

make up the bulk of every civilized community, of whom nearly every member has a vote, so this form of Jacobinism is fraught with the gravest dangers to society. The means taken to incite discontent in the minds of the Labour Classes are well known to observers, and therefore need not here be specifically pointed out. Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a contributed article in a late issue of *THE WEEK*, showed clearly that there is in fact no conflict between Capital and Labour. That the fact is as Mr. Goldwin Smith, in common with all sound economists, states, is reassuring to all whose happiness (and whose is not?) is indissolubly linked to the stability of society. But there is grave danger, nevertheless. The Labour Classes do not read the works of sound economists: they read those of Henry George.

Is there anything abnormal in the social condition of Canada, anything which might be reasonably expected to afford sustenance to this monstrous parasite, socialistic Jacobinism? It may be confidently asserted that there is not. Once more, in Canada there is a fairly even distribution of wealth: the farmers own the soil which they cultivate, the lands unsettled are practically limitless, and the people are self-reliant. Why, then, is socialistic Jacobinism advocated with such persistent confidence?

There are to my mind satisfactory explanations. "It is an old observation," says Addison in the *Spectator*, "which has been made of politicians who would rather ingratiate themselves with their Sovereign than promote his real service, that they accommodate their counsels to his inclinations, and advise him to such actions only as his heart is naturally set upon." In Addison's time the King was the Sovereign; in our time the people are the Sovereign. The change, however, has not changed the ways of politicians; and, though I do not think the high-spirited Labour Classes in Canada have their hearts naturally set upon redistributing inherited and all other kinds of property, upon the principles of Mr. Henry George and his abettors, there are politicians who for an obvious purpose are trying to persuade them that it is to their interest to do so. This is an explanation in part. But there is a current in this Jacobinical flood which mere vote-hunting does not account for, though probably the devious ways of the vote-hunter at first marked out its course. Has the ardent sympathy of certain politicians and their followers in the press with Irish "patriotism" led to an unreserved conviction of the soundness of the doctrine lying at the root of Irish "patriotism"—the spoliation of property-owners? I have no doubt that it has; and Irish hatred of England has facilitated the conviction. What further explanation is needed must be sought in the fatuous impatience with which well-meaning people regard a "system in just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world."

The danger to society lies in the vicious literature with which the Labour Classes are supplied. But it will probably be found in the end that the sound-heartedness and self-reliance of Canadian and American workmen will prevent Jacobinism from taking firm root on this continent; and as for pure Socialism, it is but the dream of madmen. Let those who are inclined to listen to these siren voices remember the tumultuous rabble following Laertes when—

As the world were now but to begin,
Antiquity forgot, custom not known,
The ratifiers and props of every word,
They cry, "Choose we; Laertes shall be king!"

and turn to hear the cry of Tiresias:—

My warning that the tyranny of one
Was prelude to the tyranny of all:
My counsel that the tyranny of all
Led backward to the tyranny of one.

M. J. F.

REMINISCENCES OF THE NORTH-WEST REBELLIONS.

MAJOR BOULTON is one of the few men to whose lot it fell to take part in quelling the two successive insurrections which Riel got up. The personal narrative of his adventures will remove some erroneous impressions which sympathizers and enemies had unconsciously united in creating; and although the book is not a complete record of the events to which it relates, it adds to our knowledge on some points, and corrects some errors which have been propagated with diligent assiduity. When the first insurrection broke out, all regular authority had disappeared from the North-West. The Hudson Bay Company had sold its rights to Canada, and its power of government was treated as having lapsed. But the country had not been transferred to Canada, though a Governor of Manitoba had been sent to the frontier, in the person of Mr. Macdougall. He, however, had gone in advance of his authority, and was powerless. During this interregnum, Riel captured Fort Garry, formed a Provisional Government, on the authority of a Convention got up in the absence of influential persons whom he held as prisoners, and who might, if at liberty, have given it a different complexion. As a condition of being allowed to form

