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MEXICO;

ITS COINAGE AND DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING IT, AT THE
PERIOD OF ITS CONQUEST BY THE SPANIARDS.

By J. W. BASTOW.

THE Numismatic history of Canada and the United States of America, from their earliest existence to date, has been so well nigh exhausted by the ablest numismatists of both countries, that little remains to be said; and although neither place can lay claim to antiquity in its coins or medals, there has been nevertheless a wide field to engage the attention of those interested in the study.

We also find many in either country who have made deep researches into the numismatic lore of Europe and other Continents, yet but little has been published upon the numismatic history of Mexico; a country, which in comparison with others of this Continent, presents a much older,

larger and more interesting field for research ; older, from having been the first to coin money ; larger, from the diversity of types of its coins and more interesting from the vicissitudes of its governments of Monarchies, Empires, and Republic ; presenting a variety of coins, instructive in following up the chronological order of the rulers, and interesting in the early difficulties to contend with, and much later in the Provisional coinage during the eleven years War of Independence.

To present to the readers of this journal something approximating to the history of the earliest and subsequent coinage of Mexico is a task I would with pleasure resign to more competent hands ; but at the request of a few friends I have gathered what data I could find near at hand on the subject. Knowing full well my inability to do it justice, the difficulties to contend with from the scant or doubtful statistics on record, the little interest felt in the study by the people of the country, and the difficulty to obtain reliable information even on the modern coinage of the Republic, makes me cognizant of the arduous task I have undertaken, yet I hope that my critics will be lenient, and if too verbose at times to attribute it to my zeal or incompetency.

The scarcity of coined money necessary for the mercantile transactions in the Colonies of America was seriously considered in Spain. After much discussion by Bishop Zumarraga and other notables, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, by a Royal decree of the Queen dated May 11th 1535, was authorized to establish a Mint in Mexico for the coinage of silver and copper, but not of gold.

The director of the Royal tribunal of mines in Mexico, Don Fausto Elhuyar, in a work entitled *Examinations on the coining of Money in Mexico*, says : "The first provision relative to the establishment of a Mint in America was the Royal decree of the 11th May 1535, in which the reigning Queen ordered that there should be established in the cities of Mexico, Santa Fé, of the New Kingdom of Granada, and

the Imperial villa of Potosi," from this it would appear that the Mints of Mexico, New Granada and Potosi, were ordered to be established by the decree of 1535; whereas in that year New Granada had not been conquered nor was the founding of the Potosi yet thought of. Herrera says: "The first entrance to the Kingdom of New Granada was by the Spaniards in 1537 under the command of Gonzalo Jiménez de Tejada and not until very much later was founded the City of Santa Fé." He also says: "The Imperial City of Potosi was founded and progressed rapidly through the discovery of very rich mines, the Cerro, in 1546." The Mint at Mexico was the first established on this Continent and to it the decree of 11th May 1535 refers.

When the Spaniards occupied the City of Mexico they commenced, equally so among themselves as among the natives, those mercantile transactions which form the commercial life among all peoples, cultivated or uncivilized as they may be.

The Spaniards at first tried to establish the numerical system of their country; but found the great inconvenience of not having coined money and had to supply the want by bars or dust of gold or silver which passed by weight (*peso*), the name in time became so general that the government adopted it as the monetary unit and still adheres to it.

Very complicated and extensive was the nomenclature of several classes of money, or substitutes, existing in New Spain during the early years of the Conquest; long and fastidious the arithmetical operation necessary to find the relation and values, not alone with that in use but also with that imported, on account of the different quality or alloy of the metals.

The Spaniards brought the Doblón, Castellano, Ducado, Dobra, Escudo or Crown and Blanca. The name of some of these pieces became so fixed that to the present day it is customary to say, when out of cash, *no tengo ni blanco*, and there are probably few persons who know what it means.

The money born of the Colony was the peso of gold, the peso of gold of the mines, the peso of stamped gold, the peso of common gold, and the peso of gold of tepuzque.*

The difference between these monies arose from the distinctive alloys of the metals, but without a doubt, the peso of gold was the first used, as its value represented 500 maravedis, that of the *castellano*; it is to be believed, that the *castellano* was the unit and adopted primitively by the Spaniards in its numerical relation, and that the peso of gold was an equivalent to supply the want of coined money.

The values of these monies in Spanish, and reduced to approximate that in actual use are as follows :

| | | | \$ | c. |
|--------------|------------------------|---------------|----|--------|
| Peso of Gold | | 500 maravedis | —2 | 94 |
| " | " of the mines, . . . | 450 | " | —2 63½ |
| " | " stamped, | 414 | " | — |
| " | " common, | 300 | " | —1 75 |
| " | " of tepuzque, . . . | 272 | " | —1 59½ |
| Tomin | " | 62½ | " | —0 37½ |
| Real | " half of the tomin, | 31¼ | " | —0 18¾ |
| " | or tomin of tepuzque,† | 34 | " | —0 19½ |

* It must be remembered that it was not money, or coin, only metal whose weight was represented.

With the object of augmenting the quantity of gold for the soldiers and for purchasing, and believing that the fraud would not be discovered by the soldiers or merchants newly arriving at the ports, the officers of the King mixed copper with the gold, but upon being known, it produced, as was quite natural, an excessive rise in the price of merchandise so as to compete with the deteriorated value of gold. To this the soldiers gave the name of *tepuzque*, indicating that it was more copper than gold; this abuse in time became so prevalent that it was found necessary to complain to the King, who prohibited absolutely this alloying under severe penalties, shortly afterward a silver-smith was hanged for putting the mark of good gold on that of *tepuzque*.

To take from circulation this alloyed gold and so as not to create an impression of despotism, it was ordered that the gold of *tepuzque* would be received for certain taxes, so it was thus called in and sent to Spain.

In some of the mines, at the present day, when the metal is of a low grade and sells for less than the regular price, it is qualified by the name of *tepuzque*.

† The name *tomin* is in use to the present day in the Mexican or *Nahuatl* idiom, although somewhat corrupted. The Indians are accustomed to call the real *tomin*, which they have perverted into *tome* and almost naturalised it

The castellano in Spain, according to the decree of Valencia in 1488 was worth 485 maravedis, whilst in Mexico it was valued at 500 maravedis and divided into eight tomins, and the tomin into two reales.

The peso of tepuzque which was of gold whose alloy had been altered, was divided in conformity to a decree of Don Antonio de Mendoza into eight reales and each real of the value of thirty-four maravedis or twelve grains. The peso of tepuzque and its divisions was the base of the numerical system preserved in New Spain and afterwards in the Republic of Mexico until the establishment of the decimal system of coinage.

The tomin of the peso of gold and of the castellano corresponded to sixty-two and one half maravedis, the double of one real. The tomin of the peso of tepuzque was equal to one real and represented the value of thirty-four maravedis or twelve grains. The peso of gold of the mines, of which frequent mention is made in ancient documents of the colony, represented, reduced to the peso of tepuzque, one peso, five tomins or reales and three grains.

The scarcity of coined money in Mexico and the necessity that existed for it in all mercantile transactions obliged the merchants to bring from Spain certain quantities, but from the dangers of the voyage, cost of transport and the scarcity thereof, the coin caused the real to rise to the value of forty-four maravedis.

Hernan Cortés coined an unknown quantity of money, at least such may be inferred from the declaration of the *Conquistador* Bernardo Vasquez de Topia in his reports; but nothing is known of its reality more than this vague notice.

In the midst of so much disorder and confusion of monies, the greater part imaginary, commenced the coinage of actual money by the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, according

into their idiom; in expressing one, two or three reales, they say, *ce ome ici tome*; also in a more general sense, thus to say, there is no money, they use the words, *amonca tome*.

to the commands of the Queen, contained in the Royal decree of May 11th 1535.

In conformity with these dispositions, silver money was to be manufactured (*labrada*) in Mexico, following the ordinance of the Spanish laws of the Kingdom of Castile. Silver money was to be made "one half in single reales, one fourth part of reales of two and of three and the other fourth of half reales and *cuartillas*. The dies (says the Royal ordinance) for the single reales and of the two and three reales, must be of the one part castles and lions with the pomegranate, and the other part the two columns between which the inscription which says *Plus ultra*, which is the device of the Emperor, my lord; and the half reales must have on the one part a K and an I, and on the other part the same inscription of *Plus ultra* and the columns, and the *cuartillas* will have on the one part an I, and on the other a K, and in the lettering of all said money it shall say *Carolus i Yohana Reges Hispanie & a Yndiarum*, and put wherever the device (or motto) of the columns may be a Latin M which will be known as its having been made in Mexico."*

* Orozco y Berra, in his *Dictionary of the History and Geography of Mexico*, gives a description of these coins in the following terms:—"I have before me reales of four, of two, of one, and of half reales of this type. All have the circular figure more or less perfect, without those irregularities seen on coins more modern; the relief does not appear to me to have been made with the blow of a hammer. Reales of four.—*Obverse*; two concentric circles, inscribed in the lesser circle, coat of arms divided into four parts by two lines which cut at right angles, and in the spaces two lions and two castles opposite; in the upper part of the shield a crown which touches the circumference of the larger circle and in the lower part a pomegranate; to the right of the shield an M with an *o* above, to the left an O; in the ring (*anulo*) CAROLVS ET IOHANA REGES.—*Reverse*; two concentric circles as on the obverse; within the lesser circle the sea, and rising from the waters two columns terminated by crowns; in the three spaces left by the columns and the circumference which confines them, in the first PLV. in the second SVL, in the last TR, this is what there was space for of *plus ultra*; in the ring HISPANIARVM ET INDIARVM + in the space in the centre and below the SVL it has the number 4, which marks the value of four reales. The reales of two are identical with the former, except that, to the right of the shield is an I and to the left an M, lacking the number which indicates its value, and only contains PLVSVL of *plus ultra*.

