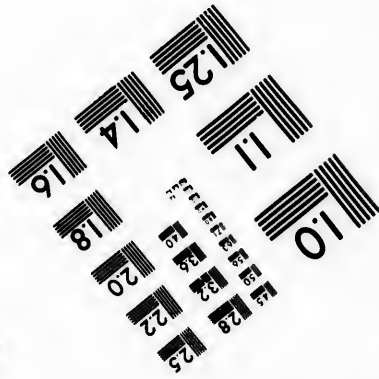
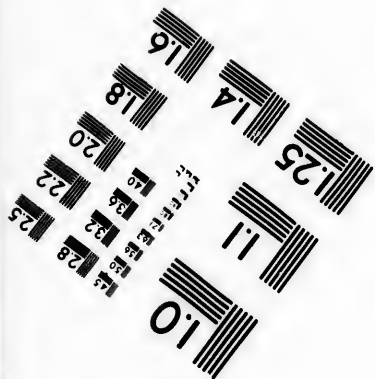
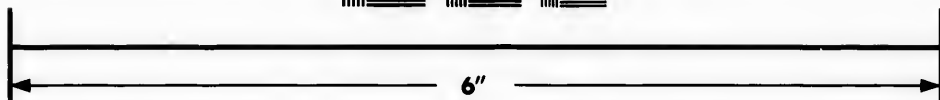
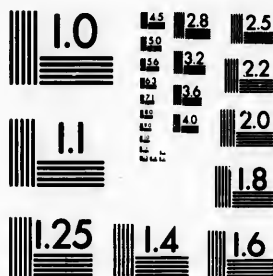


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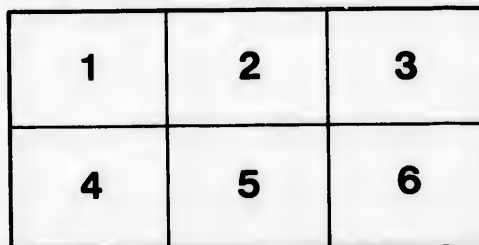
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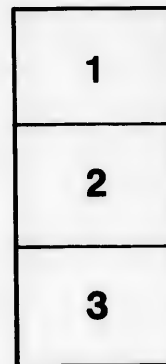
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VIII.—*The Five Forts of Winnipeg.*

By GEORGE BRYCE, M.A., LL.D.

(Read May 28, 1885.)

Five forts around which gather the most interesting events connected with the history of Rupert's Land and the Canadian Northwest were erected within what are now the limits of the City of Winnipeg. These were not mere continuations or renewals of the same fort; they were all built on different sites, and represented different important movements. These are: Fort Rouge, Fort Gibraltar, Fort Douglas, the original Fort Garry, and the recent Fort Garry. The first erection upon the future site of the metropolis of Northwestern Canada was Fort Rouge: this was built almost exactly one hundred and fifty years ago.

FORT ROUGE.—This small station of the French explorers, so named probably from its being on the Miskouesipi or Blood-red River of the Cristenaux aborigines, was hardly built and named before it was given up. The adventurous explorers found other points more suitable for the purposes of a rendezvous in their work of fur-trading and discovery. In addition to this, the fact of the Red Fort being on the south side of the Assiniboine exposed it to the incursions of the fiery bands of Sioux. The warpath of the Sioux from the river of the west (the Missouri) was along the south bank of the Assiniboine, —the very name of Assiniboine River meaning "River of the Stony Sioux," and showing the proximity of the dreaded Dakotas. Coming from the last port on Lake Superior in 1731, the adventurous French Canadian, Varennes de la Verandrye, and his sons dotted the margin of their watery way with hurriedly constructed forts or stations. At the exit from Rainy Lake are still to be seen the faint remains of Fort St. Pierre, built in the first year of exploration. Massacre Island on Lake of the Woods, on which a portion of de la Verandrye's party was murdered by the Sioux, was opposite a post erected on the south-west side of the lake in 1732, with the name Fort St. Charles. The dashing waters of the Maurepas (now Winnipeg River) bore the voyageurs down to the lake, called, from its turbid waters, *Win-nipiy* or Winnipeg. Exactly in what year de la Verandrye ascended Red River and built his Red Fort, we do not know: probably 1735 is not far from the time. From investigating the maps of the daring fur-trader sent home to Paris, through the governor of New France, we learn of the short life of Fort Rouge. The following are some of the documents that attest its existence:—

(1.) In the archives at Paris is a map thus named: "Map containing the new discoveries of the west in Canada, seas, rivers, lakes, and the nations who dwell there, in the year 1737. Discovery of the western sea joined to a letter of M. Beauharnois, October 14th, 1737 (prepared by Varennes de la Verandrye)." On this map is marked a fort near the site of the present town of Portage la Prairie—"Maurepas," the name afterwards given to the

fort at the mouth of Winnipeg River. Half-way up Red River is a fort called "Pointe du Bois," some seventy-five or eighty miles south of the United States boundary line. At the mouth of the Assiniboine, where stood the Red Fort, there is marked a fort with the disappointing addition, "abandoned," showing that it could only have been occupied one year.

