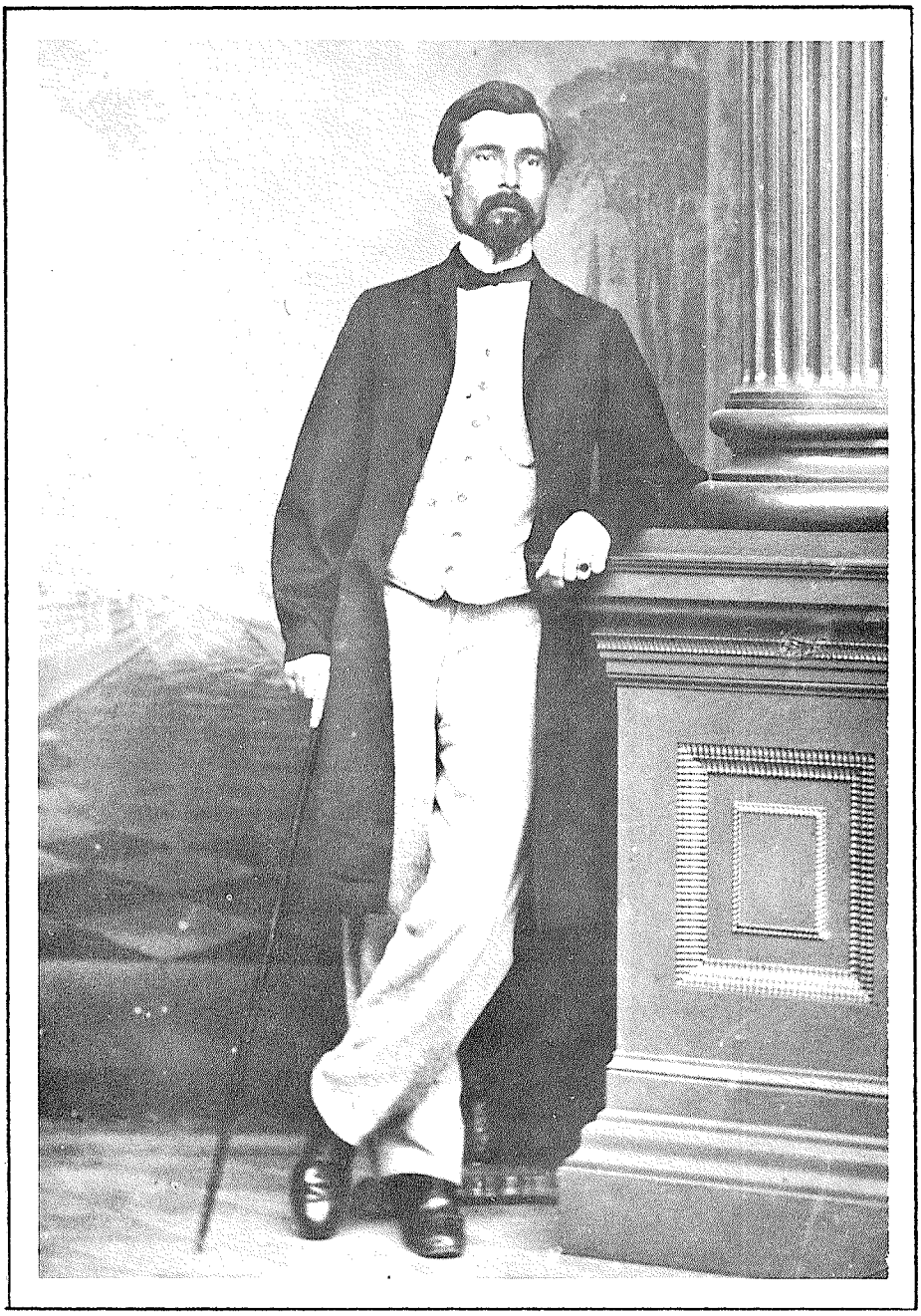

James Ross

J A M E S R O S S

1835 - 1871

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AN

ENGLISH - SPEAKING

HALFBREED IN THE OLD

RED RIVER

SETTLEMENT

Thesis presented

for an M.A. degree

to the

University of Manitoba

by

Leonard Remis

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AN ENGLISH - SPEAKING HALFBREED IN THE OLD RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

BY

LEONARD REMIS

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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C O N T E N T S

MAPS

PREFACE

To venture into the history of the Red River Settlement is to tread on ground that has been well travelled. From the first appearance of European fur traders on Hudson Bay in the seventeenth century until the formation of Manitoba, Canada's 'first province' in 1870, the road is clearly defined. The Hudson's Bay Company records, eye witness accounts, letters, diaries, newspaper reports and government documents continue to illuminate the way. In addition there are archaeological, anthropological and sociological studies to shed new light on the way people accommodated themselves to their environment and to each other. The facts are seldom in doubt. The evidence has been sifted through over and over again by eminent scholars - British, Canadian and American - producing a body of work distinguished by its quality and its quantity. New studies continue to penetrate the veil of the past bringing it into sharper focus.

The continued enquiry stems from the historian's need to know. Has the story been fully told? What were the motivating factors which compelled people to do what they did? How much can be explained by rational behaviour? Can we ignore the irrational? How much of what took place was conditioned by the physical environment? How much was culturally determined? To what extent did human personality control and influence events and how much was sheer chance - accidents that defy prediction? These are only a few of the questions that impel historians to go over the ground repeatedly in search of new insights to an understanding of the past; perhaps even to acquire guidance for the future.

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

Although the story of the Red River Settlement does not lack for narrators and has been told from a variety of vantage points - political, economic, social[1] - there are inevitably some unanswered questions. One of these concerns the role of the halfbreed during the formative years of the province of Manitoba. The imposition of a sophisticated culture upon one still in a natural state produced in the northern plains and forests of North America a community of people unlike any other on the continent. This was a mixed blood population as a result of the sexual relationship between native Indian women and white European males both English and French. Although miscegenation was practised everywhere in the New World, a community of white, Indian and mixed bloods was allowed to work out its own destiny in the Red River Valley of the north, for at least fifty years, mainly because of its isolation in the middle of the continent. This seclusion which yielded only gradually to communication with the rest of the world permitted a unique development. The British Colony along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers had been created by a thrust into the heart of North America out of context with the advancing frontier which in general worked its way westward from the Atlantic seaboard. Moreover the objectives of the Hudson's Bay Company contributed to the isolation of the settlement until it could no longer withstand the tide of immigration from Canada.