Single reales: *Obverse*; the two concentric circles, in the lesser K I with a crown in the upper part, to the right of the K an M with an *o* above, and in

It is uncertain, the epoch in which the coining of money was commenced as no date exists on the coins ; but it must have been early in 1537, as in a letter written by Mendoza to the King on December 10th of this year he says :—" I wrote to your Majesty, as I feared that, from the astuteness and ingenuity of the natives they might counterfeit the coin. About fifteen or twenty days ago, there was brought to me two tostones of four, false, which were made by them," which indicates that, at that date money had been coined in Mexico. Furthermore there exists another proof more clear.

The ordinance for the coining of money given by the Queen to Mendoza says : "there should be manufactured in Mexico, single reales of two and of three"; but Mendoza observed that for utility the two and three might be confounded very easily causing serious loss and injury to the Indians and illiterate people ; armed with due authority he suppressed the issue of reales of three, ordering to be coined the single real, of two, and of four which the people called *toston*, giving account to the King of this innovation and representing the necessity of coining money of eight reales, or reales of eight as they were then called, and after which was known by the name of peso.

The decree in reply to Mendoza's letter is dated Monzon Nov. 18th, 1536, and authorizes the coining of the reales of eight. *

the ring the inscription of CAROLVS ET IOHANA RS :- Reverse ; the columns as in the former and in the spaces P LV S ; in the ring HISPANIA-RVM ET IN. Half reales ; equal to those described, although with the inscriptions shorter, in conformity with the ordinance, to put what there was room for" yet there undoubtedly exists pieces without the *o* over the M, as will be seen farther on.

* The King.—Don Antonio de Mendoza our viceroy and governor of New Spain, president of the court of Judicature and Royal Chancellor :— I saw what thou wrotest to the Count of Dosorno in respect to the money to be made in that city, in which thou sayest that there should be made reales of four, of two, of one and of a half and not of the three because it was inconvenient inasmuch as the twos might pass for the threes, being little difference between one and the other ; and that the people desire very much that there be made reales of eight, so as to be over there the just amount for one peso ;

Calculating the time necessary for this decree to reach Mexico, and to get ready everything required for the coining of the reales of eight, it is no venture to suppose they were commenced to be coined in February or March 1538, that is to say one year after the coining of the single reales, of two, and of three ; but as no engravings or descriptions of the real of three exists, it is doubtful whether it was coined or not. In time the real of eight was generally called peso, the real of four, toston, and of the two, peseta.

Also in a letter from Antonio de Mendoza to the King mention is made of the appointment of Francisco del Rincon as first assayer and Anton de Vides as first engraver.

In the Mints of Spain there was a tax of one real for each marco (eight ounces) of silver to pay the officials and other expenses ; but in the Mint of Mexico, from the greater expenses, three reales was imposed. The penalty of death and confiscation of property was applied to those who made money or any other thing, small as it might be, or receive silver and gold which had not the Royal mark as proof of having paid the fifth.

Less fortunate was the Viceroy in relation to (vellon) or copper money. On the 28th June, 1542, Mendoza, authorized by Royal decree, ordered to be made, "12,000 marcos de vellon, irrespective of law in the alloy, in pieces of the value of four and two maravedis, taking from each marco thirty-six pieces from the larger and double the number from the smaller ones, having for device—that of two, the one part a column with *pus ultra* (plus ultra) and a crown, and on the other part a castle and crown and the sign of Mexico ; and of four on one part a castle and a lion with a

all of which to me appears well, and I charge and command thee that, from now, and henceforth, thou wilt have made the said reales of four and of two and of one and of the half and also the said reales of eight. At the same time I am informed that the Yndians in said Mint who were to serve two years they comply soon ; thou wilt prorogue the said time for other two years.—From Moncon Nov. 18th 1537—Yo el Rey. By command of His Majesty Juan de Saman."

K in the centre and a crown and an M below with an O above, the name of Mexico, and on the other a castle and I and a crown and a lion and for the lettering of said money *Carolus et Yohana hispaniarum et indiarum Rex*, or whatever part it may contain."

The price of four maravedis was of a thin planchet, circular and worked (*trabajada*) similar to the reales of silver. On the obverse, two concentric circles; in the inside of the lesser circle and without touching or going outside of the circumference a K over which a crown, below a pomegranate, to the right a castle and to the left a lion; in the ring (*anulo*) CAROLUS (the U?) ET IOHANA REGES †. On the reverse, the same two concentric circles and in the centre of the lesser an I, over which a crown, to the right a castle, to the left a lion and below 4 MO value of the coin and sign where made; in the ring, HISPANIARUM ET INDIARUM."*

As the Mexicans could not appreciate copper money, it appearing to them of no intrinsic value, they resisted receiving it in exchange for their goods, much more so as the ordinance of Mendoza said it should be admitted to the amount of four pesos. The Viceroy attempted to compel

* Although in Spain and Mexico the name Carlos is written with a C, it became customary, by official authorization to use a K as an initial to the name of Carlos V, thus it is seen on coins and coats of arms, without doubt due to the influence of the Germans who surrounded the Emperor and were occupying such high positions in Spain during his Government.

In an engraving of various silver coins of a Spanish collection of the time of the Emperor Carlos V of Germany and first of Spain; there is undoubtedly represented many manufactured in Mexico as they are made from the dies exacted by the ordinance of 1535, without failing, the M which all this money should have, according to the text of the decree, *which will be known as its having been made in Mexico.*

Mexican money circulated in Spain in extraordinary abundance, thus without doubt, in forming a collection of coins, the newest pieces would find a place there. It is not probable either that the minutiae as the O over the M should have been observed in all the details; this depended to a great extent on the engraver who although not strictly following the provisions of the ordinance might easily vary in some particulars, as observed in samples of distinctive years. Don Antonio de Mendoza complained to the King in his letter of October 10th 1537 that in the first work of the officials they were so dull or stupid *that the coins had to be made over several times before they were perfect or good.* With practice and workmen having arrived from Spain, the subsequent pieces were equal to those of Castile.

the Indians to receive copper money, imposing flogging and others penalties on those who refused to accept it. The Indians then received the money ; but with a disinterestedness and marvellous constancy, every evening on returning to their villages, they would throw into the lake all the copper money they had received during the day in exchange for their goods.

The Viceroy having been informed of the result, was convinced of the uselessness of further attempt to circulate this money, but substituted it by small silver pieces, which were called *cuartillas*, yet this expedient did not give satisfaction as the size of the pieces rendered them easy to be lost ; the Indians became disgusted, and again commenced to reduce the circulation, some by melting them into bars, others by throwing them into the lake. Mendoza comprehended the inutility of trying to establish the circulation of copper money or any other against the will of the Mexicans.

After these fruitless trials, the cacao (pronounced *kakaow* and corrupted into cocoa) again became the fractional money in the markets of Mexico for all small transactions, even at times being employed in business of considerable importance.

The use of this money continued until the first year of the present century.

"According to the numerical system of the Mexicans, the base upon which cacao was counted was the number twenty ; thus 400 cacaos (20 x 20) makes one *zontle*, which means to say in Mexican 400, (and until the present day it is the custom in Mexico to sell firewood by *zontles* of 400 pieces), twenty *zontles* or 8,000, one *xiquipilla*, and three *xiquipilla* one *carga*, the which has 24,000 grains. As making up accounts by this system was somewhat difficult and presented facilities for abuses, in session January 28th, 1527, it was prohibited to sell cacao by count, only by heaped measures, the measure to have the seal of the City," although years afterwards other opinions appear to have prevailed, as on

October 24th 1536 it was ordered to sell cacao by count "and not in any other manner."

By an act of the Court of Judicature, 1,600 cacaos were computed as the value corresponding to one peso in making the appraisement of the tribute from the people of Tecpan.

So expert were the Indians in the counterfeiting of money, not only of silver, but they even falsified the cacao, filling with chalk the empty shells. The Viceroy Mendoza sent to the Emperor a few samples of tostones of silver and, cacaos counterfeited in Mexico.

Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. October, 1886.

[To be continued.]

CANADA IN SCULPTURE.

BY HENRY SCADDING, D.D. TORONTO.

IN the Senate House of the University of Cambridge in England there were to be seen, down to the year 1884, four fine life-size statues in white marble, each of them having associations connected with it of considerable public interest. The Senate House it may be explained, is the scene of all the great university ceremonies, just as the Sheldonian Theatre is, at Oxford. It consists of one grand apartment, one hundred and one feet in length, forty two in breadth, and thirty-two in height. On the shining white and black marble floor of this noble hall, the four statues referred to were conspicuous; two on one side, and two on the other, each raised high on a pedestal bearing an appropriate inscription. One, on the north side, represented George I; and one exactly opposite to it, on the south side represented George II; the third on the south side, preserved the shape of a former Duke of Somerset, by name Charles Seymour; and the fourth, opposite to this, was a famous counterfeit presentment of the younger Pitt.

It is a slight discovery which I once chanced to make in connection with one of these statues, namely that of George II, now many years ago, that I desire to put on record in this paper, for the benefit of future visitors to Cambridge from these parts, and Canadians generally. It must however be noticed that George II no longer stands on the floor of the Senate House but must be sought for within the walls of the adjoining Public Library of the University, whither, as we shall presently learn, the statue of George I has also been removed. Some of the legendary lore connected with these marble associates of George II may be briefly given in passing. The figure of George I, which is by the sculptor Rysbrack, recalls a pair of famous epigrams, so good that they are found in most collections.

The first two Georges were very friendly to the University of Cambridge, regarding it probably as in some degree more favourably disposed than Oxford towards the House of Hanover. Besides the donation of a thousand guineas to the building fund for the erection of the Senate House, George I had also presented to the University library, three thousand guineas' worth of books. It also happened that just at the time of this gift of books to Cambridge some addition was made to the military force stationed at Oxford.