(2.) A map found in the Department of Marine, Paris, professing to be made after sketches by de la Verandrye, and claiming to be of date about 1740, gives Fort Rouge at the mouth of the Assiniboilles and on the south side of it. The direction of the Assiniboine is not quite accurate. (See Plate I. Map 1.)

(3.) Another map in Paris supplies a little further information. It is a "Map of the new discoveries in the west of Canada, prepared from the descriptions of M. de la Verandrye, and given to the Depot of Marine, Paris, by M. de la Galissoniere, 1750." In this map on the north side of the Riv. des Assiniboilles (*sic*) is given Fort de la Reine, where Portage la Prairie now stands. The lake is marked "Vnipigon." We again notice on the site of Fort Rouge, a fort marked and described as "Ancien Fort," fifteen or seventeen years having sufficed to give it its antiquity. In this map the direction of the Assiniboine is properly given. (See Plate I. Map 2.)

(4.) Thomas Jeffreys, Geographer to His Majesty of England, in a map and description in 1762, speaks of Fort Maurepas (on Lake Winnipeg) and Fort de la Reine (on the Assiniboine), and states that another fort was built on Rivière Rouge, but was deserted on account of its vicinity to the two named.

(5.) Another manuscript map in the Department of Marine, Paris, and bearing date 1750, figures a Fort Rouge on the Assiniboine at its mouth. In this map the direction of the Assiniboine is, again, somewhat wrong.

Of Fort Rouge no vestige now remains. The site of it must now, from the falling in of the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, be under water. A few years ago the writer ascertained from one of Lord Selkirk's colonists, who saw the locality in 1812, that there was not then a trace remaining of the Red Fort of seventy or eighty years before. Though the south bank of the Assiniboine at the point is now treeless, this informant says it was in 1812 fairly wooded. Undoubtedly the Red Fort, built in haste, and so soon to be abandoned, was little more than a rudely constructed log enclosure, erected on the clearing made just large enough to supply the material for its construction.

After the British conquest of Canada there is a break in the history of the Northwest. The change of rule paralyzed the fur trade of Montreal for a few years; but the love of adventure and the inducements of trade led Montreal merchants again to send their agents to the far interior. Three or four years after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, there is record of Montrealers penetrating by the canoe route even to the Saskatchewan. These were the merchants, Curry and Findlay. The rival traders from Hudson Bay built Fort Cumberland on the Saskatchewan in 1774. As to the occupation for trade of Red River itself, we know that Louis Nolin, whose descendants are still among the best of the Metis, arrived at Red River in 1776. Augustin Cadot, a Metis from Sault Ste. Marie in 1780, and Tous-saint Vandrie, a French interpreter, came about 1788. It was a necessity for each of the companies engaged in the fur trade to extend their agencies as far as possible, in order to counterwork each other. The Montreal traders further saw the necessity of combination if they would successfully oppose the Hudson's Bay Company. The union of Frobisher.

McTavish, McGillivray, Gregory, McLeod, and others took place in 1787, and we learn from the evidence of the Hon. William McGillivray that the first hold in a permanent form of the Red River district was taken in 1788. This statement is further corroborated by Alexander Henry, jun., a fur-trader, who, in 1800, journeyed along Red River. From him we learn that the first fort on Red River was built by a trader, Peter Grant. The fort was situated on the east side of Red River, a little south of the International boundary, and no doubt near the St. Vincent railway station. Henry in 1800 says that there were at this point "the remains of an old fort."

Fort Pembina on the west side of Red River, a little more than a mile south of the International boundary, was built by a North-West trader, Charles Chaboiller in 1797-98. Mr. David Thompson, the surveyor of the North-West Company, a man of great perseverance and marvellous endurance, gives an account of a visit to this post in 1798, at which time, though he passed the spot, he makes no mention of a fort at the mouth of the Assiniboine. At the time of his journey, which was made up Red River, there was a North-West fort sixty miles further up stream, at the mouth of Red Lake River, where now stands the town of Grand Forks, in Dakota. This fort was in charge of a French half-breed trader, Baptiste Cadot, the son of the celebrated old trader of Sault Ste. Marie, referred to by many writers of the period. Further up Red Lake River there was at this time a post also upon Red Lake, celebrated as being one of the supposed sources of the Mississippi. This was under the charge of a North-West bourgeois, John Sayer. It was a son of this trader who afterwards figured in the remarkable trial at Fort Garry in 1849, when the French half-breeds rose against constituted authority, and seized court-house, judge and jury. As an example of the hardships endured at these forts, Thompson tells us that the trader, Sayer, and his men had passed the whole winter on no more substantial food than wild rice and maple sugar. The Forts on Red River, in 1798, seem to have been Pembina, the Forks (Grand Forks), and Red Lake, all of them in what is now the United States. The approach to Red River would seem to have been made by the North-Westerners by way of Rainy River, or even from Fond du Lac, on Lake Superior, and down Red Lake River. The union of the North-Westerners and the X. Y. Company, who had been rivals since 1796, and to the latter of which Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Edward Ellice belonged, took place in 1804. An impulse was given to their trade, and seizing a leading position at the Forks of our rivers, they built a new post.