It was the fur trade that first enticed the entrepreneurs from New France deeper and deeper into the interior of the continent. At almost the same time it brought British merchant adventurers into the Hudson Bay area.[2] The traders from French Canada soon discovered the benefits to be gained from developing connubial relations with Indian

women. Everyone profited. From the Indian point of view there was the prestige associated with the familial liason with the white man, and better access to the white man's goods. The trader not only acquired a knowledge of the country but this relationship ensured preferential treatment in bartering for furs. This association was also crucial to his survival in an environment for which he was poorly equipped. Indian women, too, gained from this arrangement. Besides being elevated in status those Indian women who lived 'a la facon du pays' tended to live better than those who did not. They became in fact a bridge between the white man and the Indian and contributed in no small degree to the smooth functioning of the fur trade. The British at first placed restrictions on these relationships but as competition with the fur traders from the St. Lawrence intensified, they too adopted a more relaxed attitude with regard to the association of their personnel with Indian women.[3]

There grew up over time, therefore, a significant number of families consisting of a white man, his native wife or consort and their resulting children. A family crisis arose when the white man, having served his term with his company, had the option of either staying or leaving the country. If he elected to return to his native land, he either sent his connubial partner and children back to her family or handed her over to another trader. In some cases a small allowance was granted to the abandoned consort. Those who chose to remain in the New World did so because they had formed a more lasting attachment to their 'wives' and offspring. Some of the white men adopted the ways of the Indians and became a special class known as 'freeman'. Others settled down around the trading posts and became adjuncts to the fur trade as part of the transportation system or in the provision of food. Some traders who could afford it returned home with their wives and children

but the strain of adapting to a new environment was often too much for both the women and the children.

None of the foregoing alternatives was entirely satisfactory, especially to those men who felt a responsibility towards their families. The need to find a solution became urgent. The Red River Settlement was in some sense a response to this problem. It is doubtful whether the Earl of Selkirk (1771-1820)[4] was motivated by the need to do something for those retiring Hudson's Bay Company officers and servants who wished to stay in the fur trading area and give their children a Christian upbringing. The senior officers of the Company recognized, however, that Selkirk's plan provided an opportunity for alleviating this condition.[5] The situation had been further aggravated by the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821. The amalgamation had created a personnel problem. There were now too many people in the field for efficient operation of the fur trade. As part of a termination settlement an employee of either company who chose to remain in the northwest was offered a land grant in the Red River Settlement. Thus, although both the North West Company and many of the Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were opposed to the Settlement through its first decade, the merged company now made a complete about face mainly as an expedient measure.[6] The Red River Settlement thereby became both an experiment in British colonization and a solution to a vexing problem engendered by the growing number of mixed blood families in the British territory. The Company decision to encourage the settlement of its former employees at Red River was the impetus needed to give permanence to Lord Selkirk's venture. Slowly but surely mixed families from the outlying trading posts recognized the advantages offered by locating at the Red River Settlement. First there was the grant of land to which they could

have clear title. Secondly, there was the chance to earn some extra income by growing produce for the Company. There was also the buffalo hunt or the manning of the York boats and the fur brigades to further augment their earnings. Furthermore, as the Settlement grew one could do a little private trading under the watchful eye of the Company. The civilizing effect of schools and churches was an added incentive. Social life in the Settlement offered a new dimension.

By 1870 the Red River Settlement had lost a good deal of its isolation. The community numbered almost 12,000 of which more than eighty percent had more than a little Indian blood in their veins.[7] The world would no longer ignore this little settlement on the edge of the great western plain. Canadian nationalism was looking covetously at the whole northwest. Expansionist elements in the United States too were looking northward. Canadian and British scientific expeditions had confirmed that the great plains were fit for more than buffalo grazing.[8] The herds, meanwhile, had been steadily declining. The fur trade was becoming less profitable and the chance to open the west to agricultural settlements was a tempting prospect to the railroad builders and land speculators who had purchased the Hudson's Bay Company in 1863.[9]

It is doubtful whether any community could have withstood for very long the convergence of such powerful instruments for change. That the Red River Settlement did offer any resistance is a tribute to its maturity as an entity. The Red River Resistance in 1869 was an effort to protect not only the old ways but to secure some of the benefits of joining the mainstream of development for the indigenous population. That it succeeded at all was due to the unique qualities of the halfbreed community - both English-speaking and French-speaking. Because the French-speaking halfbreeds of the Red River Settlement took the lead in resisting

the actions of the Canadian government, the focus of historical attention has been on this group. French-speaking, Catholic and depending largely on the buffalo hunt or as tripmen for the Company brigades, the Métis, as they were known, represented slightly more than half the population. There was also at Red River a community of English-speaking, Protestant halfbreeds who made their living mainly from agriculture, animal husbandry and commerce. In number they were almost as numerous as the Métis. To differentiate them from the Métis they are sometimes referred to as the 'country born'.[10] This group has been largely ignored in the retelling of the events of the old settlement.

The English-speaking mixed blood families in 1869 were a major factor in every aspect of Settlement life. By their enterprise they had contributed substantially to the agricultural base of the area and demonstrated the viability of such activity. They provided a commercial alternative to the Company and established economic ties with the United States. They were the first to question the authority of the Establishment; they proposed options. They took full place in the cultural and political life of the Colony. Given these conditions an imperative exists to examine the part played by these mixed blood families during the formative period of the Settlement and through the troubled days attending the birth of the Province of Manitoba.

Alexander Ross (1783-1856)[11] was one of those Scotsmen who after many years in the fur trade brought his Indian wife and children to the Red River Colony shortly after the merging of the rival fur trading companies. We now know Alexander Ross as a respected historian of the Settlement but in his day he played a subordinate but important administrative function. When he died his place in many respects was taken over by his son James. For almost fifty years the Ross family was prominent in the

affairs of the Settlement. They can therefore be considered representative of the English-speaking Protestant mixed blood families who assumed leadership roles in the Old Settlement.

James Ross (1835-1871) is significant not only for what he was, namely, a halfbreed emerging into a world both friendly and hostile to his genre, but also for what he did. The purpose of this study is to construct a portrait of James Ross from which some new insights regarding the nature of the Settlement may be derived. James Ross was an extremely active man. In the short period of his life he managed to graduate from the University of Toronto with distinction, teach school, enjoy a journalistic career as publisher of the first western paper The Nor'- Wester, work for two eastern papers the Toronto Globe and the Hamilton Spectator, pursue a law career, carry on the family business and take a leading part in the Red River Resistance. Fortunately there is a good deal of documentary evidence available about James Ross. The Ross Family Papers in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba are a major source. The early years of The Nor'- Wester are another and it is not unreasonable to attribute the views expressed in this paper in part to James Ross. His contributions in the Toronto Globe can be identified. The first Presbyterian minister in the Settlement, the Rev. John Black (1818-1882) carried on an extensive correspondence with his young brother-in-law, James.