the Provisional Government, of which he got himself made President, Riel promised to release the prisoners; but he failed to keep his word, and only released some of them: it was then that Major Boulton was induced to take command of a force, raised at Portage la Prairie and other places, to set the prisoners free. He had some doubts about the propriety of this movement, and only consented to take charge of it when he found that a force had been raised, and that the men were determined to go. His reason for consenting to accompany the little expedition was founded on the fear that, if he refused, some "rash act might bring trouble upon the country." Acting as moderator, he fell under the suspicion of the rasher part of the force that he was not in earnest. Once, feeling that he had lost the confidence of the men, he resigned. Being re-nominated for formal election to the command, Mr. Boulton was asked before the motion was put, "If he meant fight?" He replied that "if by fighting was meant leading the men on to any rash act or undertaking, irrespective of consequences, he did not mean fighting; but that, if re-elected, he would do his utmost to accomplish the object of the expedition." Mr. Boulton does not take the credit of having raised the force. He placed himself at the head of a number of men who had united with the determination of releasing their friends from unjust and illegal confinement; but he was wisely anxious to prevent an outbreak of hostilities. Negotiations were opened with Riel at Fort Garry, and the prisoners were released; then the force under Major Boulton, having accomplished its object, resolved to return.

But the men, contrary to the Major's advice, resolved to return in a body,—“like brave men,” as an old sergeant who was among them said. When opposite the Fort, marching in single file, up to their waists in snow, a number of men came out, headed by O'Donohoe and Lepine, some mounted and some on foot. O'Donohoe informed Major Boulton that Riel desired to hold a parley with him at the Fort. Lepine tried to wrest a revolver from one of Boulton's men, and if he had succeeded in provoking hostilities the whole of the retiring party, ill-armed and floundering in the snow, and surrounded by horsemen, would have been massacred. Boulton ordered the man to give up the revolver; and though there was reason to suspect bad faith, it was impossible to refuse the invitation of O'Donohoe to visit Riel at the Fort. No sooner had Boulton arrived with his men than the gates were closed on them; they were disarmed, their valuables taken from them. Boulton, who was put in a room alone, was shortly after told by Riel to prepare to die next day at twelve o'clock. The rest of the prisoners, about forty in number, were placed under a guard of twenty men, armed with rifles and fixed bayonets. In Boulton's room there was no fire, though the temperature was many degrees below zero, and the prisoner had to lie on the bare floor, with chains on his hands and feet, and a guard over him. Before morning the sentry went mad. Another, who took his place, died in the room next day. In vain Riel offered Boulton his liberty if he would induce Dr. Shultz and Mr. Mair to give themselves up. Expecting to die, Boulton received the last sacrament at the hands of Archdeacon Maclean, but his life was finally spared on condition that Donald A. Smith would induce the English-speaking settlers to elect representatives to meet Riel in council. Riel now showed his craft in asking Boulton to join his Government; but it was labour in vain. Scott had in the interval been murdered; and the rest of the prisoners were now released, through the intervention of Archbishop Taché, on taking an oath not to take up arms against the Provisional Government.

Land was allotted to the Half-breeds of Manitoba, after the rule of Canada had been extended to the country, to the extent of two hundred and forty acres each: these claims were represented by scrip, which the recipients sold at various prices, which sometimes did not exceed fifteen dollars. Many of these Half-breeds afterwards went westward, and again claimed land on the banks of the Saskatchewan. But there were other Half-breeds there whose claims for land were as good as those of their brethren in Manitoba. Archbishop Taché, warned by the past and by his intimate knowledge of the character of the Indians, urged the Government to concede their claims in a form that would guard them against the consequences of their own improvidence, and Governor Laird made a similar proposal; but, as Mr. Boulton says, the Half-breeds themselves "wanted to secure the few dollars the issue of the scrip would give them." The Commission to inquire into these claims, if Mr. Boulton be correct in his facts, was appointed in January, 1885. The Commission resolved to err, if at all, on the side of excessive liberality; and accordingly it included among the grantees a number of persons who were beneficiaries under the treaties with the Indians, besides others who had died of small-pox some years before.

Both these insurrections were more or less connected with the surveys: