate, and they were closely guarded by a large force. Their sufferings were greater by reason of the inclemency of the weather, it now being the depth of winter; and neither sufficient warmth or clothing was allowed them. Having been confined for some weeks without any hope of speedy release, nothing having so far been accomplished

by the mission of Mr. Smith, some of the prisoners determined to effect their escape. The guards had become careless; and, an opportunity presenting itself, they made a dash for their liberty. But the difficulties they had to contend with in finding their way across the snow-clad prairies after effecting their escape were greater than they anticipated. Out of twelve who escaped seven were re-taken. One of them, poor Hyman, was badly frozen. Charles Mair, and Thomas Scott, whose life was afterwards taken by Riel, reached Portage la Prairie.

The prisoners had hitherto been confined in the Company's gaol, outside the Fort, which was in rather a dilapidated condition; but after this they were removed to quarters inside the Fort. Their re-incarceration occurred on the 9th of January, 1870. Dr. Schultz was confined in a room by himself; and this act led the doctor to fear that he had been marked out as a special object of Riel's vengeance. But the doctor was not the man quietly to submit to any sinister designs of such a man as Riel. He had a devoted and noble wife, who kept watch and ward, from without the walls of the Fort, over the welfare of the prisoners; and no doubt she managed to keep up some kind of communication with her husband. This we know, at any rate, that, with her assistance, preparations were made for her husband's escape, for towards the latter end of January great excitement was caused by the news that Dr. Schultz had gained his

liberty. With the assistance of a gimlet and knife, he contrived to open the windows of his prison, and by cutting his buffalo robe into strips, let himself down to *terra firma*. He then scaled the walls of the Fort, and under the friendly screen of a severe blizzard, finally obtained his freedom. Outside the Fort a cutter was in waiting to convey him a few miles off to the hospitable home of Mr. Macbeth, in the parish of Kildonan, where he was for the time in comparative safety. The chagrin of Riel, when it was discovered next morning that his most valued prisoner had effected his escape, amused his late comrades. They cheered to the echo on ascertaining that the news was true, despite the consequences that might befall, and in disregard of the abusive epithets Riel heaped upon them.

Doctor Schultz is an able, and in many ways, a remarkable man. Possessed of a magnificent physique and great force of character, he was popular in the cause he espoused, and was a tower of strength to it. No one could help admiring his firmness of purpose, the boldness of his policy, and the skill and judgment with which he achieved his ends. He came to the country a young man of nineteen; having already obtained his diploma as a doctor of medicine at Victoria College, Cobourg. With great ardour he identified himself with the country, intelligently appreciated its circumstances, and did yeoman service in its behalf. He fought with determination

against the whole power of the Hudson's Bay Company, defied them on their own ground, and succeeded in holding his own against their attempts to overthrow him. There is no doubt that it was very largely due to Dr. Schultz's boldness in dealing with the Company that the way was prepared for the acquisition of the country by the Dominion, for, with such a determined spirit to deal with, they were beginning to find it difficult to maintain their authority. He possessed the confidence of the people for many years afterwards as their representative in the Dominion Parliament, and upon being defeated, after a hot political contest, was rewarded for his services by being appointed to the Senate. It must be a matter of regret to all that the tax upon his mind and energies during these troublous times has now told upon his health; for in the last few years he has been an invalid, and unable to take his wonted place in the van of progress in the great North-West.

During this period Mr. Donald A. Smith had not wasted his time. With the assistance of Mr. McTavish and others he succeeded in weaning some of Riel's councillors and men; and when Riel found defections were taking place, he thought it best to wait upon Mr. Smith to inquire of him in person the object of his visit, and to ascertain what powers had been conferred upon him. Mr. Smith, however, had taken the precaution of leaving his papers at Pembina, to be sure of their safety, and

before replying to Riel, he asked permission to send his secretary for them. It was arranged that a public meeting should be held and the papers presented to the people, as Mr. Smith would not recognize Riel or his government. Now commenced a new game of Riel's. He thought he would try and get hold of these papers, as he had got Mr. Thibault's and Colonel de Salaberry's, but Mr. Smith was not to be caught. He sent Mr. Hardesty, his secretary, and arranged with him privately that a party would be sent to meet him. Riel kept back Mr. Hardesty without Mr. Smith's knowledge for twenty-four hours, trying to work upon him. He placed a sentry in Mr. Smith's room and one on his door, night and day, while Mr. Hardesty was away. However, a party went to meet the secretary about twenty miles from Fort Garry to escort him in, and as they were returning they were met by some of Riel's men who attempted to get the papers, but a loyal French half-breed drew his revolver and threatened to shoot the first man who interfered with Hardesty, and so the whole party returned to Fort Garry together, and Hardesty was conducted to the council chamber. Mr. Smith came there to receive the papers, and in handing them to Mr. Smith, O'Donohoe, a member of Riel's provisional government, attempted to snatch them, but Mr. Grant drew his revolver and prevented this. The scene, as described to me, was an exciting one. For Riel and his council were anxious to

get the papers, so as to deprive Mr. Smith of any authority before the people; and it required a great deal of planning on Mr. Smith's part to get possession of them.

Throughout the whole of these proceedings Mr. Donald A. Smith showed great diplomatic skill under very trying circumstances, opposed as he was by Riel's tyranny and cunning. At this time Riel was ably assisted by Père Lestance, with whom he secretly consulted, and who used his influence with the people to aid and support him. Mr. Smith, having obtained possession of his papers, now called a meeting of the people. This meeting, which was attended by upwards of a thousand people, was held in the open air, notwithstanding the fact that the thermometer ranged many degrees below zero. Its deliberations extended over two days. Riel managed to get himself appointed interpreter for the French half-breeds in placing before the people Mr. Smith's statements. This gave him considerable power over the proceedings of the meeting. Judge Black was appointed chairman. The reading of Mr. Smith's commission, the Queen's letter, and every other document was contested with much obstinacy by Riel, but ultimately without effect. According to Mr. Smith's report of the proceedings, the result was the appointment of forty delegates, twenty from either side, to meet on the 25th January, 1870, "with the object of considering the

subject of Mr. Smith's commission and to decide what course would be best to pursue for the welfare of the country." The English, as a body, and a large number of the French declared their entire satisfaction with the explanations given and their desire for union with Canada.

During this period Mr. Smith had been able to retain in the Fort about forty loyal French half-breeds, who assisted him in his efforts at conciliation. Riel, finding that the ground was thus slipping from under his feet, on the 22nd of January had a conference with these loyal supporters, and, with tears in his eyes, told them how earnestly he desired an arrangement with Canada. He further assured them he would lay down his authority immediately on the meeting of the Convention. Believing him sincere in this assurance, they agreed to leave the Fort, thinking that ten of their number would be sufficient to remain for its protection. They had hardly gone, however, when Riel resorted to more oppressive measures; and the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, which had hitherto been only partially in his hands, were now wholly taken possession of by Riel. It would be tedious to relate the tyrannous influences that Riel sought to wield about this time. On the 25th of January the Convention met, and Judge Black was appointed chairman. It sat for nearly fifteen days, and many were the earnest discussions for the welfare of the country. Mr. Smith

placed all his documents before the meeting and a "bill of rights" was prepared for submission to the Canadian Government. Riel was anxious to have a Province created and the question was discussed in Convention, but, on the 4th of February, a proposition to form a province was negatived by the meeting; and, on the following day, another motion, directed against the Hudson's Bay Company, was vetoed. Riel's language, and conduct now became violent in the extreme. He put a guard upon Governor McTavish, who was then lying dangerously ill, and he took Dr. Cowan prisoner and placed him in confinement with the rest of his captives. Mr. Smith was also put under a strict guard.

The "bill of rights" was prepared and handed to Mr. Smith, who invited the Convention to appoint delegates to confer with the Dominion Government, and he assured them that their delegates would have a cordial reception and obtain recognition of their claims. The delegates named were Judge Black, Rev. Mr. Ritchot, and Mr. Alfred H. Scott. The Convention terminated on the 10th February, but, before closing, Riel succeeded in forming a provisional government with himself as president. In this government several delegates who were asked to join it declined to take part. As a condition, in forming his administration, Riel promised that the prisoners should be released, and on the following day he re-

leased six or eight of them. Riel had now accomplished the object of his desires ; having formed an independent government by the vote of the Convention, to which he was himself elected president. If he had been sincere and pacific in his intentions he would have conducted the affairs of the country on a conciliatory basis, and have released all the prisoners. But he would not let go his personal hold, and continued to rule as an autocrat. If he had at once opened the prison doors and let all his unfortunate victims out, and allowed the people, without intimidation, to elect their delegates to the new Convention an honourable career might have been open to him. But this was not his course ; and there was a want of moral stamina and diseased vanity in the man that has proved his ruin.

While these proceedings were going on at Fort Garry, I was in Portage la Prairie, with many others, who had there taken refuge at the commencement of the troubles. Our sources of information were meagre, as all mail communication was stopped, and we knew nothing about the action of the conventions, nor did we know what was going on at the Fort. Some of the people had friends among the prisoners and were anxious about their safety. Rumours came from time to time that they were suffering from close confinement and were ill-treated. Attempts had been made on one or two occasions to organize a party to secure their release, which I dis-

couraged, knowing that commissioners had been appointed by the Canadian Government on a mission of peace. My orders from Colonel Dennis, moreover, were to do my utmost to keep things quiet.

When Scott escaped from his prison he came to Portage la Prairie for safety and was warmly welcomed by the people. He gave graphic accounts of his imprisonment and escape, and once more the question was raised to organize a party to effect the release of the other prisoners. As it was known that I had previously discouraged such attempts, the meetings for the purpose of organization were held secretly and information kept from me. But when I discovered that they were determined to go, I felt it my duty to accompany them, and endeavour to keep them to the legitimate object for which they had organized. This I did, fearing that a rash act might bring trouble upon the country, the consequences of which would be serious, for I had now realized the dangerous position things had assumed in the early part of the troubles. Enthusiastic meetings were held and preparations were made for a start. The plan decided upon was to leave Portage la Prairie so as to arrive at Fort Garry before daybreak and surprise the Fort, which at that hour would probably be little guarded. We were then to release the prisoners and return. Everything being in readiness, on the 12th of February we took our departure, lightly armed, many of the men

having only oak clubs. We mustered at one o'clock, sixty strong, and marched off from Portage la Prairie on foot. Mr. Gaddy, an English half-breed, was one of the leaders. I was elected commander, and Mr. Farmer, now of Headingly, a captain, and other officers were appointed.

When one realizes the severity of the North-West climate, the thermometer ranging down to thirty or forty degrees below zero, and the month of February being the most inclement of the year, and that we had undertaken this trying march of sixty miles without transport and without provisions, the boldness of the undertaking will be seen to be great. But the earnestness which actuated the men in their desire to release their friends from a durance so vile, made them all cheerful under the circumstances. The men marched merrily along the frozen snow for about nine hours without rest until they reached Headingly, a settlement eighteen miles from Fort Garry. On the way, two prisoners were taken. I took the precaution to have them detained until we had passed on our way, that no information might reach Fort Garry in advance of our movements. The men's blood was up, and some felt that the prisoners we had taken had been too leniently dealt with, and should have been brought with the party; but I did not wish anything done that would arouse a feeling prejudicial to our movement, or that would imperil the safety of peaceable settlers, should

reprisals be taken. We picked up detachments at Poplar Point and High Bluff, on our way, and reached Headingly about midnight.

At Headingly, we sought shelter in the houses of settlers for the purpose of resting and preparing for the attack, which we proposed to make on the Fort at dawn. In the short space of an hour a storm arose, which soon turned into a North-West blizzard, during which it is perilous, if not fatal, for travellers to proceed on their way. This necessitated a change of plans. At Headingly all the settlers and half-breeds fully approved of the enterprise, and some joined the party. The blizzard blew for forty-eight hours without intermission, and we had to trust to the hospitality of our friends, whose kindness was unbounded.

On the morning following our arrival at Headingly, we assembled in Mr. Taylor's house to hold a meeting. I felt that I had lost the confidence of many of the men, who thought that I was not in earnest, and who knew that I was not in thorough accord with the expedition. At the meeting, feeling that without their confidence I could not proceed, I resigned the position to which they had elected me on leaving Portage La Prairie, explaining my reasons, and proposing that they should re-elect their officers. I was re-nominated, and some one at the meeting got up and asked, before having the motion put, "If Major Boulton meant fight." I answered that if by fighting they

meant leading the men on to any rash act or undertaking, irrespective of the consequences, I did not mean fighting; but if I was re-elected I would do my utmost to accomplish the object for which we had left the Portage, if I could see my way to accomplish this without undue risk to the force under my command. This satisfied the party, and I was duly re-elected their commander. I give these details thus minutely as I have always been credited with having raised the force at the Portage. I did not take that position; I felt a responsibility others did not feel, having been left behind with certain instructions; and my anxiety was to carry them out. As I could not alter their determination to attempt to release their friends, I went with them to help to guide them, for, realizing the serious position the settlement was placed in, my anxiety was to avoid any actual outbreak of hostilities. The blizzard interfered with our first plans, and I set about making preparations to accomplish our purpose by a different method.

The knowledge of our adventure was not known to the other settlements friendly to our cause; but rumours, no doubt, had by this time reached Riel's ears, and as soon as the storm abated sufficiently to permit of our travelling, two emissaries were sent to acquaint the friendly settlements of the object we had in view. Mr. Gaddy, with a companion, went to Dease, who was the leader of the loyal party in the French settlement; and Mr. Tay-

ler, afterwards the Hon. John Taylor, went with a companion to the English settlements to the north of Fort Garry, to tell them that a party had come down for the purpose of effecting the release of the prisoners, and that on the following day we proposed to march to Kildonan Church, and there await the arrival of reinforcements from their parishes.

We started from Headingly at eight o'clock on a fine moonlight night to march to the rendezvous, and had to pass close under the walls of the Fort in order to reach it. As we passed the Fort, the sentries saw us and fired a signal of alarm, which we took no notice of, but went on our way without interference. As we passed through the village of Winnipeg, we heard of a house which Riel used continually to visit. Thinking we might make a timely capture, we surrounded the house, and Scott and I entered to search for Riel; but the host assured us he was not there; so we passed on without disturbing the family. Some of the settlers, seeing us arrive at Kildonan, were alarmed at the sudden turn affairs had taken. The action of the Convention, they expected, was about to bring a peaceful solution of the difficulties, which they had hoped would be realized; but the appearance of another armed force on the scene cast all their hopes to the wind. Before leaving Portage la Prairie we had, of course, no knowledge of the arrangements that had been made between the commissioners and Riel and the

population, a few days before. Riel, we argued, brought this attack on by illegally, unjustly and cruelly keeping forty peaceable citizens in his prison, day after day, and month after month. So we moved on and reached Kildonan Church, where we took up our position as previously arranged, and made the people acquainted with the object we had in view. The news soon spread, and many people flocked to our assistance. The emissaries we had sent down to the lower settlements had returned and reported that a large force was coming up with Dr. Schultz.

It was a fine sight, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to see three or four hundred settlers marching up to our neighbourhood, headed by a small cannon, drawn by four oxen, the whole under the leadership of Dr. Schultz, whose powerful figure stood out boldly as he led them up. They came approving of the course that had been taken, and determined to assist. They were enraged at the insincerity of Riel, who had promised, upon the formation of the new provisional government, to have the prisoners released. He had broken his promise, and they felt that nothing but force would compel him to keep it. The utmost enthusiasm now prevailed, though there were many who felt great anxiety under the new turn of affairs, fearing that a conflict was inevitable, which so far had been happily averted. I shared in this anxiety, but the thought that immediately pressed upon

me was how to feed the large gathering. A subscription list was passed round to raise sufficient to purchase some supplies ; but beyond a sovereign from Dr. Schultz, who emptied his pockets, and half a sovereign from one or two others, there was no money among the party, so we had to fall back upon the hospitality of the people in the immediate neighbourhood for our evening and morning meals. The Rev. Mr. Black placed his house, stores, and everything that he had at our disposal ; and we camped in the church for the night.

Towards dusk, a prisoner, whose name was Parisien, was brought in as a suspected spy. He was taken in charge by the guard, and no more secure place offering, he was imprisoned underneath the pulpit. On the following morning, he asked permission to go out. Leave being granted, he was accompanied by the sergeant of the guard and two men. Around the church were numbers of people, and others constantly arriving ; their sleighs and cutters were standing about, and in one of these was a gun lying on the seat. This caught the eye of Parisien, who was as quick as lightning to conceive the idea of escape. He made a bolt from the guard, seized the gun from the cutter, and ran for the banks of the river, only a few yards distant. As he got down the bank there happened to be riding towards the church on the frozen river the son of Mr. (now Senator) Sutherland. He was coming from his father's house to join the

force, and without any knowledge of what had occurred, this poor young fellow, about one-and-twenty years of age, was suddenly fired at twice by the prisoner, both shots taking effect.

The ruffianly act was seen by the people on the bank, who had witnessed the attempt to escape, and they immediately began firing on Parisien, who continued his flight. The object he had in view, in shooting young Sutherland, was evidently to seize his horse to assist him to escape, or to prevent Sutherland riding after him. From where I was, inside the church, I heard the firing, and rushed out to ascertain what was going on. When I was informed of the shooting, I ran down the bank and found poor Sutherland lying on the snow still alive. I had him carried into the house of the Rev. Mr. Black, where Dr. Schultz and another doctor present attended him. The poor young fellow lingered through the day and then died. As soon as I had seen him placed in Mr. Black's house, I went off down the river to ascertain what had taken place in regard to Parisien. I saw about half a mile distant a large crowd. I ran to them and found that they had caught the prisoner and were handling him severely. They were infuriated at the death of Sutherland, and intended showing their captive no mercy. His feet were tied together with a sash, and he was being dragged along the ice by another sash, which was tied around his neck. Before long he would, no doubt, have suffered the conse-

quences of his act. But I interfered, and had him taken in charge and brought back to the church, determined to allow no hasty act or feeling to prejudice our proceedings, as his case was one for a judicial trial. When the force broke up on the following day Parisien was sent down in charge of a guard to the lower fort: on his way down he again tried to escape, but was fired upon by the guard, who recaptured him, and about a month after he died of his wounds.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DRAMA OF THE REBELLION.

IN the meantime, while this movement was in progress, a message was sent to Riel demanding the release of the prisoners. We had to act promptly, as we had gathered in great numbers, amid much enthusiasm, but the force was poorly armed, and without provisions or the means of maintaining our position for any length of time. I felt that delay was therefore dangerous. A number of settlers were anxious that no collision should take place which would throw the settlement into convulsions; and messengers bearing counsels of peace passed between Fort Garry and us. These settlers brought pressure to bear upon Riel, who now realized the danger of his position should determined action on our part be taken. The majority of his men were only half-hearted in supporting his arbitrary measures, and it was only by rousing their fears and appealing to their prejudices that he could keep them loyal to himself. Riel saw this, and acted accordingly.

The negotiations resulted in his releasing the prisoners and allowing them all to come down and report themselves

to us. They arrived at Kildonan Church about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the question now arose whether the advantages we had already gained by the demonstration should be followed up, to oust Riel from his position in the Fort. The Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archdeacon Maclean, Judge Black, and many others, came down to counsel peace; but I had much difficulty in withstanding the excitement of the assembled force, who thought further action should be pressed. I argued with them that the object for which the expedition had been undertaken was gained, in the release of the prisoners, who had been so long confined. I also cautioned them that while it was a legitimate effort on their part to make, the moment we attempted anything further we were as amenable to the law as were Riel and his followers, and would be responsible for any danger that might threaten the settlement. These counsels prevailed, though an aggressive policy was abandoned with great reluctance by many who thought that we should show more courage in withstanding Riel. This discussion took up some time, but about four o'clock in the afternoon I was able to announce that the object for which we had assembled had been successfully accomplished, and that there was no further need for the services of those who had so loyally come forward to effect the release of the prisoners.

In half an hour the assembly dispersed as quickly as it had come together, the majority at once retiring

north to their settlements. Those who had come from Portage la Prairie now made arrangements to return to their homes, but as this could only be done by passing Fort Garry, they kept together and camped for the night in Mr. Boyd's store, at Point Douglass. The following morning a council was held, at which it was determined to return home at once. I knew that to march past the Fort in a body would only tempt Riel to make another attack, so I urged that we should dismiss and accept the hospitality of our friends in the English settlements until the excitement had somewhat quieted down, when we could return singly, and if captured it would have no political significance. An old pensioner, who had been a sergeant-major in the British service, argued that we had come down like brave men and that we should go back like brave men, in a body; and as most of the party were anxious to reach their homes his counsel prevailed, although I rebuked him for taking the responsibility upon himself of recommending so imprudent a course.