FORT GIBRALTAR.—The Hudson's Bay Company claim to have built a fort at Red River in 1799, but no trace of it remains. Possibly it may have been at the point a few miles below the Forks, afterwards taken up by the colony. It was in 1806 that the North-Westerners erected their fort at a point, one old resident informs us, "within gun-shot of old Fort Garry," as it was afterwards built. Such a comparison is suggestive of the relations of the two companies, and certainly it was the warlike humour of the builders rather than the strength of the position that gave this fort its name. It faced towards Red River rather than the Assiniboine, and was situated below the site of the recently removed emigrant sheds. From the evidence of a resident of the colony, we know that, in 1818, this fort was about fifty yards back from the river. The same observer says the river was then 150 yards wide: it is now at this point about 200 yards; so that from each side of the river twenty-five yards have fallen into it. It will thus be seen that ten yards of the

fort have fallen down the bank. It was built by John Wills, a bourgeois of the North-West Company, with a force of twenty men: he was engaged for a year in building it. The stockade of Fort Gibraltar was "made of oak trees, split in two." The wooden picketing was from twelve to fifteen feet high. (See Plate II.)

The following is a list of the buildings enclosed in it, with some of their dimensions. There were eight houses in all: the residence of the Bourgeois, 64 feet in length: two houses for the servants, respectively 36 and 28 feet long; one store, 32 feet long: a blacksmith's shop, stable, kitchen, and an ice house. On the top of the ice house a watch tower (*guerite*) was built. John Wills, the builder, lived in charge of this fort until his death in 1814.

The great struggle between the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies for supremacy in the fur trade, which had been proceeding with bitterness and determination during the last quarter of last century (1774-1800), and had risen to fever heat in the first decade of the present century, was brought to a crisis by an emigration movement of a most important kind. The Earl of Selkirk, though a stockholder of the Hudson's Bay Company, did not, as some have supposed, send his colony out as a means of securing the country for the fur trade. He was enthusiastic in emigration projects. In 1803, he sent a large and successful colony to Prince Edward Island. Before that date even, in 1802, as shewn by a letter sent by him to the Home Department, of which a copy is in the possession of the writer, he planned his colony to Red River; and Prince Edward Island was only selected before starting, because the British Government regarded it as more accessible. It was to gain the territory on which to plant a colony that his Lordship formed the great design of purchasing stock in the Hudson's Bay Company.

Lord Selkirk succeeded in carrying out all his plans; in 1811 he bought up a controlling interest in the company, and purchased a vast tract of what is now a part of Manitoba, and portions of the northern parts of Minnesota and Dakota. This was known as the District of Assiniboia. It was in 1811, as already said, that his representative, Mr. Miles Macdonell, a Highlander, formerly a Captain of the Queen's Rangers, was appointed Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was also named by Lord Selkirk in charge of his colony. Mr. Macdonell arrived at Red River in the year 1812, and met the colony which had just come from Britain by way of Hudson Bay. It numbered about eighty persons. The new Governor and the colonists, in the year of their arrival, immediately began to erect houses; indeed some of the colonists were under a three years' engagement with Lord Selkirk to erect houses for the Company. These were situated about three quarters of a mile north of the junction of the rivers, east of Main Street, and between James and Logan Streets, probably on the edge of the broken plain skirting the belt of wood along the river. There was a house for the Governor, where also dwelt the sheriff. There were besides a farm house, a store-house, and several other buildings. Here the colonists lived, tents and huts being used as well. The well-known dwelling, with its fine surrounding of trees in the plot at the foot of Rupert Street,—the abode of the late Sheriff Alexander Ross, the historian of Red River—in its name "Colony Garden," still retained by it, commemorates the locality where the colony first took root.