A wit of Oxford, a representative of the supposed Toryism of the place, Dr. Trapp, ventured to express himself on the occasion, thus :

The King observing with judicious eyes,
The state of both his Universities,
To one he sends a regiment ; for why ?
That learned body wanted loyalty.
To th' other books he gave, as well discerning
How much that loyal body wanted learning.

Of course, never yet out-done in such contests, Cambridge soon produced its counter-joke, and put the case thus :

The King to Oxford sent his troop of Horse
For Tories own no argument but force :
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument,

This was done by a representative Whig of Cambridge, Sir William Browne, of Peter-house, Knight, M. D., founder of the coveted gold medals for Greek and Latin epigram, besides scholarships, in the University.—There is no epigram that I know of associated with the statue of the Duke of Somerset (also by Rysbrack) but it recalls a statesman or personage very conspicuous in his day about the courts successively of James II., William III and Anne. He was distinguished from the other Dukes of the same name as the "Proud Duke" from his general carriage and conduct. It was in great measure through independent action on his part at a critical moment in James II's reign, that the succession ultimately passed to the House of Hanover. On the pedestal of his statue he is styled: *Acerrimus libertatis publicæ vindex*. He was Chancellor of the University from 1689 to 1748.

The statue of Pitt has an epigram associated with it locally remembered. Pitt had graduated at Cambridge in 1777 and had represented the University in several successive parliaments. In 1812 it was resolved to erect a statue to his honour, and funds were so liberally supplied for the purpose, that not only was the statue erected, but the Pitt Scholarship, value fifty pounds per annum, established. A place for the statue was desired in the Senate House; but the spot considered most eligible for it there was occupied by an allegorical figure of "Glory"—academic Glory—not very remarkable, the gift of some former grateful member of the University. It was also mischievously put about that it was an effigy of Queen Anne, as a pasquinade of the day expressed it:

"Academic Glory,
Still in disguise a Queen, and still a Tory;"

This statue of Glory was transferred to one of the adjoining Schools: that of Law, and Nollekens' Pitt was set up in its place. From some anti-Pittite came forth the epigram above referred to: it reads as follows:

Sons of Sapience, you here a fair emblem display;
For wherever Pitt went he drove Glory away.

An unfair saying, as the sayings of epigrams so often are and the inevitable rejoinder followed :

Why thus exclaim and thus exert your wit
At making Glory here give place to Pitt ?
We'll raise his statue of the finest stone,
For never here a brighter Glory shone.

The sole inscription at the base of the statue is the word PITT. It had been ordered by the committee appointed to superintend its erection, that "it should be free in every part, from emblematical or allegorical devices : " a prohibition characteristic of the University whose famous professor of Mathematics, Vince, held that "Paradise Lost was all very fine but proved nothing." The remuneration received by Nollekens was three thousand guineas. Pitt was further honoured at Cambridge at a later period. At the time of his death in 1806, funds for erecting statues to him in London came in so abundantly that a large surplus remained, which in 1824 was devoted to the erection of the important structure known as the Pitt Press, the scene of the printing operations of the University of Cambridge, just as the Clarendon is the scene of those of the University of Oxford. (Most persons have probably noticed the very Italian looking imprint *é Prelo Pittiano* on the title page of Latin and Greek books printed at Cambridge.)

I now proceed to narrate my discovery made some years ago in connection with the statue of George II at Cambridge. The king is represented in what is called the Roman style. He is figured as a successful Roman general or emperor, laureated, and wearing the military chlamys or toga, artistically disposed in such a way as to allow the beautiful lorica and various trappings of the Roman military costume, to be well seen. He slightly leans against a low truncated column on which rests a rather large ball or globe : the king's right arm gracefully encircles this object.

One day I was standing on a bench close by this statue, for the purpose of getting, over the heads of the surrounding assemblage, a better view of some academic proceedings

going on at the upper end of the great hall, where the statue was then placed. Thus elevated, the eye was brought on a level with the ball or globe just spoken of. With considerable indifference at the moment, I gave a little flourish of a pocket handkerchief over its upper surface just to brush away some of the dust which apparently had not been disturbed since the time of the erection of the statue. To my great surprise I suddenly discerned a very familiar word cut on the marble of the ball in rather large characters, so large that the word extended from one side to the other of the upper portion of sphere: that very familiar word was CANADA. The globe placed in the position in which it was seen, and thus inscribed, was intended to be an emblem of the acquisition of Canada, just at the close of the reign of George II. In various funeral orations and academic elegies on the occasion of this king's death still preserved, the conquest of Canada figured largely; and when a few years later the sculptor Wilton, designed a statue to be set up in his honour in the Senate House at Cambridge, he adopted this method of commemorating the great event. It is probable that the sculptor chose the Roman style for the figure to make it match pleasantly with the statue of George I., on the opposite side of the hall, which was in this style. Wilton was also the sculptor of the cenotaph of Gen. Wolfe in Westminster Abbey, which is treated likewise in the classical manner.

On one side of the truncated column, on which the king leans, a long chain of medallions is seen suspended. Each of these is supposed to be commemorative of some success to the British arms in the king's reign. The name of Quebec appears on one of them. Words on some of the others are, Guadaloupe Capta MDCCIX., Quiberon, Senegal, Lagos, Minden, Victoria in Oriente.

The orb which the king's arm here encircles had more real significance than any orb ever before seen in the hand of a British king. On the great seal of all the early king's of

England the sovereign is seated, with an orb in his left hand ; and a part of the ceremony of coronation to this day consists in placing in the hands of the sovereign, an orb, with a certain admonition—a mere shadow of old imitative custom borrowed from usages at Byzantium, when the imperial grasp on the *orbis terrarum* had grown feeble. But the globe encircled by the arm of George II. indicated a real possession, whose importance has increased as the years have rolled on—Parkman has observed, in the preface of his book on Pontiac : “The conquest of Canada was an event of momentous consequence in American history. It changed the political aspect of the continent, prepared the way for the independence of the British colonies, rescued the vast tracts of the interior from the rule of military despotism, and gave them eventually to the keeping of an orderly democracy,” language to which there will be little demur on the Canadian side of the line. Thus, the grandeur of the idea symbolized by the globe held by George II. is only surpassed by the grandeur of that which is symbolized by the globe in the hand of Columbus, as seen in Persico's group entitled “The Discovery,” at the south end of the steps at the Capitol at Washington.—The quiet, easy pose of the king, and the pleased glance upward of the eyes, were doubtless intended by the sculptor to indicate the happy circumstances and comparative ease of the conquest of Canada ; as expressed likewise in words by George III., in his memorable first speech to Parliament on his accession to the throne : “I reflect with pleasure,” the new monarch said, “on the success with which the British arms have been prospered this last summer. The total reduction of the vast Province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the most interesting consequence, and must be as heavy a blow to my enemies as it is a conquest glorious to us ; the more glorious because effected almost without effusion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.”

Grandly significant indeed was the name CANADA on the globe in the king's hand at Cambridge in 1766. But how much more grandly significant is it now, when we have actually taken possession of the whole area indicated on that symbolical sphere; when we have covered it throughout its length and breadth with settlements of industrious men and women; built villages, towns, cities, at innumerable points within its limits; have compacted all together in one comprehensive civil system, so far as innate perversity in poor blind humanity has not offered obstruction; have actually braced the whole together with a literal girdle of iron and steel, a continuous railway track reaching from sea to sea—practical realization at last of the dreams of how many enthusiasts of former days; not merely a swift and easy medium of intercommunication for the Canadian people themselves, but a highway and thoroughfare for ready intercourse in all future time between the teeming populations of Asia, Australasia and Europe.

As to the questionable taste of setting up a king of England in the guise of a Roman Emperor or Cæsar, it is to be observed, before leaving the subject, that this masquerading in marble sprang out of the studies pursued so absorbingly at the time at Eton and in the public schools generally of Great Britain. That was an age when on the floor of both Houses quotations from Horace and Virgil were recognized and enjoyed, and a mythological allusion was understood. In that age, which was prolific of apt inscriptions on coins and medals, originated the Latin motto which some will remember on the public seal of the old Province of Upper Canada: *Imperii porrecta Majestas, Custode rerum Cæsare*,—"The greatness of the empire extended under the guardianship of a Cæsar," it ran, with direct allusion to the very extension of the empire symbolized by the globe of the statue of George II., and affording another instance of the fashion once in vogue of saluting an English king as a Cæsar. We shall, some of us perhaps, recall Thackeray's grotesque little

sketch labelled "*Ave, Cæsar,*" in his book on the four Georges, showing Sir Robert Walpole in the act of announcing to the king his accession to the throne. But we must take Thackeray's pictures, both of pen and pencil, *cum grano*. He, like several other brilliant essayists and historians that might be named, when he approached the weak points of a public character, was apt to proceed as though he held a brief against the offender, and to exaggerate considerably. In regard to George II., it will be becoming in us, at this distance of time and place, charitably to accept the general truth of what is said of him on the pedestal of the statue we have been contemplating. We can read it for ourselves in the photograph copy, which, however, has failed to give legibly two or three of the lines here supplied from another source. The inscription reads as follows: *Georgio Secundo patrono suo optime merenti, semper venerado; quod volenti Populo, justissime, humanissime, in Pace et in Bello, feliciter imperavit; Quod Academiam Cantabrigiensem fovit, auxit, ornavit, hanc statuam, . . . suis sumptibus poni curavit Thomas Holles, Dux de Newcastle, Academie Cancellarius, A. D. MDCCLXVI.* I may add that I have never fallen in with any one who ever noticed the inscribed word *Canada*, which is to be found on this statue. The photograph was taken expressly for myself through the friendly co-operation of Mr. Elijah Johnson, Trinity Street, Cambridge. The scale, however, is too small to admit of the word being seen.

My second instance of Canada in sculpture will be the beautiful emblematical figure of Canada to be discovered among the statuary which so richly ornaments the Prince Consort's memorial in London, on the site of the first great International Exhibition of 1851. This very elaborate structure, after a design by Gilbert Scott, is somewhat in the style of the well-known Scott Memorial in Edinburgh. The central and principal object in it is a seated statue of the Prince Consort, admirably executed in bronze by Foley,

placed on a lofty platform, to which an ascent is made by a pyramid of steps, a canopy and spire surmounted by a cross rising above all to the height of one hundred and eighty feet. A folio volume might be filled, and has been filled with the architectural and artistic details of this structure, which is one of the most wonderful monumental buildings of modern times, the combined production of the most eminent sculptors and workers in metal and mosaic of the three kingdoms. All the arts and sciences, with the distinguished personages whose names are associated therewith in ancient and modern history, are somewhere or other finely idealized in or about it. A thorough study of all its parts should be patiently made.

Among the most conspicuous groups of sculptured objects are four of colossal dimensions, each of them masterly and full of poetry, placed on a grand pedestal at the four angles of the enclosure, just at the base of the steps, symbolical of the four quarters of the globe, this monument being commemorative, not only of the Prince Consort, but also of the great International Exhibition of 1851, the first idea of which was due to him, and was carried into effect through his instrumentality. In each of these corner groups a gigantic animal, characteristic of the quarter of the globe typified, plays a conspicuous part, bearing on its back an emblematic figure of the quarter of the globe represented. Europe (by Macdowell) is seen mounted on an ox or bull; Asia (by Foley), on an elephant; Africa (by Theed), on a camel; America (by Bell), on a bison. Each continental figure is surrounded by graceful forms, typifying the chief nations or sub-divisions of that quarter of the world, distinguished and made known by appropriate symbols or the mode of attire. America has around her South America, Mexico, the Republic of the United States, and Canada. I shall confine myself to this group of the sculptor Bell, and particularly to that portion of it which illustrates my present subject. This group, as an official document sets forth,

consists of a central figure of America, as a quarter of the globe, mounted on a Bison charging through the long prairie grass. Their advance is directed by the United States on the one side, while on the other Canada attends them, pressing the rose of England to her breast. [It is probable, had Confederation been an accomplished fact when the Prince Consort's memorial was designed, Canada would have been treated with even greater distinction than that which is here accorded to her, and spoken of perhaps in somewhat different terms; but the beautiful thought of the sculptor causing her forever to be seen "pressing the rose of England to her breast" atones for everything]. In the other figures of the composition are presented Mexico rising from a trance, and South America equipped for the chase. The details and emblems are as follows:—The figure of America is of the Indian type and in native costume and feathered head-dress, and the housings of the bison are a grizzly bear's skin. In her right hand is a stone-pointed feathered lance, with Indian totems of grey squirrel and humming bird, and on her left arm she bears a shield with blazons of the principal divisions of the hemisphere; the eagle for the States, the beaver for Canada, the lone star for Chili, the volcanoes for Mexico, the alpaca for Peru, and the Southern Cross for Brazil. In the grass, aroused by the passage of the bison, is a rattlesnake. The features of the figure representing the United States are of the North American, Anglo-Saxon, civilized type; the tresses are surmounted by an eagle's plume and by a star, which is repeated on her baldrick, at the point of the sceptre in her right hand, and the bracelet round her left arm; in her left hand is a wreath formed by the leaves of the evergreen oak. At her feet lies the Indian quiver with but an arrow or two left in it. Her dress is partly thin and partly of a thicker texture, to recall the great range of her climate. In the presentation of Canada, who, the same document goes on to state, is habited in furs [as a matter of course, it might

perhaps have been added parenthetically, although it must be allowed they are made quite light and ethereal], the features are of a more English type. In her head-dress are woven the maple leaf of the mainland and the Mayflower of Nova Scotia. In her right hand are ears of wheat, of which we receive from her such large supplies, and at her feet are a pair of now-shoes and a branch and cone of the pine tree—This is the figure which is reproduced in the photograph.

I have never myself seen the Prince Consort memorial in its perfected state. From some description which I had read of it a good while ago, I was under the impression that a figure of Canada existed somewhere upon it, which I much desired to see. I accordingly commissioned a friend who was visiting London to procure for me when there a photograph of it. The disappointing report however was brought back after repeated inquiries in the neighbouring studios, that there was no figure of Canada on the Albert Memorial. I supposed for a time that I had been under a misapprehension: but again after reading some casual account of this memorial, I became convinced that such a figure was really there somewhere. I now applied to a friend in London, and begged him to make a particular search, and to procure if possible a photograph of it. I now learned that many photographs of the grand group of America in which Canada was included were to be had, but that they were usually taken from such a point of view that the figure of Canada was not seen, being generally eclipsed by the figure representing the United States Republic. Just when it was about to be concluded useless to continue the search for a photograph showing the figure of Canada, one was by great good fortune stumbled on by my friend. It was instantly secured, and forwarded to me. From this I have had an enlarged copy of the figure of Canada made by Mr. Lemaître of No. 324 Yonge Street, who has cleverly detached it for me from the group "America." I have no

doubt that Canadians visiting London will soon have no difficulty in finding out the graceful symbol of their country of which we have been discoursing, and that photographs showing it favourably will be readily procured.

One good effect resulting from Bell's magnificent group will be, it is hoped, the disengagement in the mind of the general public, of the United States Republic, from America, with which it is so often identified and confounded—a confusion promoted by the phraseology very generally employed in the United States and thoughtlessly in England. As well might Germany be spoken of in common parlance as Europe, or Russia as Asia, as the United States, Republic as America. Here in the Memorial group the United States Republic is seen simply as one of the constituents of America, with Canada, equally a constituent of the continent by her side, "pressing the rose of England to her breast," and helping to guide the bison through the wild prairie grass.

After all, however, perhaps it is not much to be wondered at that, amidst the multitude of emblematical objects appearing in sculpture on the Prince Consort's Memorial, the figure should be overlooked by the generality. But it should not be overlooked by the Canadian. He, often solitary in the dense throng of London, should make a point of singling it out and enjoying it. Hereafter, probably, that figure will be adopted as the standard idealization of Canada, to be recognized at once just as the figure of Britannia is recognized, or as the figures of Caledonia, Hibernia, Gallia, Helvetia, and so on, are recognized. And as a souvenir of a visit to the old Mother Land—would not the comely head of this sculptured Canada look well in profile on a medal, after the fashion of *La République Française* on French coins, surrounded, let us suppose, by the legend:—*Canada unita : esto perpetua : ferax : felix : fausta*—"Canada made one; mayest thou endure, fruitful, prosperous, favoured of Heaven," an aspiration finding a response in every patriotic heart.

BOISBRIANT.*

BY ROSWELL C. LYMAN.

IN a well-known recent work on our country, the artistic merits of which are unquestionable, there are two pictures which are striking and interesting in their way. One is entitled "A Canadian Homestead 50 Years Ago," the other "A Canadian Homestead To-day"; which latter represents a highly respectable but quite commonplace, clap-boarded, wooden farm-house and barns, surrounded by well tilled fields enclosed by prim fences. The first picture is that of a quite primitive log-hut in a small clearing, and both pictures are true enough and typical enough of certain sections, but the first one sadly misrepresents the past, ignoring as it does the preceding two centuries and over, with all their romantic and stirring history; their achievements of peace and war; the planting and growth of civilization and religion; trade and commerce; literature and fine arts.

The subject of the present paper is a Canadian homestead, or perhaps to speak more correctly, a Canadian feudal castle of the 17th century.

Stirring times they were, those days of 1672 and thereabout. In France the Grand Monarque who had not reached the middle of his remarkable reign, was matching his magnificence at home by his wars abroad, attacking all his neighbours in turn or altogether, and striking that wonderful series of medals to commemorate his exploits. In England although the energies of the nation were relaxed under the reaction following the Restoration, the events of the civil war were fresh in all minds; the Great Protector, the only man in England able to control the jarring forces of the nation,

* A paper read before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, and illustrated by a plan, photographs, and engravings.

and give it a status and an influence among the nations which it perhaps had never had before, had recently received a marching order which even his iron will could not disregard; and the author of "Paradise Lost" still lived.

The infant colony had also its share of excitement, of various qualities, but mostly unpleasant. Almost incessant Indian wars with intervals of uncertain peace, portents and wonders on the earth and in the sky, alarmed and troubled the handful of settlers who about this time were almost in despair. Yet they struggled on; indeed this was the heroic age of our country, or rather, one of the heroic ages, for others were to follow. De Tracy and Courcelle had fought and conquered; Canadian volunteers had made long and weary marches, (as they have since), while high born and tenderly nurtured women devoted their lives to the care and teaching of Huron converts. That Canadian Thomas a Becket Monsgr. de Laval was ruling in religious affairs with a rod of iron; while the many-sided Talon was supervising everything from the decisions of the Conseil Souverain to the birth-rate of the people.

It was just about this time (1672) that an important event occurred, the arrival of Louis de Buade, Conte de Frontenac, as Governor: whose influence on the future of the colony it is not necessary to dwell on here. The celebrated regiment of Carignan—Salieres, the first regiment of regulars sent here, had arrived seven years before with De Tracy. The names of the officers form in themselves a sort of epitome, historical and geographical, of a considerable section of the country. Under Colonel de Salieres were Capts. Chambly, Sorel, Saint Ours, Berthier, de Contrecoeur, La Valtrie, de Meloises, Du Gué, and Lieuts. De la Perade, De la Fouille, Maximin, Lobiau, Petit, Rougemont, Traversy, De la Mothe, La Combe, De Vercheres.