From these and other sources James Ross emerges as a representative of the English-speaking halfbreeds in the Red River Settlement for the decade before the Resistance. Just as importantly, James Ross appears to be the counterpart of Louis Riel (1844-1885). Both of these men were born in the Red River Settlement and could claim an Indian heritage. Both came from what might be called middle class families. They both received their early education in the Settlement. Both sought further education

in the east - Riel in Montreal, Ross in Toronto. Both returned to Fort Garry as the Canadians moved in to take over the newly acquired Hudson's Bay Company territories. Both had a way with words and were eagerly listened to. If one is to understand Riel it appears that one must also understand James Ross. It is quite likely that on one side of the coin we have Louis Riel and on the other side James Ross.

A community is shaped as much by its leaders as it is by other forces. The Red River Settlement did not lack for leadership amongst its halfbreed population. Louis Riel spoke for the French-speaking halfbreeds but in James Ross the English-speaking halfbreeds also had their spokesman. The tragedy of the Red River Settlement is that the forces arrayed against it were more than the fledgling society could withstand. The history of the Red River Settlement would have been entirely different had the views of the halfbreed population been respected. The collapse of the Old Settlement resulted in an inequitable distribution of the benefits that technology and immigration had to offer. It is James Ross's tragedy that with so much to offer, he was denied the opportunity to participate in the new era that was about to unfold. His special perspective gained through birth, education and experience could have contributed much to the future of Manitoba and the future of the halfbreeds in Manitoba.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Historians who have paved the way for many others are A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (Toronto, 1939; H.A. Innes, who blazed a trail for economic interpretation with Fur Trade in Canada (Yale, 1930); Alexander Ross, J.J. Hargrave, Donald Gunn, C.R. Tuttle and Alexander Begg among Manitoba's early historians and W.L. Morton more recently have emphasized the social side of Manitoba history.

Bibliographies that proved useful in this study were: Claude Thibault, Bibliographa Canadiana (Don Mills, 1973); Bruce Peel, A Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953 (Toronto, 2nd. ed., 1973) and Canada since 1867 : A Bibliographical Guide edited by J.L. Granatstein and Paul Stevens (Toronto, 1974).

2. John Warkentin (ed.), The Western Interior of Canada : A Record of Geographical Discovery (Toronto, 1964) provides a concise review of the process whereby Manitoba and the West were penetrated by the Europeans.

3. Sylvia Van Kirk, "Women in Between" : "Indian Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada." in Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers, 1977 and Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood : Fur Trade Families in Indian Country (Vancouver, 1980) are fine contributions in a hitherto neglected field.

4. Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, Earl of (1771-1820). Philanthropist. Born at St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland on June 20, 1771. Educated at Edinburgh University. Succeeded to Earldom in 1799. Planted first colony of crofters in Prince Edward Island in 1803. Also attempted colony in Upper Canada. Chief project - Red River Colony. Obtained grant of 45 million acres in Red River Valley in 1811. Conflict with North West Company proved bloody and costly. Died in south of France April 8, 1820.

Brief biographical sketches of most of the personalities mentioned in this paper are to be found listed in alphabetical order in Appendix A.

5. E.E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857 (Toronto, 1967) p. 207. See also HBCA A/1/49/114 and ff; A/6/17.68d., 93d., 125d.; and HBRS II, pp. xxxi - xxxii.

6. HBCA Letter from Governor and Committee of the H.B.C. Feb. 27, 1822, para. 45 cited in William Douglas, "New Light on the Old Forts of Winnipeg," in Hist. and Sc. Soc. of Manitoba Transaction, Series III, No. 11. p. 42.

7. The Population of the Red River Settlement according to the 1870 census totalled 11, 963 made up as follows: French halfbreeds 5,757; English halfbreeds 4,083; whites 1,565; Indians 558.

8. H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858, 2 vols. (London, 1859). Also United Kingdom: Papers Relative to the Exploration by Captain Palliser of that Portion of British North America which lies between the Northerm Branch of the River Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains (London, 1859).

9. Control of the Company passed in June, 1863 to the International Finance Association, a financial syndicate. Virtually all the outstanding stock was purchased for £1,500,000. The main interest of the new owners was in building a railroad and telegraph line to the Pacific Coast and in promoting farms in the fertile belt. For details of the negotiations see A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West, pp. 839-42.

10. John E. Foster, "Origins of the Mixed Blodds in the Canadian West," in Lewis H. Thomas (ed.), Essays on Western History : In Honour of Lewis Gwynne Thomas (Edmonton, 1976).

11. George Bryce, "Alexander Ross, Fur Trader, Author and Philanthropist," in "Queen's Quarterly 11, 1903-04, is the earliest biography of the noted historian.

CHAPTER II - LORD SELKIRK'S COLONY IN THE MAKING 1811 - 1821

The formation of a Settlement by Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk, at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was cloaked in controversy from the beginning.[1] On the one hand are the claims of the North West Company that Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company were bent on nothing less than the destruction of the lucrative fur trade carried on by the North West Company. A Hudson's Bay Company sponsored colony on the proposed site would be in a position to deny the Montreal based firm the provisions essential to maintaining their brigades in the northwest. Moreover, the Canadians were convinced that the introduction of a farming community would drive out the fur bearing animals and thus dry up the supply in what had hitherto been a lucrative area. Furthermore, Selkirk was pictured as just another greedy land speculator.