Their determination was strengthened by the statement that Riel had sent a message to say that he did not intend taking any more prisoners and that our safety would be assured. If such a message did reach us I knew it was a treacherous message, for I felt that Riel, protected by the walls of the Fort and by a numerous force, collected in expectation of an attack, was not likely to forego the advantage of making an easy capture

of new prisoners. Some of my friends urged me not to openly join the returning party, as having been its commander I would, most likely, be the first to suffer; but I determined, whatever happened, to stay with my party, as we had a long way to go to reach home. Having made up our minds to start, I concluded that no time should be lost; so, about nine o'clock in the morning, we made our preparations. As the travelled road would take us within a few hundred yards of Fort Garry, I thought it better to cross the open prairie to St. James' parish, which would keep us about a mile and a half from the Fort, although the difficulty of travelling in the deep snow was very great. In taking this course I was in hopes that Riel would see that we wished to avoid a conflict and to return to our homes peaceably. As we were leaving, news came that Mr. Gaddy, the emissary whom I had sent down to advise Dease and his loyal party of our action, had been captured and hanged that morning. This news did not at all reassure me, but it afterwards turned out that it was only a threat. At last, we started out across the plains in single file, following closely in one another's footsteps, on account of the depth of the snow, which was up to our waists; and in this order we marched until we got opposite the Fort, when we observed a party of men on horseback issuing out of it. They marched towards us, followed about two hundred

yards in the rear by some fifty men on foot. We kept steadily on our way, without hesitation, until they approached within a hundred and fifty yards, when some of the men asked for orders, whether we should form up for defence. I gave strict orders that on no account should a shot be fired or any hostility be provoked; and the party on horseback, numbering about fifty, continued to approach us. I sent forward one of the half-breeds to parley, and to inform them that we were quietly returning to our homes—I following him. The party, headed by O'Donohue and Lepine, then came forward, and O'Donohue asked, "What party is this?" I answered "It is a party of men returning to the Portage." He then asked, "Is Major Boulton here?" I replied that I was the man, at which he expressed pleasure, and informed me that Riel had sent him out from the Fort to meet us, and to invite us to the Fort to hold a parley. I told him that we wished to go on our way without interference.

While this conversation was going on, Lepine went up to one of the men, named Murdoch Macleod, a fine young Scotchman, who belonged to my party. He had his revolver in his hand, and Lepine attempted to wrest it from him. This was an aggressive movement on Lepine's part, and no doubt intended to provoke hostilities. I was afraid that in the struggle the revolver would go off, which would be the signal for a massacre, from which there was no escape. We were not armed; we

were up to our waists in snow; and in the presence of double our number, who were well armed, supported by a large force in the Fort near by, and who were excited over the events of the previous day. Under the circumstances I knew that it would be criminal to jeopardize the lives of the settlers who formed the party, many of whom had left large families at home. I therefore ordered Macleod to give up the revolver, and signalled the party to follow me to the Fort. Thither we marched, side by side, on the invitation of Mr. O'Donohue, who said that Riel wished to see us at the Fort, to hold a parley, although I felt there was treachery in the invitation. In support of this I here quote an extract from a statement made by O'Donohue, bearing upon these events which is in possession of his brother:—

“During the 15th and 16th several self-constituted delegates of peace and order passed between both armies, but on the morning of the 16th one Norquay was officially sent by the revolvers, stating that the English party would not recognize the provisional government. Riel at once cast this commissioner into prison, where he allowed him to remain till the evening of the same day, when he liberated him, and the following letter he handed him for the English party as a reply to their mission:

FORT GARRY, Feb. 16th, 1870.

“FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—Mr. Norquay came this morning with a message and even he has been detained. He will reach you time enough to tell you that for my part I understand that war, horrible, civil war, is the destruction

of this country. We are ready to meet any party, but peace over British rights we want before all. Gentlemen, the prisoners are out—they have sworn to keep peace. We have taken the responsibility of our past acts. Mr. Wm. McTavish has asked you for the sake of God to form and complete the provisional government; your representatives have joined us on that ground. Who will now come and destroy the Red River Settlement?

LOUIS RIEL.

“Accompanying this letter Riel gave a verbal guarantee that should the opposing party disband none of them would be molested on their peaceable return to their homes. Relying on this assurance, both parties disbanded. In violation of this guarantee, Riel ordered out his men to attack them as soon as they came in sight; but the Portage party, confiding in Riel's honour, made no resistance, and they surrendered and were marched prisoners into Fort Garry. I commanded the party to whom the Portage party surrendered, but was in total ignorance of the guarantees Riel had made them the evening previous, and only learned of their existence from one of the party after they were marched into the Fort. Immediately after this I had an interview with Riel and I demanded of him if the statements were true. Riel did not deny the statements, but positively asserted that he alone was responsible for his acts, and, guarantee or no guarantee, those men should remain in prison.”

We reached the Fort in about half an hour, and, entering the gates, which were at once closed behind us, we were immediately surrounded by about four hundred men. My party was marched off to quarters assigned them, a house in the centre of the Fort, which had been used by the clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company as

a residence. There they were disarmed and everything of value taken from them. I was placed in a room by myself, and the rest of the prisoners, for such we were, about forty in number, were placed in rooms adjoining. In the hall was placed a strong guard of about twenty men, armed with British rifles and fixed bayonets.

About a quarter-of-an-hour after I was placed in my room, a guard came in and put handcuffs and chains on my legs. I was given an old buffalo robe to lie down on and a pitcher of water and a piece of pemican were placed by my side. Shortly after this I heard the door open and Riel looked in. Without entering, he said, "Major Boulton, you prepare to die to-morrow at twelve o'clock." I answered, "Very well," and he retired. I was now left to my cogitations, which were not of the most pleasant description. By means of a knot-hole which I had knocked out of the wooden partition, I managed to communicate with the prisoners in the next room, and told them what had happened. I then sat down to take off my moccasins and stockings, which were wet through by the snow and the perspiration arising from the exertions of our march. When I got them off, I was able to slip the chain from my legs, but the noise aroused the sergeant of the guard, who came in, and thinking that I was attempting to escape, he alarmed the guard and marched them all in, filling the room. Taking no notice of them, I wrung out my stockings, put them

on again, with my leg chains and moccasins, while they gravely looked on. Fearing, however, that my actions meant more than appeared on the surface, the guard was ordered to retire and a sentry was placed inside the room.

The difficulty of the position in which I now found myself was great. I was in a room without heat, the thermometer being many degrees below zero, with nothing but the bare floor to lie upon, and with chains on my hands and feet, and a guard set over me. To add to my depression, I was under sentence of death by a man who, in order to make a show of his power, I felt was fully prepared to carry out his dark deed. My feelings may therefore be better imagined than described. But I was not going to give up without an effort, and I felt that the first thing I had to do was to acquaint my friends with what had taken place; so I asked the sentry to get me paper and pencil. He had to send to Riel before he dare grant my request. However, I got the paper, and wrote a note to Archdeacon Maclean, now Bishop of Saskatchewan, to inform him of what had occurred, and of my impending fate, and wishing him to come and visit me. My letter was taken to Riel, who in about an hour's time returned with the paper in his hand. He came into the room to question me. He asked me what was my object in coming down with the force. I answered, "For the purpose of releasing

the prisoners whom you were unjustly and unlawfully detaining." He further asked me what was the oath we took. I told him, to leave no stone unturned until we had accomplished our purpose. He then asked me what I intended to do when I entered the house where he was supposed to be. I told him, to take him prisoner, and then to exchange him for those of our friends in the Fort. After further questioning, he said, "Very well; you wish to see Archdeacon Maclean? I will allow him to come."

About a couple of hours afterwards Archdeacon Maclean appeared in a state of great excitement and anxiety. After conversing with me, he at once went to remonstrate with Riel in regard to his intentions, but returned in an hour, having effected nothing. He remained with me a couple of hours and then left, promising to return soon. He returned in the evening about eight o'clock, and told me that he had obtained a postponement of my execution for twelve hours later than the following day at twelve o'clock.

The anxiety of the remainder of the prisoners over my threatened execution was great. Occasionally I had a chance of conversing with some of them as we met in the hall going to and fro. The clanging of the long chains attached to my feet had a most ominous sound as I walked about. I conversed a good deal with my guards, and enlisted their sympathy. They, I believe, were by no

means a party to the murderous designs contemplated by Riel.

The measures taken by Riel were not justified by any act that had been committed by the English settlers, who had shown no disposition to attack him, their actions having been confined to a demonstration to force him to release the prisoners, which he had previously promised to do. The party taken prisoners with me were quietly returning to their homes, without any further designs against him; and the act he was contemplating was for no other purpose than to strike terror to the hearts of the people, and to more firmly fix himself as the autocrat of the country. In this he showed a bloodthirsty spirit, as well as a want of tact, which were repeatedly manifested traits in his character.

That night I slept on the bare floor, without a pillow, covered with my buffalo robe, and with the sentry as my only companion. During the night I was continually disturbed by the sentry, who would come and wake me, go down on his knees and pray and groan. I sent him away repeatedly, but only to return again. He was in great trouble and concern about me, and the next morning, when they unlocked my door, he was found in a state of lunacy. The excitement of being locked up with me had proved too much for him, and his mind was unstrung. I heard afterwards that he was the father of the young man who had shot Sutherland.

Another sentry was placed in the room; a tall man, about six feet two inches in height, who lay down all day in the corner. About three o'clock in the afternoon, I was aroused by a peculiar gurgling noise, which caused me to go over to look at my sentry. I found that he was dead. I alarmed the sergeant of the guard, who once more marched his whole squad into the room, sent for Riel, and an inquest was held, which lasted about an hour. It was found that the sentry had died of apoplexy. The dead man was then carried off, but without placing another sentry over me. In fact, I think the guards had become superstitious, and now refused to be locked up with me, which, I need hardly say, was a decided relief.

In the morning Archdeacon Maclean returned and stated that every exertion was being made to obtain a reversal of my sentence. Mrs. Sutherland, while her poor son lay still unburied, came beseeching for my life, with many others. The autocrat himself paid me a visit about ten o'clock in the morning. Riel entered the room in a tragic way, took out his pocket-handkerchief, walked up and down for a while, pretending to weep, and then went out without having spoken a word. About twelve o'clock he returned and entered into conversation with me. He made me this proposition, that if I could get Dr. Schultz to give himself up, or if I could secure his capture, I should obtain my reprieve. I think he also

included Mr. Mair, for whom he had no affection. I could not help smiling at his solemn proposal, for I did not think Dr. Schultz's sympathy for me would lead him to offer himself up a willing sacrifice. And with regard to capturing him, I knew that by this time he was making the best of his way to a place of greater safety than the settlements now offered. As Riel's scheme for capturing Dr. Schultz or Mr. Mair by this means resulted in nothing, he made no offer to me of freedom.

Anxiety about my fate continued to increase, and Riel was continually visited by people of all kinds, interceding in my behalf. The impression I had created on the guards was favouring me, and Riel sought to grant some pretext for sparing my life, although he showed no signs of abandoning his purpose. Mr. Smith told me afterwards he knew he would have to give an equivalent in asking for my life. Riel allowed this state of affairs to continue all day, and in the evening Archdeacon Maclean administered the sacrament to me, holding out no hope of a reprieve. I wrote a statement, which I gave to him, to the effect that I was about to be foully murdered, without having a trial, and without any reasonable charge being brought against me. About ten o'clock in the evening I was visited by O'Donohue. He came to ask if he could do anything for me. I thanked him, and told him I had settled all my affairs, if Riel was bent on murdering me; but that I should be glad if he

would send me a glass of sherry and a basin of water. In this answer, I was determined to give O'Donchue no satisfaction from his visit, which was one of pure curiosity. He retired, and about half-past ten Archdeacon Maclean, who had been all day in the Fort, came in and told me that I had been reprieved for a week, and that Riel had consented to spare my life if Mr. Donald A. Smith would go round and get the English-speaking settlements to elect their representatives and send them once more to meet him in council. This task Mr. Smith willingly undertook, assisted by Archdeacon Maclean, and before the week was out they had held meetings in every parish and obtained the consent of the people to send their representatives. Mr. John MacTavish kindly sent a special message without delay to my friends in Canada to inform them that I was safe.

As soon as Archdeacon Maclean had left, I lay down and went to sleep. I could not have been long asleep when I was suddenly awoken by some one shaking me. I looked up and saw Riel with a lantern. He said, "Major Boulton, I have come to see you. I have come to shake you by the hand, and to make a proposition to you. I perceive that you are a man of ability, that you are a leader. The English people, they have no leader. Will you join my government, and be their leader?" The sudden transition from being under sentence of death to being asked to take a position in Riel's government,

struck me as serio-comic; but I collected my wits and replied, that his proposition was so startling that I could not give an answer at the moment; but if he would release all the prisoners and allow me to go back to the Portage to consult with my friends, I would consider his proposition seriously. He retired, but I heard no more about joining his government. Riel evidently would not forego the personal advantage the possession of the prisoners gave him. That night the chains were removed from my limbs. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company asked and obtained permission to supply me with my meals and a bed. The prison discipline was relaxed, and the rest of the prisoners were allowed to have provisions brought them by their friends, which they never neglected, bringing bags of bread and many things that added to their comfort. Riel had no sooner agreed to spare my life than he attempted to capture Dr. Schultz. With that object he took a hundred men and went down through the lower settlement to the Stone Fort, visiting it upon the same evening that Mr. Smith and Archdeacon Maclean reached it. The latter was rudely awakened from his sleep in the middle of the night by having a revolver thrust into his face by Riel, who was searching the rooms; but by this time Dr. Schultz had made his escape. This circumstance shows the determination of Riel to capture some one whom he could threaten.

The prisoners whiled away the weary hours by singing songs and telling stories; and put in the time with as much hilarity as they could pretend to assume. I could only hear them through the thin wooden partition, or when I met them in the hall, where the guards were, and where we were allowed to bring our pemican to stew it on the stove. The monotony was occasionally relieved by the excitement of bringing in fresh prisoners, who were now getting so numerous that two strangers were placed in the room with me. Some were put to menial work, cleaning out the premises about the Fort, which enraged them greatly. The most important prisoner brought in during our imprisonment was Dr. Cowan, the 2nd officer of the Hudson's Bay Company.

We had little opportunity of obtaining news of what was going on outside; but one day excitement was caused by the information, whispered to me by one of the prisoners, that an attempt was to be made that night to effect our release. The plan, I was informed, was to set the premises on fire, and during the excitement we were to make good our escape. Adjoining the house in which we were imprisoned was the magazine, in which was stored several tons of gunpowder. I was alarmed lest the plot should miscarry, or that the magazine would be blown up and with it all of my friends, so I did not sleep that night in my anxiety. However, nothing was attempted.

Things continued in the same monotonous round for about a fortnight, until one day I heard a racket in the guard-room, and recognized Scott's voice. I heard him say, "I want my pocket-book which you have taken from me." Considerable scuffling ensued, and the door of the room next to me was opened, and Scott was placed inside. I took an early opportunity to go out to ascertain what had been going on; and was told that two men—W. L. Scott, who had been appointed as one of the delegates, and a man, named Dan Shea—had visited the prisoners in the room where Scott was, to solicit the suffrage of the prisoners who had come from Portage la Prairie. Shea wanted them to vote for him and asked them to use their influence with their friends at the Portage, to secure his election, and in consideration of this he promised to get their release. Scott had said, "Don't have anything to do with these men, boys." Whereupon Dan Shea said, "I will see whether you'll interfere with me." And they retired from the room. The delegates had not yet been elected to form the council summoned by the provisional government, which had been created at the convention on the 10th February, and in consequence of the visit to the English-speaking settlements, Mr. Smith and Archdeacon Maclean, had agreed to send representatives in order to save my life and maintain the peace of the country. Riel was now seeking to obtain as many personal supporters among the English-speaking

community as he could, and it was with that view he sent Dan Shea to solicit the suffrages of the prisoners resident at Portage La Prairie. It was this effort on Riel's part that caused Scott to warn the prisoners not to vote for him, and which, consequently, enraged Riel against him. Later on, Scott asked leave to go outside, and was refused by the guards, which led to an altercation. Riel and O'Donogue visited the prison once or twice that afternoon and evening, and used violent language towards Scott. A court-martial was convened to try Scott, composed of Lepine, as president, and some of the guards as members, upon whom Riel no doubt wished, with mock show of legality, to throw the responsibility of taking Scott's life. Feeling anxious about what was going on, I asked the guard's permission to go into Scott's room to see him, and questioned him as to what had taken place. I found that similar questions had been put to him as had been put to me, and the same mode of passing sentence had been passed upon him as was passed upon me. I told Scott to be very careful what he said, as I felt sure that Riel meant mischief and would take his life if he could. I also told him that my life had been spared only in consequence of the exertions that had been made on my behalf. He had sent for the Rev. Mr. Young to come and see him, who arrived some time during the night. Riel had got the opportunity he now wanted, which was to commit his people to an act of vio-

lence. Heretofore, there had been no violence or resistance to his wrong doings, but Scott, he thought, had now given sufficient provocation for him to work upon his guards. He represented to his people that Scott was a dangerous man, and if he ever got at large he would take his revenge. So he worked up their feelings to the pitch he desired; at least that is the idea we formed at the time. Riel came in to my room about 11 o'clock on the morning of Scott's death. I spoke to him and said, "Don't you think you are doing a most imprudent act for your own safety in shooting Scott; don't you know enough about history to realize that England has never yet left the most remote region unpenetrated, to punish those who take the life of a British subject?" The only answer I got was, "I did not come here to talk to you about that," and he made some passing remark and went away. That was the most effectual appeal that I could think of, to impress upon him the responsibility of the horrible proceedings he contemplated. It was blood that Riel wanted, for the purpose of making the people respect him, and he did not propose to let this opportunity slip. According to Mr. Donald A. Smith's report, at the winding up of the interview, when he went to intercede for Scott's life, Riel said, "I have done three good things since I have commenced; I have spared Boulton's life at your instance, I pardoned Gaddy, and now I shall shoot Scott." A few minutes before the execution took place the Rev. Mr. Young came

to see Scott for the last time. It now became apparent that in a short time the poor fellow was to be hurled into eternity. Mr. Young, hitherto, had so little realized the task before him, and was so unprepared for it, that he came into my room and borrowed my Bible, which had been left with me by Archdeacon Maclean, returning to Scott's room, where he spent the remainder of the time with him.

About 12 o'clock we heard preparations being made by the guards, and a few minutes afterwards my door opened and Scott came in and said "Good-bye, Major." He was followed by about twenty guards, and was allowed to go to each room and say, "Good-bye, boys!" He was then marched down the stairs, between the guards, with fixed bayonets, his hands tied behind his back, and a white rag tied over his head and hanging down behind ready to throw over his face when the fatal shots were to be fired. We watched his departure and listened to the receding footsteps, and for fifteen minutes a dead silence pervaded the building. Presently we heard the fatal shots fired from beneath the walls of the Fort. A few minutes afterwards, the Rev. Mr. Young returned to our prison and gave me back my Bible, and his eyes blinded with tears, told me what had happened. Loud and deep were the murmurs of the remaining prisoners. In the evening the servant of the Hudson's Bay Company who brought me my meals gave me an account of the

execution, and at the same time told me that Scott had been put into one of the bastions of the Fort, and that he had just been heard to cry out: " My God! put an end to me!" He had lain there for some hours unconscious, and must have come to his senses and called out. How he was finally despatched has never been settled, but in corroboration of the foul and brutal manner in which he was treated, I give the testimony of John Bruce, a French half-breed, who was the first president of Riel's provisional government. Bruce had been appointed by Riel as president, and no doubt accepted the position at the commencement of the outbreak, hoping by constitutional means to obtain a recognition of the rights of the population which existed in the country previous to the transfer. Bruce, however, disappeared from among the active workers when Riel resorted to extreme measures. Bruce says:—

" Six soldiers had been chosen to shoot Scott. I have here again to write the name of a man whose behaviour in that circumstance reflects on him the greatest honour. Augustin Parisien, one of the six soldiers, declared openly that he would not shoot at Scott; in fact, he took off the cap from his gun before the word of command ' present ' was given. Of the five balls remaining, only two hit the poor victim, one on the left shoulder, and the other in the upper part of the chest above the heart. Had the other soldiers missed the mark undesignedly, or had they intentionally aimed away from Riel's victim, it is not known. However that may be, as the two wounds were not sufficient to cause death, at least sudden

death, a man, named Guillemette, stepped forward and discharged the contents of a pistol close to Scott's head while he was lying on the ground. This ball, however, took a wrong direction. It penetrated the upper part of the left cheek and came out somewhere about the cartilage of the nose. Scott was still not dead, but that did not prevent his butchers from placing him, alive and still speaking, in a kind of coffin made of four rough boards. It was nailed and plated in the south-eastern bastion, and an armed soldier was placed at the door. This would seem like a story made at one's ease, if there were not several credible witnesses who, between the hours of five and six in the evening, heard the unfortunate Scott speaking from under the lid of his coffin, and it was known that he had been shot at half-past twelve. What a long and horrible agony, and what ferocious cruelty was this on the part of his butchers! The words heard and understood by the French Metis were only these: 'My God! My God!' Some English Metis, and those understanding English, heard distinctly these words: 'For God's sake take me out of here or kill me.' Towards 11 o'clock—that is, after ten and a half hours of frightful agony—a person, whose name I shall withhold for the present, went into the bastion, and, according to some, gave him the finishing stroke with a butcher's knife, with a pistol, according to others. After having inflicted the last blow on poor Scott, that person said, as he was coming back from the bastion: 'He is dead this time!' The corpse was left for a few days in the south-eastern bastion, being guarded by the soldiers, relieving each other in turn."

In addition, I append an extract from a letter of the Rev. Mr. Young to Scott's brother, Mr. Hugh Scott, written the day after the murder:—

"Let me then express my deep sympathy for you and your bereaved family in this sore trouble. As you pro-

bably know already, your brother was taken prisoner by Mr. Riel in December last, and made his escape after many weeks' imprisonment, but joining another company of volunteers he was again captured, with forty-seven others. The day before yesterday he was singled out and tried for these offences, as well as for 'insulting Mr. Riel and the guards by something he said'—which he positively denied—and was sentenced to be shot at noon *next day*. I was sent for as a minister who had visited the prisoners regularly, and was known by your brother. During the evening I stayed with him, giving instructions and exhortations, and engaging frequently in prayer. He was deeply penitent and earnestly prayerful before God. Next morning I went again and begged personally of Mr. Riel to relieve your brother, and got Commissioner Smith to do the same. We urged that one day more should be given him to prepare. But, alas! all in vain. I was with him to the end. He prayed frequently, and said it was dreadful to put him to death; but expressed hope of salvation. He was led out a few feet from the walls of Fort Garry, where again he knelt in the snow and prayed, remaining on his knees until the fatal shots were fired. I have begged the body, which Riel intended to bury in the Fort, and I think, through others helping, that we shall get it, when we intend burying it at the Presbyterian churchyard, five miles below this."