Although so many of these names have lived to this day, some have been completely forgotten, and it is to one of these forgotten ones, that I owe the title at least of this

paper. De Tracy set to work at once to protect the colony by fortifying strategic points, and this idea was carried out so energetically that although he landed at Quebec in June 1665, by the close of the year the valley of the Richelieu was well fortified. The first called Fort St. Louis, was built at the mouth of the Richelieu by Capt. Sorel, who had five companies under his command; the second at Chambly called at first Fort Richelieu, by Capt. Chambly; the third at St. Therese, by Col. de Salieres himself, 9 miles higher up. Of course these first "Forts" were mere stockades.

But now to come to the establishment of Boisbriant; there is mention made in the *Dictionnaire Genealogique* of the arrival in Montreal, Nov. 7, 1667 of Sidrac du Gué, Sieur de Boisbriant, Capitaine du Regiment de Chambelle (formerly, probably): Seigneur de l'Isle de Ste. Therese établi à Varennes, born 1638.

The Island of Montreal, originally granted to Jean de Lauzon was by him transferred (July 7th, 1640) to de La Dauversiere, Father Lallement, and M. de Faucamp by acte before M. Courdon, N.P. and on the 17th of December of the same year a new title by La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France was given to de Faucamp and de la Dauversiere reserving "La tête de l'île," described as being about four leagues from the mountain and situated between the Riviere des Prairies and Lake St. Louis. But the part reserved was given to the seigneurie in 1659.

By the time of du Gué's arrival the Gentlemen of the Seminary were fully established as seigneurs of Montreal, under the direction of the sagacious Dollier de Casson: seeing the necessity of guarding the upper end of the island from the attacks of the Iroquois he determined on the erection of four "fiefs nobles" in favour of "gentlemen who had given proof of their zeal and courage in defence of the country;" and according to entries in the Grèffe de Ville Marie, of Jan. 19th 1672, a grant was made by Dollier, of a "fief noble" to Sidrac Du Gué, Sieur de Boisbriant. The

fief is described as situated on the shore of the Lake of Two Mountains, and being 200 arpents in extent. And further "in consideration of his zeal and of his having already constructed a house at the head of the island, M. Dollier added to this fief "all the islands and reefs in front of it, and others also." The private history of Du Gué, was characteristic of the times. He comes out, a dashing young officer of the age of 27, of a noble family, to a rough, untamed country, and meets and marries Marie Moyen who had a history of her own.

According to the Actes de Jean Durand, N.P. 1654, (Archive du Grèfle de Quebec) the Ile au Oies was ceded by the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France to M. de Montmagny as a hunting ground, and on his departure he sold half of it to Sieur Louis Neandre Chartier and the other half to Sieur Moyen "qui y conduisait des travaux considerables," when a party of Iroquois, guided by some treacherous Hurons, attacked the place in the absence of the servants, killed Moyen and his wife and carried off the two children, Marie and Elizabeth, as well as the children of Sieur Macard. This was about the year 1656- or 7, when the Iroquois were very bold and pushed their raids almost up to the guns at Quebec. The recovery of these captives came about in a rather interesting way. One day some young men strolling along the river front of our city, noticed a canoe floating down the current and started out to secure it, when they found to their astonishment that it contained two Indian braves who were reconnoitering the town. One of these was a noted young chief; and the price fixed for their ransom was the return of the Moyens and Macards.

Dollier de Casson speaks of the Moyens as being "des plus considerable du Canadas," on account of their alliances, "car Mlle. Moyen a épousè un Capitaine de condition et de merite appellé Du Gué," whom she had fascinated by her personal charms and her virtues.

It is not easy to fix the exact date of the building of the fort, though as already noted the dwelling or chateau was built prior to the grant of the seigneurie. Le Vieux Montreal gives 1692 as the date, but this is incorrect as will be shewn from reliable authorities. Nothing of much importance except the building of the fort seems to have occurred at Boisbriant (to which Du Gué had given his own title) during the seven years it remained in his possession. In 1679 Du Gué (and his wife, the register says) sold the seigneurie to Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil and his brother-in-law, Jacques le Ber de Senneville, who had married Jeanne Le Moyne. The registration of the transfer makes specific mention of "the Fort and the seigneurial mansion. (Gresse de Ville Marie, 20 Juin 1679.)

The name of Du Gué does not seem to have been long connected with Canadian affairs, though I have not tried to follow up the history of the family, the genealogy of which is to be found in the *Dictionnaire Genealogique* Vol. 1. Two of the name, probably sons of Sidrac, are mentioned by Charlevoix. De Nonville complaining to the king in 1686 about good families in poor circumstances, mentions the Du Gués: he also speaks of two daughters of St. Ours cutting corn and holding the plough; toil which many of our modern city men would shrink from. Probably De Nonville's appeal was effective for De Casson mentions in 1726, a Du Gué dit Boisbriant who was governor of Louisiana.

In Brynner's report on Canadian Archives 1884, page 12 of Abstracts of Actes de Foy et Hommage, there is mention made in 1723, that Marie Therese du Gué, daughter and heiress of Sidrac du Gué de Boisbriant and widow of Gaspard Piot, Sieur de Langloisiere, took the oath in her own right for eight parts and one quarter of Ile Ste. Therese, which also eventually passed out of her family.

The biography of the Le Ber family is to be found in the "Histoire des Grandes Familles Francaises en Canada," Vol. 1, page 157, but it may be sufficient for the present to note

that Le Ber was implicated in the undignified quarrel between Perrot, governor of Montreal, and Frontenac, in 1673, full details of which are to be found in "Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV, chapter iii. (Parkman), when the unlucky man was first arrested by the viceroy's lieutenant, then captured from him and imprisoned by Perrot.

I am uncertain how long Charles Le Moynes and Jacques Le Ber remained co-seigneurs of Boisbriant, but it seems to have been soon transferred to the latter's son, also named Jacques Le Ber de Senneville "who gave his title [Senneville] to the Fort and to the seigneurial mansion constructed at this place, and even to the fief itself, which thus ceased to be called Boisbriant."

The next notice that I find of Fort Senneville as we must now call it, is a mention in the Paris Documents of an attack in 1687; but what seems curious is that it apparently escaped the notice of the Iroquois in 1689. Parkman mentions forts Remy, Roland, and La Presentation; but says nothing of Senneville. However if they did overlook it at that time, they endeavoured to atone for their neglect a couple of years later, when they gave its defenders an opportunity, which they embraced, of distinguishing themselves, though the Abbe Belmont (*Histoire du Canada*) apparently makes the mistake of describing the locality as being at the Back River. The following is the account, "On the 7th of May, 1691, the Iroquois burned the mill of M. Le Ber at the Riviere des Prairies (as will be seen later, two mills formed outworks at the fort and may have been older than the fort itself). The wife of Guillon (French courtesy, place aux dames!) Gregoire and his wife, de Vercheres, de Lachenaye, Goulet the farmer and several others, defended a breach forty feet long against 300 Iroquois. De Vercheres and a soldier were killed." As if such affairs were an every day occurrence the only notice of this defence in the *Relations des Jesuites* is this—"May 7th, 1691, Senneville was burned this day."

It is quite possible that the original fort was only a stockade of wood, and was probably so much injured by this attack that it became necessary to replace it with something more formidable; that would bring the building of the Chateau to about 1692 as Mr. Morin has it.

It would have been quite out of order for a seigneur of the good old days to get along without some legal contest to come in as a *coup d'appetite* between the more serious courses of Indian wars, so we find Le Ber disputing with Sieur de Blainville over the ownership of Ile St. Giles (Girdwood's Island). In this Le Ber was successful, the island being adjudged to him because it could be reached from his property by wading mid-leg deep, and during two years had been reached dry-shod.

I am uncertain how long the fief and chateau of Senneville remained in the Le Ber family. According to the Paris Documents there was an attack by Mohawks on the upper end of the island of Montreal beyond Fort St. Anne on the 21st of June 1747, and garrisons of regulars and militia were maintained at Senneville as well as at Lake of Two Mountains and Laprairie during 1747-8. The Le-Bers however are entered as de Senneville down to 1753 in the Actes de Foy et Hommage when Jean took the oath for himself, his brothers and sisters for their share of Ile St. Paul, Jean being son of Hypolyte who was son of Jacques the original grantee.

The records are not clear as to the succession, but in course of time the fief passed into the possession of the Testards, Sieurs de Montigny, ancestors of our present Recorder. One Francois Le Ber, (grand uncle of the celebrated recluse of that name) married Mdle. Anne Testard de Montigny. The register of Terrebonne records the marriage in 1797 of a Jean Baptiste Jeremie Testard Esq.,—Sieur de Montigny (and as I understand Sieur de Senneville) to Marie Louise Chaumont daughter of Joseph Chaumont (co-

seigneur of Boucherville) and of Catherine Nantel de Musseau. This J. B. J. Testard was son of J. B. Testard, officer in the regiment of Metz who married Mde. Marie Josephite Madeleine d'Amour de Clinancourt. The heir of J. B. J. Testard de Montigny mentioned above was his daughter Marguerite, who married Dr. Forbes of St. Genevieve. This lady being left a widow left the property to one Guyot, whom she had employed as her steward, and who is thought to have been distantly connected with the de Montigny family. This will did of course cut off much nearer and more direct heirs.

Guyot in his turn sold the property to the Hon. Mr. Abbott, the present possessor, who has restored to it the name of its founder. Before it came into Mr. Abbott's possession it was a convenient quarry for the habitants of the neighbourhood, and could not have lasted much longer. He made some slight repairs and fenced it about, and stopped the work of destruction. Would that all our historic remains had similar appreciative guardians.

As to its present condition, the plan will give a general idea of its outlines and proportions. The towers are of only moderate dimensions, not more than 12 feet by 10, inside measurement; the walls throughout are of about the same thickness as those of St. Gabriel, about 30 inches; the towers towards the river, A and B, though very much broken down, have still a height of 18 or 20 feet from the ground. In the outer sides they had rather large windows, and on the sides commanding the curtains or main walls they have small embrasures, probably for light artillery, F was the dwelling house, some parts of the inner wall of which are still standing, and there were fire-places at G and H. The rest of the enclosure was open; it is not easy to tell the original height of the walls; if I remember rightly no part of the wall of the courtyard is now over 12 feet. A number of loop holes are still visible where the wall is not too much over-grown with wild vines.

Towers C. and D are now mere heaps of stones, and the front wall between A and B is only a few feet high. Like all our older buildings Boisbriant was remarkably well built ; the materials were rough boulder stones with cut-stone jambs, lintels, and fire places, and such mortar as is not made in these degenerate times : that department of construction is a lost art. I noticed places where the stones had dropped out owing to the removal of the substructure, but the mortar maintained its shape and hardness though exposed for so many years to all the changes of our variable climate.

Some idea might be formed of the time that has elapsed since the Chateau was destroyed, if the age of some of the large trees growing among the ruins were computed. There is no record to throw any light on that point, and neither Mr. Abbott nor Mr. De Montigny can say anything definite about it. I should say here that it is to Mr. Abbott that I am indebted for most of the historical facts here given ; he had made a number of notes from such authorities as Dollier de Casson ; Ferland ; *Dictionnaire Genealogique ; Histoire de la Colonie Francaise en Canada ;* Faillon ; Paris Documents ; Abbe Belmont ; and the "Relations " which he very kindly placed at my disposal.

I do not know whether Mr. Goyet is still living ; if enquired of he would probably give as much information as the average habitant usually gives on such a subject—"Ah c'est bin vieux ; c'est battu a peu pres une centaine d'années." There have been found there a few relics, some arrow-heads, bullets and a much rusted bayonet ; unfortunately the work-people were allowed to carry them away. There were other outlying defensive works which added to the natural strength of the position. A few hundred yards back from the river the ground rises to a little height, forming quite a commanding position, and on this one of the seigneurs built a fortified mill which is described as a

“moulin en pierres, ordinairement en forme de tour, avec des meurtrières pour faire feu de la sur les assailants.”

The loop holes cannot be distinguished in the photograph but it shows something much more remarkable and rare, namely the hood above the doorway. These were common enough in Europe, but there are not many examples extant in this country. This hood is a sort of diagonal horizontal loop hole through which the defenders of the tower could pour water to drench the door should attempts be made to burn it : it could also be used to fire down through on any who might try to force the door. The chimney is a simple flue in the wall of the tower with an opening to the outer air below the ceiling of the second storey. The tower must have been at least three storeys in height though only two now remain, the diameter is about 15 feet inside measurement, and the floors were supported by oak beams about 10 inches square ; the charred ends of the beams are still in their sockets.

It is a very picturesque object, both from its commanding position, its form and its colour ; it has that reddish colour which is peculiar to some of our oldest ruins, and which forms such a charming contrast with the creepers which are climbing over it.

About half-way between this tower and the Chateau there was a second tower, which was a connecting link in the chain of defence from the height of the land to the water's edge,—but this tower no longer exists.

A beautiful spot is Boisbriant to-day ; in front, the Ottawa, gemmed with emerald isles : a little to the north west the river expands into the Lake of Two Mountains, with the two mountains themselves lying lazily beyond ; looking through an embrasure in the western tower one sees a tall and graceful elm ; and there is literally the Bout de l'Île, for exactly opposite that tree the current divides. The old fief noble consisted of beautiful rolling land, with groves and copses, lawns, meadows, tilled land, and gardens, in the

most charming combination, while the lonely tower on the hill and the ruined castle by the shore remind us by their silent witness of the past, that the present peace and beauty has descended to us from the trial and conflict, the courage and endurance of those who have gone before. Eloquent enough are those old walls, if we had but ears to listen to them: what denunciations might they not utter against some of us for our selfishness, laziness, sordid money grubbing and utter indifference in regard to national affairs; against that hypocritical humanitarianism which professes to have an equal regard for all nations, merely to escape self-sacrifice for, and service to its own; which changes its flag or its religion as it would put on a new coat, were any material advantage to be gained by it.

But we will hope, and remembering the events of this year (1885) are we not justified in hoping, that if dark days should come again to our country, there will be men, and women too if need be, to defend the breach as bravely and as successfully as did that little handful of men and women, at Boisbriant, two hundred years ago?

SMOKE FARTHINGS AND SMOKE PENNIES.

SMOKE silver lands were held in many places in England by the payment of 6d. yearly to the Sheriff, called smoke silver. Pat. Edward VI. Smoke silver and smoke penny are to be paid to the ministers of divers parishes, as a modus in lieu of tithe wood, and in some manors formerly belonging to religious houses, there is still paid as an appendant to the said manors, the ancient Peter Pence by the name of smoke money.

The Bishop of Lincoln, anno 1444 issued his commission "ad levandum le Smoke Farthing."

"As to those, however, who shall desire to have a clear view of past events and indeed of *future* ones (such and similar events being, according to the natural course of human affairs, again to occur); for *those* to esteem them useful will be sufficient to answer every purpose I have in view."—THUCYDIDES.

THE OLD SETTLERS OF RED RIVER.

THEIR ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT, AND OTHER MATTERS
OF INTEREST CONNECTED WITH THE OPENING UP OF
THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST.



THE following paper on "The Old Settlers of Red River" was read by Rev. Prof. Bryce before the Manitoba Historical Society.

On the banks of the Red River of the North for well nigh sixty years there existed the Selkirk Settlement. Fort Garry, so well known, was its centre for nearly fifty years of that period. The fur trader on the Mackenzie River looked to it as his probable haven of rest when he should have finished his days of active service and have retired; the half-breed hunter of the plains thought of it as the paradise to which he might make his annual visit, or the place where he might at last settle, while the Kildonan settler boasted that there was no place like his 'oasis' in the Northwest wilderness, and that the traveller who had tasted the magical waters of Red River would always return to them again. The Canadian youth read in his school-book of a far distant outpost, Fort Garry, and chilled by the very sound of the name, whispering "cold as Siberia," passed on to the next subject. The Canadian statesman dreamt of a Canada from ocean to ocean, but as he thought of the thousand miles of impassable rocks and morasses between him and the fur traders he could only shudder and say 'Perhaps sometime!' while the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company House in Montreal or London with darkest secrecy folded together his epistles, addressed them "via Pembina," and then slipped quietly away to his suburban residence, knowing that he had the key in his pocket to unlock the door to

half a continent, around which was built an impenetrable Chinese wall.

Prof. Keating, one of Major Long's exploring party which passed through Red River Settlement in 1823, gives us some account of it. Alexander Ross, the old sheriff of Assiniboia, wrote in 1852 a minute and excellent, though some tell us a somewhat partial, history of the settlement, where he dwelt so long. In 1858 appeared the work of E. D. Neill, the historian of Minnesota, in which is a good account of the Red River people—those Gibconites of the interior—as they appeared on their freighting journeys to St. Paul. Mr. Neill seems disposed largely to adopt Ross's standpoint. In the same year Miss Tucker (A. L. O. E.) gave an interesting and useful account of the planting of the Church of England missions in Red River, in her little volume "The Rainbow of the North." Those intrepid travellers, Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, published in 1865 a most graphic and timely sketch of their "Northwest Passage by land," not omitting the Red River Settlement. Subsequent writers have not failed to avail themselves of the collected materials of these distinguished visitors. So, too, should be mentioned "Red River" by Mr. J. J. Hargrave (1871) from the Hudson's Bay Company standpoint.

My work is somewhat different from that aimed at by these authors. I desire to give a more complete account of the settlers, and to some extent their personal history, which those writers were not in some cases able to do, and in other cases were not disposed to do. While referring you for the fullest account extant of Lord Selkirk's life to "Manitoba; its infancy, growth, and present condition," a few words must be said of the founder of the Red River Settlement. It was as early as 1802 that the Earl of Selkirk, a man of philanthropic and liberal views, stirred by the accounts, given by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, (1801) and other traders to the Indian Country, wrote to the British Government of the day, in a letter, of which we have in the

Historical Society, a copy obtained from the British Archives for the purpose of relieving Irish distress and Highland misery, a colony on Red River. It was not till 1811 that Lord Selkirk succeeded in obtaining, by purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company, of which in the meantime he had become a member, the district of Assiniboia on the Red River, comprising 116,000 square miles. By way of Hudson Bay was the route chosen; and in the letters of the founder occur the words—words of, still unfulfilled but no doubt, true prophecy: "To a colony in these territories the channel of trade must be the river of Port Nelson."

At this time (1811) there were sad times in the Highlands of Scotland. Cottars and crofters were being driven from their small holdings by the Duchess of Sutherland and others, to make way for large sheep farms. Strong men stood sullenly by, women wept and wrung their hands, and children clung to their distressed parents as they saw their cabins burnt before their eyes. The "Highland clearances" have left a stain on the escutcheons of more than one nobleman, Lord Selkirk, whose estates were in the south of Scotland, and who had no special connection with the Celts, nevertheless took pity on the helpless Highland exiles. Ships were prepared, and the following are the numbers of Highland colonists sent out in the respective years:

| | |
|---|----------|
| In 1811, reaching Red River in 1812, there were..... | 70 |
| In 1812, reaching Red River in 1813, there were (a part Highland) | 15 or 20 |
| In 1813, reaching Red River in 1814, there were..... | 93 |
| In 1815, reaching Red River the same year there were..... | 100 |

Total Selkirk Highland colonists, about.. 270

The names of these settlers were those well known amongst us, as Sutherland, McKay, McLeod, McPherson, Matheson, Macdonald, Livingstone, Polson, McBeath, Bannerman and Gunn. There are other names found among those early comers which have disappeared, and to which we shall afterwards refer. It will be noticed that at the end of 1814 the colony amounted to 180 or 200 persons. These were under

Governor Miles Macdonell, late a captain of the Queen's Rangers, who was also Hudson's Bay Company Governor. The connection of the Selkirk colonists with the Hudson's Bay Company was regarded as a menace by the rival fur traders, the Northwest Company. The two companies had their rival posts side by side at many points throughout the Territories. The Nor'wester fort standing immediately at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers was called Fort Gibraltar. The fort occupied by the colony was at the foot of Common street in Winnipeg, and was called Fort Douglas. It is of no consequence to our present object to determine who opened hostilities, or who was to blame in the contest of the companies. Strife prevailed, and through this the colonists suffered. In 1814 arrived on the scene a jauntily dressed officer of the Nor'west Company brandishing a sword and signing himself captain—one Duncan Cameron. This man was a clever, diplomatic, and rather unscrupulous instrument of his company, and coming to command Fort Gibraltar, cultivated the colonists, spoke Gaelic to and entertained them with much hospitality, and ended by inducing about one hundred and fifty of the two hundred of them to desert Red River and go with him to Upper Canada. Among those who went were not only persons bearing the names already mentioned, but others named McKinnon, Cooper, Smith, McLean, McEachern and Campbell, who have left no representatives on Red River. By a long and wearisome journey to Fort William, and then in small boats along Lakes Superior and Huron, they reached Penetanguishene and found new homes near Toronto, London and elsewhere. To the faithful half hundred who remained true to their pledges all honor is due. Of those early colonists one name especially occurs to me—that of Donald Gunn, a native of Caithnessshire. He came out with the party of 1813 in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and after spending several years on the Bay, married and settled down in the parish of St. Andrew's. He was a school-master for

a time, was a great reader, took much interest in the collections for the Smithsonian Institution—a society to which this society is largely indebted—was a collector of statistics and meteorological data. During last summer a Professor in Boston who was on the astronomical expedition to the Saskatchewan between 1860 and 70, asked me with much interest of “old Donald Gunn,” so familiar a figure in former days in Little Britain. His large family still remain among us.

To many it is known that the Lord Selkirk colonists were chiefly Highlanders; few are acquainted with the fact that there was among them a fair sprinkling of Irish people. In the first ship load to York factory, that of 1811, besides the 70 Highlanders, there were some 20 Irish colonists and employees. In the next company, that of 1812, most of those sent out were skilled workmen to erect buildings and help the settlers—of the 15 or 20 so sent a considerable part were Irish. In the first ship of 1811 was an Irish lad, who never deserted his adopted country and lived and died in our midst. This was Andrew McDermott. He married in the country and lived on the banks of Red River for 69 years. He was a successful trader, and accumulated a large amount of wealth. His large family, in many branches, live amongst us at this day. Many a new settler got a helping hand from him, and he was a perfect mine of information about the country—its climate, its settlers, and its resources. His stout, well-known figure still lingers in the minds of many of us. In the party of 1812-13 there came to the country also a young Irish clerk, John P. Bourke. He was an intelligent and useful officer of the colony. He married a native who had Scotch and Dakota blood, and his descendants are well known as the Bourke family; one of them was a few years ago member in the Legislative Assembly for St. James. Belonging to this Irish immigration were the following, most of whom left Red River under the guidance of Mr. Duncan Cameron, viz.: Patrick Corcoran, Patrick

McNolty and wife, Michael Heden, a blacksmith, who, in troublous times, assumed command of the artillery in the colonists' hands as gunner, James Toomey, Hugh Swords, Martin Jordan, Michael Kilkenny, Michael Kilbride, one Kerrigan, Joseph Kenny, and Capt. Macdonell's body servant, James Flynn. All these represented the Green Isle and seems to have taken their full share in the lively antagonisms of the rival companies.

The arrival of the third party of Highlanders in 1815 reinforced the remnant who had resisted Cameron's seductive proposals. The colony again rose to three-fourths its original strength. In 1816 the Nor'-Westers adopted more extreme measures still to destroy the colony. An attack was made upon the settlers on 19th June, and the new Governor Robert Semple, was killed, with a number of his attendants, at a spot a little off Main street north, beyond the city limits. Lord Selkirk on the receipt of the news of the colony in 1815 had come to Montreal, and was proceeding up the lakes to assist his colony in 1816 when the news reached him on the way of the skirmish of "Seven Oaks" and the death of the Governor. He was at the very time bringing with him as settlers, a number of disbanded soldiers, who have usually been known as the "De Meurons." The regiments to which these men belonged were part of the body of German mercenaries which had been raised during the Napoleonic wars. The name of Col. De Meuron, one of the principal officers was given to the whole. These new settlers were not only Germans, but had among them a number of Swiss and Piedmontese. In 1813 the De Meurons had been lying at Malta, and sailed thence to Canada to take part in the war against the United States. The war of 1812-15 having been ended, in May 1817 orders came for the reduction of the force, and on the 4th June 1816 Lord Selkirk engaged four officers and eighty men of the De Meuron regiment in Montreal and hastened in boats

up the St. Lawrence. At Kingston twenty more men, these of the regiment of De Watteville, a body in similar circumstances with the De Meurons was engaged. The four officers were Captains D'Orsonnens and Matthey, and Lieutenants Fauche and Graffenreith. The men were promised certain wages, as well as land grants at Red River. In the autumn of 1816 the party arrived at Fort William, which they seized, and the camping place on Thunder Bay is still called Point De Meuron. Employed during the winter in opening out for a distance a military road, the party under command of Capt. D'Orsonnens, in early spring pushed on by way of the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, surprised the Nor'Westers and retook Fort Douglas from them. Lord Selkirk arrived at the Red River in the last week of June, 1817. In accordance with his agreement he settled all the De Meurons who wished to remain—a considerable number—along the banks of the little river, the Seine, which empties into Red River opposite Point Douglas. This stream has always been known among the old settlers as German creek in consequence. Being mostly Roman Catholics they were the first settlers among whom the priests Provencher and Dumoulin took up their abode on their arrival in 1818. From the nationality of the De Meurons the first Roman Catholic parish formed in the country was called St. Boniface, from Winifred, or Boniface, the German apostle and patron saint. The name of the first parish is now, by legislative enactment, the name of Winnipeg's chief suburb and the Roman Catholic Bishopric in 1851 was given the same name. Some severe things have been said of the character of the De Meuron settlers. They have been charged with turbulence, insobriety, and with having had predatory inclinations towards their neighbors' cattle. They almost all left the country after the disastrous year of 1826, for the United States. No doubt like all bodies of men they had good and bad among them, but the fact of their having been disbanded mercenaries would not incline us to expect a very high morality of them.

In the same year (1820) in which Lord Selkirk went to France, to find in the little town of Pau, his death and burial place, a former officer of the De Watteville regiment—Col. May—a native of the Swiss Capital of Berne, went as an agent of Lord Selkirk to Switzerland. He had been in Canada, but not at Red River, and accordingly his representations among the Swiss Cantons were too much of the kind still circulated by Government emigration agents. He succeeded in inducing a considerable number of Swiss families to seek the Red River settlement. Crossing the ocean by Hudson's Bay ships they arrived at York Factory, in August 1821, and were borne in Hudson's Bay Company York boats to their destination. Gathered, as they had been, from the towns and villages of Switzerland, and being chiefly "watch and clock makers, pastry cooks and musicians," they were ill suited for such a new settlement as that of Red River, where they must become agriculturists. They seem to have been honest and orderly people, though very poor. It will be remembered that the De Meurons had come as soldiers; they were chiefly therefore, unmarried men. The arrival of the Swiss, with their handsome sons and daughters, produced a flutter of excitement in the wifeless DeMeuron cabins along German Creek. The result I describe in the words of a most trustworthy eye-witness of what took place: "No sooner had the Swiss emigrants arrived than many of the Germans, who had come to the settlement a few years ago from Canada, and had houses, presented themselves in search of a wife, and having fixed their attachment with acceptance, they received those families, in which was their choice, into their habitations. Those who had no daughters to afford this introduction, were obliged to pitch their tents along the banks of the river, and outside the stockades of the fort, till they removed to Pembina in the better prospects of provisions for the winter." The whole affair was a repetition of the old Sabine story. In connection with these De Meurons and Swiss, I am glad

to call your attention to a very remarkable parchment agreement, in the hands of the Historical Society, which is eleven feet long and one and a half feet wide, containing the signatures of forty nine settlers, of which twenty five are those of De Meurons or Swiss, the remainder being of Highlanders and Norwegians. Among these names are: Bender Lubrevo, Quiluby, Bendowitz, Kralic, Wassloisky, Rhe, Jankosky, Wachter, Lassota, Laidece, Warcklur, Krusel, Jolicoeur, Maquet, and Lelonde. This agreement binds the Earl of Selkirk or his agents not to engage in the sale of spirituous liquors or the fur trade, but to provide facilities for transport of goods from and into the country, and at moderate rates. The settlers are bound to keep up roads, to support a clergyman, and to provide for defence. The document is not only a curiosity, but historically valuable. There is no date upon it, but I have been able to fix its date. One of the entries among the signatures is "For the Buffalo Wool Company, John Pritchard." That company we know began, and as we shall afterwards see, failed in the years 1821 and 1822. This, accordingly, is the date of the document marking the era of the fusion of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'Westers, and after the arrival of the Swiss. The De Meurons and Swiss never took kindly to Red River. So early as 1822, after wintering at Pembina a number of them, instead of turning their faces towards Fort Garry, went up the Red River into Minnesota and took up farms where St. Paul now stands on the Mississippi. They were the first settlers there. Among their names are those of Garvas, Pierrie, Louis Massey and that of Perry, who became very rich in herds in the early days of Minnesota. It was the flood of 1826 on the Red River when Highlanders, De Meurons, Swiss and French all had to flee to Sturgeon Creek, Stony Mountain and Bird's Hill for safety, and when, to use the words of Horace, "the fishes built their nests on the tree-tops," that caused the great number of the Swiss and De Meurons to emigrate, who were

seemingly unmindful that the Missouri and Mississippi can overflow as well as the Red River or St. Lawrence. In that memorable departure, in which it is said the other settlers were willing, like the Egyptians of old, to give their choicest possessions in order that they might be rid of those removing, there were two hundred and forty-three De Meurons, Swiss and others who journeyed southward.

Before giving an account of the native elements of the population which sprang out of the fur trade it may be well to refer to certain movements growing out of the coming of the old world immigrants. It was not in 1881 for the first time that a "boom" was seen on the Red River. The Hudson's Bay Company has been much blamed for not opening up the country and encouraging enterprise. We shall see this to have been an opinion unjust to them. Immediately after the union of the two fur companies in 1821 a company to manufacture cloth from buffalo wool was started. This, of course, was a mad scheme, but there was a clamor that work should be found for the hungry immigrants. The Company began operations and everyone was to have become rich. \$10,000 of money raised in shares was deposited in the Hudson's Bay Company hands as the bankers of the "Buffalo Wool Company," machinery was obtained, and the people largely gave up agriculture to engage in killing buffalo and collecting buffalo skins. Trade was to be the philosopher's stone. In 1822 the bubble burst. It cost \$12.50 to manufacture a yard of buffalo wool cloth on Red River, and the cloth only sold for \$1.10 a yard in London. The Hudson's Bay Company advanced \$12,500 beyond the amount deposited, and a few years after was under the necessity of forgiving the debt. The Hudson's Bay Company had thus its first lesson in encouraging the settlers. The money distributed to the settlers through the bankrupt company bought cattle for the settlers however, several hundred cattle having been driven through from Illinois that year. Lord Selkirk next undertook a Model

Farm for the benefit of the settlers. Buildings, implements, and also a mansion, to cost \$3,000, for the manager, were provided. A few years of mismanagement and extravagance brought this experiment to an end also, and the noble founder was \$10,000 out of pocket. Such was another scheme to encourage the settlers. Driven to another experiment by the discontent of the people, Governor Simpson tried another Model Farm. At a fine spot on the Assiniboine, farm dwellings, barns, yards, and stables were erected and fields enclosed, well bred cattle were imported, also horses. The farm was well stocked with implements. Mismanagement, however, again brought its usual result, and after six years the trial was given up, there having been a loss to the Company of \$17,500. Nothing daunted the Red River settlers started the "Assiniboine Wool Company," but as it fell through upon the first demand for payment on the stock, it hurt nobody, and ended according to the proverb with "much cry and little wool." Another enterprise was next begun by Governor Simpson. "The Flax & Hemp Company," but though the farmers grew a plentiful quantity of these, the undertaking failed and the crop rotted on the fields. A more likely scheme for the encouragement of the settlers was now set on foot by the Governor, viz: a new sheep speculation. Sheep were purchased in Missouri, and after a journey of nearly fifteen hundred miles, only two hundred and fifty sheep out of the original fourteen hundred survived the hardships of the way. A tallow company is said to have swallowed up from \$3,000 to \$5,000 for the Hudson's Bay Company, and a good deal of money was spent in opening up a road to Hudson's Bay. Thus was enterprise after enterprise undertaken by the company, largely for the good of the settlers. If ever an honest effort was made to boom an isolated and difficult colony it was by the Hudson's Bay Company here. I have not been slow elsewhere to point out the part taken by the company in the later years of the colony to keep the country closed, but it is fair to

say that having spent so much fruitlessly for the colony, it was not strange that the conclusion should have been reached that the conditions were against the colony.

During these early days some names deserve notice. Sir George Simpson, the Governor, was a potentate in Rupert's Land. From 1821 to 1860 he kept his position with a strong hand. He was the soul of energy. He made, for some forty times, the canoe journey from Montreal to Red River, travelled in 1841-2 overland across America and through Siberia, and returned by the way of Britain to Canada, having begirt the earth. His book was published five years after, but the work of another hand than his own is evident in its arrangement and preparation. Sir George seems to have been at once an autocrat and a shrewd conciliator of the people. In 1835, the year in which Lord Selkirk's estate on the Red River was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company, a nominated council called the Council of Assiniboia was formed and the Governor became the president. Sir George's visits to Red River were awaited with the greatest interest, and every settler who had a grievance however small, aired it to the Governor. This active and busy man was knighted for his successful services to the country, lived latterly near Montreal, and passed away in 1860. Another early settler worthy of notice was John Pritchard. First an English clerk in the Nor'West Company, then a Red River settler, then a manager for Lord Selkirk, then agent for the Buffalo Wool Company, this busy man did much for the colony, and his numerous descendants are among us to this day. The name of Alexander Ross is also worthy of notice. A young Scotchman, he had entered the service of the Astor Fur Company in 1811, and went out by the way of Cape Horn to the mouth of the Columbia River. After a time, having left the Astor service, the young fur trader, having married a chief's daughter among the Okanagan Indians, crossed with his young wife the

Rocky Mountains and settled on Red River in 1824 or '25. Colony Gardens, at the foot of Rupert street, mark his dwelling. He was for years the sheriff of Assiniboia, took an active part in the colony affairs, published several very readable books, and was an influential man among the Kildonan people. Most of his sons and daughters have died, but many of the next generation remain. Ross, Alexander, James, William, Jenima, Louisa, and other streets in this city are called after himself and family.

Parkman, in his account of Pontiac's conspiracy, has well shown the facility with which the French voyageurs and Indian peoples coalesced. Though a poor colonist, the French Canadian is unequalled as a voyageur and pioneer runner. When he settles down on some remote lake or untenanted river with his Indian wife he is at home. Here he rears in contentment his "dusky race." The French half-breed, called also Metis, and formerly Bois-brule, is an athletic, rather good looking, lively, excitable, easy-going being. Fond of a fast pony, fond of merry making, free hearted, open handed, yet indolent and improvident, he is a marked feature of border life. Being excitable he can be roused to acts of revenge, of bravery and daring. The McGillivrays, Grants, McLeods, and Mackays, who had French, Scotch, and Indian blood were especially determined. The Metis, if a friend, is true and cannot in too many ways oblige you. The offspring of the Montreal traders with their Indian spouses so early as 1816 numbered several hundreds, and possessed a considerable *esprit-du-corps*. They looked upon themselves as a separate people, and headed by their Scoto-French half-breed leader, Cuthbert Grant called themselves the New Nation. Having tasted blood in the death of Governor Semple they were turbulent ever after. Living the life of buffalo hunters they preserved their warlike tastes. Largely increased in numbers in 1849 they committed the grave offence of rising, taking the law into their own hands,

defying all authority, and rescuing a French half-breed prisoner named Sayer. This was in the time of Recorder Thom. Adam Thom, the judge, deserves a word of notice. A native of Scotland. of large frame, great intelligence, and strong will; he had had experience as a journalist in Montreal. Sent up to establish law and order, he certainly did his best and should have had a proper force to support him. True, exception has been taken to his decisions, but where is the judge who escapes that? The old gentleman still lives, upwards of 80 years of age, in London, and has seen strange things among the Metis since his departure in 1854. Among the leaders in this affair—and I am not now pronouncing on the merits of the Sayer case—was one of the ominous name of Riel, the miller of the Seine, the father of the late unfortunate prisoner. The older Riel was an agitator of the first water. Going on with the Metis it needs not that I should recite to you the doings in the rebellion of 1869-70, it was simply the out-break of the "Seven-oaks" and "Sayer" affair again.—A too generous Government overlooked the serious nature of those events. It was reserved for what we trust may be the last manifestation of this unruly spirit existent for three quarters of a century to show itself on the banks of the Saskatchewan in 1885. Louis Riel was undoubtedly the embodiment of the spirit of unrest and insubordination in his race. Tribes and peoples do at times find their personification in one of their number. Ambitious, vain, capable of inspiring confidence in the breasts of the ignorant, yet violent, vacillating, and vindictive the rebel chieftain has died for the turbulence of the Bois-brules, ever their feature for the last seventy years.

As different as is the patient roadster from the wild mustang, is the English-speaking half-breed from the Metis. I have lived many years acquainted with this people and have found them intelligent, and in many things much beyond their opportunities. So early as 1775 the traveller, Alex-

ander Henry, found Orkney employes in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at Cumberland House. The Orkney Islands furnished so many useful men to the company that in 1816, when the Bois-brules came to attack the colony, though the colonists were mostly Highlanders they were called "Les Orcanais." Since 1821 the same supply of employes to the company has continued and increased with occasionally an admixture of Caithnesshiremen and other Highlanders. Accordingly the English-speaking half-breeds are really of Scotch descent, almost entirely. From Hudson Bay to distant Yukon, the steady going Orkney men have come with their Indian wives and half-breed children and made the Red River their home. I have but to mention such well-known and respectable names as Inkster, Fobis, Setter, Harper, Mowat, Omand, Flett, Linklater, Tait, Spence, Monkman and others to show how valuable an element of our population the English half-breeds have been, though, of course, we have those bearing these names as well who are of pure Orkney blood. I select two specially outstanding names. Alexander Kennedy Isbister was born in the year 1822 at Cumberland House, the son of a Hudson's Bay Company officer whose family afterwards came to Red River. In 1842 he left his native land for England, and there, his education completed, became a barrister and leading educationist. His love for his country was such that he fought the battle for the opening up of the Red River settlement. His name will ever be remembered on Red River. His generous gift of \$83,000 to Manitoba University, with his library, will preserve his name from generation to generation. One other name I mention here. It is that of the Hon. John Norquay, who has, with the competition of so many energetic and competent new-comers held for years the place of Premier of Manitoba.