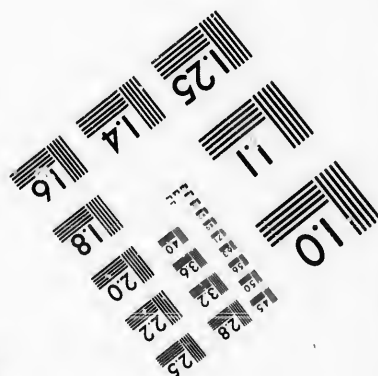
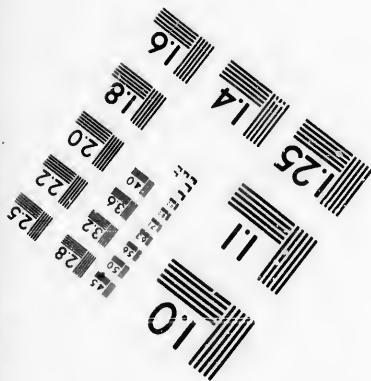
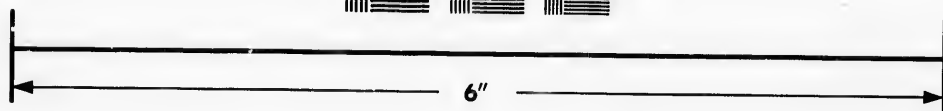
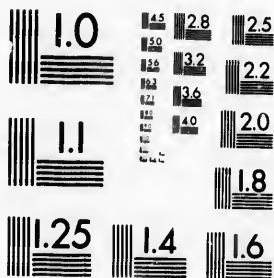


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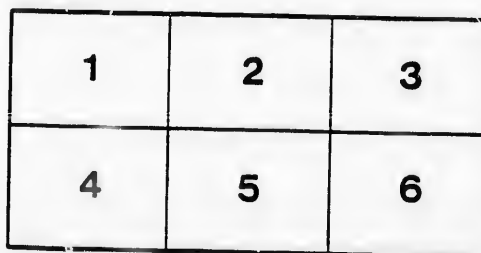
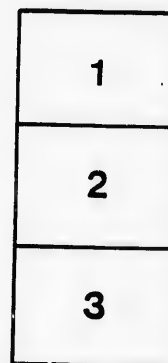
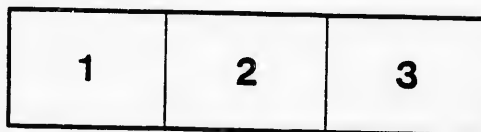
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*Superintendent of Education  
Montreal*

A VIEW

OF

RUSSIAN AMERICA,

IN

CONNECTION WITH THE PRESENT WAR.

BY A. R. ROCHE.

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[READ BEFORE THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, 7TH MARCH,  
1855, AND PUBLISHED IN THE JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY.]

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MONTREAL :

PRINTED BY JOHN LOVELL, AT HIS STEAM-PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT,  
ST. NICHOLAS STREET.  
1855.



A VIEW  
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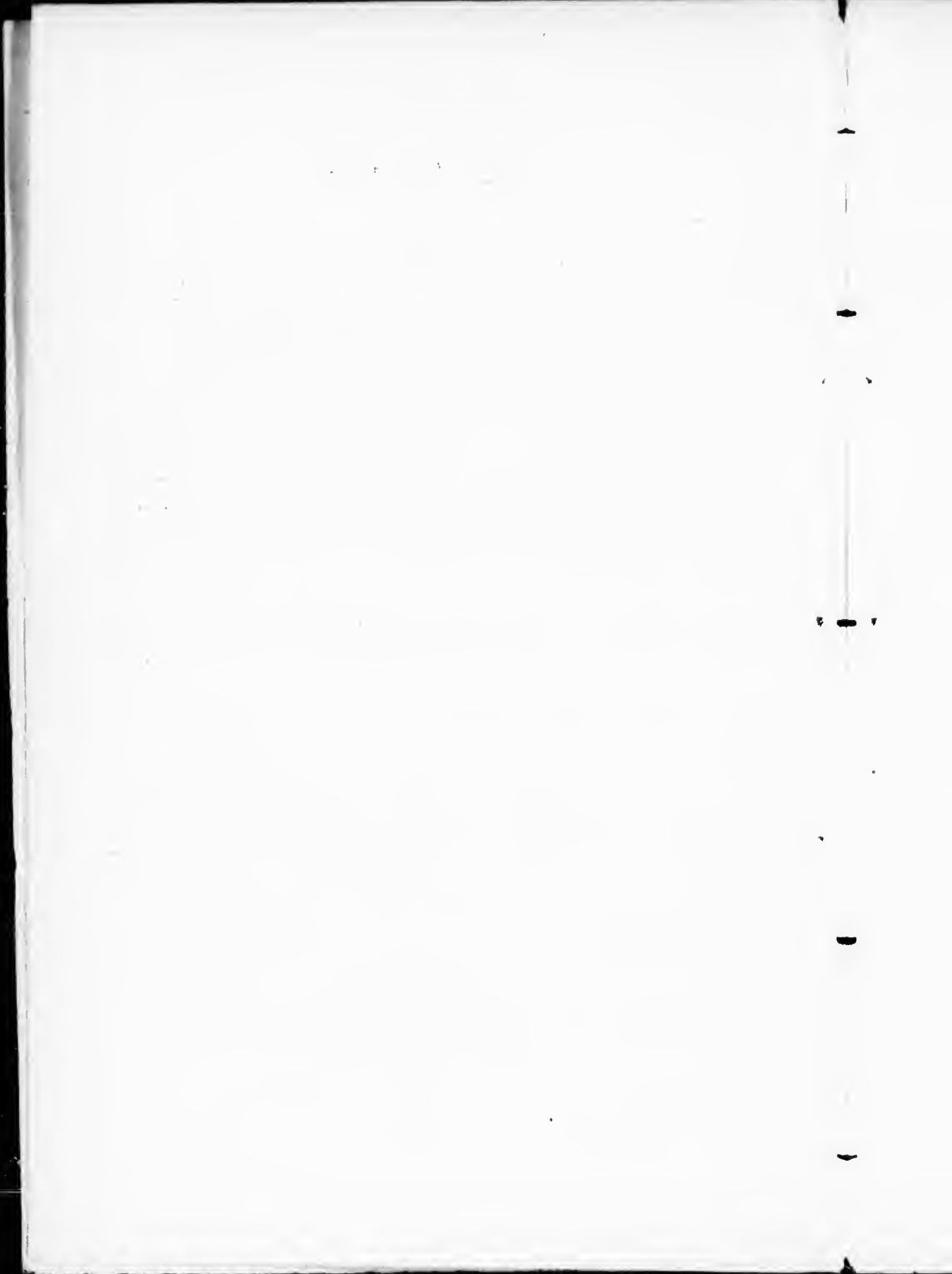
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MONTREAL:  
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1855.





TO HIS EXCELLENCY

*John Scott, Esquire,*

LIEUT. GOVERNOR

OF THE

ISLAND OF LABUAN:

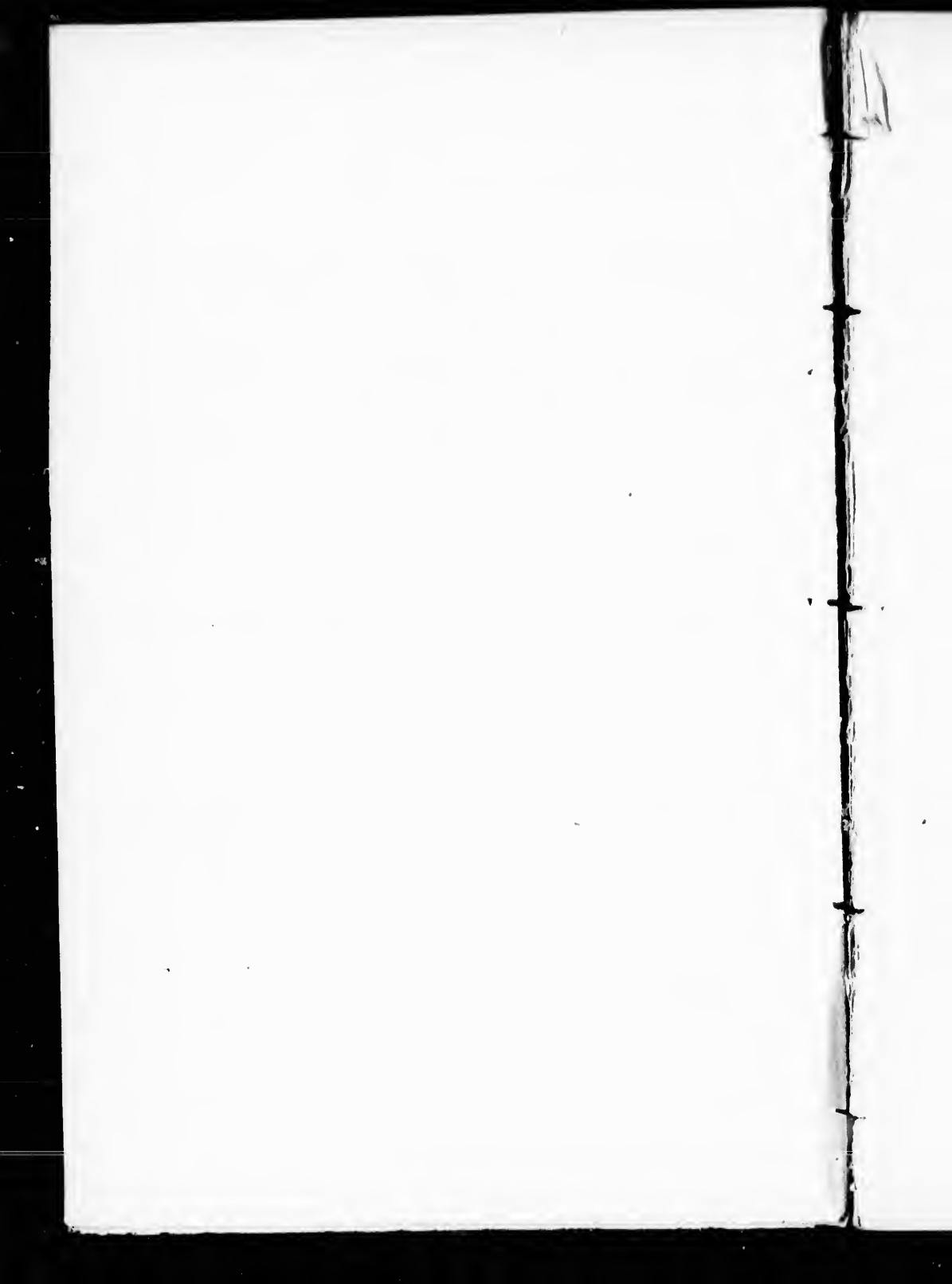
WITH WHOM THE WRITER HAS OFTEN DISCUSSED SUBJECTS KINDRED TO  
THOSE TREATED OF IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES;

THIS MEMOIR IS DEDICATED

BY HIS FRIEND,

A. R. ROCHE.

QUEBEC, March, 1855.



## A VIEW OF RUSSIAN AMERICA.

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SEPARATED from Canada by a distance of some two thousand miles, yet associated with her in her ambitious, but reasonable expectations of the future, when the province, or new provinces under the same flag, shall extend from her great lakes to the Arctic Sea in one direction, and to the Pacific Ocean in another, is a valuable region possessed by that power with which we are now in a state of warfare, her present title to a great portion of which has been obtained by imposture and persevering aggression upon her part, and through that former indifference of English statesmen to British territorial rights upon this continent, which has, at various periods, led to our giving away much of Canada, New Brunswick, and the Oregon territory to the United States, the most fertile districts of Newfoundland to France, and a large portion of the discoveries of Cook, Dixon and Vancouver, upon the north-west coast of America, to Russia. By the convention of 1825 with the latter power, we even gave up all claim to any future discoveries which might be made by British navigators upon the northern shores of this continent, lying within certain meridians. Thus much of the subsequent efforts, in 1826, of Franklin from the mouth of the Mackenzie, and of Beechey from

Behring's Straits, to explore the then unknown coasts between those points, and also the successful efforts, in 1837, of Simpson and Deese, to connect the discoveries of those officers, by tracing the coast from the extreme limit of Franklin's voyage from the east, to Point Barrow, where Beechy had penetrated from the west, were made, not for England, but for a powerful rival state.

Into the former claims of England, founded upon the discoveries of Cook, Dixon and Vancouver, and of Russia, supported by those of Behring and Kotzebue, to what is called Russian America, there is now little occasion for inquiry, for all treaties between the two powers having ceased to exist so soon as a declaration of war passed between them, the fact of the territory in question being held by Russia would warrant Great Britain in taking possession of it at any moment and by any means. But it having been stated that a treaty has been entered into by England and France, under which, in the event of their making any conquest in the course of the present war, neither of them shall permanently retain any territory which it may so become possessed of, it is well that reasons, which exist for an exception being made in this respect in regard to Russian America, should be brought forward, before any contingency in that direction can happen, which might place England in an awkward position towards France.

Though the justice of the rival claims, originally put forth by England and Russia, to the territory under consideration, need not be analysed here, to justify or to urge the capture of the territory by the former power, yet, among the reasons for excepting Russian America from the provisions of such a treaty as the one above mentioned, may be brought forward the fact that England formerly laid claim to a great portion of the territory, the

justice of which claim, founded upon survey, as well as upon discovery, is indicated by the English names, which, even at the present day, mark many of its capes, inlets, bays and islands, and as could be proved, were a thorough examination to be made of the discoveries there of Cook and other British navigators, and of the Russian navigators in the same quarter, including those of Behring. The discoveries of the latter, about which the Russians have said so much, appear, in reality, hardly to have extended to the main land, hardly beyond the Aleutian and other islands lying between Asia and America, upon one of which, now called after him, he miserably perished. Though it is certain that, from a distance, he saw the peak of Mount St. Elias, which is 17,000 feet high, yet it does not appear that Behring ever approached within sight of any other part of the territory, on the American continent, now held by Russia. The discoveries, which our own navigators have made along its northern coast, since the convention of 1825, should also give us a greater right to avail ourselves of any contingency of war, which might place Russian America within our power, and its contiguity to our own important possessions, a large portion of which it deprives of a seaboard upon an ocean, where we have already more at stake than any other nation, makes the territory the most desirable which we could wrest from Russia. While these reasons may be urged for our possessing ourselves exclusively of it, the greatest misfortune, which could happen to us in that quarter, would be, to allow it to fall into the possession of France or the United States; the only countries, besides Russia, which could in future attempt to become our rivals in the Pacific: the one through her extent of territory and her commerce upon that ocean, the other through her large fleet, and her desire (as evinced in her

recent occupation of New Caledonia, and the neighbouring islands), to acquire territory and influence there.

Few persons in England, or in Canada, have any knowledge of the extent and value of Russian America. With a coast upon the Pacific of some fifteen hundred miles in length, indented by numerous sounds and capacious harbours, and studded with many large islands of considerable resources, it extends back, for about one thousand miles of that coast, to a distance of nine hundred miles, and for the remaining five hundred miles of coast, to thirty miles, the latter being the portion in front of our possessions which it cuts off from the Pacific ; while the peninsula of Alaska, about fifty miles in breadth, stretches out in the Pacific for upwards of three hundred miles : the whole territory comprising a surface of nine hundred thousand square miles. It is thus about sixteen times the size of England. It contains many mountain ranges of great height, and fine valleys, magnificently watered and fertilized by large lakes and rivers ; the mountain ranges in the upper and broader portion of the territory, having a transverse direction, and therefore sheltering the valleys from northerly winds, which in that quarter are cold winds in summer, while, extraordinary as it may appear to many, in winter they invariably cause a rise in the thermometer. At both these seasons southerly winds produce effects directly opposite to the former, being warm winds in summer, and cold winds in winter. A great portion of this vast region (in some places to within a short distance of the Arctic circle), is covered with forests of the largest and most valuable trees. Even upon some of the islands of Prince William's Sound, in 61° north latitude, where it might be expected that the influence of the wind and sea would prevent or retard the growth of trees, Cook found the Canadian and

spruce pine of a tolerably large size ; and of the country adjacent to Norton Sound, lying in  $64^{\circ} 55'$  north latitude, he says : " From the elevated spot on which Mr. King surveyed the sound, he could distinguish many extensive valleys, with rivers running through them, well wooded, and bounded by hills of a gentle ascent, and moderate height. One of these rivers appeared to be of considerable size. Some of the people, who penetrated beyond this into the country, found the trees larger the farther they advanced." In speaking of the resources of Russian America, Sir John Richardson, in his work upon " the Arctic searching expedition," quotes Bongard, with regard to one portion of it, who says, that " the hill of Westerwoi," near Norfolk Sound, in North latitude  $58^{\circ}$ , which is 3000 feet, French measure, in height, is clothed to its summit by a dense forest of pines and spruces, some of which acquire a circumference of twenty-one feet, and the prodigious length of one hundred and sixty feet, and that the hollow trunk of one of these trees, made into a canoe, is able to contain thirty men, with all their household effects." Sir John Richardson adds : " The climate of Sitka," (the name of the bay as well as of the island upon which is situated New Archangel, the chief post of the Russian company, lying in  $57^{\circ}$  N. latitude), " is very much milder than that of Europe on the same parallel, the cold of winter being neither severe nor of long continuance ; the humidity of the atmosphere gives astonishing vigour to the vegetation, but although the forest, nourished by a very moist atmosphere and a comparatively high mean temperature, is equal to that of the richest woodlands of the Northern United States, yet corn does not ripen there." This humidity of the atmosphere, which is occasioned by the surrounding sea, is doubtless the cause of corn

not coming to perfection at Sitka ; for some distance in the interior of the continent, as far east as the Mackenzie, in the territory occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, the cereals are successfully cultivated, up to 60 degrees north latitude, and occasionally in some spots situated five degrees further north. In the neighbourhood of the Mackenzie, Sir John Richardson says that, "Fort Laird, or the 60th parallel, may be considered as the northern limit of the economical culture of wheat." As in the interior of Russian America the climate must be of a drier nature than upon the seaboard, and probably more in extreme ; that is, colder in winter and warmer in summer, much of the interior may be well adapted for the growth of the cereals, although they cannot be successfully cultivated at the Russian establishments upon the coast. The harbour at Sitka, and several other fine harbours in the neighbourhood, are open during the whole winter ; thus showing an extraordinary contrast to the opposite coasts of Asia, which are ice-bound for three parts of the year. Even as high up as Behring's Straits a great difference of climate exists between the coasts of the Asiatic and American continents. In his "Travels round the World," Sir George Simpson remarks that, "although at some points Behring's Straits are only forty-five miles wide, in the general appearance of the two coasts there is a marked difference, the western side being low, flat and sterile, while the eastern is well wooded, and in every respect better adapted than the other for the sustenance both of man and beast. Moreover, the soil and climate improve rapidly on the American shore, as one descends ; and at Cook's Inlet" (in 60 degrees N. latitude), "potatoes may be raised with ease, though they hardly ripen in any part of Kamtschatka, which extends nearly ten degrees further south. As, in addition to the advantages of culti-



vation, deer, fish, game and hay are abundant, the Russian Fur Company contemplates the formation of a settlement there for the reception of its own servants." The mildness of the temperature along the coast of the latter, when compared to the eastern coasts of this continent, is pointed out by Sir John Barrow, who, in his "Arctic Voyages of Discovery," says: "On the western coast of America, up as far as Cook's River, between the latitudes of  $55^{\circ}$  and  $60^{\circ}$ , the certhias and the humming birds are said to be chirping and singing, when, from Newfoundland, in  $50^{\circ}$ , down to Philadelphia, in  $40^{\circ}$ , frost and snow cover the water and the ground." Thus, both in soil and climate, a great portion of Russian America, bordering upon the sea, is not inferior to Europe in the same latitude, and is greatly superior to the eastern coasts of America and Asia, whether lying in the same, or in a much lower parallel. Sitka, for instance, which is in  $57^{\circ}$  north latitude, has a climate almost as temperate as that of London, in 51 degrees north latitude (the mean annual temperature of the former being  $45^{\circ} 44'$ , and that of the latter  $49^{\circ} 70'$ ); and it has also about as mild a winter as the southern portions of Japan, situated in a much lower latitude. The superiority, however, of the soil and climate of Russian America, over the soil and climate of the opposite coasts of Asia, has been observed from the time of Kotzebue up to the present moment. That navigator remarks, when at East Cape, on the Asiatic side of Behring's Straits, that "the ice and snow had maintained their rule there since the year before," in which state he found the whole coast; "while at Cape Prince of Wales," in about the same parallel, and at other spots upon the American side, corresponding in latitude to those he touched at on the opposite side of the straits, "all was verdure, the coast being covered with a green carpet, and

the summits of the mountains being free from snow." But we have still more recent evidence of the comparative mildness of the climate upon the American side, even in a higher latitude. At Point Barrow, in  $71^{\circ}$  north, where there is a large permanent Esquimaux village, and where Her Majesty's ship Plover wintered in 1852-3, her commander, Lieut. Pullen, reported that, during the entire winter, the fall of snow there did not exceed one foot in depth, and that on the coldest day the thermometer only marked 43 degrees below zero: a degree of cold not much greater than that which was experienced at Quebec last winter, where, also, the entire quantity of snow which fell during that period was about fifteen times greater than that reported as above to have fallen during the winter of 1852-3 at Point Barrow, situated twenty-three degrees further north. The comparatively moderate degree of cold experienced upon the shores of the Arctic Sea thus indicated, as well as the comparatively small quantity of snow that falls there (a fact also established by the experience of many Arctic voyagers), cannot but appear very extraordinary to many who have read the accounts of the intense cold and the heavy snow storms encountered further to the eastward by Franklin, Back, and others; but the phenomena may perhaps be explained by our attributing them to certain influences which are felt there, and which do not exist upon the north-eastern coasts of America and Asia. Among these influences may be mentioned the prevailing winds during the winter at Point Barrow, as observed by Lieut. Pullen. These winds were from east-north-east and north-east, and consequently from seaward, which, although coming from the Arctic Sea, must tend materially to ameliorate the climate there. The sea in those meridians, like the sea north of Europe, is apparently

little encumbered by islands, and from the rolling swell from the northward, experienced by Franklin in his boat voyage along the coast in that direction, in 1826, and from the pitching motion observed near the same spot, but further from the shore, by M'Clure in his recent voyage, that sea appears to be of vast extent, and to contain much open water. The same conclusion as to the existence of an open sea in that quarter, may also be arrived at from what has been observed in the still more recent voyage of Captain Collinson, who, not only followed McClure's track almost up to where he was frozen in, but was enabled to return by the route he had pursued in penetrating so far to the eastward, and again passing along the northern coast of this continent, and through Behring's Straits, reached the Pacific. He is now on his way to England. The results which have been observed in Russian America to attend northerly and southerly winds in winter, have been invariably experienced in certain portions of Siberia, only, instead of the former, which are the warmer winds of that season, being the more frequent there during that period, as is the case in Russian America, the latter, which traverse over an enormous extent of frozen soil, greatly prevail. This difference between the two countries in the prevailing winds of winter, is probably one of the causes which make so great a difference in their climate, Russian America at that season being considerably warmer than any part of Siberia.

Of the many large rivers which flow through Russian America, none of them have been explored to their sources; but several of them, such as the Colville, the Stikine, the Yukon or Kwichpack, and the Kuskokwin, are supposed to run a course of upwards of one thousand miles, and to be navigable for considerable distances. From

their breadth as well as their length, and the volume of water which they discharge into the sea, they may certainly be included among rivers of the first class. The Colville, which was discovered by Simpson and Deese since the convention of 1825, is two miles wide at its mouth in the Arctic Sea, where Captain McClure observed its influence twelve or fourteen miles out at sea, the water at that distance being of "a dirty mud colour, and scarcely salt." The Stikine enters the Pacific in  $56^{\circ} 50'$  north latitude, where it is three miles wide, and at a distance of thirty miles from the sea, has a width of one mile; but its source is in the British territory. Of the Yukon or Kwichpack, Sir John Richardson says: "It rises to the west of the Rocky Mountains, not far from the union of the Francis and Lewis, which form the Pelly, flows first to the north, and after receiving a large tributary named the Poreupine, to the westward, falls into Behring's Sea;" and that "in  $66^{\circ}$  North latitude, and  $147\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  West longitude," which is about one thousand miles from its mouth, "it is one mile and a-quarter wide." These three magnificent rivers, falling into different seas, probably represent three distinct river systems of the north-west corner of this continent, each being fed by numerous smaller, yet considerable streams, and the three together, draining an extent of country much larger than the whole of Canada. The Rat River mentioned by Mr. Ibister, of the Hudson's Bay Company's service, in a communication to the Royal Geographical Society, flows from Russian America through the Rocky Mountains at the first complete break in the chain in  $67^{\circ}$  north latitude, into the Mackenzie of the British territory; the latter having, according to Sir John Richardson, a course of two thousand eight hundred miles (eight hundred longer than the St. Lawrence), and an unbroken navigation, fit for steamboats, from its entrance in the

Arctic Sea to the Portage of the Drowned, a distance of from twelve to thirteen hundred miles.

In addition to the Russian territory being every where drained by the finest rivers, it contains many large lakes, communicating with the former, and is indented with numerous deep and spacious harbours, and also by several extensive arms of the sea. Of the latter, Cook's Inlet, runs upwards of two hundred miles into the land. These lakes and rivers, and these inlets and harbours, may be viewed as very important features of the country. They not only assist to temper the climate (the former by draining the land, which generally slopes towards the sea and towards the Mackenzie, and the latter by the salt atmosphere, which their waters diffuse through the interior); but they tend to enrich the soil upon their banks, by a short period of overflow in the spring, and may be made to afford facilities for inter-communication, rendering accessible the most retired and most sheltered valleys, and for the establishment and active prosecution of an outward commerce. Traders already pursue a route from the neighbourhood of the Mackenzie, through the northern pass of the Rocky Mountains, by the north-west branch of the River of the Mountains, to Lynn Canal, situated a short distance above Sitka, between the entrance of which canal and their posts lower down, the Hudson's Bay Company have steamers running. The main land, as far as Cape Fairweather, is leased to that body by the Russian Fur Company.

Though little of the interior of Russian America has been thoroughly explored, yet, with the knowledge which we possess, that such rivers as the Colville, the Yukon, the Stikine, the Kuskokwin, the Rat and the Peel, and many other rivers of a large size, traverse it in every part, all of which are open for a considerable

period, and some of which, flowing into the Pacific, are never closed; that upon this continent the finest forests generally follow the direction of the rivers; that the soil must partake of the fertility usually found where numerous volcanoes exist, many being in action throughout the territory; and that it must contain many extensive valleys, completely sheltered from the coldest winds, by the several transverse ranges of mountains, such as the Blue Mountains, the Copper Mountains, the Big Beaver Mountains, and the spurs from the Rocky Mountains, which diversify its surface, we should be led to believe that a great portion of Russian America is richer in resources and capabilities than it has hitherto been allowed to be, either by the English, who shamefully gave it up, or by the Russians, who cunningly obtained it. Since the period of its cession to the latter, the few accounts given of it, relate chiefly to portions along the coast, and along the British frontier near the Mackenzie; those accounts proceeding from recent British Arctic voyagers and travellers, and from the officers of the Russian and Hudson's Bay Fur Companies, who have occasionally penetrated its thick forests at various points, the former from the coast, the latter from the Hudson's Bay territory on the east. Viewed separately, these accounts are very incomplete, but upon an examination and a comparison of the whole of them, which the writer has attempted, they present a much more cheerful picture of the country, than that which has been drawn of it in encyclopædias, and ordinary works upon the physical features of this continent, where the interior of this vast region is called a frozen waste, partly covered with inaccessible mountains, and partly with immense morasses. The writers in these works, in their inability, or in their want of industry, to learn what the country really is, have evidently,

upon the perusal of one or two accounts of the most unfavorable spots along the sea shore, where morasses have chanced to be found, as they are often found along the sea shore of many countries, applied the description of those spots to the whole territory. They have not even allowed for the possibility of the existence of any of those local advantages of soil and climate in portions of the interior yet unvisited, or unknown to them, which are invariably found in many parts of every extensive region possessing such diversity of surface as Russian America.\*

Thus, from this dealing in generalities upon insufficient grounds, many fine countries have been long unjustly condemned and avoided. In fact, few general descriptions convey a correct impression of any country. It would, indeed, be very surprising if so vast a region as Russian America, which extends up to 71° north latitude, should

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\* The following extracts from a paper, by Mr. Ibister, which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for 1845, give instances of the wonderful effects produced by certain local conditions upon soil and climate, even in parts of Russian America situated in the high latitudes of 66° and 67° North: "We proceeded from Fort Good Hope" [on the Mackenzie,] "to the upper part of the Rat River on the west of the Rocky Mountains, where a much finer country was observed. We had no sooner reached the bottom of the shelving valley than we found ourselves in an agreeable calm, while the temperature had to our sensations risen more than twenty degrees." "We ascended about thirty miles from the mouth of the Peel in sight of the Rocky Mountains. The character of the country had already entirely changed. The banks, though still low and alluvial, were strongly impregnated with dark, vegetable matter, and clothed with a dense vegetation of pines, poplars, and a thick underwood of different kinds of willow; and so sudden had been the transition from sterility to luxuriance, that we could scarcely believe that a few hours before we had been travelling through bleak unrelieved desolation. At the mouth of the river the vegetation is spare and scanty, but at a short distance, as soon as we reach the shelter of the mountains, it breaks out into a luxuriance unknown on the Mackenzie, in the same latitude. A white pine which we felled there measured seventy feet in length, and nine feet nine inches in circumference."

not contain large morasses, and present in many parts a scene of wide-spread desolation.\* But what country of any extent is there, which did not, when in a state of nature, contain large morasses and desert tracts, and appear desolate in proportion to its solitude? What has been pronounced to be a desert upon the first view of a country, has been often found, upon a further examination, to contain large tracts, exhibiting a varied surface of wooded mountains, fertile valleys and fine rivers; and such features a large portion of Russian America will be found to present. Even large portions of the steppes lying between Siberia and Thibet, which had always been represented as wholly barren and impassable, have been discovered by the Russians to be fertile and well watered, and altogether different to the ordinary steppes; and they have now established permanent posts of Cossacks, strengthened by field works and artillery, at certain intervals, extending one thousand miles across it, from Omsk towards the Thibetean frontier, in a direct line to India. Should the Russians entertain any designs against the latter country, it will be by this route that they will attempt to carry them out. The recent work of the French missionary, M. Hue, upon Tartary, shows how the Chinese have lately encroached upon the great desert of Gobi, and how they have turned every portion of it, upon which they have settled, into smiling gardens and fertile fields and meadows. But what were once considered as impassable deserts, will in future offer few obstacles to the traveller, the results of modern science and industry being made to supply those wants, which will enable us to provide against those dangers and difficulties, whether

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\* In describing his course down the Mackenzie and along the shores of the Arctic Sea, not far from Russian America, Sir John Richardson says, "the boggy places were only seen on the sea coast."



of the elements, or of the features of the country, which have so often turned back the finest armies, since the period of Alexander's march across the deserts of Beloochistan to India. Science and industry, however, aided by enterprise, by civilization and Christianity, will do much more for the present and succeeding generations, than enabling large armies to cross what had been considered as impassable deserts. They will continue what the Chinese have begun, even without the aid of the latter: turn many portions of them into gardens and fields, through which the single traveller may journey in comfort and safety, and at every stage find a hamlet and a welcome. Our expectations of so much being within the possibility of accomplishment may well be encouraged by what has been already effected throughout the steppes of Siberia. Perhaps the only desert tracts in which this could not be hoped for, are, what are called, the "barren grounds," upon the north-east coast of this continent, and the deserts of sand and perennial heat of Arabia and Africa.

Though a large portion of Russian America is neither a desert, nor the frozen waste which many suppose it to be, science, enterprise and industry may be made to accomplish much there, provided it be no longer maintained merely as a preserve for wild animals; and once in the hands of England, it is to be hoped that it will be rescued from the fate to which the immense region contiguous to it has been so long condemned, through having been left under the charge of an exclusive and unimproving body, such as the Hudson's Bay Company.

In Russian America the northern limit of the forest extends along the parallel of  $69^{\circ}$ , while on the east of this continent it is confined to the 60th parallel, and in Siberia, with the exception of one or two favored locali-

ties in the west, to 65° north latitude. The relative value of these immense territories, so far as vegetation is regarded, may be estimated from a consideration of these facts alone. But the former can be shown to possess many other natural advantages over the other territories, in addition to possessing all those resources which give to the latter their chief value. Its existing trade to China, in furs alone, is very valuable, but to England that trade would become of still more importance, in her being able to make it one direct to Canton, and to the other ports of that empire to which she has access, instead of its being carried on, as at present, through the tedious and expensive route of Siberia, and the mart at Kiakhta. Some idea of the value of the fur trade of this region may be formed, from the fact that the Russian Fur Company maintain about sixty establishments among the islands along the coast, upon the main coast itself, and in the Fox, Aleutian and Kurile Islands, which stretch across to the coast of Japan, and that the Tchukche of Siberia cross Behring's Straits to trade with the Esquimaux and with the Russian posts recently planted in that quarter, for furs and for fossil ivory. These articles the Tchukche carry to the fair of Ostrownoie, situated on the Lesser Aniuy, accompanied by their women and children; between which mart and the American coast, the journey occupies them nearly six months, so that they pass the greater part of the year upon the road. The Tchukche also trade with the large island of St. Lawrence, lying in the centre of Behring's Straits, and at Sledge and Ukiwok Islands, situated higher up. To facilitate the carrying on of this trade, the intelligent, enterprising and industrious Esquimaux have formed entrepôts at the latter islands, and, through their brethren on the main land, they distribute the Russian wares, obtained from the former over

several hundred miles of American coast, and through seven or eight hundred into the interior, by the Yukon, and neighbouring rivers. Of these native traders, who, to a certain extent, act as such in defiance of the orders of the Russian Fur Company, Sir John Richardson says: "Sledge Island, as small as Ukiwok, is also inhabited by skilful traders, who are employed by the Tehukehe as factors, to exchange the articles of Russian manufacture entrusted to them, for furs collected on the banks of the Kwiehpak, Kuskokwin, and neighbouring rivers of America. The great variety of dialects which prevails in the Aleutian Archipelago, and neighbourhood of Behring's Straits, is most probably the result of the active commerce there carried on, having brought several nations into contact with each other." The enterprise of these independent native traders, which Von Bæer compares with that of the Phœnicians, has apparently begun to attract the attention of the British merchant; for, when recently cruising in that quarter, the commander of the Plover mentions, that, during his absence from Port Clarence, the British Schooner, Koh-i-noor, had arrived there on a trading voyage. In the far interior of the main land, several marts have been established, and are kept up by the natives, quite independently of the Russians, which are resorted to by many distant as well as by the neighbouring tribes. But all the natives of the north-west coast are skilful and enterprising traders. At Queen Charlotte's Island they not only dispose of furs and fish, but they cultivate potatoes, and hold, at stated periods, potato fairs, which are attended by the native traders from other islands, who again supply these, and other vegetable products, to the more remote traders inhabiting some of the rocky islands in Behring's Straits. How few persons there are in Canada, who have any idea of

the extent of busy commerce thus carried on in that remote corner of the American continent !

It has been partly for the purpose of checking the independent trade of the native tribes, which exists upon both sides of Behring's Straits, that the Russians have recently established permanent posts higher up than at Alexandrowsk in Bristol Bay, and at Cook's Inlet, where they have several factories, situated in about 59° and 60° north latitude; and there are also many upon the islands of Prince William's Sound. By one of Captain McClure's despatches to the Admiralty, it appears that the Russians have recently established a post upon the Colville River, near its entrance in the Arctic Sea. With the exception of Sitka, or New Archangel, the capital of the territory, and Kodiak, the former capital, and now the second place of importance, each of these posts are occupied by from fifty to three or four hundred persons, made up of Russians, of half-breeds and of native servants, including women and children; and they are generally protected by a blockhouse, or a stockade, with a few guns mounted. All the men are in the employ both of the Imperial Government and the Fur Company, the former being connected with the latter in its commercial transactions, and also in its organization as a military and naval power. The position of the company towards the Imperial Government in the latter respect, is somewhat similar to that which the East India Company holds towards the British Government.

Of the strength of the minor Russian posts throughout this quarter, a good impression is conveyed in the following account of one at Garden Island, belonging to the Aleutian group, taken from the journal of Sir Edward Belcher's voyage round the world, in 1837: "The establishment consists of an official resident, eight Russians

and fifty Aleutian and other allies. The houses are included in a substantial wooden quadrangle, furnished at its sea angles with two octagonal turrets, capped in the old English style, and pierced with loopholes and ports; the summits of the lines are armed with spikes of wood. The whole range is warmed by Dutch ovens, and the sides, being eighteen inches in thickness, are well calculated to withstand cold, as well as to defy musketry. The native allies live in houses outside. Portloek landed there in 1787, and called the port 'Port Etches.' At present the island is covered with pine trees, and a species of wild grain was noticed. Took on board spars and firewood. Port Etches might furnish a complete harbour."

Of Sitka, or New Archangel, the capital of Russian America, Sir Edward Beleeher says: "The establishment of Sitka is situated on a flat broad delta, on the outer rocky peninsula of which the fortress which is now" [1837] "rebuilding, stands. It is about sixty feet above the sea level and completely commands all the anchorages in the immediate neighbourhood, as well as the peninsula. The inner line, which traverses the longest base of this delta, is protected by a heavy line of picketed logs, twenty-five feet in height, surmounted in *chevaux de frise*, and flanked at the angles, within musket shot of each other, by small blockhouse redoubts, loopholed and furnished with small guns and swivels. It extends from the sea in three fathoms, about one mile through the river. This cuts off all connection with the natives but through a portecullis door, admitting into a railed yard those bringing goods to market. This door is closely watched by two or three guards, who, upon the least noise or dispute in the market, drop the portecullis, and proceed summarily with the delinquents. The present very substantial house erecting

for the governor and his establishment, is about 140 feet long by 70 wide, of two good stories with lofts, capped by a lighthouse in the centre of the roof. The summit of the light is 110 feet above the sea level, and commands a most extensive prospect. The building is of wood, solid, some of the logs measuring 76 and 80 feet in length, and squaring one foot. The roof is pitched, and covered with sheet-iron. When complete the fortifications of Sitka will comprise five sides, upon which forty pieces of cannon will be mounted, principally old ship guns, varying from twelve to twenty-four pounders. The bulwarks are of wood, and fitted similarly to the ports on the maindeck of a frigate. The arsenal, which is immediately under on the low ground, is well stored with cordage of every description, and of very superior quality. The range of artificers is very complete, and specimens of their workmanship in every department, more than an arsenal generally boasts, attest very superior ability. The saw mills, which are worked by water, are about twenty miles distant half way down the south side of the sound, at *Les Sources*, or warm springs, which serves as a sort of Harrogate to the colony. Their most valuable wood is a very fine grained bright yellow cypress, of which they build boats, and export the plank in payment of debts contracted for supplies from the Sandwich Islands, principally China goods. They have a building slip, protected by a house, similar to those in our dockyards. The establishment comprises that of a ship of the line, one captain (the governor), one commander (lieutenant-governor), and lieutenants, masters, &c., according to the number of vessels employed. The total number is about 800, but of these many were invalids. Of course, many of their picked men were absent in their vessels, visiting the posts, and collecting the furs which were

daily expected to arrive. I witnessed comparative cleanliness and comfort, and much to admire, particularly in the school and hospital. The interior of their church is splendid, quite beyond conception in such a place as this. The whole establishment appears to be rapidly on the advance, and at no distant period we may hear of a trip to Norfolk Sound, through America, as little more than a summer excursion. On Sunday, all the officers of the establishment, civil and military, dine at the governor's; and during the week the military meet at the mess daily at one, re-assemble at 5 to take tea, and remain until supper at 10 or 11, during which interval cards or billiards occupy their time. I passed a most delightful evening at a dancing party at the governor's." Sir George Simpson, who visited Sitka in 1842, also speaks of the gaiety, as well as of the commercial activity of the place, "much of the time of its inhabitants being devoted to festivity; dinners and balls running a perpetual round, and being managed in a style which may be deemed extravagant." At one evening party which he attended, there were eighty persons present, "the ladies being showily attired in clear muslin dresses, white satin shoes, silk stockings, kid gloves, fans and all other necessary appendages, and the music and refreshments, including champaign, being excellent." Of the hot springs in the neighbourhood, Sir George Simpson says, he found the most luxuriant vegetation around them, and many rare species of the feathered tribe for so high a latitude, including the humming bird. Cook, however, found the humming bird at Prince William's Sound, in 60° and 61° north latitude, where numbers of that species got into the rigging and continually flew about his vessel. The former continues: "Altogether this is, indeed, a spot on which the senses may rest with pleasure, when wearied

with the savage monotony of the rocks and forests of the coast. The means of living are also abundant, the water being alive with fish and fowl, and the land teeming with deer and game." He gives a list of thirteen vessels he found at Sitka, simultaneously taking in cargo, and making preparations for their respective voyages, and states that "the bustle, in fact, was sufficient to have done credit to a third-rate sea port in the civilized world." With so many and such varied attractions at Sitka, and with the finest country in the route pointed out, well might Sir Edward Beheer look forward to the period, when a trip to Norfolk Sound, through America, would be regarded as a pleasant summer excursion.

According to Sir George Simpson, the trade of Sitka in 1842 was estimated at 10,000 fur seals, 1,000 sea-otters, 12,000 beavers, 2,500 land otters, and 20,000 sea-horse teeth, besides foxes and martens, and the produce of its salmon, sturgeon and turbot fisheries, and of the neighboring forests. The valuable furs of the sable and ermine, and of other animals, are also obtained in the territory, but are exported from other posts situated further north; Sitka, Kodiak, &c., each being the chief depôt of a district, whence is exported the produce collected at the neighboring minor posts. Cook obtained along the coast many valuable skins, including several descriptions of ermine, and a beautiful skin of some unknown animal; and Lutké, in the journal of his voyage round the world, states, that, in 1808, as many as 800,000 skins of the ursine seal alone, were accumulated at Uualaska, one of the principal depôts of the Russian Fur Company among the Aleutian Islands. McClure mentions the valuable silver fox skins, which he saw in the possession of the Esquimaux upon the Arctic coast of the territory, and the quantity of furs, which others informed him they would procure from



the interior, if he would wait for them. He also alludes to the number of whales, which he fell in with along that coast, and to the number of walrusses he saw near Icy Cape, where, he says, "the hundreds of walrusses that were lying upon the ice, thickly huddled together like sheep in a fold, were most astonishing." The northern coast he found to be inhabited throughout by a kind and merry race, apparently well to do, of whom he speaks in the highest terms; and the country appeared to him to be well stocked with reindeer, and other animals of the chase. Captain Beechey, who was off the north-west coast in 1826, says, that "at Kotzebue Sound the articles the natives brought off, were skins of the seal, of the Arctic fox, the common musk rat, the marten, the beaver, three varieties of ermine (one white, one with a light brown back, and yellow belly, and the third with a grey back, spotted white and yellow), also the American otter, the white hare, the polar bear, the wolf, the deer and the badger. Their fish were salmon and herrings, and they had also some ingeniously cut ivory figures, some iron pyrites, plumbago and red ochre."

Profitable as the fur trade in this quarter has already been, there is a certain prospect of its value becoming greatly enhanced, by the opening to general commerce of the markets of Japan. In those wealthy and densely populated islands, where the temperature of winter ranges almost as low as it does in the north of China, direct and, comparatively, near markets for the furs, the fish, and probably for the timber of Russian America, will ere long be opened out, the importance of which to the latter country it is impossible to over-rate. Probably those highly cultivated islands will be found to be so cleared of their forests, that they will afford the most lucrative markets for the valuable timber of Russian America and the

Oregon territory. In a large portion of China timber has already become very scarce. Mr. Earl, in his work upon the "Eastern Seas," says, that timber has become so dear in China, that the junks of the Chinese are generally built in other countries where wood is plentiful. There can, therefore, be no question of the profit of establishing a trade between that country and the north-west coast, in this staple production of the latter. The greater portion of the south of Persia, which is wholly barren in timber, and a great part of South America, which is equally so, might also afford excellent markets for the useful timber of the north-west coast. Sir Edward Belcher and many others describe the pine trees in the Oregon territory to be from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet in height, and from twenty to forty feet in circumference; while Sir George Simpson speaks of having seen trees near the Columbia River, from three to four hundred feet high. The latter must be about the largest trees in the world.

But Russian America possesses, in its minerals and ores, far greater riches than its furs or its fisheries, or even its forests, can ever be made to yield, the turning to account of which, would give life to the whole region, and tend to raise up villages and towns throughout it, as prosperous as those, which have sprung into existence, in the mining, yet far more inhospitable districts of Siberia; many of them upon rivers whose outlets being in the Frozen Ocean, in a higher latitude than the northern shores of this continent, are unsealed but for the shortest period, between the discharge of the accumulated ice of one winter, and the rapidly forming ice of another. From the time of the earliest explorations of the north-western portions of this continent, to the more recent visits of Franklin, Beechey, Lutké, the younger

Simpson, Richardson and McClure, the finest coal, and the purest copper, have been found along the Mackenzie, from the mouth of that river to Point Barrow and Icy Cape, and thence down to Sitka and Vancouver's Island, the presence of the one giving double value to that of the other; and the writer has little doubt, from the results of comparisons which he has made between the geological features of the two countries, that the whole region is as rich in other minerals and ores as Siberia: that, upon a proper exploration, gold will be found in its rivers and valleys, and platinum, lead, silver, diamonds, and all the other precious stones of Siberia in its mountains. Several valuable minerals, such as fine jasper, porcelain clay, semi-opal, plumbago, gypsum, various coloured ochres, amber, sulphur, petrolium, galena, porphyry, variegated marble, and also iron ore, have been already discovered in many parts of the territory. At Prince William's Sound, Cook saw some substance in the possession of the natives, which he supposed to be cinnabar. It is therefore not unreasonable to look forward to the discovery of rich quicksilver mines in that quarter, the value of which would increase in proportion to the abundance of other ores and minerals, which may be found there, requiring the use of quicksilver in their extraction. At Queen Charlotte's Island, belonging to England, but situated a very short distance below the Russian possessions, quantities of gold have been discovered by Europeans from the main shores of Oregon and California, in the operations of extracting which, they were much obstructed by the warlike, but intelligent and commercial natives of the island. In speaking of the mineral riches of the country contiguous to Russian America, and reaching to the north-west boundry of Canada, Sir John Richardson says: "It would be true economy in the Hudson's Bay Company

who are the virtual sovereigns of the vast territory which spreads northwards from Lake Superior, to ascertain without delay the mineral treasures it contains. I have little doubt of many of the accessible districts abounding in metallic wealth of far greater value than all the returns which the fur trade can ever yield." While this may be well said of the territory occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, Russian America may be stated to present even greater indications than the former of the presence of gold and precious stones. Much of the Russian territory contains primitive rocks, disturbed by volcanic action, which indicate great mineral riches, as a similar formation, disturbed by the same agency, in the Altai Mountains, and the country of Lake Baikal, has, according to Erman, been found to contain, in immense quantities, some of the richest mineral productions of Siberia. The numerous hot springs, which exist throughout the territory, also indicate the presence of metallic wealth. The mountains along the coast of Russian America are probably a continuation of the vast chain, running along the west coast of this continent through Chili, Peru, Mexico, and California, and they are no doubt continued by one branch through the Peninsula of Alaska, the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, all of which are rich in minerals, to the islands of Japan, which abound in the precious metals and gems; proceeding through which, they pass on to Formosa and the Philippine Islands, and terminate in New Guinea, or perhaps in Australia; while the main branch, with two or three intervals in the highest latitudes, proceeds up to Icy Cape, and is continued to the same quarter, from the western side of Behring's Straits, by the vast ranges of the Yablonni (lately found to be the richest in minerals in the world), and the Altai Mountains of Siberia, the Thian-chan and the Kuenlun

of Thibet, the Himalaya of India, and the mountains of Burmah, Siam, Sumatra and Borneo. Thus a complete arc may be traced upon the surface of the earth, extending over half the globe, presenting similar features, and containing similar treasures.

In regard to facilities for the profitable working of its mines: for the raising, preparing and transporting of its ores and minerals, Russian America possesses many advantages over Siberia. Some of these consist in its fifteen hundred miles of coast being accessible to the largest vessels for a great part of the year, and a large extent of it for the entire winter, while the whole of the coast is tapped, as has been already shown, by many large and navigable rivers; from the banks of which the produce of the mines collected upon them may be carried to any part of the world, instead of the greater portion having to be conveyed, as in Siberia, a distance of several thousand miles by land carriage and by difficult river navigation, before it can obtain a market, or reach a place of shipment. Another advantage, which the former country possesses over many portions of the latter, in respect to mining operations, consists in its abounding in all parts with coal and wood. In "Taylor's Statistics of Coal" it is stated that in the district of Tobolsk which is very rich in the precious metals, the want both of firewood and coal is a great impediment to the smelting of the metallic ores, and prevents the increase of the annual produce of the mines; and at Barnaouil, which is the chief depôt in Siberia for the gold found east of the Ural, the forests in the vicinity are much despoiled of their timber, in consequence of the immense quantities of wood required there for the furnaces. Eighty thousand cubic fathoms of wood, besides an immense quantity of coal, are annually burned at these works, which comprise

one hundred and fifteen smelting furnaces, twelve large open hearths, twelve refining furnaces, five furnaces for copper, and fourteen calcining ovens. These, and similar works at other places, and the establishments at the various mines, as well as the transport of ores and minerals, and of supplies, &c., give employment to many thousand persons, including free Russians from the mother-country, Russians and other Europeans born in Siberia, who are generally the descendants of military immigrants, of exiles and convicts; present exiles, and convicts undergoing their several punishments, and also the aborigines of the country. The mines of the Ural, in the transport of minerals alone, give employment to twenty thousand persons, and Cottrell says that "ten thousand horses are employed every year in conveying the provisions of corn, brandy, and marine stores to Okhotsk, which is a great source of subsistence to the people." The mines, generally throughout the country, are worked during winter and summer. Although it would be some time before the same amount of labor, as Siberia commands, would be available for similar occupations in Russian America, still the latter would not be so disadvantageously placed in this respect, as, upon a first glance at the two countries, might naturally be supposed. Though Russian America does not usually contain more than some two or three thousand Europeans, including the military, it numbers many populous tribes of natives, who, with the enterprise and the industry of the most enterprising of the Siberian tribes, possess greater intelligence and more powerful frames than the latter. Their natural inclination, and aptitude for settled and steady employments, would, under proper supervision and encouragement, render them capable of being instructed in all the pursuits of civilized life. They might thus become the

most valuable addition to the population of any empire. They are now employed to a certain extent by the Russians, but were proper attempts made to develop the most valuable resources of the country, they might, under a kind and a judicious treatment, which they do not at present receive, and proper instruction, be employed to a much greater extent, most beneficially to them and to the country. Of the natives generally of the north-west coast, Dr. Seouler, who has lived among them, says: "The north-west Indians, especially the coast tribes, have made considerable progress in the rude arts of savage life. Their canoes are constructed with much skill, their houses, being for permanent residence, are erected with some forethought and attention to comfort, and their fishing apparatus and articles of domestic economy are far more numerous and elaborate than can be found in the temporary lodge of hunting tribes. From this settled mode of life they are more accustomed to continuous labors, and even show considerable aptitude for passing into an agricultural state." Of some of the tribes nearly all the men are six feet or upwards in height, and are well made in proportion; while, according to Dixon and other voyagers, the people of one tribe on the coast are as white as Europeans, and have handsome features with florid complexions. Marehand also speaks of the large-eyed, fair-skinned natives of the north-west coast of America, living in 54° and 58° north latitude, whom Humboldt supposes to be descended from the Usuns, an Alano-Gothic race of Central Asia. Above the Oregon territory and Vancouver's Island, the barbarous custom of flattening the head in infancy does not prevail.

While every indication exists in Russian America of its abounding with mineral riches to an extent exceeded by few countries in the world, there is a prospect of its

being found to be as inexhaustible in mammoth ivory as Siberia, where the search for, and the trade in that article give employment to several thousand persons. Though in the latter country large quantities of this valuable fossil ivory have been obtained every year for the last century or more, it does not appear to become exhausted to the slightest extent, but, on the contrary, the thaw of each succeeding summer seems to lay bare a greater supply than had been yielded before. At Eschscholtz Bay, and at other parts of the coast of Russian America, upon Behring's Straits, Captain Beechey discovered many remains of the mammoth, and of other quadrupeds, imbedded in the cliffs; and, from the earliest period, the natives of that coast have been observed to have quantities of ivory in their possession. Taught only by their own natural ingenuity and industry, they have already become most skilful workers in this valuable article of commerce. To persons upon the spot, the obtaining of this ivory might become as remunerative a pursuit as that of the ivory seekers in Siberia. It would certainly be a more profitable occupation than that of hunting elephants for their ivory, by parties in the far interior of Africa.

Allusion has already been made to the number of whales and walrusses which have been seen upon the Arctic coast of Russian America. Cook, and others, encountered as many off its coast upon the Pacific. The territory, including the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, comprises nearly all the best whaling stations of the North Pacific; the possession of which, to a maritime nation like England, having already an immense extent of coast in the South Pacific, would become fifty times as important as it is to Russia. Besides obtaining a great number of magnificent harbours, and virtually making a British sea of a great portion of the North Pacific, which may



now be regarded as Russian waters, the possession by Great Britain of those stations, and of the Bonin Islands, (admirably situated upon the south-east coast of Japan, and which, of right, belong to England), would assist the carrying out of that which has long been a great national object with our statesmen; namely, a large and progressive extension of the British whale fishery. The harbours at Sitka, Queen Charlotte's Island, Vancouver's Island, and the entrance of Frazer's River, are peculiarly adapted for the fitting out of whalers, being in the neighbourhood of very valuable fishing grounds, and the country in their vicinity affording everything that is required for the construction of vessels, such as: excellent timber, iron and copper, coal for forges, water power for driving saw mills, and even flax, growing wild in the interior, for the manufacture of sails and cordage. Thus the whale fishery alone, by creating a demand for many articles into which these products could be manufactured, might be made to give employment to numbers of persons of various trades and callings. All the natives of the coast of Russian America, and of the Aleutian and Kurile Islands make excellent sailors, and, of their own accord, chase and capture the whale. They could, therefore, be most usefully employed in whalers, cruising either in the North or South Pacific, and also in craft engaged in the other fisheries; a certain proportion of the crew of each vessel being made up from among them. In addition to cod, herrings, turbot, halibut, and the delicious soles of Europe, are found in immense quantities along the coasts of the main land, and of the islands, and salmon and sturgeon at the entrances of and up the rivers. Even the rivulets in the Aleutian Islands abound with salmon and salmon-trout. From the sturgeon both isinglass, and the celebrated caviar of Russia, now no

longer procurable from that country, could be made. For the latter article there is a large demand throughout the countries of the Mediterranean, the Black and the Baltic Seas.

For the support of those engaged in the mines and fisheries, and also in the cutting and transport of timber, it is very important to be able to command large supplies of cattle and sheep. These supplies, besides being furnished by the British territory situated to the south of Russian America, could be easily raised in many spots throughout the latter, as well as upon the Aleutian Islands, where the pastures are very rich and the climate is very mild. Cook was of opinion that upon some of these islands "cattle might subsist all the year round without being housed." Among the wild animals in the territory, which might be made to supply food to a considerable extent, are the mountain sheep and goats in the south, the reindeer in many parts, as they migrate, according to the season, from one part to another, and the less tender musk-ox in the far north. The reindeer might be tamed to run in harness, as they are in Lapland and in the north of Siberia. The Ostyaks of Beresov, in the latter country, also raise herds of reindeer, for their venison, which they consume themselves, or sell to the Russians.

In the event of the territory coming under the dominion of England, the Russians now there might be permitted either to remain in it, or to retire to their own country. Some of those, who should decide upon the former course, might be continued in employments similar to those which they now fill; while others, who had served in Siberia, might be encouraged to introduce many of the manufactures and handicrafts of that country. With the skill of the latter, and with that of competent persons from

England, and the rude, but daily improving labor of the natives of the country, we might then look forward to the early springing into existence of all the industrial pursuits of the former country ; from the preparation of furs and hides, and the making of salt and soap, to the manufacture of carpets and cloths, of iron and copper plates and machinery, of fire arms and sword blades, of porcelain ware and malachite vases, and to the most refined branches of the lapidary's art. That Russia has not put forth the efforts to colonize her dominions in America, which she has so successfully made in Siberia, must be attributed to her having long looked forward to a rupture at some period with those powers, who are most interested in opposing her aggressions, and who at any moment would be able to cut her off from the territory by a powerful fleet. Hence she has not used the same means and the same diligence to explore the country, to make known and develop its more important and more permanent resources, to lay out roads and found cities, or to invite or transport a population there.

Considering the recommendations which the writer intends to offer, in regard to Russian America and the adjoining territories, much might be added here upon the British portion of the Oregon territory, and the country lying between it and Canada ; but, although the latter have hitherto been but little appreciated, they are better known than the country which forms the chief subject of this memoir. He will, therefore, content himself with taking notice of some few of their principal features and resources, before proceeding to bring forward certain suggestions, as to their future relations, both to Canada and Russian America.

Including the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, which are fast becoming occupied by the miner and the lumberer, and which, in many parts, invite the agriculturalist and the trader, Canada extends one-third of the distance across the continent. Beyond Lake Superior a country, as valuable in natural resources as any part of Canada, exists, within the British boundary, the whole way to the Pacific, containing, at a distance of about seven hundred miles from the lake, the fine agricultural settlement of Red River (which covers a space of fifty miles, and supports a population of ten thousand souls), and having numerous posts of the Hudson's Bay Company at certain intervals along it, some of which are situated upon the banks of lakes and rivers navigable for several hundred miles. Among the latter the Saskatchewan is navigable for upwards of one thousand miles. Sir John Richardson, Sir George Simpson, and all who have travelled that way, speak of the capabilities of the country for colonization, from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, and from the latter, through the magnificent valley of the Saskatchewan, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains; where, in several parts, the oak, the elm, the ash, the beech, the maple and the vine grow in great vigour and luxuriance, few of which are found so far north in Canada; and where, at many of the posts, both maize and wheat are profitably cultivated. At Red River settlement the latter yields forty-fold. At Cumberland House, where both are grown, and which is situated in  $53^{\circ} 57'$  north latitude, at a height of 900 feet above the level of the sea, Sir John Richardson says the summer heat exceeds that of Brussels or Paris; and of another spot in the same neighbourhood Captain Back says: "On the River Saskatchewan I was surprised and pleased to behold a large farm-house, with barns, and fenced en-

ures, amidst which were grazing eight or ten fine cows and three or four horses, the property of a discharged servant of the Hudson's Bay Company." This spot is situated about the centre of the continent, where, at one period, a vast desert was supposed to exist, stretching from the Athabasca River to the Missouri. When so much can be said of the country around Cumberland House, which lies about three hundred miles north of the American boundary, we may judge of the capabilities of the belt of land comprised in the Saskatchewan valley, and extending between the 49th and 54th parallels, within the British territory, for a distance of about 1,500 miles across the continent. Speaking of one portion of this beautiful valley, from Bow River to Carlton House on the Saskatchewan, Sir George Simpson says that he passed through a country very much resembling an English park. Sir Alexander Mackenzie pursued a more northern course by the Peace River than this, in his journey to the Pacific in 1793, yet he passed through a magnificent country most of the way. Where he wintered upon the east side of the Rocky Mountains, in  $56^{\circ} 9'$  north latitude, there was little snow, and "the birds, which were much like robins, remained there, and sang, during the whole of the winter." "In the sheltered valleys of the Rocky Mountains," in about the same parallel, Sir John Richardson says, "certain trees are found in latitudes three and four degrees further north than they are found in other places." After crossing the Rocky Mountains by the former route, near the sources of the Saskatchewan and of several rivers, including branches of the Columbia, flowing to the Pacific, the British portion of the Oregon territory is reached, much of which is comprised in what is called New Caledonia. Of this country, which adjoins Russian America, a recent account says:

“ New Caledonia is in extent, from north to south, about 500 miles, and from east to west 300 miles. It is described as very beautiful, abounding in fine forests, rivers, and magnificent lakes, one of which, 300 miles round, is surrounded by picturesque mountains clothed to their very summits with timber trees of the largest dimensions. From this lake a river falls to the west into the Pacific, and swarms with salmon.” Frazer’s River, which runs through this region for a distance of 350 miles, is navigable for vessels drawing twelve feet water, for ninety miles from its mouth, where it falls into the Pacific in  $49^{\circ} 7'$ , north latitude. Once upon the west side of the Rocky Mountains a still milder climate is observed, even in a much higher latitude than the valley of the Saskatchewan. Mr. Anderson, of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s service, who has resided for a considerable period in New Caledonia, says, in a communication to the Royal Geographical Society, that, although in a pretty high latitude, it shares, in common with all positions on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, perfect immunity from protracted cold. Sir John Richardson also states that he learnt from Mr. McPherson, belonging to the same service, that good crops of wheat were raised with facility at Fort George on Frazer’s River, in about  $54^{\circ}$  north latitude, and at a height of about 500 feet above the level of the sea. The big horn sheep are very numerous in the mountains of this region, and are as good eating as the domestic sheep; while the prairie country of the Saskatchewan is roamed over by countless herds of the buffalo, also by the reindeer and the beautiful antelope. The British coast of the Oregon territory, like the adjoining coast belonging to Russia, contains many splendid harbours and sounds; upon some of which we may look forward to the planting and rapid growth of

settlements, and to the rise of flourishing commercial cities, carrying on varied transactions with all the magnificent countries and fertile islands of the Pacific, and drawing wealth from the trade of Europe as well as from that of Asia and America. This view of the future in that quarter will appear far from being an extravagant one, if we take into consideration the facilities offered by the line of country above glanced at, for the construction of a railway from Lake Superior to the Pacific, and we also reflect upon the occurrence of events, which will probably arouse, both England and Canada, to the importance of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific by railway through British territory. Among the events which should hasten the accomplishment of this work by England and Canada, may be mentioned the stealthy advancement of Russia on the Pacific in the direction of China, the progress of the United States in California, the opening of the trade of Japan, the extension of French dominion over the most valuable islands of the South Pacific, and the rapid advancement in population and wealth of Australia and New Zealand. Any railway to connect the two oceans, supported by England and Canada, should run through the Saskatchewan valley, and should terminate at one of the fine harbours, also in the British territory, upon Fuca Straits, opposite to Vancouver's Island. The railways and water communications of Canada already extend one third of the distance across the continent, and pass through a generally settled country. Though fifty times of more importance to the province and to the whole empire, than all the various and, in some instances, competing railways now in course of construction in Canada, this line to the Pacific would neither be so costly, nor so formidable an undertaking as the completion of the former. By the granting of a moderate quantity of land at each of the

stations along the route, to any company that would construct the road, such a body would easily be formed for the purpose; and a work would ere long be accomplished, with little expense to the Imperial or Provincial Governments, which, in the extent of valuable country it would render accessible for settlement, the minerals and other riches, which it would develop, as a means of giving employment to tens of thousands, and in the commerce, which it would attract, as well as create, would yield more wealth to the province, than the imagination can picture, as representing all the riches of the Indies. Upon the line of route, too, a coal field exists 400 miles wide. Yet parties in Canada have actually set a project upon foot, for connecting the main provincial line of railways running westward, with a proposed line along the south shore of Lake Superior\* and the Missouri

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\*Although the country on the north of Lake Superior, in the immediate vicinity of the shore, is not favorable for the construction of a railway, yet further back from the lake it is much better adapted for the purpose; where also it contains good timber and some excellent soil. Its value in the latter respects has been particularly observed along the banks of the rivers extending towards what is generally supposed to be the height of land running between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Territory. This height of land, however, is not continuous, but is penetrated by some of these rivers in several places; as it is also divided further to the west by numerous water courses, in all directions between Lakes Winnipeg and Superior. As the Hudson's Bay Company base their right to cut Canada off from the magnificent Saskatchewan valley, and the valuable country extending to within about one hundred miles of Lake Superior, upon the assumed fact that such water communications between the St. Lawrence and Lake Winnipeg do not exist, and as much of the country in that direction has been but imperfectly explored, it would be well for the Canada Government to institute a thorough survey of the country for some distance, lying north and south of the route usually pursued between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg. The present prospects in that quarter may well justify incurring the expense of such a survey; for, now that Lake Superior has been connected with Lake Huron by a ship canal (which completes an unrivalled ship navigation, extending into the continent a distance of two thousand miles from the ocean), the former lake will be soon covered with steam and sailing craft of every description, and the country beyond it to the west, as well as the country upon both sides of it, will become greatly enhanced in value.



valley, through the United States territory the whole way to the Pacific, terminating at the mouth of the Columbia, about 200 miles south of the British boundary, after passing through a more difficult country than is found on the former route; one, moreover, subject to fevers and agues, and through a much more difficult pass in the Rocky Mountains (3,000 feet higher), than the passes within our own territory. But, while these parties have thus entirely overlooked the advantages of the route through British territory, which should weigh well with all Canadians, the people of St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota, who are situated much nearer to the southern than to the northern route, have been confidently resting their hopes of the advancement of their town, upon the prospect of the railway to the Pacific being constructed through the British territory, and of their running a branch line due north to it of 400 miles long! They perceive that if it be taken in hand, before the people of the United States shall have decided upon any one of the inferior and contending routes through the latter country, it will be carried out, and that the line of it will probably be found the best route for the traffic of the United States with the Pacific, as well as for that between England and the East. Speaking of the British route, they urge, among other advantages, that "a very large part of the country upon it is the finest wheat country in the world." What, then, can be a greater proof of the superiority of the latter, for the construction and for the successful working of the road, than this opinion in its favor, and these hopes, based upon its completion, of persons residing in a foreign country, at a place situated 400 miles south of the British boundary, who are also well acquainted with the capabilities of the various proposed routes!

Having given a sketch of Russian America, and of the country lying between it and Canada, the writer will now state the views which he has been led to entertain in regard to the former, from the knowledge he has acquired of their value, and from observing the opportunity, which the present war with Russia affords, for carrying those views into effect.

To reduce the resources and to humble the pride of Russia, it is advisable that she should be deprived of all detached possessions from which she derives wealth or power, and which may present vulnerable points of attack. Where operations for the accomplishment of these ends can be undertaken upon this continent, the people of Canada become especially interested, and they may well invite and offer to assist those operations by every means in their power. That the nine hundred thousand square miles of territory, belonging to Russia upon this continent, not only contributes to her commerce and her naval resources, but that it may be made to yield very considerable wealth, from its minerals, its forests and its fisheries, the writer trusts has been shown in the foregoing. He now proposes to point out how Canada might become vastly benefited by the capture of the territory by Great Britain, and how she might, by assisting to effect that capture, gratify the general feeling of sympathy with England in the present contest against Russia, which has been so warmly expressed throughout the province.

Within the past few months the news has been received of the unsuccessful attack made by the British and French fleets upon Petropaulovski in Kamtschatka. The last account we had of the allied fleets was, that the French fleet was at San Francisco and the English at Vancouver's Island, at which places each had put in to repair damages, and probably to winter. Considering their

reduced strength after the loss at Petropaulovski, the experience, which they gained there, of the uselessness of attacking posts of great strength, without an overwhelming sea force, or the co-operation of a powerful land force, and considering the season of the year when they were last heard from, there is little prospect of the allied fleets proceeding before the coming summer (when they may be strengthened by a few ships lately ordered to the Pacific from England), to attack Sitka and Kodiak, both of which, by nature as well as by art, are much stronger than Petropaulovski, where the fleets have failed to make any permanent impression. Of the defences of Sitka a description, taken from Sir Edward Belcher's account of that place, has been already given; but, since his visit there, they have been considerably increased, as also have the defences of the other posts throughout the territory. Within the last eighteen months the Russians have availed themselves of their possession of the mouth of the magnificent River Amoor (which they have obtained by taking advantage of the present troubles in China), to transport a large number of heavy guns, and an immense quantity of other munitions of war, from the interior of Siberia to the Pacific, and thence to their posts in America. By this new seizure of territory from China, and the consequent acquisition of the entire navigation of the Amoor, upon which they have already placed several steamboats, the Russians have been able to secure a splendid naval harbour, and to establish a depôt of warlike and other supplies, upon the western shores of the Pacific, in a climate which admits of a navigation during the whole winter, within reach of the great arsenals and manufactories of Siberia, and of the great line of communication running through the latter to the west, and therefore of the whole resources of the empire,

and also of their possessions in America ; by which the latter have become of far more importance to them, and far more formidable to their enemies. Until England and France shall maintain a sufficiently numerous fleet in the Pacific, to capture or blockade the coast of Russian America, or to capture the new Sebastopol, which is fast rising in offensive, as well as in defensive strength at the mouth of the Amoor, the latter will constitute the most powerful support and reserve to the former ; and, with the fine timber in its neighbourhood, and the iron and cordage of Siberia close at hand, the Russians will be able to build and send forth powerful fleets, that might keep in dread the entire seaboard of our Indian and Australian possessions, or, passing on at any favorable moment, make a diversion in Europe. How important, then, is it to the interests of the British Empire, if not to the future peace of the world, that Russia should be deprived of this new acquisition in the infancy of its rise to military importance, as well as of its posts upon this continent, during the present war ! Among the latter, the town of St. Paul, upon the Island of Kodiak, near Cook's Inlet, takes the second place to Sitka. It is situated upon a safe and spacious harbour, and is strongly fortified. Of its works a recent account says : "The town is defended by two citadels, mounting more than 100 cannon, and up to the present time no foreign vessel has succeeded in obtaining communication with it. The passage into the harbour is only practicable under the cannon of the Fort of St. Paul, which some years ago was garrisoned by 400 men, and mounted 40 guns. Like Sitka, a few small vessels, carrying four or five guns each, guard the coast approaches." With a number of such works as these at Kodiak, Sitka, and at other places along the coast, to be captured and occupied, the attacking force should consist of some-

thing more than the few vessels which at present compose the allied fleets in the North Pacific.

Now, as Canada, in her rapid progress in population and wealth, and in the spreading out of her people to the north and to the west, will naturally become ambitious to extend the province, or to see new provinces in alliance with her, extended over the rest of this continent, lying north of the United States, she might well undertake to furnish the land forces required to act with our fleet against Russian America, and also for remaining in the country as permanent garrisons at Sitka, and the other important posts along the coast and in the neighbouring islands; a step for which many precedents can be found in the conduct of the gallant and generous colonists of New England, and the neighbouring provinces and plantations, during the French and Spanish wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For this service England might make Russian America a dependency of Canada, as at one period Nova Scotia (after her first capture from the French in 1690), was attached to, and was garrisoned by troops in the pay of our then province of Massachusetts Bay. She might, at the same time, extend the western boundary of Canada (which is now supposed to be situated at one of the sources of the St. Lawrence, one hundred and eighteen miles beyond Lake Superior), as far as the southern portions of Russian America, taking in, within the magnificent belt of country thus proposed to be granted, the Red River settlement, also the fertile valleys of the Saskatchewan and the Missinipi (running almost parallel with each other, and being divided by the slightest ridge), and the whole of the British portions of the Oregon territory. Thus Canada would be magnificently rewarded for the proposed service, and a vast region, rich beyond conception in natural

resources, become rescued from continuing as a mere preserve for wild animals. As to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Oregon territory, and the country lying between Canada and Russian America, those rights consist only in the company having a license to hunt and trade there, which will expire in 1859, and which gives them no territorial claim whatever. There could, therefore, arise little difficulty from that quarter to the proposed arrangement between England and Canada. Under any circumstances, it is to be expected, that the latter will make every effort to prevent the company from obtaining a renewal of that license, and that it will also endeavour to procure the removal of their blighting influence over that other portion of this continent, as large as the whole of Europe, which they claim under an ambiguous charter from Charles the Second. A measure, which may have been reasonable and proper in the time of that monarch, may have become quite the reverse at the present time; and, in that case, should be swept away, as many other relics of a less enlightened period have been, by an act of the Imperial Parliament. Such a course might now well be adopted towards the pretensions of the Hudson's Bay Company over an immense region, possessing resources far more important than those which give employment to a few fur hunters and traders, whose exertions do not bring the slightest good to England, or to the country in which they are made, and which neither enrich nor benefit a single human being, beyond the few who compose the stockholders of a close and pernicious monopoly. Of course, in the event of the desirable change advocated, being brought about, the company should receive a fair remuneration for the capital of £400,000, which they profess to have invested in this region. They

would find the important province of Canada a very different opponent to deal with, than they have hitherto experienced in the unprotected colonists of the Red River settlement, who, for many years, have been appealing in vain to the Home Government against the oppressive rule of the company. Though the natural outlet of the settlement is through a fine country to Canada, the route formerly pursued by the French traders and the servants of the North West Company, and still containing many remains of their forts and gardens, the Hudson's Bay Company, in dread of all contact with the enterprise of Canada, compel the colonists to make use of the inhospitable route to Hudson's Bay, and the two ships which annually visit the company's factory there from England. But all this would be soon remedied were Canada to become the direct and openly avowed opponent of the company. Considering that the greater number of the ten thousand souls at Red River are agriculturalists, and that excellent markets for their produce could be obtained among the mines at Lake Superior, which are now supplied by the country lying upon Lakes Erie and Ontario, an immediate and a very important object would be gained, both to the province and to the Red River settlement, by the opening out of a communication between the latter place of supply and the former places of consumption. It would give new life and new energy to the whole of that settlement; a fine country and a desirable population of ten thousand souls would be at once obtained by Canada, and the traffic created between the settlement and the province, would, of itself, give rise, first, to the establishment of small posts and villages, and, afterwards, of large agricultural and mining settlements (the one sustaining the other), at the most favorable localities for each between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior; certain portions of which route are

described by Sir John Richardson, and others, to be as rich in mineral as in agricultural resources. As the highest prices are obtained in the United States, and in Eastern Canada and Europe, for agricultural produce, it would be much better for the large mining population of Lake Superior, to be supplied by the country still further to the west, which cannot send its produce to the former markets, than that they should be supplied by the country to their east, which has already access to those markets. Under the reciprocity treaty with the United States, the rich agricultural country situated in the former direction, in the neighbourhood of the lake, might also be made to furnish food to the large mining population along the southern shore of Lake Superior, where provisions are now obtained from the country lying upon Lake Michigan.

Should the British Government regard the several regions under consideration, as too extended to place under Canada as a part of the province, they might be formed into three provinces; the Red River settlement being the head quarters of one, reaching from Canada to the Rocky Mountains, and having a breadth of about five hundred miles, and which, being bounded in the north by the height of land called Portage La Loche, where the Mackenzie takes its rise, would embrace the whole of the Missinipi and Saskatchewan valleys; the second commencing on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and taking in all of the Oregon territory which belongs to England, and the third to consist of the whole of Russian America. Or Canada might be extended to the head waters of the Saskatchewan in the Rocky Mountains, (which would embrace a country to which she has already a claim), and the Oregon and Russian America be formed into two provinces beyond. Vancouver's Island, which is



destined to become the England of the North Pacific, should be made another province, with the large gold-bearing island of Queen Charlotte attached to it as a dependency. For any settlements upon these islands to make any progress they must be taken entirely out of the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose interests as a fur company, are diametrically opposed to all extensive or progressive settlement in the regions under their sway. The settlers at Vancouver's Island are already protesting against the rule of the company, which rests as a blight upon all their efforts; and, as the lease of the island to that body is about to expire, it is to be hoped that the British Government will not be induced to renew it: that the momentous events occurring in Europe will not prevent the Colonial Office (which is charged with watching over the colonial interests of the empire as much in time of war as in time of peace), from listening to the just representations of the people of our most distant possession. Though equally good land is being sold at the rate of half a crown an acre by the American Government upon the main shores of the Oregon territory, opposite to the southern portion of Vancouver's Island, where Fort Victoria, the British settlement, is situated, the Hudson's Bay Company charge one pound an acre for land upon the latter. What can speak more strongly than this, for the insincerity of their professions in regard to their desire for settling the island? Even in Canada, in places within reach of excellent markets, the finest wild land is to be obtained at a less price than the Hudson's Bay Company are thus demanding for land in one of the most distant parts of the world. Under proper encouragement to agricultural settlers, Vancouver's Island and many portions of the Oregon territory belonging to

England, might become the granaries of all the posts situated in the high latitudes of the North Pacific.

With the establishment of a resident agency, or some other small but suitable machinery of government, in the several newly created provinces, for making surveys, and affording information and assistance to immigrants, who might purpose to settle upon lands, or desire to embark in the mines and other resources known to exist, or likely to be discovered, a population suited to the wants of each province would soon be collected, and rapidly extend in all. Liberal grants of land in the agricultural portions of these provinces, might also be made to officers and men, for services during the present war, upon condition of their occupying them, or of their making improvements upon them through others; or military settlements might be formed, somewhat similar to the military colonies of Russia. Many millions of the finest land, in accessible spots to the west of Lake Superior, might be appropriated at once for the purpose. Among the first selected should be the fine valley of the Kaminitaquoia, immediately adjoining the lake at Fort William; to which point emigrants and goods can now be conveyed from Europe, without undergoing one single transshipment. These upper provinces of the north-west coast and the Saskatchewan country, and the lower provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, being joined to Canada, the whole confederated provinces would, ere long, eclipse in importance all the other colonies of Great Britain put together, and become to her a mightier empire in the West than India has ever been in the East. Fast filling up with the hardiest population that can exist upon this continent, belonging to the finest European races, and breathing the purest and most invigorating

air in the world; with steam communication through out, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and in constant intercourse, and interchange of brotherly acts, with England from one side, and with Australia, Borneo (which is destined to become a British possession), and India from the other, our North American empire would, at any moment of danger to her or to them, be able to concentrate within her own borders, or upon any part or extremity of the British possessions, the whole power of England and her colonies; would become the most powerful check upon the grasping propensities of the United States, and be the most glorious creation of the British people. As the United States shall increase in power and in arrogance, the more necessary will it be to England, and to Canada, to build up this empire of the United Colonies of British North America, and the more important will this noble possession become.

In the event of England coming to any understanding with Canada, in regard to the charge of Russian America, the Oregon territory, the Saskatchewan valley and the Red River settlement, or to that of Russian America alone, the province might easily raise and send from one thousand to fifteen hundred men to Vancouver's Island, to co-operate with our fleet. By embarking them in steamers for the Isthmus of Panama, permission to cross which might be easily obtained, they could be met on the Pacific side of the Isthmus, and be taken on to Vancouver's Island, or to Sitka direct, by vessels belonging to our fleet. At this period of distress among the poor, both in Eastern Canada, and the United States (60,000 men having lately been unemployed in New York alone), there would be no difficulty in obtaining the number of men required. Besides great inducements might be offered to them, by making the term of service only two or three years, and holding out

to them a promise of certain advantages at its termination, should they become settlers, still retaining a liability to perform occasional military duties, either in Russian America or in the Oregon territory. They should go, in short, as military colonists. Those having families, might have them sent on to Vancouver's Island, where they could remain until Sitka and the other posts should have fallen. Numbers of British subjects could also be procured for the service in California. Of this force, two-thirds of it should be composed of infantry and the other third of artillery; but, considering the description of works to be taken and occupied, the whole should be drilled to serve guns, which could be done on board ship. Two or three officers of the Royal Engineers should accompany the expedition. While this expedition should be organizing and in progress, a few officers, one of whom should belong to the latter corps, might proceed across from Canada to the Red River settlement, and, with the assistance of the pensioners\* stationed there, raise and organize, among the half-breeds and Europeans of the settlement, another body of troops for the same destination. The writer, who has seen a good deal of service in the field during the late war in Spain, would be willing to accompany either of these parties. The latter could take the route usually pursued by the Hudson's Bay people, and reach the coast opposite to Vancouver's Island, which should be the general rendezvous, in about two months from the period of leaving the settlement. Provisions for the journey could easily be obtained at the latter; and, as many of the half-breeds there devote a cer-

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\* The writer has just been informed that these pensioners are shortly to be withdrawn, in consequence of a disagreement between the British Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, as to the illiberal treatment the pensioners have received from the latter.

tain portion of the year to the chase, and they would pass through a country abounding in game, they would often be able to procure food on the march, besides obtaining food at some of the Hudson's Bay posts, situated on the line of their route. To these posts an officer should always precede them for the purpose of collecting information and supplies. Along the country they would have to traverse, large bodies of unorganized and indifferently provided emigrants, accompanied by horses and waggons, have often proceeded without difficulty and without loss, to the Oregon; their having preferred this route to those less practicable and less healthy further south. Such a party Sir George Simpson overtook in 1842. The Red River people also are frequently in the habit of proceeding on horseback, through the same country of fine prairies and open valleys, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, to hunt the buffalo. The daring and activity, which they are obliged to display in attacking these animals, when often met in herds consisting of upwards of a thousand, peculiarly adapt them for becoming excellent soldiers, were they formed into a corps like those of the light irregular corps attached to our native armies in India. Their tastes, too, created by such a life, would lead them to enter the service with great eagerness. They might also become very useful to form other corps upon, officered by Europeans, from the fine tribes of Russian America, who are naturally as intelligent, as vigorous and as daring as Europeans. These tribes repeatedly defeated the Russians when the latter first invaded their country, and showed much ability and ingenuity, as well as the greatest courage in their attacks. Upon one

occasion Sitka was entirely destroyed by them.\* Should war unfortunately prevail for any lengthened period, we might form an army in a few years from the several tribes in that region, upon the system of our native armies in India, which would become of far more use for general service than the latter, though efficient as they have ever proved themselves to be in their own country; for the former would be able to endure, almost without suffering, any fatigue and hardship, be prepared to encounter any climate, and might be taken to any part of the world. England might thus obtain important sources of military strength, as well as add to her commercial prosperity, by the conquest of Russian America. By a proper organization of the territory, and a proper supervision and management of the natives, they would become, not only as tractable and civilized as the natives of India, but far greater ends in regard to them would be gained, in their being easily converted to Christianity; and, being physically far superior to the Indian tribes of Canada, or

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\* Cox, in his "Russian Discoveries," relates that, after two defeats and experiencing the destructive effects of the fire arms of the Russians, the natives of Kodiak, advanced at daylight under the protection of wooden screens, to attack Glattoff and his men, who were strongly fortified in their ship, which was moored to the island. "Of these moving breast-works the Russians counted seven, and behind each from thirty to forty men, armed with bone lances. Dissuasion proving ineffectual, and the arrows beginning to fall aboard the ship, Glattoff gave orders to fire. The shot from the small arms, however, not being of force enough to pierce the screens, the islanders advanced under their protection with steadiness and intrepidity. Glattoff thereupon risked a sally, and succeeded in driving them off. The screens, which were left behind, were made of three rows of stakes placed perpendicularly and bound together by sea-weed and osiers; they were twelve feet broad and above half a yard thick." In one of the previous attacks upon Glattoff, the natives advanced with scaling ladders and bundles of hay containing sulphur (the produce of the island), for the purpose of taking or burning his vessel. Might not our engineers take a hint from the first described mode of attack of these natives, who had never had any intercourse with Europeans before, to protect our troops from the destructive effects of grape and canister shot, as well as of musketry, in assaults upon works, where a flank fire could not be brought to bear upon them?

of the United States, it may reasonably be hoped, that if the "fire-water" be kept from them, that they would neither diminish in number, nor degenerate in body or mind. Many Indians, who are less adapted for becoming soldiers under European training, than the natives of Russian America, serve in the armies of the South American powers; and recently Brazil has organised and taken into pay a body of six thousand Indians, as regular soldiers. Though there are many instances of tribes of red men having diminished in number, or become extinct, since they were brought into contact with white men, whenever they learnt the vices, without acquiring any of the virtues of the latter, yet the popular belief which exists, that such must invariably be the result of all intercourse between the two races, is far from being correct. Not only does Bancroft, but other writers, describe the advancement, in numbers, in intelligence, and in wealth, of several tribes of Indians since they have been brought within the influence of the Christianity, the civilization and the industry of Europe. Alluding to some of the Indian tribes of the United States, Bancroft says: "The Indian of to-day excels his ancestors in skill, in power over nature, and in knowledge. Within the century and a-half during which the Cherokees have been acquainted with Europeans, they have learned the use of the plough and the axc, of herds and flocks, of the printing press, and water-mills. And finally, in proof of progress, that nation, like the Choctas, the Creeks, the Chippewas, the Winnebagoes, and other tribes, has increased, not in intelligence only, but in numbers." It may be added here, that the Indians settled as agriculturalists upon the banks of the Grand River of Upper Canada, have also increased in numbers, in intelligence and in wealth. Of their prosperous condition, and of their gratitude to England for its enjoyment,

we have a recent proof, in their contribution of one hundred pounds, sterling, to the patriotic fund. By leading the fine and intelligent tribes of the north-west coast, to enter into some of the settled and profitable pursuits, which have already been alluded to, far greater results would doubtless be obtained among them, than Bancroft can bring forward, as the effects of civilization upon certain tribes, who have become tillers of the soil in the United States. Some of the Russian American tribes are physically and mentally, quite equal to the New Zealanders, yet what can be more gratifying than the results, which the introduction of order, of civilization and Christianity have effected among the latter!

Though a sufficient number of troops might perhaps be collected from the regiments in our Australian possessions to co-operate with our fleet in the conquest of Russian America, England could not well afford at this moment to retain them in the latter as permanent garrisons; and, for the reasons which have been already given, this conquest should be made exclusively for England. It might, therefore, not be expedient to leave French troops, which could be collected from the Marquesas, the Society Islands, and the Island of New Caledonia, in occupation of any of the Russian posts which the allied fleets may capture in that quarter. But if France should desire to acquire territory in the North Pacific, we might make another effort with her at Petropaulovski, and leave to her share the whole of Kamschatka. Or we might assist her to become the neighbour, both of China and Russia, at the mouth of the Amoor; where, besides planting herself as a very painful, and a gradually, yet continually penetrating thorn in the side of the latter power, she would acquire a territory, which, in its fine harbour, its magnificent inland navigation, its genial climate and productive soil, and its



admirable position, in regard to China, to Japan, and to the whole Pacific, would be one of the chief prizes of the war. Should France, however, hesitate to seize it, or be indifferent to its possession, we might hasten to secure it for ourselves ; for, to a commercial and a colonizing country like England, having large interests at stake in China, and in every country of the East, the prize would be much more valuable than it could ever become to France. Australia, which will soon have a population of one million, and New Zealand, which, with Europeans, and a native population as loyal, as intelligent, and now almost as civilized, as the former, has already some two hundred thousand souls, might then each furnish a quota of men towards the defence of this newly proposed acquisition. But, as there is no chance of Russia disposing by sale of her possessions upon that side of the Pacific, to any power, however much their safety may be threatened, it is very important that the allied fleets should consume no time in an attack at the mouth of the Amoor, or in another attempt at Petropaulovski, until her possessions in America shall have fallen ; for Russia will readily sell the latter, as soon as she can be brought to regard their retention as hopeless, and the Americans are prepared to purchase them at any moment. That the desire of the latter in this respect has not been already gratified, may be attributed to the confidence in her power of resistance there, which Russia has gained by the good use she has made of the time we have allowed her to strengthen the defences of Sitka, &c., and by the failure of the allied fleets at Petropaulovski. Should the fleets gain any very decided success against Russia upon the western shores of the Pacific, and appear to be in such force, as to be equal to the capture of her posts upon this continent, we shall, before the fleets have time to

reach the latter, hear of their sale to America ; after which we shall only be able to capture them at the cost of a war with that power. There is little doubt of the existence of an understanding between the two powers as to these eventualities, and of the Russian Ambassador at Washington having full instructions to hand over the territory to the American Government at the proper time, if that time ever arrive. Should, therefore, the fleets proceed again to the westward, instead of attacking Sitka, we shall be playing completely the game both of America and Russia. The embroiling England and France in a war with America, together with the receipt of several millions, sterling, from the latter, would be a very acceptable compensation to Russia for the loss of her possessions upon this continent. Whenever she shall have been deprived of those possessions, whether through capture by ourselves, or by purchase to the Americans, the allied fleets would be released for any service which they could perform further to the westward, when they might be joined by a portion of our East Indian fleet, with colonial levies on board from Australia and New Zealand. They could then proceed with some definite object in view, and with some confidence, to attack Petropaulovski, or the Russian fortifications at the entrance of the Amoor, or both ; and the prowess of our Australian soldiers there might be compared with the gallantry and endurance of our Canadian soldiers in Russian America.

By showing our readiness to furnish troops for the attack of Russian America, Canada would have some pretensions for claiming a voice in any future negotiations, which may be opened by the great powers of Europe in regard to the present contest, for she could then, with a very good grace, protest against the conclusion of any treaty of peace under which Russia should

be allowed to continue an American power. The giving up of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia, to the United States, at the end of the war of 1814, lost us an immense tract of one of the finest countries in the world, and nearly led us into a war with the same power in 1846. Who can tell what misfortunes may result to us, should we neglect the present opportunity for driving Russia entirely off the American continent? The possibility of her ever disposing of her American territory to the United States ought to be sufficient to urge us not to let that opportunity escape; for so soon as it should fall into the hands of the Americans, the latter would commence those encroachments upon the British possessions in its neighbourhood, which immediately followed their purchase of Louisiana, and the country extending along the upper Mississippi, from France.