It was the custom of the dwellers at the Forks to journey southward in the winter in order to be near the open country containing buffalo. The Governor had erected an establishment on the north side of Pembina River at its mouth, to which he gave the



name Fort Daer,—Baron Daer and Shortcough being one of Lord Selkirk's titles. Thither, for the winter of 1812-13, the colonists migrated. During the summer they returned to their establishments at the Forks, and their number was made up to one hundred by the arrival of a small band of new immigrants. During the next winter they again removed sixty miles southward to Fort Daer. It was while at Fort Daer with the colonists, that Governor Macdonell, becoming apprehensive that the supply of food for his expected colonists from Britain would run short, issued on January 8th, 1814, his celebrated proclamation, forbidding the export of pemican or other food from the country, but stating his willingness to pay for the food taken for the colony. This proclamation was drawn forth by the threat of the Nor'-Westers to starve the settlers out before they could get a foothold; for it was, indeed, said, that Nor'-Western agents had cruelly driven away the buffalo out of reach of the settlers when at Pembina.

In 1814, the settlers sowed a small quantity of wheat got from Fort Alexander, at the mouth of Winnipeg River, but it was all planted with the hoe. In 1814, the colony was increased by two additional parties by way of Hudson Bay. The first arrived on June 22nd, and was supplied with thirty or forty bushels of potatoes, which they planted. The lots for the several families were now selected, being narrow strips of land commencing a mile and a half from the junction of the river, and extending side by side along the river for three miles, after the manner of the buildings along the St. Lawrence in the Province of Quebec. At the close of 1814, the colony numbered two hundred persons. Acting under Governor Macdonell's proclamation, Sheriff Spencer, in May, 1814, seized at Assiniboine House, opposite Brandon House, one hundred miles or upwards west of the Forks, four hundred bags of pemican, each weighing between eighty and ninety pounds. He also took a considerable quantity of preserved buffalo tallow. The question as to whether the Governor acted rightly in making this seizure has been much discussed. All can now see that it was unwise, giving, as it did, a welcome opportunity to the Nor'-Westers to display their secret hostility. These measures, no doubt, caused much excitement among the Nor'-Westers, all the way from Athabaska to Montreal.

At their annual meeting in the summer of 1814, at Fort William, two of their most daring and astute partners were sent to the Red River and Assiniboine districts. These were Duncan Cameron and Alexander Macdonell, both of whom became celebrated in the stirring events of the period. Cameron took charge of Fort Gibraltar. The plan of the Nor'-Westers was first to induce the settlers to leave Red River and settle in Canada, and after that, or along with that, to drive out those refusing to accept their offers. Duncan Cameron, though said by one writer friendly to the Nor'-Westers, to have been of an "irritable temper," was, on the whole, well-suited to the task. Though possessed of no military rank he signed himself "Captain, Voyageur Corps, Commanding Officer, Red River." He wore a flowing red coat, and carried a sword. However, he was as adroit as he was bold. He could speak Gaelic, the native tongue of the colonists. He courted the favor of the settlers during the whole winter, invited them to his table, and at the same time awakened their fears by threatening them with the Indians, should they disregard his wishes. The winter of 1814-15 was a troubled one. Taking advantage on April 4th, 1815, of the temporary absence of the Governor, Mr. Archibald MacDonald being in charge, Cameron sent a party to the Governor's house to demand the cannon in possession of the colonists, saying, in his missive, that they were not for use, but in order to prevent their

being used. While one party was delivering the missive, virtually keeping the acting governor and those with him prisoners, another party seized the colonists' storehouse, broke it open and took all the artillery, consisting of eight field pieces—small swivel-guns and a howitzer.

When Governor Macdonell returned, he issued a warrant for the missing guns, but on resistance being offered, allowed the matter for the time being to rest. Those of the settlers who contemplated going to Canada, now deserted the colonists' houses and went to Fort Gibraltar. In May, 1815, a Nor'-Wester force seized the cattle of the colonists; while, on June 11th, an attack from the wood adjoining was made on the governor's house, lasting three quarters of an hour. The water communications throughout the country were now open. The colonists were thoroughly alarmed. The Nor'-Westers threatened loudly, and they were so manifestly masters for the time being of the situation, that Governor Miles Macdonell, with the advice of the other officers, surrendered himself, under a warrant that had been obtained from Canada against him for the pemican-seizure at the Assiniboine House the year before, and was taken to Canada, along with Sheriff Spencer for the same matter. One hundred and thirty-four of the colonists, induced by promises of free transport, and two hundred acres of land in Western Canada, deserted the colony in June, along with Cameron, and arrived at Fort William on their way down the lakes in the end of July. Those remaining of the settlers were now desolate indeed. The Bois-brûlés, who remained upon the spot, undertook to dispose of them. The following document was served upon them on June 25th, 1815: "All settlers to retire immediately from the Red River, and no trace of a settlement to remain." This was signed by Cuthbert Grant, Bostonnais Pangman, William Shaw, and Bonhomme Montour.