That same afternoon some of the prisoners saw preparations for the grave being made, and the coffin made ready. The Rev. Mr. Young and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, both made a request for the body, but were refused, lest the additional damning evidence of the murdered man should stand against the perpetrators of the bloody tragedy. It was rumoured in the Fort that his body had been buried, but had been exhumed, sewed up in

canvas, weighted with cannon balls and sunk beneath the ice at the junction of the Seine with the Red River, near by.

Scott, it ought to be said, was not taken prisoner with arms in his hands. On the first occasion, before the prisoners were captured in Dr. Schultz's house, he had gone boldly down to the Fort to ask Riel to give safe conduct to the ladies and children who were in danger there, and Riel's only answer to his peaceful mission was to thrust him into prison. Nor on the second occasion was he armed; so this murder has no extenuation, and for cold bloodedness and deliberate butchery poor Scott's fate has scarcely a parallel.

Riel had now committed his people to a deed which could not be recalled; and no doubt those who were implicated in it, when they came to realize what had been done, repented of the murderous act. On the following day Riel singled out another man, Murdoch Macleod, from among the prisoners, and put him in chains. We all dreaded that another life would be taken. From my knowledge of Riel at this time, I feared this would have happened; but his people were not prepared to go any further, so no sentence was passed upon him. But, during the remainder of his imprisonment, Murdoch continued to be shackled, and to have indignities heaped upon him.

I had forgotten to mention an interesting reminis-

cence which should not be overlooked, namely, the visit to Winnipeg, in January, of Mr. John Ross Robertson, of the *Toronto Telegram*, and Mr. Cunningham, of the *Toronto Globe*. They came in search of news, having travelled over the prairie, in the winter time, from St. Paul, and were the only two correspondents who ventured up to the scene of the troubles. I do not know if their enterprise rewarded them; but they were detained by Riel for two days in Fort Garry, and were then allowed to return. Riel at this time kept the strictest censorship over the local press and the mail bags, so that no information could get out not in accord with his plans.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OVERTURES FOR PEACE.

A FEW days after this tragic event, there were rumours of Archbishop Taché's proposed visit. The Canadian Government, in their anxiety to use every means to quiet disturbance, and hearing that Archbishop Taché would return from Rome to meet the emergencies, telegraphed for him, and he arrived in Ottawa in the beginning of February.

After conferring with the Government, he was authorized to assure his people, upon the most important points, of the good intentions of the Government, and also to inform the leaders that if the Company's government was restored there would be a general amnesty. At the time this conference was going on between the Dominion Government and the Archbishop, neither of the two sad events, the murder of Scott and the shooting of young Sutherland, had occurred. Up to that time Riel and his followers had only committed depredations, unlawfully detained prisoners, and resisted authority. They had committed no bloodshed. But in the interval between Archbishop Taché's leaving Ottawa and his arrival in

Winnipeg, or rather at St. Boniface, the tragedies which so stirred the hearts of the Canadian people had taken place. The journey between Ottawa and St. Boniface, at this period, was a long and tedious one. As soon as I heard of the arrival of the Archbishop, I felt that a change would soon take place in the condition of affairs, as the prelate possessed great influence over his people, was greatly respected by all who knew him, and possessed sufficient astuteness to realize the danger his people incurred by continuing to resist lawful authority. I have forgotten the precise date of the Archbishop's arrival; but, no doubt, on his coming lengthened negotiations took place between him and Riel, and he must have experienced much difficulty in compelling the usurper, to abandon the desperate attitude he had assumed.

Riel had made his first attempts at resistance with the countenance and connivance of many of the priests, who always desired the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of their people. Up to a certain point, he used them to further his designs; but as soon as he had obtained the prestige and power which his continued successes gave him, his vanity and personal ambition led him to cast off the authority of his spiritual advisers, and he would now brook little interference on their part. Such was the opinion I formed at the time of the murder of Scott, and I felt that the influence of the clergy on his

behalf, if it was used, would have little avail; for Riel was bloodthirsty and determined to make his personal power felt by the most extreme measures. To show his mood at this time, he even put a guard on the Archbishop's palace, and tried to prevent him from communicating with Mr. McTavish or with Mr. Smith.

When Archbishop Taché arrived, he found Riel in this position of power, with a considerable personal following within the walls of the Fort to assist him in sustaining it. As the actions of the Archbishop at this period brought about political results which created a great deal of excitement and controversy, and placed the Government in a difficult position, it is necessary to point out, so far as we could judge, how these events were brought about. As I said before, the Archbishop had received authority from the Governor-General to promise a general amnesty to his people, in order to re-establish, as far as possible, law and order in the settlement. Added to that, he had a strong personal sympathy for Riel, and this, no doubt, influenced his actions considerably. However, he was dismayed at the turn affairs had taken, by the second incarceration of the prisoners, and by the murder of Scott, and he was, doubtless, embarrassed as to the course he should pursue. As there was no telegraph, and no means of communication, short of a journey over the four hundred and fifty miles of snow-clad prairie to St. Paul, he had to use his best judgment under the circum-

stances, and, of course, had to deal with Riel, who held full control of the situation and was not prepared to allow any temporal interference on the Archbishop's part.

Riel held the prisoners as a constant menace to the peace and safety of the settlement, and Archbishop Taché, wishing to obtain their release and restore order, had to choose between leaving the prisoners where they were or to include Riel in the amnesty which he had been empowered to grant. There is no doubt he must have had some difficulty in convincing Riel of the prudence of his accepting the amnesty, though such was not contemplated by the Dominion Government, who were not aware of the altered aspect of affairs since the dark deed had been committed. While Archbishop Taché has been condemned for using the authority conferred upon him, and for extending the amnesty to Riel, he no doubt felt himself justified, under the grave circumstances which threatened the country, to stretch the authority he possessed.

During all this time Mr. Donald Smith had been diligently prosecuting the practical object of his mission, to bring the people into direct communication with the Dominion Government through the delegates that had been appointed, and was anxious to get them off. He, no doubt, felt it of importance that there should be an evidence of arms being laid down to insure a proper reception for them, though he himself never seems to have consented to an amnesty in any way. On the 16th

of March we were made aware of the result of Archbishop Taché's interference by being told that on the following day we were to be released, upon taking an oath that we would not again take up arms in opposition to the provisional government. I advised the prisoners, one and all, not to hesitate to take this oath, thus illegally enforced, before granting our release. The oath was administered to each by Lepine. One half of the prisoners were released one day and the other half on the following day. I remained in the Fort receiving the hospitality of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company until I saw that all the prisoners had been released. Unfortunately, for some reason, Riel still retained Murdoch Macleod, who had been confined with the chains on all this time, and I could not leave the Fort until his release was guaranteed.

With the release of the prisoners ended the exciting part of the insurrection organized by Riel. The winter passed over without greater disaster than the death of Senator Sutherland's son, the murder of poor Scott, and the death of the French half-breed, Parisien. Had hostilities been provoked, or the first shot in anger fired, the country in its isolated position would probably have been handed over to a scene of rapine, murder and pillage, fearful to contemplate, through the excitement of the Indian population, whose savage nature cannot be controlled when the opportunity for warfare pre-

sents itself. But, fortunately for Canada and fortunately for the Hudson's Bay Company, the critical period passed, and the task of Sir Garnet Wolseley, upon whose shoulders afterwards fell the duty of enforcing law and order in this fair heritage of the British Crown, enabled him to march in peacefully and hand over the reins of government to the civil authorities, now constituted by Act of Parliament. To the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Judge Black, Mr. Donald A. Smith, Archdeacon McLean, and the Rev. Mr. Young, is chiefly due the salvation of the settlement through the winter by the prudence of their policy and the influence of their counsels. There were so many inflammable elements and such a strong feeling against Riel's tyranny, that there was constant danger of another uprising, and only great tact and prudence prevented this further calamity.

In two days I left my prison walls for the English settlements, and upon the advice of friends I at once took my departure for Canada, for the purpose of giving such information to the Government as they might desire. I made the journey across the prairies on sleds, with Judge Black, who was on his way to Ottawa, on the delegation commissioned to confer with the Government. On reaching Ontario, I found the greatest excitement prevailing over the news of Scott's murder, which had sent a thrill of horror through the whole of Upper Canada. I found that Dr. Schultz had just arrived, having performed the

marvellous task of marching on snowshoes through a forest country, from the Lower Fort to Duluth, a distance of about 500 miles, under the guidance of a faithful half-breed, named Monkman. In the late rebellion a son of the latter was convicted of supporting Riel, and apparently had not inherited the loyal instincts of his brave father. The doctor was also accompanied by William Drever. Dr. Schultz's march indicates the great powers of endurance he at that time possessed; for he passed through an immense region, poorly supplied with provisions, through deep snow, in continual danger of losing his way, and with the knowledge that he might be pursued. But he arrived in safety, to be a hero among his countrymen.

On the arrival at Ottawa of Father Richot and Alfred Scott, the other two delegates nominated by the Convention, they were at once arrested for complicity in the murder of Scott, whose brother was in Ottawa, and who, with the friends of the murdered man, secured their arrest. They were, however, released for want of direct evidence to implicate them. After their release they assumed the official capacity in which they had come to the country, as delegates to arrange the terms by which the interests of their country were to be protected. These negotiations resulted in a Bill being passed by Parliament, creating the Province of Manitoba, the boundary of which was at the time designedly limited by the Act. The

half-breeds gained substantial advantages in a grant of one million four hundred thousand acres, to be set apart in reserve for them and all the children belonging to them, at the date of the transfer. On computation this was found to be two hundred and forty acres for each child, and one hundred and sixty acres for each head of a family, besides a patent for the homes they occupied.

The new province had a constitution granted it, giving it self-government, based upon the system which prevailed elsewhere in Canada, and giving it representatives in both Houses of Parliament, as well as control over its local affairs.

Although the results gained for the half-breeds by Riel's insurrection appear to be advantageous, yet the half-breeds put very little value on the two hundred and forty acres of scrip that had been issued to each. This land-grant they almost immediately sold for a song, ranging from fifteen dollars upwards. Thus nearly the whole of the one million four hundred thousand acres became the property of non-residents, who in consequence of the cheap rate at which they acquired the property could allow it to remain to accumulate in value with the development of the country. This has been very prejudicial to the interests of that portion of Manitoba which it was designed to benefit; for at Winnipeg, on entering the gateway of the country, the stranger is met on all sides by vast unoccupied tracts of valuable lands

which are not only unproductive, but handicap the industry of the population, and retard the progress of the provincial capital. In some respects, however, the Government were wise in yielding to the pressure that was brought to bear upon them; for agitation would have been kept up by interested parties to secure the local advantage of self-government.

Upon the structure which the Dominion Act created has been built up the now magnificent Province of Manitoba, which possesses excellent laws, and is yearly adding to the comfort and prosperity of its inhabitants. Since the founding of the province it has been enlarged, at the solicitation of the people, and readily granted by the Dominion Government. Curiously enough, the western bounds of the province were fixed at the twenty-ninth range, instead of being continued a few miles farther, to the one hundred and second meridian, where a new system of surveys again commences from another meridian line. It will no doubt yet be found convenient, as well as advantageous, for the people in this narrow strip to have themselves included in the boundaries of the province, which will then make it coterminous with the old district of Assiniboia, formerly under the rule of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Although the delegates appointed by the provisional government had been received at Ottawa, and their

terms acceded to, yet the Government were not prepared to take over the country from the Hudson's Bay Company, unless an armed force was sent to support its authority. Otherwise there was nothing to prevent Riel from continuing to exercise the authority he had usurped. Negotiations were therefore opened by the Dominion Government with the view of sending an armed force into the country, which the English Government sanctioned, Canada to pay three-fourths of the cost. But before the English Government would allow the troops to start it was required of Canada that the rights and privileges of the existing population should be respected, and the English Government were to be the judges in case an agreement was not arrived at. The force was to consist of British Regulars and Canadian Militia, the whole to be put under the command of Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley; and he at once set about making preparations for the expedition.

In the midst of the preparations I returned to Toronto, and was anxious to have an opportunity of joining the force, but I found that the Dominion Government had excluded from its ranks all those who had been in any way mixed up with the troubles during the previous winter, which was to me a great disappointment. The expedition was to be one of peace, for the purpose solely of re-establishing law and order. Naturally, however, its departure for the North-West created a great deal of

excitement throughout Canada, whose people were about entering upon their new possessions amidst military preparations, which, however, had the beneficial effect of bringing the country more prominently before the eyes of the world.

Sir Garnet Wolseley selected the route for his expedition by way of the chain of lakes and rivers which had been so frequently used during early explorations, as well as by the traders of the North-West Company. Colonel Crofton, on one occasion, took his troops to the Red River by this route, and Lord Selkirk, in his struggles with the North-West Company, had also brought troops over it. The history of this expedition is an exceedingly interesting one.

The expedition was admirably managed throughout, not a single life being lost. It forms the first of a series of exploits under the leadership of Colonel Wolseley, which have reflected much credit on his gallantry and administrative ability. He is affectionately regarded and held in high esteem by Canadians, among whom he long resided, and who watch his career with the deepest interest and with pride in his success.

Colonel Wolseley arrived at Fort Garry on the 24th day of August, 1870, and Riel only gave up the reins of power a few moments before his arrival, preferring not to remain to render an account of his short but iniquitous reign.

The rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the absence of any other constituted civil authority, was at once reinstated by Sir Garnet Wolseley, in the person of Mr. Donald A. Smith, the Chief Commissioner, who played so important a part throughout the troubles. He in turn, a few days after, handed the country over to the Hon. Adams Archibald, who had been appointed Lieut.-Governor in the place of the Hon. Wm. Macdougall, and who arrived on the 2nd of September. The Queen's proclamation was read, and all the legal requirements were complied with to make the old Hudson's Bay Territory part and parcel of the Dominion, and a new era commenced in the development of the reign. Colonel Wolseley, without delay, despatched his regular soldiers on their return journey to Quebec, leaving the two battalions of Canadian Militia, under Colonels Jarvis and Cassault, to preserve law and order, and protect the settlement.

On Sir Garnet Wolseley's arrival, Riel quietly slipped across the river, where he was sheltered by his friends. A warrant for his arrest was procured by private individuals, and he withdrew from the country and took up his residence at St. Joe, an American village on the boundary line. The feeling was very strong against him; but, on the other hand, his own people applauded the success of his winter's work, and the settlement was still in constant danger from the excited population.

Lieut.-Governor Archibald and his successor, Lieut.-

Governor Morris, had a most difficult task to perform during their terms of office. They were isolated from Ottawa, the means of communication with which were still slow. They had an excited population to deal with, that took totally different views of the events which led to the acquisition of the North-West Territory by Canada. By their prudence, firmness and moderation, however, they avoided very serious difficulties, which might have befallen the country. Individuals are not apt at all times to weigh their words or consider their actions in places of trust, or to feel their responsibility in the administrative affairs of a nation. It is this that frequently leads to difficulties, which often get beyond the control of the civil authorities.

The most delicate subject the Government had to deal with during this period was the question of a general amnesty. When Archbishop Taché arrived in March he took upon himself the responsibility of promising a full and complete amnesty on behalf of the Governor-General; and he and Father Richot pressed with the utmost vigour, by correspondence and by interviews, the fulfilment of this promise. Archbishop Taché claimed that the condition of the country warranted his making this promise of an amnesty, and having once made it, he would be considered to have deceived the people did he not make every effort to keep his word.

The position the Government assumed was that the

country, not having been a part of Canada at the time of the troubles, the amnesty question was one for the Imperial authorities alone to deal with. A document that bears upon that question is worthy of insertion here, namely, an Order-in-Council, of the 4th June, 1873, which states the then position of affairs, previous to which a lengthened correspondence had taken place between Archbishop Taché and the Government. I append copy of this report to His Excellency the Governor-General, dated 4th June, 1873:—

“ The Committee of the Privy Council beg to submit to your Excellency, that having their attention called to the desire expressed by the Legislature of Manitoba, and by many of Her Majesty’s subjects residing in that province, that an amnesty should be granted by Her Majesty to those concerned in the disturbances which occurred in the North-West Territories in 1869 and 1870, and the subject having been pressed upon the Government of Canada, whose intervention has been asked, the Committee beg leave to report that these unfortunate occurrences took place before the North-West Territory was acquired by the Dominion, and therefore before the Government of Canada had any control over the country or authority in the administration of its affairs. The Committee very respectfully submit that, in their opinion, although the right of extending the clemency of the Crown in criminal cases is amongst the high functions entrusted to Your Excellency, the exercise of that power is limited by the royal instructions to the cases of individual criminals after conviction, and does not confer upon you the power of granting a general amnesty or special pardon before trial. No trials or convictions have yet been had against any one concerned in the troubles referred to, and

the Committee of the Privy Council believe that the power to grant the amnesty asked for by the Legislature of Manitoba rests only with Her Majesty.

"The Legislature of Manitoba having arrived at the conclusion that the time has come when the subject may be dealt with, and having conveyed their opinion in that sense to the Government of the Dominion, the Committee of the Privy Council respectfully request that Your Excellency will be pleased to bring the matter before Her Majesty's Government, in order that such course may be taken as may be thought consistent with the interests of justice and best for the quiet of the country."

In the autumn of 1870, the Fenians took advantage of the excited state of the country to make a raid, at the instigation of O'Donohue and others, who were intriguing against its peace. "General" O'Neil managed to find his way to the borders with an armed force, invaded the territory, and took possession of the Hudson's Bay post at Pembina. O'Neil, however, was promptly followed by the American troops and compelled to return. Finding that the American authorities were firm in their desire to preserve international amity, he abandoned the enterprise. In the meantime the settlement was thrown into great excitement and alarm, and Governor Archibald issued a proclamation asking for volunteers to serve against the Fenians. Shortly after the issue of this proclamation he received a letter from Riel, Lepine, and Perenteau, telling him that they had organized several companies of half-breeds for service against the Fenians, and containing assurances of loyalty. The Governor went over to St.

Boniface to inspect these volunteers, and publicly thanked them for their services, shaking hands with them as they marched by, Reil and Lepine being present. In his communication to Sir John Macdonald on the subject, the Governor says in reference to this act:—

“If the Dominion has at this moment a province to defend and not one to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French half-breeds into the hands of the enemy, O’Donohue would have been joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier; Fort Garry would have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers to the north of the Assiniboine would have suffered horrors which makes me shudder to contemplate.”

The Government felt, however, that Riel was playing a double game. He continued to be a menace to the peace of the settlement, and realizing the difficulties of protecting the country, should its peace be broken, Sir John Macdonald arranged with Archbishop Taché to get Riel to leave the territory. To effect this the Government sent Archbishop Taché \$1,000 to pay Riel’s expenses, but this sum was not considered sufficient, and on Governor Archibald’s guaranteeing to repay the amount, Mr. Donald A. Smith, then Chief Commissioner of the Hudson’s Bay Company, advanced \$3,000 more to Archbishop Taché, which was some time after repaid by the Dominion Government.

In September, 1872, Riel was nominated to the House of Commons for Provencher, but he declined the nomina-

tion in favour of Sir George Cartier. In 1873, in consequence of Sir George Cartier's death, Riel was elected by acclamation for the same constituency, and in the election of 1874 he was again returned. Some time in March of that year, Riel signed the roll in the clerk's room of the House of Commons at Ottawa, without any one being aware that he was in the capital. The question was brought up in Parliament, and by a vote of 124 to 68, Riel was expelled from the House, but was again returned by his constituents. In October, 1874, Lepine was tried for the murder of Scott, convicted and sentenced to death, while a warrant of outlawry was issued against Riel by the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba. Lord Dufferin sent a despatch to Earl Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, reviewing at length the circumstances which were urged as entitling Riel and Lepine to clemency, placing especial stress upon Lieut.-Governor Archibald's acceptance of their services on the occasion of the threatened Fenian invasion, and the public expression of confidence and thanks tendered them by the representative of the Crown in Manitoba. In reference to the application for a commutation of Lepine's sentence, he said:—"This commutation, when the proper time arrives, I propose to order on my own responsibility, under the powers accorded me by my instruments." In January, 1875, Earl Carnarvon stated that in Lepine's case, neither amnesty nor entire pardon was possible, but that his sentence

should be commuted; that Riel should have similar punishment, and that both should be politically disqualified. The next day Lepine's sentence was commuted to two years' imprisonment, and he was deprived of his political rights. On the 12th February an amnesty was granted, to Riel and Lepine, on condition of five years' banishment and forfeiture of political rights. Lepine, however, having already served a portion of his sentence, preferred to complete his term in lieu of banishment.

Another duty that fell to the lot of Lieut.-Governors Archibald and Morris, was the extinction of the Indian title by treaty. Governor Archibald, with the assistance of Indian Commissioners, negotiated the Stone Fort and Manitoba Post treaties, or treaties numbers one and two. The Hon. Mr. Morris negotiated treaties numbers three, four, five and six respectively, called the North-West Angle treaty, the Qu'Appelle treaty, the Winnipeg treaty, the treaties at Forts Carleton and Pitt. The Blackfoot treaty, number seven, was negotiated by Lieut.-Governor Laird, when Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Territory.