The writer has endeavoured to point out the value of the reward, which Canada might secure, by furnishing the land force required, either to assist the British fleet in the conquest of Russian America, if not already captured, or to garrison its strongholds after that event shall have taken place: a description of force which England is unable to spare for these objects at a period when she is called upon to make the most gigantic efforts elsewhere. There is no doubt that the latter, in addition to the conferring of that reward, would cheerfully repay any expense which the province might incur in rendering such assistance; but, for the honor and credit of the province, it is to be hoped that she would not take money in payment for a service, in the benefits of which she would directly participate, and which could not be compared to many similar, but more difficult services, spontaneously offered, and often magnificently executed by the former British provinces, now constituting the United States of

America. Some of those performed by the latter, such as the capture of Louisbourg, the attack of the Spanish settlements at Carthagena, in South America, and other places situated on the Gulf of Mexico, and the French West India Islands, were nearly parallel to that, which is now proposed by the writer to be undertaken by the province; and most of them were carried out at their own cost, their neither asking for, nor receiving any compensation, for the large sums which they so generously expended, or for the noble lives which they so gallantly sacrificed. They freely gave their money and their blood for the prosperity and glory of the empire of which they formed a part. In the present contest, entered into by England for justice and liberty, we have hitherto given little else than an expression of our sympathy. Many persons in Canada have been even crying down our doing anything at this moment towards relieving England of the expense of providing for our own military wants, at a period, which, to the province, may be considered as one of profound peace; and have represented the latter, with a revenue of £2,000,000, as unable to maintain one corps for our own garrisons. As these parties have taken up this cry evidently from their total ignorance of the history of the British provinces, and plantations in America, before they became an independent state, it may not be out of place to give a few instances here, of what the British colonists of that period had the spirit to undertake, and the ability to perform, with one-tenth the resources in men and money, that Canada could at this moment command. The first step towards providing for the regular defence of the country, appears to have been taken by Virginia in 1630, when, according to Baneroff, in his "History of the United States," "the Virginians enjoyed the benefit" (as Canada does now), "of independent legislation; they

levied all taxes, secured the free industry of their citizens, and guarded the forts with their own soldiers at their own expense." Governor Hutchinson, in his "History of the Colony of Massachusetts's Bay," published in 1745, states, that in 1653, the northern colonies "raised 500 men to act against the Dutch, but peace being suddenly declared, these troops, under Major Segewick, formerly of the Honorable Artillery Company of London, and Captain Lev-eret, were used to dislodge the French from Penobscot, St. Johns." Considering the means and the population of the whole of the British colonies upon this continent at that period, the population being little more than one hundred thousand, and looking to the present means and population of Canada, this effort, made by a few only of those colonies, would not be equalled by us, were we to raise and pay fifty thousand men for any service out of the province, in aid of England, at the present juncture. In 1690, according to the same authority, "a representation was sent to England from the colonies, asking for a supply of arms and ammunition, and a number of the King's frigates to attack the French by sea, whilst the colonial forces should march by land, and perform their parts." At the time, however, the hands of the Government in England were too full to give any attention to the request. Notwithstanding this discouragement, Massachusetts determined to proceed of herself, and Connecticut and New York engaged to furnish men. Two thousand men were accordingly raised by the latter, and marched by Albany to attack Montreal, while the fleet, furnished by Massachusetts, consisting of thirty-four vessels, and conveying about an equal number of soldiers, belonging to that province, as the force despatched against Montreal, proceeded up the St. Lawrence. These expeditions only failed through the want of concert between

the two attacks, Frontenac being able to meet and defeat each in succession. Referring to these aggressive movements of the colonies, Bancroft says: "Thus did Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, not only provide for order and tranquility at home, but, unaided by England, plan the invasion of Acadia and Canada." The extreme difficulty to which the colonies were put by the expense, and the failure of the two expeditions, induced them to raise funds by bills of credit (the first issued by them), as a substitute for money; but which, the historian of that period adds, "had better credit than King James' leather money, issued in Ireland about the same time." From 1692, until Acadia was restored to France several years afterwards, Massachusetts, at her own expense, maintained a garrison at Fort Pemaquid, situated in the former territory. In 1704-5, South Carolina fitted out expeditions, also at her own cost, against the Spanish settlements in Florida, and, after an unsuccessful attack upon St. Augustin, captured a number of towns, and "carried the English flag triumphantly through the wilderness to the Gulf of Mexico." The force which made the final capture of Port Royal (called by the conquerors Annapolis in honor of Queen Ann), and the whole of Acadia in 1710, was composed of six vessels belonging to the British Navy, and of thirty vessels and four regiments belonging to New England. At that period the population of the whole of the British colonies, from the frontier of Canada to Florida, was little more than three hundred thousand souls! To raise a force to accompany the British fleet, conveying seven veteran regiments of Marlborough's army, against Quebee, in 1711, the general court of New England issued forty thousand pounds in bills of credit; and, to assist to procure fresh provisions for the fleet while at Boston. Provisions having risen enor-

ously high in consequence of its presence there the gentlemen of that city were induced to deny themselves of every luxury, and to engage while the fleet lay there, to eat nothing but salt provisions in their families. The army for the expedition, including two regiments from New England, numbered 7,000 men, a force about equal to that which afterwards reduced Quebec. Through the loss, however, of several ships, and of one thousand men, upon the north coast of the St. Lawrence, between the Seven Islands and Cape des Monts, the Admiral, Sir Hovenden Walker, lost heart, and retreated with the remainder of the fine army on board, without having sighted Quebec; and a force, which the colonies had sent by Lake Champlain against Montreal, had in consequence to retreat also without effecting anything. During that summer about one-fifth part of the whole inhabitants of Massachusetts, capable of bearing arms, were in the pay of that province, and the like proportion were employed for two or three years successively in the next war with France. How could Canada ever equal this, or the previous sacrifices mentioned? In alluding, in glowing terms, to the efforts which were made by the colonists about this time, Governor Hutchinson says: "I cannot avoid reflecting also upon the heavy burdens which the province subjected itself to during this war, I suppose beyond those of any other ten years from the first settlement. The castle and other fortifications at Boston, the several forts in the eastern country, the various expensive expeditions actually prosecuted, and the preparations made for others, added to the constant defence of the extensive frontiers, and to the support of the civil government, without any relief or compensation from the Crown, certainly must have occasioned such an annual burden as was not felt by any other subjects of Great Britain, and

the merit of the people of that day ought not to be forgotten." Most of the military preparations and operations of the colonists, whether of offence or defence, originated with themselves, but, in the following instance, it appears that they were equally ready to respond to any call made by England for foreign service. Having, in 1740, prepared to send to the West Indies the largest fleet and army that had ever appeared in the Gulf of Mexico, England summoned the colonies north of Carolina to contribute four battalions to the armament. "No colony refused its quota; even Pennsylvania, the Quaker province, voted a contribution of money, and thus enabled its governor to enlist troops for the occasion." The combined forces, thus composed of imperial and colonial troops, proceeded to attack Carthegena, the strongest place in Spanish America, where, although not successful, they gallantly assaulted and did much damage to the principal works; but, after reducing and destroying several other places, and forts throughout the country, and suffering immense losses, they retreated to their ships. The expedition had been intended to prepare the way for conquering Mexico and Peru: a far more formidable project than the conquest of Russian America would be in the present day. From that period, until 1742, South Carolina, under its governor, the estimable and gallant Oglethorpe, repeatedly attacked the Spanish settlements, and also defeated the Spaniards in an invasion of Georgia. In 1744, Massachusetts sent to, and maintained, at her own cost, two hundred men at Annapolis, for the defence of Nova Scotia, who were the means of preventing that province from falling once more into the hands of the French. For the memorable siege of Louisbourg, a few of the colonies provided between them, one hundred vessels, and raised an army of 5,100 men, at an



expense of £235,749; and although the British fleet co-operated with this force, the latter, commanded, too, by a colonist, Colonel Pepperell, a large landed proprietor and a merchant, had the chief glory of the capture. This, it appears, was a single instance in which the money expended by the colonies, either for their own defence or for foreign service, in support of the empire, was refunded to them by England, though the undertaking was planned, and commenced by the former, without orders from, or the knowledge of the latter. Of this achievement Governor Hutchinson says, "the reduction of Louisbourg by a British colony must have been a surprise to Great Britain and France, and it caused very grand plans of American measures for the next year." To co-operate with eight battalions of regular troops, to be sent from England in the attack of Canada the following year, the New England colonies raised 8,200 men, the Massachusetts portion of which (3,500 men), was ready to embark about six weeks after the first notice; but the expedition not being then carried out, the whole of the troops raised by the colonies were continued in pay until September of the next year, and some of them served for defence of the frontiers. In 1754, Virginia alone voted £10,000 for defences. In Braddock's unfortunate attack in 1755 of the French upon the Ohio, the colonial troops, under Governor Shirley, bore an important part, and did great service in covering the retreat. During the same year 2,200 militia of the northern provinces, which composed the force under General Johnson, defeated a much larger army of the French advancing against the former from Crown Point. Speaking of the gallant exploits of this provincial commander, Mante, in his history of the war of that period, says: "He had the singular satisfaction of returning victorious with his pro-

vincials, when the army composed chiefly of regulars, sent against Fort du Quesne met a total defeat, and that designed against Niagara, consisting of regulars also, was obliged to abandon the enterprise. Sir William Johnson's was the only success gained during that campaign." In the conquest of Canada shortly afterwards, the colonists followed up Wolfe's attack on Quebec, by Crown Point and Niagara, and fought several actions before the whole country was subdued. In the operations at that period against Crown Point, as many as 5,279 provincials were employed; and after its reduction 1,750 of this colonial force, besides regulars, proceeded by Lake Champlain, to join General Amherst before Montreal; while the army which had accompanied him there, and had fought its way by Niagara and the St. Lawrence, contained a large proportion of provincials, consisting of the New Jersey regiment, four battalions of the Connecticut regiment, three battalions of the New York regiment, and 146 rangers. For the siege of Havannah, Jamaica raised at her own expense 1,500 negroes, who joined the English army before that place at a very seasonable moment; and during the year 1797 Nova Scotia contributed £6,894 14s 11d. towards the support of the war against France; which was nearly half the revenue of the province at that time. Besides these, and many other similar services, the colonies carried on, entirely at their own charge, many formidable wars with the Indians, some of which, such as that against the Pokanokets, commonly called Philip's war, lasted for many years, and cost several thousand lives. They also, upon many trying occasions, expressed their sympathy with the government, and the people of England, by the most loyal addresses and the most generous contributions, many of the latter, considering the difference between their means

and ours, throwing our recent contribution of £20,000 to the patriotic fund, quite in the shade. Upon the arrival of the intelligence of the great fire of London, a collection was immediately entered into throughout the colonies for the relief of the sufferers, upon so liberal a scale, that a single collection in one church at Charleston realized £105 sterling! They repeatedly sent provisions as a free gift to the British fleet in the West Indies, and spars and masts to England; the last, Pepy's states, "being a blessing mightily unexpected, and but for which we must have failed the next year." Nor were there wanting instances of the expression of a kindly feeling towards the colonists upon the part of the people and government of the "old country." Of one of these Bancroft says: "Let us not forget a good deed of the generous Irish, after the termination of the war of the Pokanokets; they sent over a contribution, small it is true, to relieve in part the distress of Plymouth Colony; and Connecticut, which had contributed soldiers to the war, now furnished the household with more than a thousand bushels of corn." Thus did mutual sympathy exist, and thus was mutual assistance rendered between the mother country and the colonies, and between each colony, as we have witnessed in our own day between Great Britain and her present colonies. Among the more recent acts of generosity between England and the latter, which should not be passed over at this moment, are the handsome subscriptions which were raised throughout the United Kingdom, and the grant by the Imperial Parliament of twenty thousand pounds, in 1846, for the relief of those who had suffered by the great fires at Quebec in that year; and the munificent payment by the Home Government of the whole expenses, amounting to one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, incurred by Canada through the large immigra-

tion, and its accompanying affliction of ship fever, in 1847. Nor should the liberal public grants and private subscriptions, contributed in proportion to their means, by all the British colonies and possessions in every part of the world, in aid of the sufferers in the present war, be left unnoticed. But the former colonies did far more than minister to the necessities of the victims in the contests of the mother-country; far more than we have yet had the spirit to attempt, or have ever been called upon to perform. They not only provided, at their own charge, for their own defence, in time of war as well as during peace, but they carried on aggressive wars, and sent forth distant expeditions against the French and the Spaniards. The merit of the people of that day ought, indeed, not to be forgotten. May the remembrance of it influence us to attempt to do likewise.

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