Lord Selkirk, on the other hand, maintained that his motives were both humanitarian and in accord with the long term imperial interest of Great Britain. Until his death in 1820, he consistently claimed that his actions were motivated mainly by public interest. Selkirk was too well informed and too shrewd to ignore the economic consequences to the rival company resulting from his colonization scheme but there is sufficient evidence on record that he constantly placed the needs of the Settlement ahead of pecuniary gain. In fact he never lived to profit from his Red River enterprise. It has been claimed that the struggle to keep the project alive contributed substantially to his early demise and nearly bankrupted him in the process. When the Assiniboia tract was sold back to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1835 for £84,111 it is doubtful whether his estate ever recaptured the investment Selkirk made while he was alive.[2]

On the other critical points raised by the North West Company, there is more than a modicum of truth. It is hard to imagine that Selkirk was oblivious to the effect that a Settlement at Red River would have on the rival fur trading company. What Selkirk apparently failed to appreciate was the degree of violence that the North West Company would resort to in rendering the colony short-lived. Selkirk was shocked by the massacre at Seven Oaks in 1816 and retaliated vigorously.[3] The North West Company and the Scottish laird had been on a collision course ever since Alexander Mackenzie realized that Selkirk's motives in purchasing Hudson's Bay stock were counter to the objectives of the Montreal company.[4] The contest which up to this point was mostly vocal now had acquired a new and ominous dimension. Selkirk had little confidence in the British Colonial Office or its servants in Canada to protect his interests and he proceeded to take direct action. This was in line with Company policy to meet force with force.[5] If his venture was to survive it is questionable whether he had any other alternative. Both sides were now committed to virtual open warfare and the result was disastrous for all concerned.

Considering again Lord Selkirk's motives in establishing a colony at Red River, the record is clear that this little known area was his first choice in 1802 when he approached the Minister of State and the Colonial Office with a proposal to settle the fractious Irish problem by arranging for the emigration of its most rebellious element to the interior of North America.[6] This proposal was turned down by the British government because amongst other reasons they had no desire to disturb the Hudson's Bay Company. The Honourable Company had substantial rights in North America which had been confirmed and nothing could be done in Rupert's Land without overcoming the legal barrier of their charter. The Company was also sufficiently influential to be able to oppose any attempt to

infringe on it's rights and the British government was in no mood to engage in a fight with the Company on behalf of the emigration "en masse' of a group for whom it had little sympathy. The government may even have regarded the emigration of Irishmen to the newly formed United States with some favor. Six years later when Selkirk returned to his original proposal to colonize Red River, this time it was on the behalf of indigent and suffering Scottish Highlanders.[7] His position was now strengthened since the opportunity to gain virtual control of the Hudson's Bay Company had presented itself.

It is easy to imagine Lord Selkirk like a man juggling a number of balls in the air. One ball represents his expressed desire to come to the assistance of the beleaguered Highlanders. Another represents the opportunity to establish an Imperial presence in the heart of a continent still being contested for. A third may have been personal. It has been contended that Selkirk sought for himself a place in history much as Baltimore and Penn had achieved. The fourth was an exciting economic opportunity. The Hudson's Bay Company in 1808 was in serious financial trouble. Its warehouses were stocked with furs which it was unable to sell in the European market because of the Napoleonic embargo of the continent.[8] At the same time it was engaged in cut-throat competition with the North West Company. All of the above depressed the value of the company shares and made them available at bargain prices.[9] Finally the time looked ripe for a merger between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company to restore the profitable monopoly in furs.

The chance to fuse all these objectives together came shortly after Selkirk married Jean Wedderburn in 1807. Selkirk together with his brother-in-law Andrew Wedderburn-Colvile (1779-1856) and John Halkett (1768-1852), obtained virtual control of the Hudson's Bay Company and

subsequently secured approval for his project. This was only achieved after a tumultuous meeting of the shareholders. The North West Company attempted to frustrate Selkirk's plan by buying shares in the Company and attending the meeting but it was a case of too little, too late.[10]

Underlying all of the above reasons must have been Selkirk's belief that a colony at Red River would be as successful as the one he had promoted in Prince Edward Island in 1803.[11] Why was he so confident in his judgment? The answer is difficult to pin down. In 1802 when Selkirk first gave thought to Red River, there was very little written evidence that agriculture as practised in Europe and the developed parts of British North America would also succeed in the wilderness of the North American interior. Dr. George Bryce (1844-1931), a Manitoba historian, claimed that Selkirk was strongly influenced by Alexander Mackenzie's (1764-1820) book published in 1801.[12] This is difficult to substantiate as J.P. Pritchett and Chester Martin have pointed out. Alexander Henry, the younger (d. 1814), had considerable success in raising garden crops at Pembina[13] and Gabriel Franchere (1786-1863) noted equally successful efforts at Bas de la Riviere[14] but these achievements did not become common knowledge until later on. Scientific investigation of the agricultural potential of Rupert's Land and the Northwest was not to come for at least fifty years. What Selkirk may have had to go on was the kind of common knowledge nobody regarded worthy of record.

It is also possible that Selkirk was aware of information that was buried in the Hudson's Bay Company files. The Company, it is true, had pursued almost from the beginning a policy of encouraging its posts on the Bay to grow lentils and root crops. Some success was achieved even at York Factory and better results were obtained further south at Albany and Moose Forts on James Bay. When the Company changed its policy in 1774

and started building trading posts in the interior to compete with those of the North West Company, each fort featured a garden within the stockaded area.[15] (This was to protect the produce from wild animals and unauthorized people). It was on these small plots of land that Hudson's Bay Company employees learned to augment their diet with fresh vegetables. The Company officials were not oblivious to the monetary benefits resulting from these endeavours. Selkirk's project had more than tacit support from the London directors. They must have believed that the settlement would not only be self-sustaining but would soon be a convenient and cheap source of all manner of food products. Opposition to the Selkirk plan came not from those who thought that the project would fail, but from those who thought that it would succeed. All opposition to the colonization scheme was overcome finally when Selkirk undertook to finance the whole venture privately. In return he was granted title to a tract of land encompassing 116,000 square miles centered on the Red River Valley.[16]

There can be no simple answer to the Selkirk riddle. Why did Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk, commit his fortune, his energy and his health to what must have seemed a foolhardy venture to many of his contemporaries? Selkirk was much too complex an individual to yield to easy analysis. Alexander Ross was one of the first historians to wrestle with this question. Ross, who was close to the scene and knew many of the original Selkirk settlers, concluded that regardless of what was said for and against Selkirk or the Settlement, it was immediately perceived by Company employees, "as a resting place for retired traders clogged with Indian families."[17] Unwittingly or not, Lord Selkirk had created a stage on which the interaction of European civilization an ancient but primitive culture would be played out. This fundamental question, says M. Giraud, is personified by the halfbreed.[18]

The first contingent under Selkirk's plan arrived in the area designated for settlement in the summer of 1812. The colonists were prepared to face hardships but they were not prepared for both the apathy and obstructionism exhibited by the Hudson's Bay Company officials at York Factory.[19] Even more serious were the strong arm tactics of the North West Company as the settlers sought to take root along the Red River. The massacre on June 19, 1816 of Governor Robert Semple (1777-1816) and twenty of his men near Fort Douglas was the culmination of a series of intimidating tactics perpetrated by Indians and halfbreeds living on a nearby settlement on the Assiniboine River. Selkirk blamed the North West Company for these actions and responded vigorously. Raising a private army in Montreal he proceeded to the colony, stopping first on the way to capture Fort William and arrest William McGillivray, one of the principals of the rival fur trading company. Selkirk spent the winter at Fort William and arrived in the colony the following June. His presence in the settlement restored not only order to the project but put heart back into those settlers who had not been frightened away from the area.