In 1875 a circumstance occurred which might have resulted in difficulty for the country, had it not been for the prompt action of Lieutenant-Governor Morris. He received information that Gabriel Dumont had organized a provisional government in the Batoche district, where a new settlement had the previous year been started. It

was ostensibly established for the purpose of governing the half-breeds, on the principle that used to prevail in their hunting expeditions. This act Governor Morris realized would excite the Indians. General Selby Smyth, with two officers, had been visiting him in Winnipeg, on his way across the continent to British Columbia, and had already left for Fort Pelly to visit the Mounted Police stationed there, when this information was received. He had been gone two days; but Mr. Morris despatched Captain Cotton after him to advise him of the circumstance, and requesting him to take a detachment of Mounted Police and visit the disaffected region. At the same time Mr. Morris availed himself of the services of the Rev. Mr. Macdougall, who was then in Winnipeg, and who had the misfortune afterwards of being frozen to death, having lost his way in a blizzard, far away from any settlement. He entrusted Mr. Macdougall with a despatch to the Indians, signed and sealed with his official authority as Governor of the North-West Territory, and despatched him with all haste to the western tribes, counselling them to be quiet, and promising to visit them the following year, which he faithfully did. General Smyth took a detachment of fifty Mounted Police from Fort Pelly and visited Batoche, and had an interview with Gabriel Dumont, who agreed to abandon his enterprise. Having done this, the Mounted Police were sent back, and General Selby Smyth continued on his way

across the continent. This, among many other similar events in the history of the North-West Territory during the last fifteen years, shows the disturbing element that existed among the half-breeds and Indians, and the facile material Riel found ready to work upon to enable him to carry out his schemes.

Riel, being banished the country, took up his residence for a time at St. Joe, and in 1878 went to Sun River, Montana. There he taught in an industrial school, where he remained until waited upon by the delegates from the Saskatchewan. In Montana he seems to have illegally mixed himself up in the politics of the country, according to the newspaper accounts, which occasionally came to hand. There, at any rate, the delegates found him, and, as we shall see, induced him to return to the territories and again bring trouble upon the country.

The country now settled down to peaceful pursuits, and a gradual stream of immigration came in, penetrating everywhere, in advance of surveys, as fancy dictated. The province of Manitoba organized its governmental machinery, and laid the foundation of the laws of the country, under the inspiration of the native population, which was, however, gradually absorbed in the new elements that so rapidly came into the territory. It is worthy of remark here, and to the credit of the excellent educational institutions established under the Hudson's Bay Company rule, that a native of the country, the Hon.

Mr. Norquay, has for many years occupied the highest position in its political life.

The population, being scattered far and wide over the country, the Government found it necessary to organize a Mounted Police force, to institute legal machinery in the scattered districts, and to throw over the whole country its protecting arm. The force was temporarily organized by Col. Osborne Smith, then Deputy Adjutant-General. It was afterwards commanded by Col. French, now commandant of the militia of one of the Australian colonies (brother of Captain French who was killed in the capture of Batoche). Subsequently it was commanded by Col. McLeod, now Stipendiary Magistrate of the North-West, and by Col. Irvine, who is its present head. The force was at first composed of three hundred men; afterwards it was increased to five hundred; and, in consequence of the late troubles, has again been increased to one thousand strong.

Having now attempted to supply a narrative of the old rebellion, I shall endeavour to give an account of the present one, which, unfortunately, was far more disastrous in its effects upon the lives and property of the people. Happily, in the new outbreak, the Government was enabled to assert the power and dignity of the country; and in this it was in no small degree aided by the means of communication afforded by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I conclude the narrative of these events with an extract from the General Orders of the Red River Expeditionary Force, and with a list of the officers of the Canadian Militia who took part in the expedition:—

“To the Soldiers of the Militia Regiments of the Red River Expeditionary Force:—

“In saying ‘good-bye’ I beg that each and all of you will accept my grateful recognition of your valuable services, and my best thanks for the zeal you have displayed in carrying out my orders.

“I congratulate you upon the success of our expedition, which has secured to this country a peaceable solution of its late troubles. The credit of this success is due to the gallant soldiers I had at my back; upon you fell the labour of carrying boats and heavy loads, a labour in which officers and men vied with each other as to who should do the most. Nothing but that ‘pluck’ for which British soldiers, whether born in the colonies or in the mother country, are celebrated, could have carried you so successfully through the arduous advance upon this place.

“From Prince Arthur’s Landing to Fort Garry is over 600 miles through a wilderness of forest and water, where no supplies of any description are obtainable. You had to carry on your backs a vast amount of supplies over no less than forty-seven portages, making a total distance of seven miles, a feat unparalleled in our military annals. You have descended a great river esteemed so dangerous from its rapids, falls and whirlpools that none but experienced voyageurs attempt its navigation. Your cheerful obedience to orders has enabled you, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to accomplish your task without any accident.

“Although the banditti who had been oppressing this people fled at your approach without giving you an

opportunity of proving how men capable of such labour could fight, you have deserved as well of your country as if you had won a battle.

"Some evil-designing men have endeavoured to make a section of this people believe that they have much to dread at your hands. I beg of you to give them the lie to such a foul aspersion upon your character as Canadian soldiers by continuing to comport yourselves as you have hitherto done.

"I desire to warn you especially against mixing yourself up in party affairs here: to be present at any political meeting, or to join in any political procession, is strictly against Her Majesty's Regulations—a fact which I am sure you have only to know to be guided by.

"I can say without flattery, that although I have served with many armies in the field I have never been associated with a better set of men. You have much yet to learn of your profession, but you have only to attend as carefully to the orders of the officer to whose command I now hand you over as you have to mine to become shortly a force second to none in Her Majesty's service.

"My best thanks are due especially to Lieut.-Colonels Jarvis and Cassault for the punctuality with which they have executed their orders.

"I bid you all good-bye with no feigned regret; I shall ever look back with pleasure and pride to having commanded you, and, although separated from you by thousands of miles I shall never cease to take an earnest interest in your welfare.

"(Signed) G. J. WOLSELEY,

"Commanding Red River Expeditionary Force.

"Fort Garry, Sept. 9, 1870."

MILITIA GENERAL ORDERS.

HEADQUARTERS, OTTAWA,

12th May, 1870.

GENERAL ORDERS (17).

No. 1.—ACTIVE MILITIA.

The formation to date from 1st instant of two battalions of riflemen from existing corps of active militia for service in the "North-West" is hereby authorized to be styled respectively, the First (or Ontario) Battalion of Riflemen and the Second (or Quebec) Battalion of Riflemen, and the appointments thereto are as follows, viz:—

1st (or Ontario) Battalion of Riflemen.

To be Lieutenant-Colonel :

Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Peters Jarvis.

To be Major :

Major Griffiths Wainewright.

To be Captains :

Major Thomas Scott,

Major Thomas Macklem,

Major William Macauley Herchmer,

Captain William Smith,

Captain Alexander R. Macdonald,

Captain and Adjutant Henry Cooke,

Captain Daniel Hunter McMillan.

To be Lieutenants :

Captain and Adjutant Donald A. Macdonald,

Captain David M. Walker,

Captain and Adjutant William N. Kennedy,

Captain Andrew McBride,

Captain and Adjutant William J. McMurtry,

Captain Samuel Bruce Harman,

Lieutenant James Benson.

To be Ensigns :

Captain and Adjutant A. J. L. Peebles,
 Lieutenant Stewart Mulvey,
 Lieutenant Josiah Jones Bell,
 Lieutenant Samuel Hamilton,
 Lieutenant John Biggar,
 Lieutenant William Hill Nash.
 Ensign Hugh John Macdonald.

To be Paymaster :

Captain J. F. B. Morrice.

To be Adjutant, with the rank of Captain :

Captain William James Baker Parsons.

To be Quarter-Master :

Quarter-Master Edward Armstrong.

To be Surgeon :

Surgeon Alfred Codd, M.D.

2nd (or Quebec) Battalion of Riflemen.

To be Lieutenant-Colonel :

Lieutenant-Colonel Louis Adolphe Cassault.

To be Major :

Major Acheson G. Irvine.

To be Captains :

Lieutenant-Colonel L. C. A. L. de Bellefeuille,
 Major Allan Macdonald,
 Major Jacques Labranche,
 Captain Samuel Macdonald,
 Captain Jean Baptiste Amyot,
 Captain John Fraser,
 Captain William John Barrett.

To be Lieutenants :

Captain Josephus W. Vaughan,
 Captain John Price Fletcher,
 Captain Edward T. H. F. Patterson,

Captain Maurice E. B. Duchesnay,
 Captain Henri Bouthillier,
 Captain Leonidas de Salaberry,
 Lieutenant Oscar Prevost.

To be Ensigns :

Captain Ed. S. Bernard,
 Captain John Allan,
 Lieutenant George Simard,
 Lieutenant Gabriel Louis Des George,
 Ensign Alphonse de Montenach Henri D'Eschambault,
 Ensign William Wilmount Ross,
 Ensign Alphonse Tetu.

To be Paymaster :

Lieutenant C. Auguste Larue.

To be Adjutant, with the rank of Captain :

Major F. D. Gagnier.

To be Quarter-Master :

Riding-Master F. Villiers.

To be Surgeon :

F. L. A. Neilson, Esquire.

Staff.

The following staff appointments in connection with the militia corps for service in the North-West are hereby made, viz. :—

To be Assistant Brigade-Major :

Major James F. McLeod.

To be Assistant Control Officer :

Captain A. Peebles.

To be Orderly Officer to the Officer in Command of Expeditionary Force :

Lieutenant Frederick Charles Denison.

CHAPTER VIII.

RIEL'S SECOND REBELLION.

FIFTEEN years had elapsed since the rebellion of 1869-70, and the transfer of the country to Canada. In this interval great progress had been made; two main lines of railway were constructed, one, from the south through the Western States, and one from the old provinces of Canada, through Canadian territory, north of the great lakes. The population of the newly-acquired territory had at the same time largely increased, and spread over the face of the country, in numerous small bands of settlers, forming the nucleus of what must soon be populous districts. The half-breeds, having in numerous instances sold out their claims to newcomers, migrated westward in large bands, taking with them their families, their stock and worldly possessions, and carrying all in the rude Red River cart. In those days it was no uncommon thing to see a train of sixty or seventy of these primitive conveyances, freighted with these nomadic people, proceeding westward along the trail to select other localities on the banks of the great rivers, where they could settle down for awhile by themselves, untram-

melled by the laws and habits of civilization and apart from the incoming population. And now, throughout these distant regions, may be found small settlements, of three or four hundred souls, mostly composed of those who formerly resided on the Red River in the neighbourhood of Winnipeg. In this newly-acquired territory, in which the half-breed sought a new home, four, six, or even eight hundred miles' travel by cart is little thought of. The horses pasture on the luxuriant vegetation of the prairies, and the people, while thus travelling, live on the game that everywhere abounds. Thus isolated, though accompanied on all occasions by their faithful priests, who as a rule are alike their temporal and spiritual advisers, these people preserve their primitive habits and customs, and retain sufficient of their savage nature to relish the excitement of the chase and not infrequently that of battle.

The half-breeds comprising these communities select the banks of the larger rivers and apportion off for themselves farms with but a few chains frontage on the river, making up their area by running them two miles deep, out on to the prairie. This is done that their houses may be built close to one another, and that they may have the benefit of the river water for their cattle, and thus save themselves the labour of digging wells. Besides this, the quantities of fish to be got in these rivers are a great help towards the family's subsistence.

Between the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan river, and adjacent to the English community of Prince Albert, which comprises some six thousand souls, is situated the mission of St. Laurent, containing a population of twelve or fifteen hundred people. Both these settlements have made great progress during the last few years. Their means of communication with the outer world is however necessarily imperfect, and the cost of freighting is heavy, as they are distant about two hundred and fifty miles north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But, like the settlements planted by Lord Selkirk on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, in the early part of the present century, they have struggled, grown, and prospered; yet, owing to their great distance and isolation from the civilized world, their voice has been but faintly heard, and their complaints indifferently listened to.

The Canadian Government during these years was busy surveying the country, endeavouring to keep pace with the rapidly advancing settlements, and connecting the territory by base and meridian lines from east to west and from north to south. In consequence of the previous growth of the settlements in and around Prince Albert, surveying parties had been early sent forward to locate townships and divide them into lots. The prevailing system of surveys is by townships six miles square, subdivided into sections one mile square, separated

by road allowances one chain and a-half wide. When the surveyors came into the settlement of St. Laurent, they were at once met with the difficulty of the locations, made by the half-breeds, which we have before described. Having no instructions, they continued their surveys upon the recognized principle, leaving, however, any lands occupied by squatters intact. The surveyors in due course made their returns to Ottawa, and a land agent was appointed. For some time, however, the land office was not opened for business, and the settlers were unable to make entries for their lands or to obtain their patents.

A good deal of confusion arose during the early settlement of this district, owing to the numbers who sought to obtain the most eligible locations, having no guide to go by, or survey to direct them. They clung on, however, to the locations they had first taken up, irrespective of the closeness of neighbours. The settlement of these claims, and the policy of permitting the half-breeds to maintain their own surveys, was no doubt the cause of the great and apparently unnecessary delay in satisfying the settlers, who were anxious to know what land their titles covered. In addition, these half-breeds contended that they should be allotted the scrip for two hundred and forty acres of land, the same as their brethren in the province of Manitoba, a policy that had always been contemplated by the country but was held in

abeyance. Many of them had already received scrip in that province, but without question they nevertheless hoped to get it again. This had been petitioned for frequently, but apparently no attention had been paid to them.

The reason given by the Government, in the debate upon the alleged grievances, was that Archbishop Taché and other friends of the half-breeds represented that until the half-breeds had become more acquainted with the civilization that was surrounding them, and better able to hold their own, it would be wiser not to accede to their demands. Archbishop Taché wanted reserves made for the half-breeds, to be held in trust for them for three generations. Lieut.-Governor Laird, and the North-West Council recommended that ten years should elapse before the half-breeds should have the power to part with their privileges. These were all sensible recommendations, but the people themselves wanted to secure the few dollars the issue of scrip would give them. Their friends, moreover, felt that if patents were granted them and their scrip distributed, a repetition of the exodus that had taken place from the settlements around Winnipeg would ensue, and that these settlements, which were now contented and happy, would be broken up and the people would migrate further west into the Peace River and other isolated districts. It is a benefit to the country to have pioneers like these forming

outposts for the advancing tide of immigration; and looking at it from that standpoint, it was a mistake postponing the issue of their scrip. But the Government inclined to take a paternal view of their circumstances, and yielding no doubt to the suggestions of their friends, delayed the appointment of the Commission to award the scrip to those entitled to it.

The Commission, however, was appointed in January, 1885, previous to the outbreak of disturbance; and before the campaign was over it had completed its task, allotting scrip to those who were entitled to receive it. Speculators accompanied the Commission to the various settlements and purchased from the half-breeds the valuable rights and privileges which were thus granted. It is perhaps well to give here the result of their labours and enquiries, to show that their friends were right in postponing as long as they could the realization of these valuable privileges.

The Commission appointed to inquire into the half-breed claims and to make the award to those entitled to the scrip granted altogether about nineteen hundred to heads of families and their children. So just and liberal were the awards that, included in this nineteen hundred, were a number of half-breeds who had been drawing treaty all the time but resigned it and took scrip, and about three hundred who had died of small-pox some years previously, during an epidemic that had visited

the district near Edmonton. The latter had become entitled to the scrip by virtue of their residence in the territory in 1870, the date of the transfer, and their scrip was awarded to their heirs. It is also worthy of note that in the parish of St. Laurent, where Riel made his headquarters, and which was the scene of the rebellion, only sixty souls were entitled to the scrip. The remainder belonged to families who had emigrated from the province of Manitoba and had already received the benefit of the half-breed grant. Eighty seven were entitled to it in the Prince Albert district. The scrip they received, in the case of heads of families, granted the right to locate one hundred and sixty acres of land, or one hundred and sixty dollars in scrip, good to purchase Dominion lands at the current price. In the case of minors, it conveyed the right to locate two hundred and forty acres of land, or two hundred and forty dollars in scrip. Of those who obtained their scrip, nearly ninety per cent. elected to take the money value in preference to the land, which they parted with in many cases for about thirty-five cents on the dollar. A half-breed with any Indian blood can take treaty as an Indian, and can resign it at his pleasure for scrip.

Withholding the patents and the scrip, and the system of surveys, were the chief causes which excited the people and enabled Riel to stir up an armed rebellion in the country for his own glory and personal advan-

tage. Although, according to Pere Andre's evidence, a telegram came on the 4th of March to say that the Government had acceded to the issue of scrip and patents and river surveys, no word had come in regard to Riel's compensation, and so he went on with the rebellion.

This is how the half-breeds reasoned. Riel, in the year 1869, had been successful in his stand against the Hon. William Macdougall and the Hudson's Bay Company, where for six months he had served out the stores of the Company to pay his people for their services to him and to feed them, and had also obtained for them scrip for two hundred and forty acres of land, each, and the recognition of their existing privileges and titles. Hence, they thought, he could not fail to accomplish similar great results for these new settlements, many of which were made up of those who migrated from the neighbourhood of Winnipeg, and had realized the temporary advantages and other gains of the previous rebellion.

Riel had spent most of his time, after his banishment, in the United States, where he became an American citizen, and in 1884 was teaching a small school of half-breeds in a settlement in the territory of Montana. The people of this settlement were imbued with the same sentiments and feelings, and inherited much of the same blood, as the half-breeds in Canada. While there Riel had on two or three occasions got himself into trouble with

the American authorities, by interfering illegally in the politics of the country, showing that the spirit of agitation was still strong in him, and that he was there striving to use the influence of the half-breeds for his own ambitious ends.

The thoughts of the half-breeds of the Saskatchewan valley naturally turned to Riel, in their desire to secure their rights and privileges, which so far had received little attention from the Government. In the summer of 1884, four men, Gabriel Dumont, Dumais, Moise Ouillette, and James Isbister, went to Montana, sought an interview with Riel, and persuaded him to come up to the Saskatchewan to assist them in their cause. Riel did not require much persuasion; in fact, it is stated, that he brought about this mission himself. As his answer to this delegation is of interest, I give it below:—

“To Messrs. James Isbister, Gabriel Dumont, Moise Ouillette, and Michael Dumais:—

“ST. PETER'S MISSION, June 4th, 1884.

*“GENTLEMEN,—*You have travelled more than seven hundred miles, from the Saskatchewan country across the international line, to make me a visit. The communities in the midst of which you live have sent you as their delegates to ask my advice on various difficulties which have rendered the British North-West unhappy under the administration of the Ottawa Government. Moreover, you invite me to go and stay amongst you, your hope being that I, for one, could help to better in some respects

your condition, and cordial and pressing is your invitation. You want me and my family to accompany you; I am at liberty to excuse myself and say no; yet you are waiting for me, so that I have only to get ready, and your letters of delegation assure me that a friendly welcome awaits me in the midst of those who sent you.

" Gentlemen, your personal visit does me honour, and causes me great pleasure, but on account of its representative character, your coming to me has the appearance of a remarkable circumstance, which I record as one of the gratifications of my life—an event which my family will remember; and I pray to God that my assistance will prove so successful to you as to render this event a blessing among the many blessings of this my fortieth year. To be frank is the shortest. I doubt whether my advice given to you on this soil, concerning affairs in Canadian territories, could cross the border and retain any influence. But there is another view of the matter. I am entitled, according to the 31st and 32nd clauses of the Manitoba treaty, to land, of which the Canadian Government have directly or indirectly deprived me, and my claim to which is valid, notwithstanding the fact that I have become an American citizen. Considering then, that my interests are identical with yours, I accept your very kind invitation, and will go and spend some months amongst you, in the hope that by petitioning the Government we will obtain the redress of our grievances.

" Montana has a population, of which the native half-breed element constitutes a considerable portion, and if we include those white men, who through being connected by marriage, or in other ways, have a personal interest in their welfare, I believe it is safe to assert that this element is a pretty strong one. I am just getting acquainted with them, and I am one of those who would like to unite and direct its vote for the furtherance of their best interests. Moreover, I have made friends and acquaint-

tances amongst whom I like to live. I go with you, but I will come back in September.

"I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen delegates,

"Your humble servant,

"LOUIS RIEL."

Riel accompanied the delegates on their return to the Saskatchewan, and took with him his wife and family. His crimes of 1869-70 had been condoned, though he was permanently deprived of his political rights. His term of banishment, however, had now expired, and he was once more entitled to return a free man.*

A number of the Prince Albert settlers, who had grievances similar to the half-breeds, were inclined to make common cause with them, and welcome Riel to their midst; but upon discovering the extreme measures he intended taking, they afterwards refused to have anything to do with him. He held meetings in the various parishes, and explained his policy, and commenced a con-

* That the French half-breeds, at the outset, were anxious to have Riel come among them, and lead an agitation in the district, is clear from the following letter of Father André, which has recently been published. Says this Priest:

"My déar Mr. RIEL, — The opinion here is so pronounced in your favour and longs for you so ardently that it would be a great disappointment to the people of Prince Albert if you did not come. So you see you absolutely must come. You are the most popular man of the country, and with the exception of four or five persons all the world impatiently expects you. I have only this to say—Come. Come quickly. With kind remembrances,

"I am,

"A. ANDRÉ."

stitutional agitation for the redress of the grievances of the people who had sent for him.