The settlers were accordingly compelled to retrace their road to Hudson Bay. On June 27th some thirteen families, comprising from forty to sixty persons, pursued their sad journey, piloted by friendly Indians, to the north end of Lake Winnipeg to the Hudson's Bay Company fort of Jack River, since that time known as Norway House, from the circumstance, it is said, that a number of Norwegians were brought out to that point to endeavour to introduce the reindeer as a beast of transport in Rupert's Land. A Hudson's Bay Company servant, named McLeod, and two or three men alone were left. The expulsion was now complete, and accordingly the day after the departure of the loyal few, the colony dwellings, with the possible exception of the Governor's house, were all burnt to the ground. The settlers had been compelled to leave their growing crops behind them. In July, they reached Jack River House, their future dark indeed! Lord Selkirk was true to his colonists in the hour of their danger. An officer, Colin Robertson, and twenty clerks and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, were sent to the relief of the settlers. Arriving at Red River, Robertson found that the settlers had gone northward; he followed after them, found them at the foot of the lake, and encouraged by him, they returned to the blackened ruins of their establishment on August 19th, 1815. The crops left by the colonists, though partially destroyed, were in part preserved by McLeod and his companions. The courageous handful were rewarded for their perseverance by the arrival, in the month of October, of another party of their friends from Great Britain, so that now their numbers again rose to one hundred and fifty. The absence of a number of the Nor'-Westers with the deserting colonists left Robertson in possession of the field. The colonists began

to rebuild their destroyed dwellings, and looked forward with hope. The Governor's dwelling was strengthened, other buildings erected beside it, and, more necessity being now seen for defence, it assumed a more military aspect, and took the name Fort Douglas.

The blood of the members of both fur companies was now up. Cameron had returned in the summer of 1815 from the disposal of the deserting colonists, and from the meeting of the partners at Fort William, to await developments, and check new movements of the colonists. Alexander Macdonell, the Nor'-Wester, had returned and gone west to Qu'Appelle. In October, 1815, Cameron was seized along with Fort Gibraltar, and two of the river field-pieces recaptured. The matter was, however, settled and the fort restored to Cameron, who had been liberated. The further anxiety of Lord Selkirk for his colonists may be seen in the appointment of an experienced and capable military officer, Robert Semple, as Governor of Assiniboina. Governor Semple arrived at Red River in the autumn of 1815, alas, to make his grave on its banks. His arrival and presence gave much confidence to the settlers, and he was ably assisted by his lieutenant, Colin Robertson. Officials and settlers, as usual, spent the winter at Fort Daer.

The presence of the two daring Nor'-Westers in the country, Cameron and Macdonell, was reason enough for believing that there would be renewed trouble. All through winter threatenings of violence filled the air. The Bois-brûlés, or half-breeds, were arrogant, and led by Cuthbert Grant, a lad of little more than twenty, looked upon themselves as the "new nation." Returning after the New Year of 1816, from Fort Daer, Governor Semple saw the necessity for aggressive action. Fort Gibraltar was to become the rendezvous for a Bois-brûlé force of extermination from Qu'Appelle, Fort des Prairies (Portage La Prairie), and even from the Saskatchewan. To prevent this, Governor Semple captured the fort, and took Cameron into custody. This event took place, according to some, in March, according to others, in April, 1816. It is supposed that the Governor kept it as property taken in war, for, except on this ground, it is difficult to see how his action could have been justified.

Still in possession of Gibraltar, it was deemed wise to bestow Cameron, in a safer place. He was accordingly despatched as a prisoner under the care of Colin Robertson to Jack River House, on his way to Hudson Bay. By the failure of the ship to leave Hudson Bay, Cameron remained seventeen months a prisoner before he reached England, where he was released immediately on his arrival. He afterward returned to Canada, and represented the County of Glengarry for some time, probably between the years 1820 and 1830, in the Canadian parliament. No sooner had Cameron been taken away than there followed the destruction of Fort Gibraltar. Retaliation, the purpose of destroying what might give shelter to the attacking force, and perhaps the desire of profit, were the reasons for the destruction of Fort Gibraltar. Colin Robertson, it is said, was determinedly opposed to the demolition. He is said to have seriously differed with Governor Semple on the subject. On the next day after Robertson's departure with Cameron, its fate was decided, and the buildings were pulled down in end of May, 1816. A force of some thirty men was employed; and expecting, as they did, a body from the west to attack them, the work was all accomplished in seven or eight days. The materials were taken apart: the stockade was made into a raft, the remainder was piled upon it, and all was floated down Red River to the site of Fort Douglas. The material was then used for strengthening the fort, and building new houses in it. Thus ended Fort Gibraltar. A considerable establish-

ment it was in its time; its name was undoubtedly a misnomer so far as strength was concerned: yet it points to its origination in troublous times.

FORT DOUGLAS.—We have said that the Hudson's Bay Company claim to have built a fort on Red River in 1799. No trace of it can be distinctly made out, though there seems to be a floating tradition that there was a Hudson's Bay Company fort somewhere near the site of Fort Gibraltar or, possibly, further down the bank towards the colonists' establishment. In 1812 and the subsequent years, however, their interests seem all to have been included in the Colony Fort. Whether the fur-trade interests were absorbed in Fort Douglas or not, the chief reason for strengthening the colony establishment was the protection of the settlers. From a mere scattered gathering of buildings, it was, by extensive buildings and repairs in the autumn of 1815, that it gained the name Fort Douglas, being so called after Lord Selkirk's family name. Probably one of the reasons for destroying Fort Gibraltar, was to provide material for the enlargement of Fort Douglas. We find that, during the same year, orders were given to bring down portions of the North-West Fort, which had been at Pembina, for the same purpose. It was stated that when Fort Gibraltar was destroyed, haste was made, lest the destruction should be interrupted by the arrival of the threatened Bois-brûlé invaders from Qu'Appelle. That invasion did take place, and we shall see that Fort Douglas, too, has its well-marked history.

Not more than three weeks had elapsed after the last beam of Fort Gibraltar had been removed, when, from the watch-tower of Fort Douglas, the alarm was given that the half-breeds were coming. This was about six o'clock in the evening of June 19th, 1816. The Governor immediately ordered a party to prepare to meet the intruders, who seemed to be avoiding the fort, and to be directing their movements against the settlers down the river. The Governor seemed to have intended to hold a parley with the approaching force. On perceiving, as he rode forward, that the party was larger than he had supposed, he sent back to the fort for a stronger force, and for a piece of artillery to be brought. He then proceeded some two miles down the river from the fort to a point since celebrated as the scene of the conflict of Seven Oaks. The half-breeds who were mounted now approached the Governor's party in the form of a half-moon, giving the war-whoop. One of their leaders named Firmin Boucher advanced towards the Whites, with the insolent cry, "What do you want?" The Governor replied "What do *you* want?" The answer to this was, "We want our fort,"—no doubt referring to the destroyed Fort Gibraltar. The Governor replied harshly, "Well, go to your fort!" A hurried rejoinder of an insulting kind being made to the Governor, he rashly seized Boucher's horse by the bridle, seemingly with the idea of making him a prisoner. As Boucher slid from his horse, a shot was fired from the Bois-brûlés' ranks, and one of the Governor's body-guard fell. The firing became general. The Governor fell by the second shot, wounded in the shoulder. Lying helpless, the Governor was given in charge of a French Canadian to assist him to the fort, when a worthless Indian along with the party, running up, shot him in the breast and killed him.

Completely destroyed, scattered, or terrified, there was no force of settlers or Hudson's Bay Company men sufficient to defend Fort Douglas. John Pritchard, afterwards a confidential agent of Lord Selkirk, conducted negotiations between some forty settlers at the fort and the half-breeds. The settlers at first proposed to defend the fort, but a wiser deter-

mination was reached. An inventory was made of all the Fort property, and on July 20th, 1816, the colonists capitulated, the fort was formally handed over, and a receipt given by Cuthbert Grant, acting for the North-West Company. Thus, in the varying fortunes of war, Fort Douglas, for a time, became the possession of the company, whose Fort Gibraltar was now a thing of the past. Festivities of an extravagant kind took place over the victory. Half-breeds and Indians held high carnival. Partners and their dependants from different parts of the country, rushed to Fort Douglas, which the Nor'-Westers held for the summer at least. The sorrowful, ill-fated colonists again took boat down the River to seek Hudson Bay. There being for the time no disturbance, the Nor'-West partners, set earnestly to work and completed Fort Douglas out of the material brought a few weeks before from their own dismantled Fort.

The news of the battle, of the death of the Governor, and of the seizure of Fort Douglas, caused the greatest excitement in Montreal, when the sad intelligence reached the headquarters of the North-West Company. Lord Selkirk with his family, had spent the winter there, and now was on his way up the lakes to his beleaguered colony. He had with him one hundred disbanded soldiers and thirty canoe men, who were to settle on Red River, and act as preservers of the peace. He arrived at Fort William in the autumn of 1816, spent the winter there, and in March, a portion of his settlers coming over the Ruiny River route, left Lake of the Woods on snow-shoes, crossed the intervening country, and recaptured Fort Douglas in the spring of 1817, seemingly without much opposition. As soon as navigation opened, Lord Selkirk arrived (1817) at Fort Douglas, and laid the foundations for the colony firm and sure. This was the last of the conflict. Fort Douglas continued to be used as Governor's residence for years, though as we shall see, it soon ceased to be used for mercantile purposes. Governor Alexander Macdonell—called the "Grasshopper Governor," in allusion to the scourge occurring in his time—had charge from 1816-22. He was succeeded by Governor Bulger, a daring officer, and who is said to have left a collection of letters of great interest about Red River, known as the "Bulger Papers." He was Governor when Major Long's expedition passed down the river in 1823. The fort property was afterwards sold when the Company repurchased Lord Selkirk's rights, and was bought by Mr. Robert Logan, who occupied some of the buildings till 1854. Not a stick or stone of it now remains.

OLD FORT GARRY.—It is well known that the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies, brought near the verge of bankruptcy, united in 1821. Just as the union of the North-West and X. Y. Companies in 1804 resulted in the building of Fort Gibraltar, so the union of the opposing parties now resulted in the building of a new fort. The site chosen was virtually that of the destroyed Gibraltar; it would seem to have been a little further up towards the Assiniboine. Here, after the union, the stores of the Company were opened, those at Fort Douglas having been closed. The situation of the old fort is believed to be near the present Hudson's Bay Company mill on the Assiniboine. Originally, a carriage road passed in front of it along the river. The greedy river, however, encroached every year; and now a portion of what was contained within the fort has been undermined and fallen away. The fort received its name from Nicholas Garry, an influential director of the Hudson's Bay Company, who, in 1822, as we learn from the "Bishop of Montreal's Journey to Red River," took a leading part in the management of the Company's

affairs. In 1823, Major Long, in his interesting work edited by Professor Keating, speaks of encamping near "Fort Gerry (*sic*), which is at the juncture of the two streams," and further, "the beautiful confluence of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers washed the base of the bluffs on which the fort stands."

That this fort was a very considerable establishment is known to us from the statement of an old resident of Winnipeg, who saw the old fort first in 1849. It was two hundred feet or upwards on each side. The master's house (or what had been used as such) was opposite the gate, and his office window looked out on the square enclosed. Along the square on each side were the necessary buildings, store, men's houses, carpenter and blacksmith's shops, storehouses, etc., for a large fur trade. Shortly after this, the river encroaching, the south-western bastion was undermined. One day an eye-witness saw that the dragon on the top of the wind vane was pointing at an angle of 60° rather than 90°; but the weight of the heavy log bastion enabled it to right itself, and it was not carried away. About 1852, the fort was pulled down. While this was going on, the occupants of the new fort were startled by a loud explosion. They supposed it to be a falling wall. It proved, however, to have been caused by three natives crossing the Assiniboine in a canoe. As was the custom, one was carrying powder in his handkerchief; he had set it in the bottom of the canoe; then sitting down near it, he thoughtlessly began to strike his flint to light his pipe. A stray spark ignited the powder. One of the men was blown on the shore; the other two, thrown into the water, were rescued with difficulty; while the canoe, torn to shreds, floated down the stream. Thus passed away the original Fort Garry, having had a much quieter history than the other Winnipeg forts.