Selkirk's actions were those of a man who believed that he would get little help from the Canadian authorities in providing his nascent colony with the protection it needed to survive. The North-Westers convinced the British officials that they were not responsible for Seven Oaks and that Selkirk's retaliatory measures were both illegal and criminal. Steps to bring Selkirk before the bar of justice received encouragement from the British Colonial office. Lord Bathurst (1762-1834) saw this as an opportunity to reconcile the warring parties.[20] Orders for Selkirk's arrest were issued and his decision to return to Canada via the U.S.A. was interpreted as a maneuver to avoid being taken into custody in Fort William. To everyone's surprise Selkirk arrived at York on January 10,

1818 prepared not only to face the charges but to lay a few of his own. The ensuing court appearances, changes of venue, delays and postponements made a travesty of the judicial procedure. Summing up in a report of the trials, Andrew Amos (1791-1860) had this to say,

> "... a state of Society of which no British colony has hitherto afforded a parallel: - Private vengeance arrogating the functions of public law; - Murder justified in a British Court of Judicature, on the plea of exasperation commencing years before the sanguinary act; - the spirit of monopoly raging in all the terrors of power, in all the force of organization, in all the insolence of impunity." (21)

Most of the actions were dismissed. In the few cases where a guilty verdict was obtained, the culprits managed to avoid the consequences. The legal and court costs on both sides were staggering but failed to bring about a settlement between the protagonists, and which the North West Company now earnestly desired. This was because during his lifetime Selkirk was adamant in his resolve not to have anything to do with his adversaries. Both sides now realized that a merger was inevitable but this was not accomplished until after Selkirk's death in 1820.

Although the settlement was not again subjected to similar harassment, it still led a precarious existence mainly because the agricultural base which everyone was sure would support the new settlement proved to be difficult to attain for at least a decade. The privations endured by the Scottish immigrants almost defy description. Crops were planted either too soon or too late. Grasshoppers were a recurring plague and an infestation of mice was a totally unexpected affliction. Implements were primitive, more suited to the highland plots of Scotland than the heavy loam of the Red River Valley enriched by floods that often turned the whole region into a lake. The yields when favored by nature, however, put new hope into the settlers. The incentive to stay has been attributed to

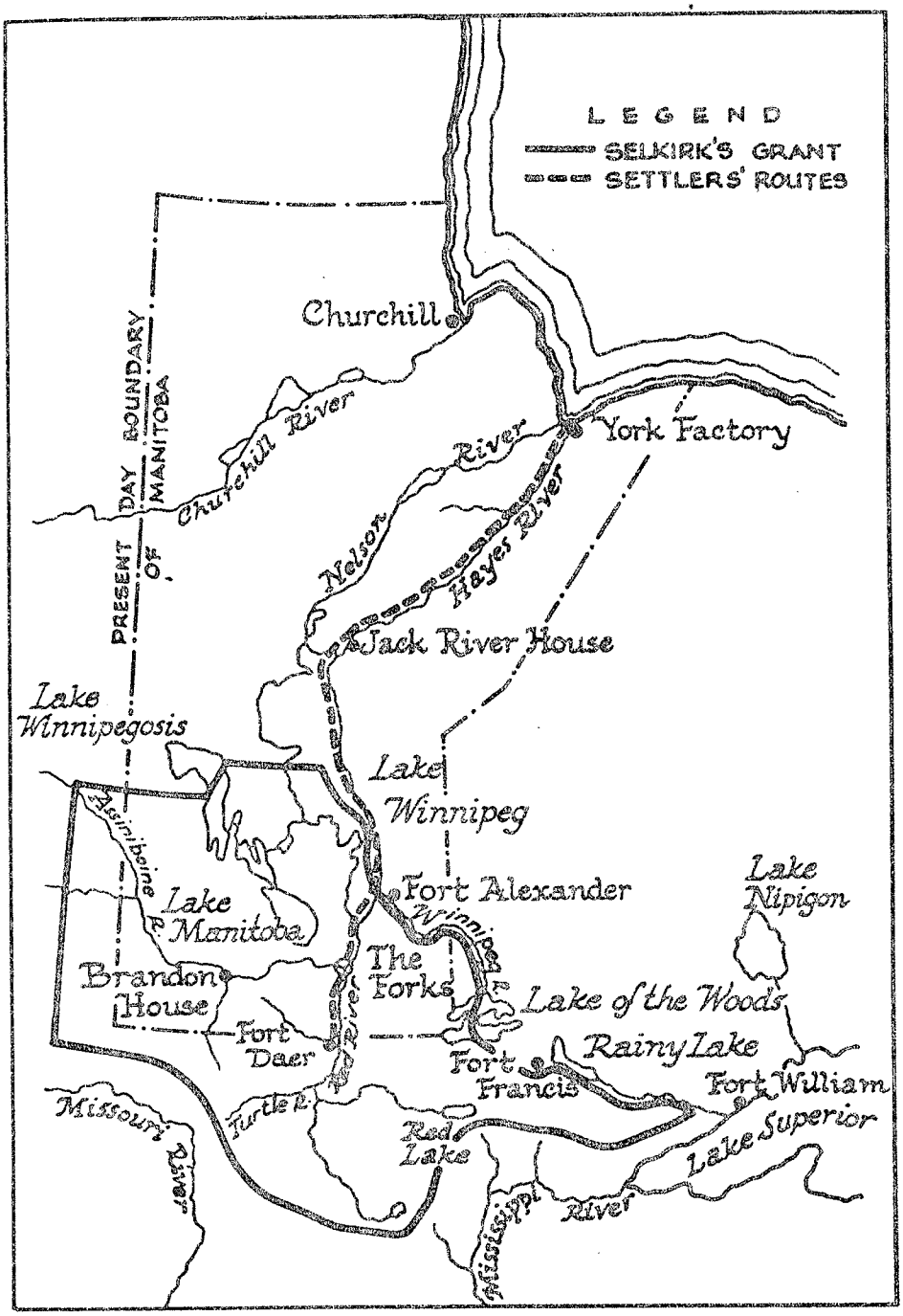
the stubborn character of the Scottish people. To this must be added the farmer's traditional optimism in next year's crop. An overriding consideration must have been the opportunity to own a piece of land away from the grasping hand of the Scottish Highland landlord and a chance to escape the grime and poverty of the new industrial cities of Great Britain.[22]

The amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821 proved a turning point in the development of the colony. The merged company, which had adopted the name of the older company, unlike both its predecessors, now found it advantageous to induce many of its employees to emigrate and retire to the Red River Settlement. Those who took advantage of this offer were mostly heads of families who had been rendered supernumerary by the Governor-in-Chief of the newly created Northern District of the Company. As chief executive officer of the combined operation, George Simpson ruthlessly pruned the operation and the staff in a compelling drive for economy and efficiency. At the time of the merger there were about four hundred people in the vicinity of the junction of the two rivers, mostly as a result of Selkirk's colonization plan.[23] Most of these were Scots and they had been located on river lots along the west bank of the Red River about two miles north of the forks. Some of them had begun to farm the east side of the river opposite the original allotments. A small French Canadian community had also established itself on the east side of the Red River opposite the mouth of the Assiniboine. Now the Settlement was to be augmented by the arrival of many mixed blood families. Those that were English-speaking tended to settle on both sides of the Red River north of the Scots and also along the north bank of the Assiniboine River. The area around the new fort, built on the site of old Fort Gibraltar and now named after Nicholas Garry (1782?-1856),

was also favored by the English-speaking families. French-speaking families tended to settle along the south bank of the Assiniboine and along the west bank of the Red south of Fort Garry (Fig. 2). This pattern of settlement was preserved for many years and formed the basis for the parish system which emerged in time.[24] There was also a French speaking halfbreed community on the Assiniboine River about ten miles west of Fort Garry. It was the members of this group who had been manipulated into harassing the original Selkirk settlers. As part of a process of conciliation, the Company astutely accorded the leader of these people, Cuthbert Grant (1796-1854) special status. A settlement for Indians was ultimately situated close to the estuary of the Red River. Five hundred Métis from Pembina were induced soon after to move to Fort Garry.[25]

After ten years Lord Selkirk's experiment in colonization had obtained barely a foothold in the heart of the continent. Its future was far from secure. Instead of being able to supply the fur trade with fresh food, it was also dependent upon plains provisions.[26] There was still a good deal of hostility between the former employees of the rival companies. Red River Colony was a frontier society isolated from other frontier settlements. It was a single enterprise community completely dependent on the Company for its livelihood, its institutions and its growth.

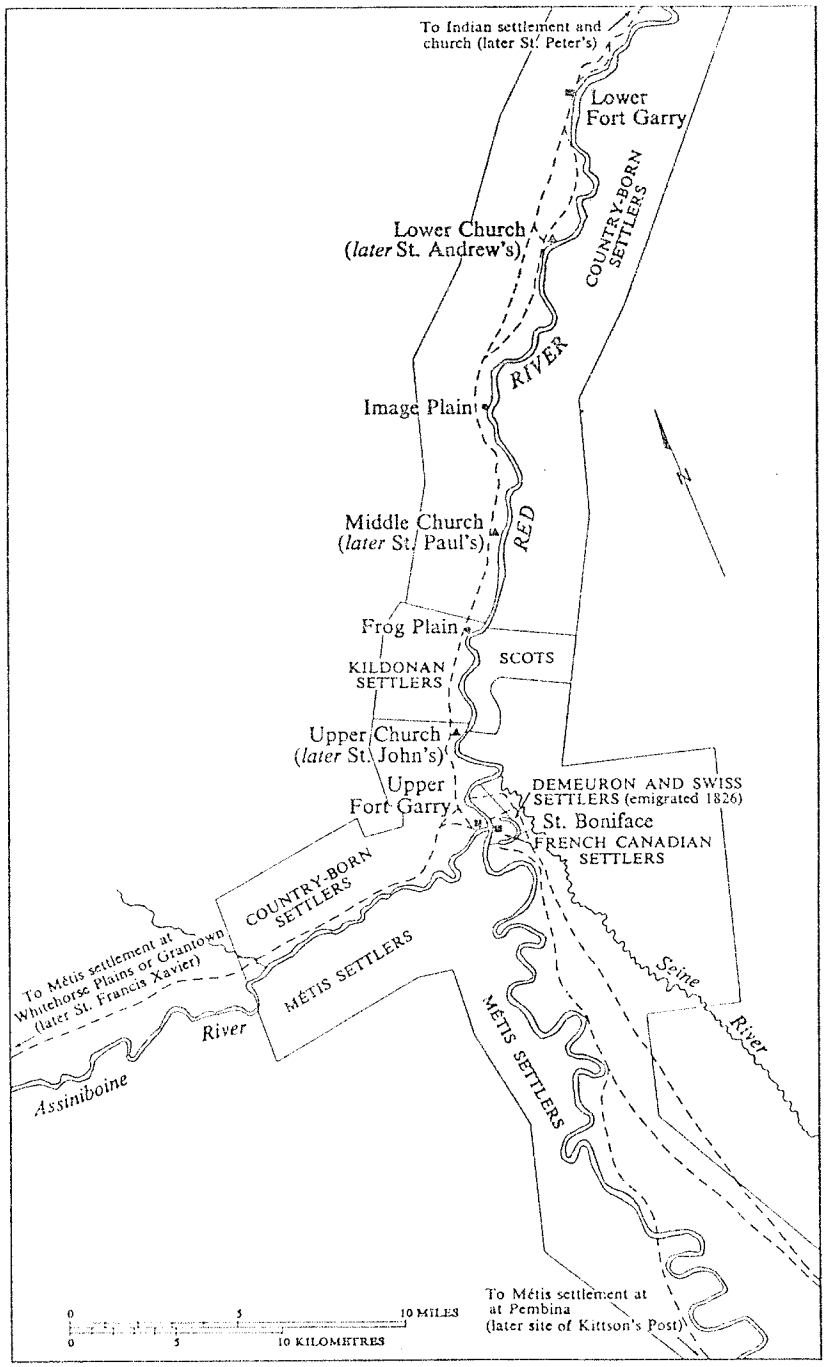
FIG. 1



Copied from: James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Toronto, 1970) opposite page 36.