It is a wonder that Riel would again venture to head a violent and treasonable agitation of the half-breeds. He had narrowly escaped the consequences of his acts of 1869-70, through the sympathetic interference of Archbishop Taché. He had put the Canadian Government and the Imperial authorities to a large expense, in sending troops into the country, and he had taken the life of a fellow-countryman, without rhyme or reason, which had stirred the hearts of the Canadian people to the depths. On the other hand, however, there was a chance of personal profit, and he no doubt came with the intention of pushing his agitation to extremes until that profit should come. Sir John Macdonald declared in Parliament that Riel had made an offer to the Government to leave the country for five thousand dollars, which offer was more moderate than the amount stated by Riel himself, in his speech to the jury, during his trial in Regina. In this speech he claimed that there was a balance of thirty-five thousand dollars due him since the time he was at the head of the provisional government in 1870.

As in 1869, Riel prepared a "Bill of Rights," which contained extensive provisions for the half-breeds and the Indians. In 1869 the half-breed grant was computed by apportioning one-seventh of the lands of the Province

of Manitoba to their use and that of their children. Riel wished a similar principle to be carried out with regard to the North-West Territories. I do not think this principle of one-seventh was ever formulated before the Government, but I believe this was the inducement he held out to the half-breeds and the Indians; and to further every interest on his behalf he made promises of liberal grants of land, etc. The "Bill of Rights," which was adopted at the meetings held in the various settlements, contained liberal provisions for the half-breeds and their children, as well as for the Indians.

Riel continued his agitation through the winter and held meetings in the English settlements, which were attended by many sympathizers, who thought some good might come of the agitation, although open rebellion was never hinted at or contemplated by the sympathizers. But the latter were playing with fire in having anything to do with Riel, for he had personal ends to serve, and was using them merely as his tools.

In order to get some sort of authority for the proceedings he now determined to take, he formed a provisional government upon the same basis as that formed by him in the year 1869. The ostensible reason he gave for the formation of this government, was that the "Bill of Rights" which they had prepared, and which had been so long neglected, would have to be demanded. It is a

wonder that he did not see danger in his proceedings, or in his assuming this leadership ; for having been deprived of his political rights, he could not claim, as a new settler, the same status or the same justification as those could claim whom he was leading. It was urged as an injustice, that the white settlers had the privilege of entering second homesteads, after having performed settlement duties on the first, while the half-breeds who had come west were not entitled to, or could not receive, their scrip a second time.

This was a specious argument, but the difference lies in this, that in the one case the Government gives a free grant of land, and in return obtains a settler whose industry will add to the wealth and prosperity of the country ; in the other case, the Government gives a transferable right to two hundred and forty acres of land, which is reserved to meet that obligation. This right passes into the hands of a speculator at a low price, and the land lies fallow for years to come, to the detriment of the country, to the detriment of the neighbourhood, and to the detriment of every one except the holder. But more than that, the half-breed who chooses to go to the land-office and say : " I want to take up a homestead under the conditions of the Land Act," is perfectly free to do so, whether or not he has obtained the patent for his land in the old Red River

settlement of 1869, and his half-breed scrip in addition. And after he has performed the settlement duties of that homestead, he is still at liberty, under the land regulations, to take up another homestead, the same as his fellow citizen from Ontario, Quebec, or anywhere else. Nothing could be more liberal; nothing should so little justify the armed rebellion which these men instituted.

While I am on the subject of scrip, I would here point out the wisdom of the system the Government has adopted in the issuing of land-grants to the soldiers who were engaged in the late rebellion. The Government recognized the sacrifice that had necessarily to be made by the citizen soldiers, in turning out and leaving their employments to take up arms in defence of their country's laws. For this, it made each a free grant of three hundred and twenty acres of land, without fees, provided he performed the settlement duties required by the Homestead Act, or found a substitute to take his place. Failing that, in lieu of the land grant, each soldier may accept scrip, which entitles him to purchase eighty dollars' worth of Dominion lands, or to assign the same to anyone who wishes to do so. By this system the Government secures a settler, whose whole means can be applied to the stocking and cultivating the land, for which he obtains his title at the end of three years. If he elects to take his scrip, the Government secures an individual who puts his

capital into the country, by the purchase of Dominion lands at the current price, and who has a pecuniary interest in the development of the territory. It is unfortunate that the scrip lately granted to the half-breeds could not have been put under the same system, although this difficulty has been obviated by the fact that nearly ninety per cent. of those entitled to the scrip elected to take the money value.

CHAPTER IX.

DUCK LAKE.

ON the formation of Riel's second provisional government, in March, 1885, it immediately became necessary to levy contributions to sustain its dignity. From levying they got to seizing, and from seizing stores they got to seizing prisoners. Of the possession of prisoners, Riel, in days gone by, well knew the value.

The first overt act was committed when Riel requested the French half-breeds to bring their arms with them to a meeting to be held on the 3rd of March; and from that day matters grew worse. On the 18th of March the stores of Walters, and Baker, and Kerr Bros., at St. Laurent, were raided; and Indian agent Lash, Astley, a surveyor, Tompkins, the telegraph repairer, and other Government employees were taken prisoners.

Major Crozier, who was stationed at Fort Carlton, received this news on the 19th, and at once sent over to Prince Albert to Captain Moore and others asking for reinforcements. A meeting was held, and it was determined to send a force of forty men, who on the 20th marched to Fort Carlton, forty miles distant, arriving there about ten o'clock the same night.

Major Crozier had already received a letter from Riel, through Mr. Mitchell, the owner of stores at Duck Lake, demanding his surrender. Crozier at once sent Thomas McKay with Mitchell to the half-breeds to endeavour to get them to disperse. McKay, who is an intelligent English half-breed, started for Batoche with Mitchell during the night of the 20th, and arrived at Walters and Baker's store, which is on the opposite side of the river to Batoche. They were there met by a guard and were escorted across the river to the council-chamber, which Riel had set up in the church. McKay's sworn account of this interview is important as showing the determination of Riel to shed blood. Mr. Mitchell introduced McKay to Riel, and having ascertained that he came with Mitchell, who was the bearer of correspondence, he was accorded the same protection as was guaranteed to Mitchell.

Upon being introduced, McKay said, "There seems to be great excitement here, Mr. Riel." He said, "No, there is no excitement at all; it is simply that the people are trying to redress their grievances, as they had asked repeatedly for their rights." McKay then told him that it was a very dangerous thing to resort to arms. Riel said that he had been waiting fifteen long years, and that they had been imposed upon, and it was time now, after they had waited patiently, that their rights should be granted, as the poor half-breeds had been imposed

upon. McKay disputed his wisdom and advised him to adopt different measures. He accused McKay of having neglected the half-breeds. The latter told him that this was simply a matter of opinion, that he had certainly taken an interest in them, and that his stake in the country was the same as theirs, and that time and again he had so advised them, and had not neglected them. He also told Riel that he had neglected them a long time if he took as deep an interest as he professed to. Riel became very excited, and got up and said: "You don't know what we are after. It is blood, blood; we want blood; it is a war of extermination. Everybody that is against us is to be driven out of the country. There were two curses in the country—the Government and the Hudson's Bay Company."

Reil now turned to McKay and said that he was a traitor to his Government; that he was a speculator and a scoundrel, a robber and a thief. He finally said it was blood, and the first blood they wanted was his. There were some little dishes on the table, and he got hold of a spoon and said, "You have no blood, you are a traitor to your people, your blood is frozen, and all the little blood you have will be there in five minutes," putting the spoon up to his face, and pointing to it. McKay said, "If you think you are benefiting your cause by taking my blood, you are quite welcome to it." He called his people and the committee, and wanted to

put him on trial for his life ; and Garnot got up and went to the table with a sheet of paper, and Gabriel Dumont took a chair on a syrup keg, and Riel called up the witnesses against him. He said he was a liar, and he told them that McKay had said all the people in that section of the country had risen against them. He said that it was not so ; that it was only the people in the town. Champagne got up and spoke in his favour. McKay told them that Riel was threatening to take his life, and said, " If you think by taking my life you will benefit your cause, you are welcome to do so." Champagne said no, they did not wish anything of the kind ; they wanted to redress their grievances in a constitutional way. Riel then rose and said he had a committee meeting of importance going on upstairs, and he went off. McKay spoke to them for quite a while, and Riel occasionally came down and put his head in, and said he was speaking too loud, that he was annoying their committee meeting. When he had said what he had to say, McKay asked for something to eat, as he was pretty hungry. After he had eaten, McKay lay down on some blankets in the corner till Mitchell was ready. Mitchell was upstairs, and when he came down, they prepared to leave for Fort Carlton. Riel presently came in and apologized to McKay for what he had said, adding that he did not mean to harm him personally, but that it was his cause he was speaking against, and he wished to show that he enter-

tained great respect for him. He said he was very sorry not to have him with him, that it was not too late to join him yet. He also said that it was Major Crozier's last opportunity of averting bloodshed, and that unless he surrendered Fort Carlton, an attack would be made at twelve o'clock.

It had been arranged with Mr. Mitchell at the committee meeting upstairs that Riel should send two delegates to meet Major Crozier half way; and an hour after the arrival of McKay at Fort Carlton, he turned round and accompanied Captain Moore to meet the delegates. At the appointed place they were met by Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine, who had been sent as delegates to demand the surrender of Fort Carlton, with all its stores and property, undertaking if it were quietly given up that the Police should be allowed to go unharmed. As Major Crozier's instructions to the delegates were that the people should disband, and give up the leaders at once, or suffer the penalty of their criminal acts, the meeting resulted in nothing; and Lepine did not present the document intended for Major Crozier. It was afterwards found among Riel's papers in Batoche subsequent to its capture.

Things remained as they were for a day or two, awaiting anxiously the arrival of Colonel Irvine. This officer had been despatched with a force of a hundred men in great haste from Regina, upon the receipt of the first

news of the outbreak. He arrived at Prince Albert on the 24th March ; but in the meantime, Major Crozier had determined to send a guard with some sleighs and take away the forage and provisions that were in Mitchell's store at Duck Lake to a place of safety. So, on the morning of the 26th, about four o'clock he sent a small detachment off with a dozen sleighs to remove the stores, under Sergt. Stewart. They advanced, with four men in front acting as advance guard, and when within a mile and a-half of Duck Lake, the guard were seen returning at full gallop with a number of half-breeds after them. The sleighs were halted and turned round, and McKay, who was with them, awaited their coming. They were a party of between thirty and forty, headed by Gabriel Dumont. He was very excited, jumped off his horse, and loaded his rifle, cocked it and went up to McKay and threatened to blow his brains out. McKay told him that two could play at that game, and that he had better be quiet.

Dumont talked wildly, and wanted McKay's party to surrender. He said it was McKay's fault that his people were not assisting them, and that McKay was to blame for all the trouble. McKay refused to surrender, and said that they had the best right to the property. Some men got into the sleighs and attempted to snatch the lines, but the teamsters held on to them. Gabriel Dumont fired his rifle over their heads, and they

then stepped out of the road and allowed the sleighs to return to Carlton, without, however, having secured the forage and provisions. Sergt. Stewart had sent a message back to Major Crozier to say that he had met with resistance and wanted support, and about three miles from the fort they met Major Crozier coming with his whole force to assert the law. He sent back young Retallack with a despatch to Col. Irvine to tell him that he had started out to support some teams that had gone over for provisions, and that help would be needed. McKay and his party turned round and accompanied him. Crozier's force, numbering in all about one hundred, now advanced along the trail towards Duck Lake. About four miles from there the advance guard reported that there were some Indians in a house belonging to Beardy, whose tribe had joined the insurgents, and whose reserve they were then crossing. They advanced past this house to where McKay had been stopped in the morning.

On nearing Duck Lake the advance guard was seen galloping back, pursued by a large body of the rebels, and one of them, Ernest Todd, reported to Major Crozier that the half-breeds were advancing in numbers, and that he had been fired upon, receiving a bullet in his saddle. Major Crozier at once called Joe McKay, and said, "I will hold a parley with them before attempting to advance;" but, while holding this parley, he saw an attempt on the part of the enemy to surround his men, and at

once gave the order to fire. At the same time, one of the Indians who was parleying with Major Crozier tried to wrest the rifle from Joe McKay, and in the scuffle that ensued the Indian was shot. The nine-pounder was loaded, ready for action, but Major Crozier was in the line of fire, and it could not be used upon the enemy until he moved, and the gunners could not make him hear. Before he got out of the way, the great body of the rebels had disappeared over the hill out of danger. Major Crozier turned round angrily and said, "Why don't you fire that gun?" He was told that he was in the line of fire, and the answer was, "Well, I am only one man, you should have fired anyway;" and to this circumstance a number of the rebels owed their lives.

The fight that ensued was nearly being a complete massacre, and only by the coolness of Major Crozier and his force was this avoided. Captain Morton took his men to the right flank, near a rail fence, where, only seventy-five yards distant, and not seen at first for a bluff, they were terribly exposed to the fire from the neighbouring house. The police were formed up near the sleighs. The skirmish lasted for thirty or forty minutes, and was most disastrous. Nine Prince Albert volunteers and three policemen were killed and about twenty-five wounded. There was no possibility of an advance through the deep snow, and the enemy kept well out of sight, though the gallant men managed to kill six

of them, and in this fight Gabriel Dumont got a severe scalp wound. The mistake Major Crozier made was in attempting to hold a parley. Riel took advantage of this to send his men round, under cover of the gullies, and made an attempt to surround the police and capture the whole party.

Major Crozier ordered his men to retire. The horses were hitched up under fire, and the withdrawal took place in the most orderly manner. Captain Moore, while he was stepping into one of the sleighs, had the misfortune to receive a bullet, which shattered his leg, and the injury was so great that the limb had to be amputated. The little force reached Carlton about four o'clock, and half an hour afterwards Colonel Irvine marched in with his men. Colonel Irvine, now being in command, determined to evacuate the fort and to retire on Prince Albert. This was done on the morning of the 28th. A portion of Fort Carlton caught fire by accident and was burned; and on the 3rd of April, Riel and his men marched up and took possession of the ruins of the fort, where they remained for a time in the unconsumed buildings.

Major Crozier was quite unprepared for such an encounter, and, no doubt, did not contemplate that, in the execution of his duty, he would meet with such murderous opposition. Otherwise, he would have hesitated to expose his men, without greater military precaution, as Colonel Irvine was expected shortly with an increased

force. Though brave lives were lost in the endeavour to uphold the laws of their country, and to protect the isolated settlements from the insurgents, they have not been sacrificed in vain. This engagement was the signal to the Government to take decisive steps to prevent the recurrence of such a rising, which now seemed inevitable, and to show the power of Canada to maintain her laws, to punish offenders, and to control her Indian population scattered throughout the immense territory.

The danger that presented itself was not so much the half-breed rising, under Riel, which was confined to a certain locality, but the fear that in the excitement of war and at the instigation of Riel, the whole Indian population of the country might rise, and the various bands and reserves scattered over it would commit depredations, and bring death and desolation to the peaceful homes of the settlers. I may here say that such was not the case, owing to the excellent system under which Canada has always managed her Indian population. Although there may be faults arising from individual instances of bad management, yet the general system, and the good faith and honesty which prevail in the management of Indian affairs, have been productive of the very best results, and on this occasion prevented widespread disaster reaching the far distant homes of the enterprising and defenceless settlers. The Indians have shown themselves capable of appreciating all that has already been

done for them, and sensible of the advantages yet in store.

With the exception of a few evil spirits, who committed some atrocities, the general demeanour of the Indians showed the white settlers that on future occasions there need not be that alarm which fills the mind in having these savage tribes as neighbours. Of course, from their nomadic habits and savage nature, for many years to come they will require controlling; but, out of thirty thousand Indians, spread over the country, there are probably fewer individual instances of crime among them than there is in the same number of white people. It does not do for us to judge them by our own standard; they are a conquered race, they are narrowed down from their wonted privilege of roaming free over the whole country to occupying reserves set apart for them, which, though liberal in area, is, nevertheless, a restraint upon their freedom.

It was at once felt by both Government and people that the half-breed rising in the North-West, if allowed to assume important dimensions and become an Indian rising, great disaster would befall the commercial interests of the country, and throw its prospects back for many years by retarding immigration, which is so essential to its development. It was true statesmanship, therefore, on the part of the Government, to realize this fact in time, and to throw promptly into the North-West a force

strong enough to insure the speedy re-establishment of law and order, and to show the outer world the determination of Canada to protect the lives and property of her most distant citizens.

The rising in the North-West also brought out such a national feeling in the Government's call for troops, that will allay any anxiety in the future, and prove to all political parties, that when the interests of Canada or her national existence are at stake, the people are a unit. Every province enthusiastically desired to join in the expedition, and the Canadian spirit that was aroused dominated every sectional and provincial feeling. This attitude of the nation has done much to raise the character of our people in the eyes of the world.

It would seem unaccountable that Major Crozier, an officer of twelve years' experience in the country, should have been led into a trap, which proved so disastrous. But Major Crozier was resting under the insult offered by Riel, who sent to demand his surrender, and as an officer of the country, with an armed force at his back, he deemed it his duty, for the honour of his men, to go out and support the teams and the little detachment which had been stopped. It must also be remembered that the whole of this vast region, eight hundred miles long by four hundred broad, filled with a half-breed and Indian population, had hitherto been well and peacefully governed by a small force of five hundred mounted police,

which, in themselves, combined military and civil elements. By this force the law had been well administered and well upheld. By their coolness and courage, on occasions without number, they had entered the camps of the excited Indians, and, with an escort of two or three, been accustomed to take their prisoner. Their ability to do so has frequently excited the admiration of American officers to the south of the boundary, who were engaged in the same duties, where, for the capture of a murderer or a horse thief, or in putting down whiskey sellers, a force would have to be put in motion and often lives lost in the attempt.

On our side of the line this was accomplished by the determined action of two or three policemen; and Major Crozier doubtless thought that the same determined action on his part would nip in the bud a serious outbreak, which would prove disastrous to the country. On this occasion, however, a new element had sprung up in the person of Riel, who had not yet interfered on this side of the line. He was prepared to resort to force to accomplish his purpose, or die in the attempt. Besides this, Riel worked upon the superstitious beliefs of his people; he worked upon their feelings, and overawed them by the fears he excited for their safety, the while holding out large promises of reward to stimulate their courage and devotion.

After the battle of Duck Lake, the half-breeds returned

in an excited state to their headquarters, where they held the prisoners, and in the wild excitement of their savage nature some of them wished to wreak their vengeance upon their harmless captives; but they were too valuable as a hostage to use in the future, when Riel must have felt that he would have to give an account of his actions. He at once set to work to enlarge his plans for the defeat of the whole country and to hold at defiance the authority of Canada. Immediately he sent his runners to the different tribes of Indians, hundreds of miles away, with letters indited by himself, instructing them to rise, to seize the forts, and to secure all the provisions and ammunition. These runners came to my own neighbourhood, in the Shell River district, to the Indians and half-breeds in the thickly settled Qu'Appelle district, to Poundmaker in the Battleford district, and Big Bear in the Fort Pitt district, and wherever he knew of a tribe of Indians or a settlement of half-breeds. He cunningly took advantage of an eclipse of the sun, which was to occur during March, and told the Indians that upon a certain day the sun was to darken, and that was to be a sign that they should rise, and also be a sign of his power. It is here worthy of remark that "John Smith's" tribe at the Company's crossing, near Prince Albert, "Mis-ta-wa-sis" (big child), near Carlton, "Chic-a-sta-fa-sin" (star blanket), on the road to Green Lake, "Moosomin," near Battleford, besides many other tribes

whose reserves were near the scene of the outbreak, left their reserves to avoid being compelled to join in the rising. Riel, moreover, instituted a policy for his own aggrandizement, by attempting to overthrow the religion of his church; he declaimed against the interference of the church in the temporal affairs of the people, limiting it strictly to its spiritual power; he formulated a new religion, constituting himself the head and prophet; he baptized Jackson, the secretary of his provisional government, into this new religion, and gave a feast in the village of Batoche in honour of it, inviting all his people. Those who came he held as soldiers, and did not allow them to return to their homes. This all occurred during the latter part of March. He then cut the wires in the neighbourhood of Batoche, which severed telegraph communication between Prince Albert and the East. The telegraph communication crosses the Saskatchewan at Clarke's Crossing on its way to Battleford, and there branches off in a northerly direction to Prince Albert. It has been a matter of astonishment that he never attempted or permitted the cutting of the wires elsewhere, which was an easy thing to accomplish all through the country, and would have hampered the movements of the forces sent to overthrow him. His object in this was supposed to be, to allow the fullest information to go to the world of the events that were now likely to occur in rapid succession, in the hope that the Fenian element in the United States

would come to his assistance, or that the half-breeds, to the south of the boundary, would send him aid. Possibly also, he expected that the Indians on the boundary line of the United States would harass the Canadian troops. Such were the desperate measures of Riel, into which he had drawn his people, and he assured them of the co-operation of these forces to assist them in their cause.

Colonel Irvine's plans were now altered, and instead of taking his whole force to punish the rebels, he deemed it more prudent to act on the defensive, and take steps for the protection of the settlers, whose property and lives were considered to be in great danger. The half-breeds who committed the dastardly act at Duck Lake now felt that they carried their lives in their hands, and under the command of Riel were determined to go on to further victories, and rouse the half-breed and Indian population throughout the whole northern district. This, no doubt, led Colonel Irvine to abandon Fort Carlton and concentrate his forces in Prince Albert, for the protection of that populous district, and in the altered state of affairs to await the action of the Dominion Government.

We will now leave Riel for a time to see the effect of the Duck Lake fight upon the Canadian public, when the news was sent over the wires.

CHAPTER X.

THE CANADIAN MILITIA.

BEFORE giving my readers the details of the prompt measures which the Canadian Government took to meet the grave emergency which had arisen, I desire to give some idea of the military forces that Canada has at her disposal, and to draw attention to the fact that the Canadian people had now to deal with the most serious military operations they had yet been called upon unaided to undertake.