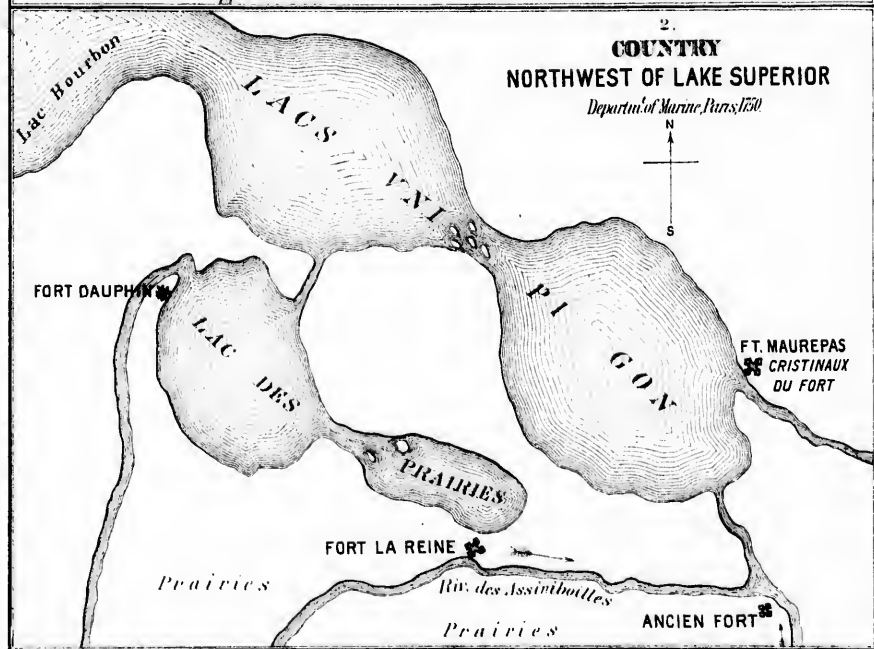
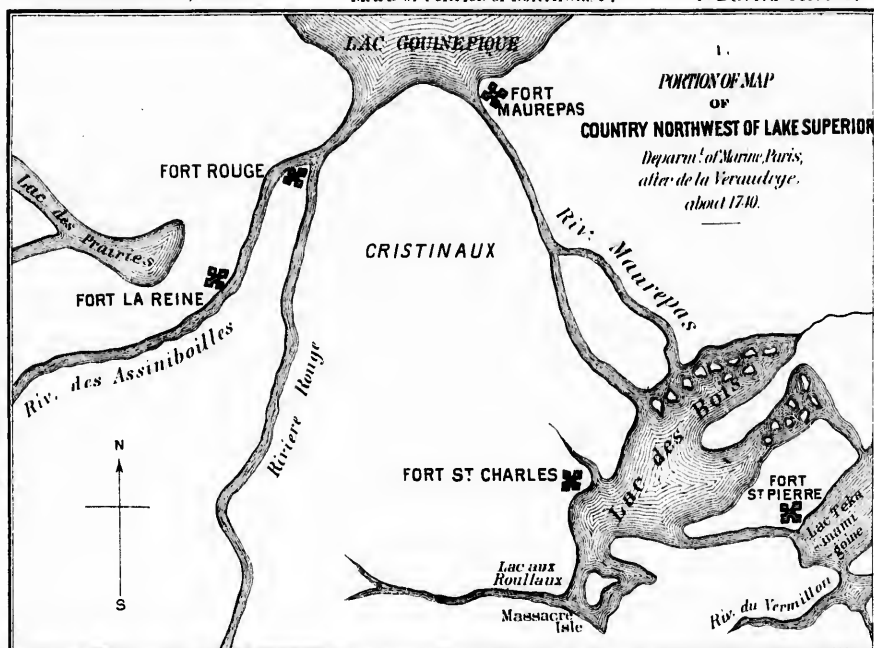
RECENT FORT GARRY.—Recovering from the losses of war, the company began to thrive. The visit of Sir John Halkett, a relative of the Earl of Selkirk, and an executor, resulted in a rectification of abuses complained of by the settlers, and the vicious system of credit previously followed, was given up. This was in 1823. An increase of the population by a number of Swiss immigrants took place in 1821; but they emigrated again in 1827. In 1830, the Hudson's Bay Company began to feel the necessity for better accommodation, and for something more worthy of the name of a fort, for they were virtually the government of the country. In 1831 they built, at what they considered the head of river navigation, just below the St. Andrew's Rapids, a large and expensive establishment, since known as Lower Fort Garry. It is nineteen miles from Upper Fort Garry. The object would seem further to have been to place the centre of trade more in the midst of the English-speaking people, since the turbulent French half-breeds were settled near the Forks of the river. It was intended then to make it the seat of government.

This policy was soon changed; and Governor Christie in 1835 began the large fort, till recently one of the land marks of Winnipeg, at the south end of Main Street. It contained not only the master's house, and a large number of extensive mercantile premises, but on the north side of it was also the residence of the Governor of the colony. There were also, within the enclosure, the court-house and jail. A substantial stone wall surrounded it when the writer first (1871) knew it. It was flanked by four bastions of solid masonry. This fort has seen many stirring scenes since 1835: the wild fury of the half-breeds at the Sayer trial (1849); the entertainment of numerous distinguished

guests ; the rebellion of Riel in 1869, when it was seized by the half-breeds, and where a large band of Canadians were held in it as prisoners; the mad execution of Scott, just outside its walls, on the south-east side; the removal of the wounded man to the south-west bastion, and his secret removal thence to an unknown grave. The northern gate still remains, a fine specimen of castellated masonry. The fort was 240 feet long from north to south, and 280 feet wide. Here the Council of Assiniboine met from the time of its organization in 1835 until the Rebellion in 1869. In former times, during the absence of a church in Winnipeg, religious service was held within the walls of the fort. It was sold by the Hudson's Bay Company in the inflation of 1882 for an enormous sum ; and, shame to the vandalism of modern commerce, it has been partly removed to straighten Main Street ; most of its buildings are unoccupied ; and, alas ! all of those occupied are the headquarters of the Winnipeg Street Car Company. The glory of the Winnipeg forts has departed !







To illustrate Prof. Bryce's Paper on the Five Forts of Winnipeg.

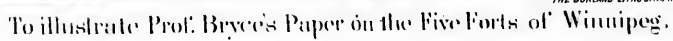
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To illustrate Prof. Bryce's Paper on the Five Forts of Winnipeg.





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