FIG. 2

THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT IN 1835



Copied from: Lewis G. Thomas (General Editor)
The Prairie West to 1905 (Toronto, 1975).
page 39.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. W.S. Wallace, "The Literature of the Selkirk Controversy," in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1932, pp. 45/50.

Lord Selkirk is sympathetically reviewed in three studies: Chester Martin, Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada (Oxford, 1916); John P. Pritchett, The Red River Valley, 1811-1849 : A Regional Study (Toronto, 1942): John Morgan Grey, Lord Selkirk of the Red River (Toronto, 1964).

2. This seems to be the accepted version (See, Martin, Selkirk's Work, p. 35). The question is however whether Selkirk was virtually bankrupt or just cash poor. Besides the cash outlays for the Settlement and the litigation, Selkirk had invested approximately £26,000 in Hudson's Bay Company stock and this represented about 25% of the outstanding shares. The years after his death were particularly profitable for the Company. Halkett negotiated the settlement for the estate and there is no reason to doubt his competence in closing the deal. The £84,111 may well represent Selkirk's investment compounded at the prevailing interest rates. Selkirk's venture in the long run may have turned out to be quite profitable for the family.

3. Governor Semple and twenty of his men were killed near Fort Douglas on June 19, 1816 by a band of Métis and Indians led by Cuthbert Grant.

4. Selkirk Papers, 1, 7, etc. Mackenzie to Selkirk, June 22, 1808, October 29, 1808, etc. cited in Martin, Selkirk's Work, pp. 23/33.

5. Morton, A History, p. 532.

6. Selkirk Papers, Selkirk to Pelham, April 4, 1802, p. 13907.

7. Selkirk, Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a view to the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration (London, 1805).

8. Napoleon's Continental System and the British Blockade are briefly described in R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World (New York, 1965), pp. 395/400.

9. Normally worth about £250, shares were now selling for £50 to £60. See Morton, A History, p. 531.

10. Meeting of the General Court, May 30, 1811.

11. For a description of Selkirk's earlier colonization efforts, see J.F. Pritchett. The Red River Valley, 1811-1849 : A Regional Study (Toronto, Ryerson, 1942), Chapter III, pp. 22/35.

12. Alexander Mackenzie, Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the year 1789 and 1793 with a preliminary account of the rise, progress, and Present State of the Fur Trade of that Country (London, 1801) reprinted in 1971 by Hurtig, Edmonton, pp. lvii, lxxiii, lxxxvil, 328, 400.

13. Elliott Coues, ed., New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest : The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799-1814 (New York, 1897), 2 Vols. Vol. i, 211-2, 228, 242-44, 252, 191, 430, 549, 476; Vol. ii, 549.

14. Gabriel Franchere, Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814. Transcribed and Translated by W.T. Lamb. Edited with introduction and notes by W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1969), pp. 176-178.

15. Eric Ross, Beyond the River and the Bay (Toronto, 1970). Figure 9 A sketch of Cumberland House and Gardens 1815, p. 122 facing.

16. Archer Martin, Hudson's Bay Company Land Tenures and the Occupation of the Assiniboia by Lord Selkirk's Settlers, with a list of Grantees under the Earl and the Company (London, 1898). Map of District of Assiniboia, 1811 extracted from Register "A". (see Fig. I).

17. Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West (Norman, 1956), p. 68.

18. W.L. Morton, "The Metis in Manitoba," in The Beaver (Sept. 1950), is a favorable review of Marcel Giraud, Le Metis Canadien : son role dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest (Paris, 1945).

19. Pritchett, Red River Valley, p. 39 writes, "William Auld, Superintendent at York Factory," wrote letters to his employers calculated to induce them to abandon" the venture, and "entirely neglected the instructions which had been given him respecting the formation of a colony at Red River."

20. Bathurst to Sherbrooke, February 11, 1817, Q 151 A, pp. 28 ff. cited in Pritchett, Red River Valley, p. 202.

21. A. Amos, Report of the Trials in the Courts of Canada Relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement on the Red River with Observation (London, 1820). Cited in Pritchett, Red River Valley, p. 214.

22. H. Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland (Oxford, 1932), Chapter II and III, "The Agrarian Revolution," pp. 36-76.

23. "Diary of Nicholas Garry," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Sec. II, 1900, p. 135.

24. W.L. Morton, "The Red River Parish : Its Place in the Development of Manitoba," in Manitoba Essays, ed., R.C. Lodge (Toronto, 1937).

25. Garry, p. 193 cited in Morton, Manitoba, p. 61-62.

26. "Pemmican was a unique product of the western plains. Dried buffalo meat was pounded to a coarse powder to which was added berries and buffalo grease. The mixture was packed in buffalo hides and kept for years. One of the world's most nutritious foods. Prepared without salt or spice, it was a perfectly balanced diet, containing all the necessary elements, not only for nourishment but for health as well." From Gwain Hamilton, In the Beginning (Steinbach, n.d.).

CHAPTER III - ALEXANDER ROSS (1783 - 1856)

Alexander Ross spent fifteen years on the Columbia River and the Oregon before coming to the Red River Settlement in 1825. He belonged to that group of men who combined a spirit of adventure, stamina and courage as they probed into all corners of the Great Northwest, first to identify the rich fur bearing regions and, secondly, to find a route to the Pacific.[1] Fortunately they also had the gift of narrative. Their descriptions still have the ability to evoke a strong sense of what it was like to venture into the unknown wilderness of North America.

Alexander Ross joined the short lived Pacific Fur Company in 1810 and participated in the founding of Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River. The American company was taken over by the North West Company in 1813 and Ross continued in their employ until the merger with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. The next four years he served his new masters on the Columbia and in the Snake River area. He tells us about his experiences in two books entitled Adventures of the First Settlers in the Oregon or Columbia River (1849) and The Fur Hunters of the Far West (1855). Alexander Ross was an observant man. In addition to telling us how the fur trade was conducted with the Indians, he has preserved for us a record of their social life. Using the Okanagan tribe as his example, we learn from Ross a good deal about their origin, religion, population, government, medicine men, winter habitation, summer employment, marriage, treatment of children and other facets of social behavior.[2]

The father of James Ross demonstrated early an ability to get along with the Indians. Time after time he managed to extricate himself and his party from potentially dangerous situations. He did this by allaying suspicion, dispensing small favors and negotiating friendly relations. The fact that he married, in an Indian ceremony, the daughter of an Indian

Chief gave him both special status among the tribes of the territory and special insights into their behavior. Alexander Ross made an effort to learn the native languages and the impressions gained from reading his books is that the parlays were conducted without the benefit of an interpreter. Both books were written and published long after the events he described took place. The details were preserved in the journals and reports written at the time.[3] Throughout both books Ross continually assesses and judges the Indian character and what he has to say are first hand impressions tempered by a lifetime of experience. Ross cannot help but judge the Indian by his own European value system; nevertheless, even by these standards he is sympathetic towards the natives. Considering his own experience it is not surprising that his attitude towards the Indian was quite paternal. He viewed them somewhat as wayward children who through education and adoption of sedentary ways could achieve a civilized state. Only then should they be introduced to Christianity. Alexander Ross was critical of missionaries who put conversion ahead of a period of learning into the white man's ways.