The North-West is to Canada very much what the colonies of England have for centuries been to her. She has always rushed to their defence and helped them to maintain their laws inviolate. Formerly Canada was a station for British troops, which were always available for her protection and use ; but in the year 1870 a new policy had been dictated by Mr. Gladstone's Government, of withdrawing from Canada the troops that had for so many years been maintained there, and throwing upon Canada the responsibility of maintaining her own defences, retaining only a sufficient force at Halifax for the protection of a coaling station for her fleet. The withdrawal

was so complete that the stores were sold, the guns handed over to Canada, and even the sentry boxes in the citadel of Quebec removed to England. It was a sad day for Canada when the forces that added so much to her prestige, whose expenditure was so beneficial, and whose leisure added so much to the amusement and social life of the country, were withdrawn. But it was a step in the direction of making the colonies self-supporting and self-reliant, a policy which it was intended to extend to England's entire colonial empire, but which led to such adverse criticism that it was checked.

The military force of Canada, in its present organization, was instituted in the year 1855, and consists of two divisions—the active militia and the sedentary militia. Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is divided into military districts, and in these the active militia is composed of a number of battalions of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, officered after the fashion of the British service, during good behaviour, and recruited by men who undertake to serve for three years. The sedentary militia consists of all those, under the age of sixty, who are not enrolled in the active militia, and are capable of bearing arms, with the ordinary exemptions. At the head of each military district is a permanent staff-officer, a deputy-adjutant-general, assisted by a brigade-major and a district paymaster. The whole is commanded by a major-general, with the assistance of an adjutant-general

and permanent staff. The general is selected from among the distinguished officers of the British army, and his term of service lasts for five years. The civil head of the military organization is a minister of militia (at present, Sir Adolphe Caron), assisted by a deputy-minister and the staff of his department. While the British troops were quartered in Canada, it was permitted individual officers and men, who wished to obtain a more thorough military training, to spend a brief period with regiments to learn their duties. This led to the institution of military schools in the various provinces, where short and long courses of instruction can be obtained and certificates granted. With the growth of the country these schools were enlarged, and a small permanent force was organized, composed of two batteries of artillery, denominated 'A' and 'B' batteries, to which officers were permanently appointed and men enlisted for lengthened service.

Finding them to work well, these military schools were enlarged to include schools of cavalry and infantry, until now the permanent force of the country consists of about two thousand men, including the Mounted Police, which is one thousand strong. This force is divided up into permanent corps, of about one hundred and fifty men each, which form the various schools of instruction throughout the country for artillery, cavalry and infantry tactics and drill. A Royal Military College has been established at

Kingston, on the model of Sandhurst, where a thorough military training and education is obtained; and four commissions annually are given by the British Government to the successful competitors. Captain Wise, Lieut. Frere, A.D.C.'s, Major Perry, Mounted Police, Lieut. Nanton, Midland, Lieut. Sears, Colonel Otter's Brigade-Major, and Lieut. Laurie, of the 90th, were all educated at this College, and took part in the recent campaign. Lieuts. Wood, Cartwright, Ogilvie, Pelletier, and Nelles, were also from the Military College, besides about twenty others. The active militia are called out annually to do twelve days' drill, which is generally performed in brigade camp or under canvas at battalion headquarters.

It will thus be seen that Canada has at her disposal a drilled force of about two thousand regulars, an active militia force of about forty thousand, and a reserve of all the available muscle in the country, which numbers about seven hundred thousand. The growth of this military force has been very gradual, additions and modifications continually being carried out as time and experience dictated. The man who, probably more than any other, has had to do with these organizations and their modifications, is Colonel Powell, the Adjutant-General, who for nearly twenty-five years has faithfully discharged the duties of that position. The General at present in command of the forces in Canada is General Sir Fred Middleton, formerly of the 29th Regiment, and

late commandant of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, where for several years he governed that training school for officers in the British army.

General Middleton* was appointed to his present position in the year 1884, and came out to perform the routine duties which are generally the work that falls to the lot of this office, consisting of inspecting the

* Major-General Middleton, at present commanding the Canadian forces, is the third son of Major-General Charles Middleton, who saw a great deal of service in India. He was educated at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, from which he obtained his commission, without purchase, 30th December, 1842. He served as an ensign in the 58th regiment in New South Wales, Norfolk Island and New Zealand, and was present at most of the fighting in the operations in the latter country against the Maoris, in 1845-6. He was mentioned twice in despatches, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 96th regiment, August, 1848, and served in that regiment in India until October, 1854, during which time he passed the required examination in surveying, and was promoted Captain, July, 1852. He served as a volunteer in the suppression of the Santal rebellion, in 1855, in command of a troop of the Nawab of Meershedabad's cavalry, and received the thanks of the Indian Government. He exchanged into the 29th regiment, June, 1855, and served with it in Burmah. He served during the Indian mutiny, 1857-58, in General Frank's column, on the march to the relief of Lucknow, and was present as A.D.C. at all the engagements and affairs which took place on that march; also as A.D.C. to General Sir E. Lugard, K.C.B., at the siege and capture of Lucknow in the pursuit of Roor Singh and the subsequent engagements. He was five times mentioned in despatches, and recommended for the Victoria Cross for two acts of bravery, but being on personal staff, was not considered eligible by Lord Clyde. He received the brevet of Major, served as Brigade-Major to the field forces in Oude, employed in attacking the forts of the rebel chief. He served with the 29th regiment in England from 1859 to 1861; A.D.C. to General Franklyn in Gibraltar; Brigadier-Major and temporary Police Magistrate in that fortress, and A.D.C. to General Sir Henry Bates, at Malta, until November, 1862. He passed through Hythe School of Musketry and the Staff College, obtaining a first-class certificate at the former. He rejoined the 29th regiment in Canada in August, 1868, and held various important appointments in the service until the removal of the Imperial troops from Canada. In July, 1870, he became superintending officer of garrison instruction to the forces, and inaugurated that system. He was Commandant of the Royal Military College from September, 1874, until his appointment to the command of the Militia of Canada in July, 1884. He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in March, 1862, and Colonel in July, 1875. He has the New Zealand medal, the Indian Mutiny medal and clasp, and the Cross of the Commander of the Bath. He was married to Miss Doucet, of Ottawa, while serving in Canada.

forces and endeavouring to improve their drill and efficiency. Little did he think, when he was appointed, that it would fall to his lot to command the first active expedition ever organized solely from the citizen soldiery which he commands, the responsibility of which was to fall upon the shoulders of Canadian statesmen and Canadian officers and men. Without the guiding experience of past expeditions, without any knowledge of how to deal with an armed rebellion, thousands of miles from the central authority, and without the steady military training in the field of any of her officers or men, Canada had to undertake the task of arming, equipping, transporting, and commanding the military expedition which was now deemed necessary; and honourably and well has the task been performed.

Before the Duck Lake fight had taken place, the seizure of prisoners and stores by Riel was sufficient warning to the Government that more than ordinary exertions would be necessary. Therefore, on the 24th of March, 1885, the Government hurriedly despatched General Middleton to Winnipeg, after only a hasty and imperfect consultation, to be prepared for any emergency that might arise.

The General arrived in Winnipeg on the 27th of March. In the meantime, the news of the fight at Duck Lake had been transmitted over the wires, and its sad sacrifice of life brought forcibly before General Middleton and the Government the necessity for a strong force to suc-

cessfully cope with armed resistance in the territory. Calling at once for troops, on his arrival at Winnipeg, the General found that the only available forces there were the 90th Battalion, which had just been organized under the late Colonel Kennedy; a troop of cavalry under Captain Knight, and a field battery of artillery under Major Jarvis. The 90th had been called out on the 23rd, and promptly answering to a full roll-call at their headquarters, had armed and equipped themselves for service, and were soon ready for the field. The left wing of the 90th was sent forward on the 25th, under Major Boswell, to Troy, a station on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was to be used as the base of operations for the column under the immediate command of the General himself. In the emergency many retired military officers in Winnipeg came forward and offered their services.

The other troops called out and promptly answering the call, were, the Governor-General's Body Guard, under Col. Denison; the 10th Royal Grenadiers, under Col. Grasett; the Queen's Own Rifles, under Col. Millar, and "C" School of Infantry, under Major Smith, all of Toronto. These regiments were brigaded under Col. Otter, Commandant of the Infantry School. The late Colonel Williams was authorized to raise a provisional battalion, which came to be familiarly known as "The Midlanders," being composed of two companies from the 46th Battalion

and one each from the 15th, 40th, 45th, 47th, 49th and 57th Battalions, all situated in the Midland district.

Colonel O'Brien was authorized to raise a battalion called the "Simcoe Rangers," composed of four companies of the 35th Simcoe, and four companies of the 12th York Rangers. The 65th Mount Royal Rifles, of Montreal, under Colonel Ouimet, were also called out for active service. Colonel Scott, of Winnipeg, was commissioned to raise a regiment, known as the 91st Battalion, which was drawn from Winnipeg and the surrounding towns. Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith, C.M.G., was also commissioned to raise a battalion in Winnipeg, called the "92nd," or "Winnipeg Light Infantry."

In addition to these forces, a detachment of fifty sharpshooters was selected from the Governor-General's Foot Guards, under Captain Todd, of Ottawa. On the 31st March the 7th Fusiliers, of London, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Williams, and the 9th Battalion, Quebec, under Colonel Amyot, were also called out. A provisional battalion was formed from detachments of the 66th, the Halifax Garrison Artillery, and the 63rd, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Bremner. The Quebec School of Cavalry, under Colonel Turnbull, and "A" and "B" Batteries, of Quebec and Kingston, were also called out and ordered to the front. Later on, the Montreal Garrison Artillery, under Colonel Oswald, were ordered to proceed to garrison Regina.

Captain Dennis was commissioned to raise an Intelligence Mounted Corps, composed of Surveyors; and local companies were gazetted at Birtle, under the command of Captain Wood, at Regina, under Captain Scott, at Battleford, under Captain Nash, at Emerson under Captain Whitman, at Yorktown, under Major Watson, at Qu'Appelle, under Captain Jackson, besides a local company at Calgary. The Rocky Mountain Rangers, under Captain Stewart, and the Moose Mountain Scouts, under Captain White, were also put in commission.

The whole of the Eastern corps, numbering about four thousand men, were called from their homes and avocations, to take part in an expedition three thousand miles away, before the winter had yet closed; and within a few days from the 27th March, the date on which the Government had received news of the Duck Lake fight, most of these troops had actually embarked upon the Canadian Pacific Railway for transport to Winnipeg.

The Canadian Pacific Railway was not quite completed to the north of Lake Superior, there being several gaps where the rails were not laid. These gaps, some seventy miles in length, had to be crossed by the troops. The difficulty of these marches was very great, for the snow was still upon the ground, and the country frozen up; but by the energy of the Canadian Pacific Railway authorities, who admirably performed their part in transporting the

troops to the North-West, these difficulties were got over without any mishap. The teams which were engaged upon the construction of the line were used to assist the troops in passing over the gaps, and they were of material assistance in this service, though the exposure to the men was very great. An unfortunate accident happened to Lieut. Morrow, of the Grenadiers, in crossing the gaps: a rifle went off accidentally, and gave him a severe wound, which necessitated his return.

I happened to be visiting Winnipeg at the date of General Middleton's arrival, and having served him with him on former occasions, I waited on him, and offered to raise a force of mounted men that would prove serviceable in the proposed expedition. The men, I urged, resided on their homesteads in the interior, not very far from the scene of action. He asked at what cost this could be done, and I told him at the same rate as the Mounted Police, viz., seventy-five cents per day, with clothing and equipment. The General transmitted my proposal to Ottawa, and in two days I received authority from the Minister of Militia to raise and equip my force.

My home is in the Shell River district, about three hundred miles west of Winnipeg, and nearly seventy miles north of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I received my authority on the 31st March; and before leaving Winnipeg, I ordered from the Hudson's Bay Company my equipment of rifles, blankets, tents and saddlery.

I came out by train to Moosomin, and drove north to Birtle, where I left a notice with Mr. Pentland, land agent there, asking for thirty men and horses to be ready for inspection in two days. I then drove north to Russell, and there put up a similar notice. By the 6th of April, I returned to Moosomin, with sixty men and horses, besides officers, orderlies, cooks, etc.—in all eighty-two men, including six teams for transport of provisions, equipment and forage. I had travelled in the six days two hundred and twenty miles by rail and one hundred and forty miles by road. I purchased all my horses in the district, at an average of \$165.00 a piece, giving orders on the Hudson's Bay Company posts, at Fort Ellice and Russell, which were duly honoured.

I formed up at Moosomin, gave my men their mounts and equipment, and took the train for Qu'Appelle, one hundred and twenty miles farther west, there to march to join General Middleton's column, which was about one hundred miles on its way to Clarke's Crossing. When I arrived at Qu'Appelle, I divided my men into two troops, and appointed to be captain of the Russell troop Meopham Gardiner, from Brighton, England, who came with me to Manitoba in 1880, and had been my neighbour ever since. Mr. Pigott, son of General Pigott, who with his family had settled in the country three or four years previously, I made lieutenant. Captain Johnstone, of Seaforth,

Ontario, now of the village of Birtle, I appointed captain of the Birtle troop; with Mr. Gough, a nephew of Lord Gough, as lieutenant. Mr. Cox, a surveyor, from Buckinghamshire, England, I appointed quartermaster, and Dr. Rolston, late surgeon of the Royal Navy, surgeon. All my officers and men had been living on their homesteads, and now sacrificed the prospects of their season's crop to serve in the campaign.

General Middleton remained but twelve hours in Winnipeg. On the evening of the 27th of March, before leaving, he ordered the right wing of the 90th Battalion, under the command of Major Mackeand, to take the train for Fort Qu'Appelle, and gave instructions to the artillery to follow in the morning. The General accompanied these troops (numbering in all about 350 men) to Qu'Appelle station, and from there marched to Fort Qu'Appelle, eighteen miles further north, on the trail to Clarke's Crossing, where he organized his force.

Fort Qu'Appelle is one of the old established posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, and is prettily situated in a broad valley, with the Qu'Appelle lakes lying on each side of the fort. It is now the site of an enterprising town. These lakes form part of the Qu'Appelle River, so called from the echo that the valley produces. The officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in command of the post, is Archibald McDonald, a man of thirty years'

experience in the country, of great energy, and having a thorough knowledge of the Indian character, and possessing their confidence. His success in controlling the Indians contributed not a little to quiet the excitement among them in the neighbourhood; while to his energy was due much of the rapid movement which characterized the expedition in the first organization of the transport.

It was at Fort Qu'Appelle that General Middleton commenced the real preparations for the campaign; and one of its first necessities was the want of mounted men. Knowing that it would be some days before my troop could join him, he empowered Captain French, an Irish officer who had been in the Mounted Police, to raise a mounted force in the vicinity of Fort Qu'Appelle. This troop, with the 90th Rifles, under Major Mackeand, and the Winnipeg Field Battery, under Major Jarvis, constituted the General's force at that time. Soon afterwards it was reinforced by Colonel Montizambert, in command of "A" Battery, and a few days later by a detachment, of "C" School of Infantry, under Major Smith. With these forces the General determined to push on with all expedition to the scene of the rebellion; and he now developed the plan of the campaign.

As he explained it to me, General Middleton's original plan of campaign was to march his column from Fort Qu'Appelle to Clarke's Crossing. The second column,

under Otter, was to march from Swift Current to meet him at the Crossing ; and from that point the two columns were to move down the river on both sides to attack Batoche. There he proposed to join the two columns, and march to relieve Prince Albert, then to relieve Battleford, and after punishing Poundmaker to proceed with a portion of his force to Fort Pitt. At this latter post he had ordered General Strange with his column to await his arrival, when it was his intention to attack Big Bear and release his prisoners. This plan was necessarily altered in consequence of the alarming reports received from Police Inspector Morris, at Battleford, of the danger the women and children were in. Learning of this, he now directed Colonel Otter to proceed straight to Battleford, and hold Poundmaker in check until he came up, while he marched with his own column to attack Riel in Batoche. These three columns were organized with great rapidity from the forces sent from the Eastern Provinces, and those raised in the Province of Manitoba, and the North-West Territory.

The troops from Quebec had a journey by rail of two thousand five hundred miles, and the troops from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had three thousand miles to get over before they arrived at the various points from which they were to march to occupy and protect the isolated and defenceless northern country.

Colonel Otter's column was composed of the Queen's Own Rifles, "B" Battery, under Major Short, a company of the Governor-General's Foot Guards from Ottawa, fifty Mounted Police, under Colonel Herchmer, and part of "C" School.

Before sketching the plan of the campaign, it is necessary to give a description of the country General Middleton was about to enter.

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL MIDDLETON'S ADVANCE.

ABOUT two hundred and fifty miles north of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is the north branch of the Saskatchewan River. This noble stream takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains. About forty miles east of Prince Albert, the south branch of the same river empties into the north branch, flowing from the south-west, where it is crossed by the Canadian Pacific Railway, at Medicine Hat. It flows past the headquarters of Riel, at Batoche, Clarke's Crossing and Saskatoon, the latter a pretty village that was afterwards used as an hospital. Both of these rivers are navigable at high water. On the north branch are posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, upwards of a century ago, were established for trading purposes by the rival fur companies. These posts have settlements around them, commencing with Prince Albert on the east. Forty miles farther west stands Fort Carlton; and one hundred miles west of that lies Battleford, at the junction of the Battle River and the Saskatchewan. One hundred miles farther west, on the North Saskatchewan, is situated Fort Pitt;

one hundred and fifty miles from the latter is Victoria; and one hundred miles still farther west lies Edmonton, all on the same river. Numerous tribes of Indians hold their reserves in the neighbourhood of these posts, which are occupied by small bodies of Mounted Police. It was to these tribes of Indians that Riel sent his most pressing letters, to secure their co-operation, instructing them to rise, defeat the troops, and seize all the ammunition and provisions. He hoped that by being so far north, and the territory being difficult of access, troops could not reach him, and he would dictate his own terms.

In attempting to give a description of the operations, which were brought to so successful a completion within three months of the rebel outbreak, occupying long and arduous marches and fighting several battles, I will first follow the fortunes of the column under the immediate command of General Middleton.

The period of the year in which these columns had to undertake their marches was an inclement one. The snow was about leaving the prairie, when wet and slush prevail, when the frost comes out of the ground leaving stiff, muddy roads and sloughs filled with water, and when the winds blow cold and damp, making the difficulties of marching, and the exposure to soldiers unaccustomed to hardship a very trying and arduous task. Yet all was undertaken and overcome with little grumbling but with great cheerfulness and enthusiasm.

I arrived with my men at Fort Qu'Appelle on the 8th of April, having already met with one serious mishap. Mr. Maclurcan, whom I appointed lieutenant, was unfortunate enough, in handling a vicious horse in the stable, to get kicked and trampled upon so seriously that his life was despaired of. Throughout the campaign he was confined to the hospital at Winnipeg, where he slowly recovered.

I arrived at Qu'Appelle on the same day with the Grenadiers, under Colonel Grasett. Colonel Grasett is an officer who had gained his military experience in the 100th Regiment, and who had lately returned to his old home in Toronto. By the instructions of General Middleton the Grenadiers were ordered to the front, with teams to hasten their march and save the men. The call for transport at this time was enormous; but Major Bell was fully equal to the occasion. It shows the marvellous progress of the country within the last few years, that to transport these three columns fifteen hundred teams were available—the number at one time on the pay-roll of the Hudson's Bay Company—for the transport-corps, in addition to the teams necessary to carry on the agricultural operations of the country.

General Middleton, on his arrival at Fort Qu'Appelle, at once called for two hundred teams to convey the equipment, forage, and supplies for his column. This naturally created a "boom" for the farmers; and under the ener-

getic efforts of Archibald McDonald, of the Hudson's Bay Company, they were all procured in two days' time, at ten dollars per day and "found." A transport corps was organized by the General, under Mr. Bedson, Warden of the Manitoba Penitentiary, who took the direction-in-chief of the transport, assisted by Mr. Secretan. Major Bell, manager of the Bell Farm, in the Qu'Appelle Valley, remained at the base of operations, to see that all went right, and continue to engage transport for the daily rapidly-increasing necessities of the campaign.

Comment has been made upon the cost of this transport, but to those acquainted with the rapidity of the movement General Middleton deemed essential to the success of his expedition, and the scattered district from which the teams had to be collected, there is little occasion for criticism. It has also to be borne in mind that farmers were loth to leave their operations at a time when their whole summer's gains depended upon the early seeding of their land. The price, ten dollars per day, was therefore not excessive for the work that was demanded of them, and the exposure to which their horses would necessarily be subjected. Nor was the cost to the Government of the supplies and forage of the expedition much more than the early settlers who penetrated far into the interior were themselves called upon to pay. For two years I paid six dollars per bag for flour before our own crops came in. I paid one dollar and fifty cents per

bushel for oats, and occasionally two dollars per bushel for potatoes, and everything else in proportion. I mention this as an evidence of the difficulties that have to be overcome by the settler or by the soldier who penetrates a country unknown and unpopulated.

The General marched with his force at the rate of over twenty miles a day, an average which was maintained all the way to Clarke's Crossing, a distance of two hundred and ten miles. This, it will be said, is a remarkable record in the movement of troops. Colonel Grasett's regiment left on the morning of the 8th of April, and I was obliged to take a day at Qu'Appelle, to wait for a portion of my equipment that had not yet arrived from Winnipeg.

I was ordered by telegraph to use all possible speed, and I marched on the morning of the 9th, at the rate of thirty miles a day, to join the main column, covering the whole distance in seven days. To show the energy people are capable of in this country, I may say, that in sixteen days from the date of receiving instructions in Winnipeg, namely, between the 31st March and the 16th April, I was enabled to place a mounted force in the field, after visiting the farming districts, raising the men, purchasing the whole equipment, and making a march by land of three hundred and thirty miles, and by rail three hundred and sixty miles. The trail over which we had to march was muddy and wet, without bridges and with-

out improvements, and thirty miles of it was across the salt plain, unusually difficult in wet weather.

As an extreme example of the exposure, I might mention one incident that befel me on the second day's march. The freshets were high, and the previous night the thermometer had gone down to 15° below zero and frozen the streams over solid, but in the very centre, where the stream was rapid, the ice was thin. I was in front and leading my horse, feeling my way, when down I went up to my waist and my horse nearly on top of me. I scrambled out, and in a minute my clothes were frozen as hard as boards. It was five o'clock in the morning, and the thermometer, as I have said, 15° below zero. My clothes were so stiff that I had to be lifted on to my horse, and I rode in that condition for six miles, after making a detour to avoid this bad place, to a house where we were going to halt for breakfast, and where I was able to get a change of clothing and dry myself out. There is no exaggeration about the incident. During this halt, Dr. Rolston, our surgeon, tumbled down the cellar of the house, and narrowly escaped finishing his military career, and the same day poor Maclurean was trampled on by a vicious horse. Need I say, that I was afraid my casualties were heaping up too fast?

My corps overtook General Middleton's column the day before the Grenadiers, with the horses in fairly good condition and the men in high spirits. The morning after,

we reached Clarke's Crossing, the ferry on the South Saskatchewan river, forty miles south of Batoche, upon the same river. General Middleton's march had been so rapid, and his force had increased so much, that he had got a little ahead of his transport. Although provisions were ample, forage was short, and there was no grass for the horses. At Clarke's Crossing, however, we were able to purchase sixty tons of hay, at fifty dollars a ton,—a "bonanza" for the farmers of the district.

When within a day and a half's march of Clarke's Crossing, and before we had reached it, General Middleton felt anxious about its safety. He fixed upon this point as a *depôt* for his supplies, and as the headquarters for his reinforcements, which were to come from Swift Current by boat, or from Fort Qu'Appelle by the trail we had followed. As the place was also on the main trail to Battleford, and on the telegraph line to the west, it became a strong objective point to reach and hold as a second base of operations. The General's anxiety was so great that, without waiting for his infantry, he took all the mounted men and one gun, and in one day made a rapid march of thirty-five miles, and reached the Crossing in the midst of a north-west blizzard.

On Saturday morning, the day after his arrival at the Crossing, the General ordered my corps out on a reconnaissance towards Batoche, under Lord Melgund, Captain French accompanying him as guide. After pro-

ceeding about seven miles, the first excitement of the campaign commenced. Two of my troopers, Fisher and Henderson, sighted some rebel scouts, who were running for "dear life." They chased them for about four miles, the rest of the corps in pursuit; but the rebels kept under the bank of the river, which was covered thickly with underbrush and trees, and when we thought we had them, after attempting to surround them, we found we hadn't them. They had slipped like eels from under our noses, when we had to take up the pursuit once more. Captain Gardiner and half a dozen others, however, brought the three Indians to bay in an opening, while they were crossing a deep gully. There they stood, back to back, their rifles pointed, with their fingers upon the triggers of their rifles; and we were at a loss how to capture them. One of my men, named Dunkin, volunteered to go down and speak to them. I told him to leave his rifle behind, that they might not suspect treachery. He went down to the bottom of the gully, which was about seventy feet deep, but the language he knew was not their language. Two more of my men, Neil and Lyons, followed, who knew other Indian dialects, and spoke to them, gave them some tobacco, and assured them that no harm would be done if they surrendered. But they steadfastly refused, and Lord Melgund ordered me to send down ten men to take them prisoners. Before I had time to do so, however, Captain French, who

was on the opposite side of the gully, went down, smoked their pipe, shook hands with them, and brought them up. I took their rifles from them, and sent trooper King to bring a transport-waggon to convey them to camp, in the meantime marching them along under a guard of six men. On our way out along the trail we picked up a piece of a newspaper, which Lord Melgund found fastened in a split stick, with pictures on it, resembling guns, evidently intended to convey intelligence to other scouts.

We marched with our first quarry about twelve miles to camp, which we reached amidst much excitement. After a thorough cross-questioning by the General, through an interpreter attached to my corps, as to what they knew and what their movements were, they were handed over to me. I placed them in a small tent, put up especially for their use, as they fought shy of the whole camp, fearing the soldiers. The officers purchased at "boom" prices all their trinkets, knives, pouches, necklaces, armlets, etc., and I doubt whether prisoners of war were ever better treated. Captain Haig, of the Royal Engineers, came to my tent and made sketches of them for the *London Graphic*. Two of them were the sons of "White Cap," the chief of the Sioux, whose reserve is near Saskatoon, and the third was a brother-in-law of the same chief. They said they had been down to the reserve from Batoche, to hut for their ponies, and when captured were on their

way back to join Riel. They described the entrenchments Riel had constructed, and told us the number of armed half-breeds and Indians he had with him. Riel, we learned, had been to Saskatoon, to White Cap's reserve, to get the Sioux chief to join him, at the same time seizing his cattle and horses. The settlers about Saskatoon, who were on friendly terms, and in constant intercourse with him and his band, asked White Cap not to go. White Cap replied that if they would help him to regain his cattle and ponies, he would not go, but otherwise he could not resist the half-breeds. The white settlers did not feel inclined to mix themselves up in the disturbances, and White Cap went his way. But under the circumstances the settlers considered White Cap blameless.

General Laurie, a half-pay officer of the British service, living in Halifax, who had accompanied General Middleton as far as Humboldt, returned to hasten the boats from Saskatchewan Landing, near Swift Current, as the General felt it was a risk to rely upon the muddy trail for reinforcements and supplies. The great rivers of the North-West take their source in, and are fed from, the Rocky Mountains, and do not depend upon the rains and drainage of the country. The water, therefore, does not rise to a sufficient height for deep laden vessels until the snowy peaks of the Rocky Mountains pour forth their torrents. In consequence, an annoying delay occurred in

the river transport. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the General determined to lose no time, but to push on with the force he had with him, trusting that the supports would soon get over the minor difficulties that presented themselves.

The General's present plan of attacking Riel in his stronghold was to divide his force, and march upon Batoche on both sides of the river. The information he had received underrated the strength of the enemy, and their determination to fight was doubted; so this disposal of the forces was more for the purpose of preventing the escape of the rebels. Subsequently learning that entrenchments had been prepared by Riel on both sides of the river at Batoche, the General concluded to advance as first agreed upon, and be prepared to attack the place from both sides. It took three days to transport across the river the Grenadiers, twenty of my corps, under command of the late Captain Brown (then a Sergeant), all of Captain French's men, the Winnipeg Field Battery, and a portion of "A" Battery, under the command of Colonel Montizambert, with Lord Melgund as chief of staff. The only means of crossing was a scow, of a rather rickety description, worked by means of pulleys and a wire rope, and propelled by the current. This was a tedious affair. All the teams and forage necessary were transported to the other side with difficulty, as the banks of the river at the landing, and for

some yards on each side, were composed of apparently bottomless mud.

General Middleton had with him his own telegraph operator with his instruments, whom he kept busy communicating his orders to the distant parts of the territory; regulating the movements of Colonel Otter's and General Strange's columns; and conducting the whole campaign, covering six or eight hundred miles of country. He had on his shoulders, besides the conduct of the campaign, the anxiety of the transport, upon which so much depended, and the safety of the various settlements throughout the country. Not a little of his troubles at this time arose from the pressing applications from all parts for protection, many of which were conceived in a speculative spirit, for the benefit that might be derived from the presence of the troops. In consequence, he had to sift the motives for these appeals, so as not to be misled or imposed upon. From the number of stories and unfounded rumours now current, he became sceptical as to the truth of any reports brought to him, causing him frequently to exclaim, "That is another of your nor'west'rs!" I can here testify to the prudence, caution, and penetration of General Middleton in all his actions.

On the morning of the 23rd of April, seven days after our arrival at Clarke's Crossing, everything was ready for an advance. Signalling parties had been practising during this time, from both sides of the river, to telegraph

information between the two columns as they marched parallel to one another. In addition to the day-signalling, Major Jarvis and Captain Peters organized a corps of signalmen for night-work, by means of the ordinary bugle sounds, upon the phonetic principle. Lord Melgund, in an enterprising spirit, had the day before made a reconnaissance for ten miles north, on the left bank of the river, and discovered scouts watching our movements. He gave chase, and exchanged shots with them; but the scouts disappeared, and the party returned to camp. In this reconnaissance the Hon. C. Fiennes and Gifford, of Capt. French's scouts, and Fisher and King, of my corps, distanced their comrades and took part in the exciting chase.

On Thursday morning, the 23rd of April, both columns marched simultaneously from Clarke's Crossing. My corps, now reduced to forty armed men, constituted the advance guard of the right column, the remainder going with the left. The order of march was a line of sixteen scouts, covering half a mile of front, fifty yards apart from one another. Thomas Selby and E. Little acted on this occasion as pivot men, taking the right and left of the trail, that the remainder of the scouts might move with them, and with the head of the column. These two men kept the same position throughout the campaign, performing their duties intelligently and faithfully. I marched with the remainder of my men on the trail, about two hun-

dred and fifty yards in rear of the advance scouts. About three hundred yards in rear of us came the advance guard of the 90th, consisting of a file followed by the usual formation; and some three hundred yards in rear of them came the column, followed by the transport, with about two hundred teams. I told off two men to march on the flank of the General wherever he might move. Generally, however, he marched in front of me, at the head of my men, with his two A.D.C.'s and Captain Haig, of the Royal Engineers. The scow, with the wire rope, and a party on board, floated down the stream to accompany the columns, and to be ready for use should the necessity arise for either column to cross the river.

Our noon halt was similar in every day's routine: the column formed up in companies, piled their arms, fatigue-parties rushed off for wood and water, and in a trice fires were lit, and the boiling of tea and unpacking of hard tack and canned beef were proceeded with. After an hour and an half's rest, and the solace of the brier-root, the fall-in sounded once more. During the halt we remained in advance with videttes out, acting as sentries, to give the alarm if such should be necessary. The A.D.C. conveyed the word to continue our march to the evening camping-ground. There was the same routine every day.

An interesting sight to the uninitiated is the formation of a zareba or corral, for the protection of the transport.

It is formed by the teams following one another, under the direction of the transport officer, round and round in a circle, the leading team turning inwards and each team in succession forming up alongside, until an impenetrable wall of waggons presents itself to the enemy. The camp is pitched in front, with the mounted men on the right, the artillery next, the infantry next, with the headquarter staff in rear. The column bivouacked for the night eighteen miles from Clarke's Crossing, and twenty-two miles from Batoche. The General intended to make a second day's march to Gabriel Dumont's Crossing, within six miles of Batoche. He ordered me to continue my march and make a reconnoissance in front. I advanced in the same order for about three miles and a-half without observing anything unusual, until I came to a house where I found a lot of forage, consisting of barley and oats, with half a dozen Red River carts in front of the door. I returned to camp about six o'clock in the evening, picketed the horses and pitched the tents, and reported to the General the result of my reconnoissance.

Strong pickets were mounted under the command of Lieutenant Hugh J. Macdonald (son of Sir John Macdonald) and Lieutenant Laurie; and at half-past nine o'clock, being field officer of the day, I waited upon General Middleton, who invariably visited the sentries and pickets himself every night before retiring. He took unusual pains on this occasion, instructing the sentries, officers,

and non-commissioned officers in charge, regarding their duties, and was fully two hours going the rounds, not returning to camp till half past eleven o'clock. In the meantime, as forage was short, Colonel Houghton, the Deputy Adjutant-General, thought it advisable to secure the forage I had reported seeing on my reconnoissance, more especially as we were told by a farmer, near whose house we were camped, that the carts belonged to the enemy, and were evidently there for the purpose of removing the forage. I told off twenty of my men, under Captain Gardiner, with Quartermaster Cox, and with twenty of the 90th, under Captain Clarke, Colonel Houghton went to secure the needed supplies. Though the night was dark, and the enemy were watching their proceedings from a short distance off, the forage was secured, and the party returned to the camp unmolested. We heard afterwards that it was Gabriel Dumont's intention to attack the camp that night, and Colonel Houghton's enterprise no doubt assisted in causing them to change their plans. At any rate, they must have observed that we were well on the alert, although up to this time we had no idea that they were so close, or that they intended making a stand on the morrow. I visited my rounds once more at half-past one, after the return of Colonel Houghton's expedition, and found the sentries keenly alive and watchful. Our quartermaster secured half the forage as his share of the night's spoils.

CHAPTER XII.

FISH CREEK.

NEXT day, reveillé sounded before daylight, and the camp was all astir, breakfasting and striking tents, and loading up for our march. We little thought that before sunset many of our comrades would find a soldier's grave, sacrificing their lives to uphold the integrity of their country. We started the day's march in our usual order, with sixteen scouts out skirmishing to the front, under the command of Captain Johnston. I took the precaution of making five of my men, who were dismounted on account of used-up horses, march in rear of my troop. We moved off at half-past six o'clock, with General Middleton, Captain Wise and Captain Doucet, A.D.C.'s, and Mr. McDowall, of Prince Albert, in front. Mr. Chambers, the war correspondent of the *Montreal Star*, an enterprising civilian, marched alongside Captain Gardiner and myself, then came our twenty mounted and five dismounted men immediately behind us. The column followed in the usual formation, the head of the advance-guard being about four hundred yards in our rear. We advanced about four miles.

The first unusual thing we came across was a house with all the windows smashed, where destruction was clearly intended. It was the property of a Mr. McIntosh, whose brother's place we had just left. Grain was lying about here and there, as if placed to feed horses, in which operation the enemy had but a short time before been evidently disturbed. We spent a few minutes examining the premises, which was fortunate for the General and for us, as it gave the scouts in front an opportunity of getting a little further in advance, and thus giving the General so much more warning of the presence and intended action of the enemy.

We had hardly left this house, to proceed on our way, when Captain Johnston, commanding the advanced scouts, reported to me that he had struck thirteen camp-fires still warm, and a heavy trail leading away from them. I reported the circumstance to the General, who told me to obtain further information. I then ordered Captain Johnston to take the leading section, follow up the trail, and report to me. We meantime marched on.

They had not been gone many minutes when I heard, bang! bang! and immediately after, a volley was fired at us, which, however, struck the trees in front. I gave the command "Left wheel, gallop!" and we charged down upon thirty or forty mounted men who were standing in the shelter of a bluff. When we came upon them they at once turned their horses and bolted for a ravine, or

gully, about a hundred and fifty yards distant, dismounting as they galloped. I instantly gave the word to my men, "Halt! Dismount! Extend in skirmishing order, and lie down!" Simultaneously, the enemy, who were in the ravine and out of sight, opened a murderous fire upon us. I said, "Fire away, boys, and lie close; never mind if you don't see anything, fire;"—my object being to keep the enemy down in the gully and hold them in check till the supports came up. The rebels would pop up from the ravine, take a snap shot, and disappear in an instant. The General at once sent back Captain Wise, A.D.C., to hurry up the main body, in which duty his horse was shot. We here sustained the whole of the enemy's fire, which was very hot, and unfortunately fatal. Captain Gardiner, who was beside me, was the first to say, "Major! I am hit." Almost immediately, Langford called out that he was hit. Bruce was the next victim. Then poor D'Arcy Baker called out, "Oh, Major! I'm hit!" as he received his death-wound by a bullet crashing into his breast. Then Gardiner called out, "I am hit again!" Langford, too, was wounded a second time. I told the wounded to drag themselves to the rear the best way they could and get out of further danger; ordering the remainder to hold on and fire away.

The anxiety of the moment, hearing the groans of my comrades and the continuous and disastrous fire of the enemy, was very great. But to have allowed the breeds

to come up from the ravine upon the approaching supports, I felt, would have been so fatal, that I kept my men firing away, and I looked anxiously back for the arrival of the infantry, which, when we attacked the rebels, was half a mile in our rear.

The scouts who were extended in skirmishing order, and who had been in advance of the column, now began to gallop in. They attacked the enemy from other points, which tended somewhat to draw their fire from us. But so far, having sustained little damage, the enemy were becoming bolder, and one brave came out in full view at the top of the bank, and danced a war-dance for the purpose of stimulating his comrades. He was, however, promptly disposed of by a bullet from Sergeant Stewart's rifle, which effectually prevented any further foolish exposures, for the half-breeds now kept themselves well under shelter of the ravine.

Feeling certain that in a few minutes all the horses would be slaughtered, I had ordered them to be let loose to save them, and they went galloping back to the rapidly approaching column. The first detachment came up in about fifteen minutes, during which we managed to keep the enemy in check and under cover of the gully. Captain Clark's company of the 90th was the first to come up, and he himself was one of the earliest victims, among the riflemen, of the rebel bullets. "C" School of Infantry, under Major Smith, arrived about the

same time, and next came the artillery, which was speedily brought into action, Captain Drury opening fire upon the enemy over our heads. The remainder of the troops marched up in rapid succession, the enemy the while keeping up a hot fire from the ravine, only exposing themselves for an instant as they took a snap shot.

The ravine at this point forms an angle, the left arm of which descends almost perpendicularly to the bottom. Both bank and bottom were densely covered with bush, and this formed an excellent protection for the rebels along the course of the ravine, and up and down the stream. The flat is about a hundred yards broad, through which the stream, about ten feet in width, meanders. The abrupt banks are five or six feet high, and were covered with long grass and occasional willow bushes, forming a second protection for the rebels, as they stood up to their waists in water in the bed of the stream. Stretched along this ravine, occupying a tract a quarter of a mile in length, the enemy lay, some two hundred and fifty strong. At the beginning of the engagement they had their horses, to the number of about a hundred, tied up to the trees in the bottom of the ravine, showing that they evidently did not expect defeat, and that they intended to entrap General Middleton's column as it crossed by the trail. The formation of the column, by the line of scouts that had always preceded our advance, precluded the possibility of a surprise. So, instead of the enemy drawing

us into a trap, they got themselves into that position, little thinking that the General's movements would bring him and the force so early to the spot, or that our advance would be so well protected. Fifty-five of the enemy's horses were shot before the day was over, causing as much sorrow to the half-breeds as the loss of their comrades. The horses they had when they fired at us first were allowed to run loose when the rebels jumped off their backs, and some of my men, while under fire, captured fourteen of them, and tied them up in a bluff to await the close of the battle.

The companies of the 90th, under Colonel Mackeand, arrived in quick succession, General Middleton directing them. Two companies of this battalion ("B" and "C," under Captains Ruttan and Wilkes) under command of Major Boswell, were ordered to advance to the left where an attempt was being made to out-flank us. With a few of the men left we joined Major Buchan, who was in command of three other companies of the 90th (under Captains Forest, Worsnip, and Whitla), and Major Smith, in command of "C" School of Infantry. Our object was to defeat a flanking movement of the enemy on our right.

The same tactics displayed by the half-breeds with Major Crozier at the Duck Lake fight were being pursued here, and an attempt was made to enclose us on three sides. But the steadiness of the troops, who advanced

without flinching, and with a well-directed, independent fire, checked this attempt, and confined the enemy to their snap-firing, as they popped up above the crest of the embankment for an instant. This snap-firing, however, was well-directed as well as murderous upon all the troops engaged, one poor fellow after another falling, some killed outright, and some to be consigned to the tediousness of the hospital. The General could be seen moving from one flank to the other, directing, urging and commanding, with the utmost coolness, and eliciting the admiration of some and the dismay of others lest a stray bullet should deprive the force of the Commander upon whom so much now depended.

The enemy were soon made to feel that an attack upon so large a front, showing such determination and obstinacy, was greater than they had calculated upon, although up to this time I doubt if they had sustained much loss. The position cannot be better described than by reciting an incident which Captain Gardiner relates,—“As he was dragging himself to the rear, after having received his second wound, one of the 90th, then coming up, called out to him, ‘Say, Chummy, are you hit?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Where are they, anyway? I can’t see them! This is new to me; I was never at this kind of thing before.’”

The artillery opened fire upon a house on the opposite side of the ravine, where some of the rebels were to be seen moving about, and were made to scatter in all

directions. Meanwhile a few of my men, with some of the 90th and several dismounted artillerymen, had crept up to the angle before referred to, where the bank was precipitous, and here they commanded a view of the ravine looking east, while under cover of a slight rise at the crest. Having safely gained this vantage-ground, Lieut. Ogilvie brought his gun to bear and raked the whole flat with good effect. The heaviest casualties of the artillery occurred here, as the rebels tried to silence their fire. But the gunners nobly did their duty; one man after another, as his comrade was picked off, being ready to take his place. Lieut. Ogilvie sighted his gun and fired in rapid succession, and soon let the enemy know that it was no longer a safe place for them, although he was not able to sufficiently depress his piece to reach the rebels who were immediately under the steep embankment. Gunner Arnsworth was killed at the gun, and out of eighty-six men belonging to this battery fourteen fell, dead or wounded, nobly doing their duty, while taking an important part in the battle which up to this time had been so hotly contested. The artillery action cleared the ravine in front of us, though not before Ferguson, Ennis, and Hutchinson, of the 90th, and Watson of "C" School, had been killed, and many others wounded.

We gradually crept up to the ravine on the right, private Dunn, of the 90th, being the first to gallantly cross the open on my calling for a volunteer to see if our

immediate front was clear. With some of the 90th, under Lieut. Hugh J. Macdonald, a portion of "C" School, and a few of my men, we advanced across the ravine and entered the bush on the opposite side; while Major Buchan and Major Smith, with the remainder of the force on this flank, extended further up the ravine to the right.

About this time we saw forty or fifty men, some of whom were mounted, retiring up the ravine, about half a mile away. We afterwards learned that they were under the command of Gabriel Dumont, who graphically described his position at this time in his official report of the battle he made to Riel, which was found among the rebel chief's papers on his hasty retreat after the capture of Batoche. He therein states that seeing there was necessity for reinforcements, he deemed it his duty to return to Batoche to obtain them, and left the scene of the battle about ten o'clock on the morning of the fight. Some of the 90th opened fire on Dumont's party with their Martini-Henry rifles, and Captain Drury directed his gun on a house to which they retired, about fifteen hundred yards off, and set it on fire with the second shot. The General now ordered us to withdraw across the gully, and, with Major Buchan, who had been ordered to retire from the right, we now joined the centre attack.

While what we have described had been occurring on the right, Colonel Houghton, with Major Boswell, and "B"

and "C" companies of the 90th, had attacked the left flank, causing the retreat of a portion of the enemy down the ravine to escape in that direction. The casualties on our left were as great as in other parts of the field, for the men had crossed the ravine, under the immediate command of the General, and cleared the front on that flank, afterwards returning and taking up a position on the brow of the hill, below which the rebels made the first stand.

About this time the fire of the enemy considerably slackened, and their comrades at this point discovered that they had been deserted by the main body to the right and left of them. But the firing was resumed with great vigour when they found that it now became necessary for them to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

An attempt was here made to clear the bush at the bottom of the angle of the ravine, which was humourously described as "the hornet's nest." With this object, Captain Ruttan, with his company of the 90th, and Captain Peters, with the dismounted artillery, descended to the bed of the creek. The former crossed it, and pushed into the bush, while the latter advanced up the right bank. But the enemy retired through the bush, keeping out of sight and picking off the advancing troops, so that they had to take up a position, under cover, in the bed of the creek, where they were joined shortly after by Colonel Houghton and Captain Wise, with reinforcements. At

the same time, eight of my men under Quartermaster Cox, with a few of the artillery and 90th, co-operated by attempting to advance over the brow; but all were obliged to retire with several casualties. DeManolly, of the artillery, was killed, and Perrin, Thompson, King, and Sergeant Stewart, of my corps, were wounded. At the bottom of the ravine, Lieut. Swinford received his death wound, and Wheeler of the 90th, and Cook, of the artillery, were killed. Captain Wise, A.D.C., was wounded at this time, and many other casualties also occurred. A gun was brought up to cover the retirement of this advanced line, which, though it failed, was a gallant attempt to clear out "the hornet's nest."

The General shortly afterwards sent Captain Drury with a gun (supported by his own men, and by "C" School, under Major Smith), across the ravine to the left, to shell the apparently impregnable position. Though the range was too close to effect much with a shell, Captain Drury for a time silenced the enemy's fire. Nor could the infantry accomplish much, as the rebels, while the gun was operated, lay at the bottom of their rifle pits, secure from harm. It was simply impossible to see anything of them to fire at. One gunner was wounded here, and my horse was shot from under me, while I was standing beside the gun.

While this was going on, the column under Colonel Montizambert and Lord Melgund, some two miles distant

on the left bank of the river, heard the heavy firing and the rage of battle proceeding, and their chagrin at not being with us was very great. But they vigorously set to work to make preparations to cross ; and, happily, Gen. Middleton's foresight, in bringing the ferry with the wire rope from Clarke's Crossing, gave them the means of doing so. But, before a crossing could be effected, oars had to be hewn out of the poplar timber, as the wire rope could not be speedily stretched ; and the scow was rowed over the current, a tedious operation. Many of the men, in their eagerness to cross, were anxious to swim over, not knowing what was happening, and, fearing the danger our small column might be exposed to. One can well imagine their feelings as they were forced to listen to the fire of artillery and the rattle of musketry for several hours before they could ascertain the cause or the result. However, by the combined exertions of Colonel Grasett, Major Jarvis, Captain French, Lord Melgund, and Colonel Montizambert, the officers in command of the various corps forming the left column, a crossing was effected, and early in the afternoon a portion of the Grenadiers, under Colonel Grasett, and the Winnipeg Field Battery, with Colonel Montizambert and Lord Melgund, immediately marched up to the scene of action. By this time the battle may be said, however, to have been over, for the enemy had all retreated, excepting the small detachment hidden in the narrow angle of the

ravine. Protected by their rifle-pits and the woods, like rats in a hole, there they were, completely surrounded and preparing to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The Grenadiers now relieved some of the companies of the 90th, and took up the position so gallantly held by the Winnipeg Rifles.

The question now was: "Will the surrounded rebels be cleaned out by a charge upon their position?" and an appeal was made to the General to decide the question. With characteristic humanity, the General, however, replied: "No, it will cost more lives, and I have lost too many already; their capture will not affect the work of the day." The men who had borne the brunt of the battle were ready to undertake the task; Colonel Grasett and his men were also anxious to take part in the day's work, and to bring it to a decisive conclusion; while Capt. Mason of the 10th volunteered the services of his company. But the General was obdurate. Knowing the determined character of the men we had to deal with, and the difficulties of approaching them through bush and brush to find their whereabouts, there is no doubt that had the charge been made many more valuable lives would have been sacrificed to gain a slight advantage. The General's good sense in refusing to make the charge was therefore to be commended.

No greater bravery, heroism, devotion to duty, or discipline could be expected from any troops, than was

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Camp Night of Battle.

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Plan of the Battle-fields
FISH CREEK, N.W.S.T.
 fought 24th April, 1887
 By Captain Haig, R.E.

SCALE

manifested at this unequal fight at Fish Creek. There was no wavering, no thought of a retreat, but rather a dogged determination to hold their ground, under the galling fire of an unseen enemy. The critics who sympathize with the rebels have tried to represent that with the superior arms and the superior numbers of General Middleton's force, no other result was to be expected over the foe. But without wishing to disparage the bravery of the enemy, it is well to remember that on this occasion the actual fighting force which took part in the battle did not exceed three hundred. The rear-guard, the orderlies, and the non-combatants of the force, with few exceptions, were ordered to remain in rear to protect the transport. Gabriel Dumont, over his own signature, on the other hand, acknowledges to having had two hundred and eighty men on the rebel side, which I feel sure, from what I saw and heard, was below the number. Besides this force, the enemy had the advantage of knowing the country, and had selected a naturally strong position, rendered still more strong by their ingeniously constructed rifle-pits. Moreover, every man of them had been accustomed from boyhood to the use of fire-arms, by which numbers of them live. Out of our three hundred men engaged, one officer and nine men were killed, and four officers and thirty-eight men were wounded, besides minor casualties which were never reported.

Individual instances of heroism were not wanting to make up the brilliant record of the fight; but as it is not my place to distinguish them, I shall leave it to their comrades, in recalling the memories of this eventful day for Canada, to mark them out for special admiration.

Out of my total strength, which was forty armed men, mounted and dismounted, D'Arcy Baker received a death-wound, and seven others were severely wounded. About the same percentage of the other forces engaged fell during the day, besides Captain Wise and Lieutenant Doucet, the General's two A. D. C.'s, both of whom were severely wounded, and the General himself came off with a bullet hole through his fur cap.

Major Buchan, of the 90th, was the first to arrive, after the fight commenced, and writing shortly after to a friend, thus describes the opening of the battle:—

"Volley after volley broke the stillness of the clear morning. Vaulting into my saddle—for I had been walking quietly along with my horse's bridle over my arm—and passing the various sections of the advanced guard, who were already extending for attack, I galloped to the front. When I got around the curve on the trail and came to the edge of the bluffs, where a plain opened, a terrible sight was before me. Riderless horses were scattered about, half a dozen or so of them struggling in death's agonies. Some wounded scouts endeavoured to crawl to the rear, while the remainder were lying flat and briskly returning the fire of the enemy, who were unseen, save by the puffs of smoke which came from the further side of the plain, but whose presence was made

very manifest by the whizzing "zip" and "ping" of the bullets as they flew over our heads. My appearance was the signal for a volley at myself, which made me realize, as I did all through the day, that mounted officers were the enemy's special targets. The men extended in good shape as they came up, and immediately opened fire from an advantageous position on the edge of the scrub, and gradually crept forward towards the enemy, while the wounded scouts crawled back behind the first bluff in front of which were our fellows. Not five minutes afterwards, Capt. Clark of "F" company was struck, as he was kneeling in the scrub directing the fire of his sharpshooters. Presently the guns of "A" Battery came up, and Capt. Peters opened fire, dropping his shells with splendid effect. The roar of the cannon and the scream of the bursting shells gave encouragement to those engaged on our side and evidently dismayed the enemy."

Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the General ordered the firing to cease, and the small body of the enemy still remaining were only too well satisfied to abandon the conflict. Comparative quietness now reigned, and an opportunity was given the doctors to attend to the wounded, among whom they had already been busy. Dr. Orton, M.P., brigade surgeon; Dr. Rolston, of my troop; Dr. Grant, of the artillery; Dr. Whiteford, of the 90th, were all doing their best to relieve the distressed and suffering men. They were moderately well-prepared with instruments and bandages, although, not being accustomed to war or expecting such calls upon their resources, they were somewhat deficient. A corral, about six hundred yards from the ravine, had been formed of

the transport by Mr. Bedson, assisted by Mr. Secretan, and in the centre of this an hospital was improvised. The casualty list was anxiously conned, and was found to amount to eight killed, and forty-four wounded.

The war correspondents, Mr. Chambers, of the *Montreal Star*; Mr. Ham, of the *Toronto Mail* and the *Winnipeg Times*; Mr. Davis, R.M.C., of the *Toronto Globe* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*; Mr. Johnstone, of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, and Mr. Flynn, of the *Winnipeg Sun*, were now busily engaged completing their hastily written reports, conveying information of the fight to the people of Canada, whose anxiety was great to know the fate of their friends among the troops, and whose hearts were to be torn by the sad news.

The General ordered me to supply two couriers for the conveyance of despatches to the telegraph station at Clarke's Crossing, twenty-four miles distant. The honour of bearing these despatches fell to Sergeant Dalton and Corporal Marriott, and the correspondents took advantage to send by them their accounts of the engagement. I sent a telegram to my wife, to acquaint our friends of the result of the day,—being off the line of communication,—so that no unfounded rumours might distress them. Before the following night it was received, the message having travelled twenty-four miles from Fish Creek at our end, and sixty miles by road to Russell at

the other end, which, it will be admitted, is remarkable despatch.

The General had now to determine what his next best course should be. But his first anxiety was for the wounded. He instructed Lord Melgund and Capt. Haig to select a suitable camping-ground in the neighbourhood, which would at the same time protect the crossing of the remainder of the troops from the left bank of the river, and be safe from surprise. They found an open space, about half a mile to the left of the battle-ground, near the Saskatchewan, and close to the gully of Fish Creek, which there empties into the river.

The wounded were conveyed thither in the ambulance, the transport next, and then the troops were gradually withdrawn from the scene of conflict. Thus ended the most severe battle that the Canadian soldiery of the present day have had to fight.

Had we had supports, the day might have been carried with less loss of life by a charge on the enemy's position at the commencement of the fighting; but the men lacked the experience they gained after the battle of Batoche. Apart from this fact, however, it would have been too risky with so small a force at disposal to have charged down into the ravine, without reinforcements to fall back upon.

The Grenadiers were the last to leave the field towards dusk. When they had got about three hundred yards

from the battle-field, a party of about fifty horsemen came out of the woods on the opposite side of the ravine and gave their war-whoop. These were evidently the reinforcements Gabriel Dumont had sent down from Batoche, for they did not show themselves while the troops were on the field. The word was given, "right-about-turn," and the troops were returning to the battle-field, when the enemy once more disappeared in the bush. As the General determined to pursue the attack no further, the order was once more given to march into camp.

We all went into camp, and put out strong pickets and sentries, which, after the fatigue of the day, was no light task for tired officers and men to perform. But it was done with cheerful alacrity and steadiness. Our night duty consisted in furnishing a mounted patrol, which every two hours circled the camp outside the pickets.

This was the most risky duty the mounted men had to perform. We kept from a quarter of a mile to half a mile outside the pickets, and had to run the gauntlet of every sentry and answer to their challenges. The sentries performed their duties with a great degree of faithfulness. Lord Melgund, going the rounds one very dark night, was met by, "Who goes there?" "Rounds." "What rounds?" "Grand rounds." "Stand, Grand rounds, and put up your hands," and the sentry came down to the

charge. Lord Melgund called out, "Come to the port, sir." The sentry's reply was, "No, you don't," until he became convinced that he was not being taken in by a deceitful enemy. On another occasion the patrol came and woke me up about one o'clock in the morning, and told me that one of the sentries had drawn a bead on them, and that the sentries' orders were to shoot at sight. I had to get up and go and see that the orders were corrected. This was after we had joined General Strange's men, in our chase after Big Bear, and when the sentries who were on piquet the first night we joined forces had not been accustomed to the mounted patrol. This duty General Middleton always required to be performed, and hearing my patrol moving through the dark, they took them for Indians, and very nearly fired upon them.

One sad but necessary duty had on the following day to be performed—the burial of the poor fellows who had been sent to their last home by the fatal bullets of the enemy. Wrapped up in their blankets, the bodies were placed on stretchers, and mournfully the troops followed them to their last resting-place, the General reading the burial service in an impressive and solemn manner. Their graves were covered up, and a sketch made of the position in which they lay, for the benefit of their friends. The General, before dismissing the troops to their separate parades, addressed them in these brief but affecting words: "Men! your comrades did their duty and

have nothing to regret." D'Arcy Baker, not sinking till the day after the battle, was buried the following morning beside his comrades in arms. Before leaving the camp a hundred waggon loads of stone were hauled, and a huge cairn, surmounted by a wooden cross, was erected over the spot where lay in honour their country's dead.

Two nights after the battle of Fish Creek, we were alarmed by the report of a rifle and the summons, "Guard, turn out!" The whole camp was astir at once, and, in the most orderly and self-possessed manner, fell-in on their parade-grounds within three minutes from the first alarm. The General, who was on horseback in a moment, rode off to visit the pickets and ascertain the cause of alarm. Three mounted men were reported as having been seen approaching the near picket, and not answering to the challenge the sentry fired, but nothing more was heard of them. After half an hour's anxious wondering the troops were turned in.

At dawn I was awakened by a stranger, a transport-officer, who related his adventures of the past night. It appears that he was in charge of thirty-five transport-waggons loaded with supplies from Humboldt, and just in time discovered that he was on the wrong trail and marching straight into the enemy's camp. At six o'clock the previous night he had left the teams formed up for defence, to try and find our whereabouts, and struck the camp about one o'clock in the morning. This was the

cause of the alarm. Not knowing whether we were friends or foes, he refused to answer to the challenge, and on hearing the whiz of the bullets, dismounted and lay down on the prairie till daybreak. He now wanted an escort to go off and convoy his teams into camp, which the General ordered me to furnish, and we arrived back in safety with the waggons, about six o'clock in the evening.

Poor D'Arcy Baker, who was lying severely wounded in one of the hospital tents, on hearing the shots fired at this night alarm, raised himself up, called for his horse and rifle, staggered to the door of the tent, and fell dead from the exhaustion of his efforts. The following lines on the gallant trooper's death, from the pen of Mr. Murdock, of Birtle, indicate the sympathy of our friends :

"My rifle and my horse," the soldier said,
 As forth with vigorous step he quickly came ;
 On his young brow the morning sunlight play'd,
 And life was centered in his active frame.

By winding streams 'far o'er the plain we go,
 Where dark ravines and woody bluffs appear,
 Where'er a swarthy, treacherous Indian foe
 May hide, to burst upon our flashing rear.

'Tis ours to guard the friends who come behind,—
 'Tis ours to find and search the dangerous shade ;
 Perchance our lives we lose, but never mind,
 When duty calls let no man be afraid.

The sulphurous smoke is drifting to the sky,
 And horse and rider on the plain are spread ;
 The ambushed foe, in sullen terror fly,
 The bold and brave are now amongst the dead.

With shattered heart, the stricken soldier lies,
The fatal wound has almost ceased to bleed ;
The dying warrior vainly seeks to rise,
And begs once more, his rifle and his steed.

Forever more the youthful limbs are still,
The young, the gallant, and impulsive brave
Now rests beside the far-off western hill,
And wild flowers blossom by his lonely grave.

The General now resolved to place his left column again on the other side of the river. It took two days to complete the crossing, and when that was accomplished there was nothing to relieve the routine of camp-life which now set in. The infantry took advantage of the time to drill their men and to instruct them in the various military duties which they were daily called upon to perform. Our time was more actively employed in furnishing escorts to hay trains and transports, and in sending couriers with the General's despatches, which were frequent and on long distances, as we were twenty miles from the telegraph station. Gunner Wood, our excellent telegraph operator, soon laid a field-line, however, into the camp from across the river, where the wires ran on the way to Prince Albert.

The General went over on Sunday morning to visit the scene of battle; and the fight of Friday was had over again in the vivid descriptions of individual experiences. The houses were all deserted, and left evidences of a hurried flight having taken place. We found the dead bodies of three Indians, which, with the eight killed and

the eleven wounded that Gabriel Dumont, in his official report to Riel, stated were his casualties, made up the total loss of the rebels. The shelter of the ravine had reduced their casualties very much below ours, who had to fight in the open and exposed prairie.

There was, of course, a little sadness in camp on account of the death of so many comrades, and this was deepened by the receipt of the news of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Kennedy, of the 90th Battalion of Winnipeg Rifles, who at the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion was in Egypt in connection with the brigade of Canadian boatmen, formed for the transport service. As soon as the news of the insurrection reached him he started to join his own regiment, which he had raised only the previous year, and made all haste to return to Canada. It had been arranged that he was to be received by the Queen at Windsor, on his way through England, but stricken with smallpox almost at the moment of his arrival, he lingered only a few days, to die far from his own home. Colonel Kennedy left behind him a name honoured and respected not only among the people of his own Province and the Dominion, but by all who had followed his career and noted the brilliant services he rendered the Mother Country during the Soudan campaign. The news of his death was a deep shock to all ranks in his battalion, who had eagerly looked forward to his soon joining them; but not only

was the gallant Colonel's death felt by his own regiment, but by all those who had the opportunity of knowing and appreciating his manly qualities. His funeral, in England, was attended by representatives of the most prominent personages in the land, and by some of the highest officers in the service; and I am happy to say that in appreciation of his important services to the nation, the Imperial Government has granted a handsome pension to his widow and children. The Provincial Government also, wishing to show the appreciation which Manitoba had for so valiant a son, created a new precedent in the Civil Service, by appointing Mrs. Kennedy to the position of Registrar in the city of Winnipeg, which had been held by her husband.

The General now awaited the arrival of the steamboat, which had left Saskatchewan Landing, near Swift Current, but was much delayed by low water. He was anxious to send the wounded away by it to the village of Saskatoon, some forty miles up the river, on the other side of Clarke's Crossing, whose inhabitants had written to say that they would be pleased to give their houses for their accommodation, and that their wives and daughters would nurse the wounded. But the boat was so long in coming that the General was obliged after all to send them by road. Through the ingenious invention of the chief transport officer, rude ambulances were made out of the transport waggons, by stretching across them the hides

of the cattle we had killed ; and on the 2nd day of May I was ordered to escort them to Clarke's Crossing, where they were to be met by representatives from the settlement at Saskatoon. The wounded were accompanied by Drs. Orton and Rolston, and the day after their arrival at Saskatoon, Dr. Roddick, with his staff and excellent hospital outfit, arrived and took them in charge, where, by all accounts, the arrangements for their comfort were perfect. The kindness and hospitality of the settlers of Saskatoon were at once supplemented by experienced nurses under the excellent superintendence of Nurse Miller, of the Winnipeg General Hospital.

I might here state that all the arrangements for conducting the campaign were excellent. The troops were never once without the most liberal rations, and all of good quality. The transport, though costly, did its work well ; and with the exception of the two days at Clarke's Crossing, never failed to bring up the most liberal supplies of forage and rations.

I might here also remark upon the excellence of our mail arrangements. Soldiers' letters went free, and two or three mails a week arrived, bringing the greatest solace to the soldier far from home. The newspapers were eagerly scanned for information, especially when the first news came back to us of the battle of Fish Creek. Mr. Nursey, who is a bombardier when he is soldiering, and Provincial Auditor when he is not, was our obliging post-

master. The only thing that put him out was when every man in camp came to ask him each evening when the mail was going out or had it come in. He was assisted by one of the Honourable Mr. Norquay's sons, two of whom were with the column, one in the fighting ranks, the other in the post-office. The thanks of the whole force are due to the Postmaster General for the liberal postal arrangements he made for the troops.

On the 4th of May the General had a brigade parade, with the view of practising his troops, which lasted for several hours. On the 5th we made a reconnoissance towards Batoche, under the personal command of the General, accompanied by Lord Melgund. The reconnoitring force consisted of my own and Captain French's men. We marched in the usual formation, with sixteen mounted skirmishers well to the front. We found all the houses completely deserted, everything being left as they were, excepting blankets, which the half-breeds had taken with them for their nightly camp covering. On the trail we observed numerous heavy tracks of horses, as if a large body had lately passed over it. The country was thickly covered with bluffs or clumps of trees, affording excellent cover for an enemy. After we had proceeded about nine miles, some of my men signalled signs of the enemy, and almost immediately Sergeant Fisher came up and reported having seen a dozen or more men galloping off at full speed. The General now rode on to the front, and,