Sir George Simpson (1787?-1860) visited the Columbia River district in the fall of 1824, and it was during this period that Alexander Ross made up his mind to retire from the fur trade and settle with his family at the Red River Colony. By this time he had four children, the eldest being a ten year old son named after himself.[4] Simpson was not too impressed with Ross, confiding to his journal that in picking a man for a second Snake River expedition,

> "This important duty should not in my opinion be left to a self sufficient empty headed man like Ross who feels no further interest therein than in so far as it secures to him a salary of £120 per annum and whose reports are so full of bombast and marvellous nonsense that it is impossible to get any information on it from him." (5)

This statement is preceded by another entry to the effect that Ross did not have the qualifications to handle the motley crew that generally made up the trapping and trading expeditions. This notation is then qualified by the statement that Ross's performance was more respectable than the one carried out the year before.[6] Alexander Ross was not aware of this harsh judgement. He later wrote with satisfaction for what he thought was a job well done.

> "As the reader may wish to know the extent of our success in the object of our pursuit, after all our toils, I may say that, all things considered, our returns were the most profitable ever brought from the Snake Country in one year; amounting to 5,000 beaver, exclusive of other peltries. I had the satisfaction of receiving from Governor Simpson, a letter of thanks on the success of the expedition." (7)

In any case Peter Skene Ogden (1794-1854) was selected to lead the next expedition. By spring, as Simpson accompanied by Ross and his eleven year old son, set off for Norway House, the two men had arrived at a decision. Simpson noted in his journal that he had, "finally settled with Mr. Ross that he should undertake charge of the Missionary Church Society school at Red River at a salary of £100 per annum and he accompanies me out for that purpose."[8]

This latter statement is contradicted by Alexander Ross's own words to the effect that his decision to leave the fur trade was a voluntary one. At forty-two Ross was no longer a young man in a young man's game. He had been disappointed twice in not being promoted, first when the North West Company took over the Pacific Fur Company and again when the Hudson's Bay Company merged with its long time rival. After the annual meeting of the Northern Council at Norway House in 1825, Ross met with Simpson and was offered according to Ross, "the entire management of the Company's affairs in the Snake Country guaranteed to you for

a certain number of years with a liberal salary."[9]

The offer was good but apparently not good enough because Ross turned it down. Ross might have reacted differently if there had been a suggestion of promotion to chief trader. But there wasn't. Alexander Ross's reputation for verity is so well founded that one is disinclined to doubt his version. What then can be made of this? There are two interpretations possible. One is that George Simpson knew full well that Ross could no longer turn back. His family had already left Oregon and was already on the way (although his wife was to winter in Rocky Mountain House in order to give birth to another child). Simpson was not beyond playing this little game. A second interpretation is that two men had spent considerable time together travelling from Spokane House to Fort Edmonton and it was during this period that Simpson may have changed his mind about Ross and wanted him back in the field.[10] In turning down Simpson's offer Ross gave as his reason, "the necessity of retiring to a place where I can have the means of giving my children a Christian education, the best portion I could leave to them."[11]

The settlement was amicable and as far as Alexander Ross was concerned seemed generous. In addition to the title to one hundred acres of land in the Red River Settlement, Ross received a year's salary (estimated at £120) plus a further £120 and permission to engage in trade for one year.[12] Thirty years later Alexander Ross dedicated his book The Fur Hunters of the Far West to Sir George Simpson and also named him one of his executors. Alexander Ross thus became one of the licensed private traders at Fort Garry. This last concession must have suited him because he had both the experience and capital to set himself up in business. It must be assumed that Alexander Ross had amassed sufficient funds by this time to live comfortably at Red River.[13] He was much too prudent a man

to have left this important step in his life to chance.

Alexander Ross after his meeting with Sir George Simpson wasted no time in arranging transportation to the Selkirk Colony. A York boat and crew were engaged. After more than two weeks of rough going on Lake Winnipeg Ross and his party arrived at the mouth of the Red River on July 2nd, 1825. At this point he was able to buy a horse from an Indian who happened to be passing by and proceeded alone leaving the rest of the party to follow up the Red River. Ross must have expected a good deal more than he saw because he, "began seriously to reflect on the choice (he) had made, and the result was anything but pleasant."[14]

From the mouth of the Red River to the junction with the Assiniboine is about fifty miles and he travelled about fifteen before he reached open country at Image Plain.[15] Here for the first time he encountered a small herd of tame cattle grazing on the prairie. This was the first evidence that civilization was near at hand. But he was to be disappointed at the scattering of tiny farm houses and the meagre plots under cultivation. These were the homes of the Scottish settlers who had come under Lord Selkirk's immigration plan. He also learned from a chance acquaintance that "the government was solely in the hands of the Company and was as liberal and indulgent as could be expected."[16] There were no merchants, no money, no mills, no machinery of any sort, and not even a church that he could subscribe to. There was however, "the continual passing and repassing of armed savages, chanting their war songs, dangling scalps and smiling with savage contempt on the slow drudgery of the white man."[17]

Fort George, Spokane House and even Fort Nez Perce which Alexander Ross had built on the Snake River must have looked grandiose compared to Fort Garry which he describes as, "a place I had heard so much about, but

I must confess I feel disappointed. Instead of a place walled and fortified, as I had expected, I saw nothing but a few wooden houses huddled together without palisades, or any regard for taste or comfort ... Nor was the Governor's residence anything more in its outward appearance than a cottage of a humble farmer who might be able to spend fifty pounds a year."[18] Ross, nevertheless, regarded everything he saw as evidence to the settled and tranquil state of the community.

Alexander Ross's misgivings must have subsided somewhat when he discovered that there were about 1,000 people living along the banks of the Red and Assiniboine. It is not surprising therefore that the Settlement had neither the aspect of a town or a village. Lord Selkirk had adopted the river lot system prevalent in Lower Canada and the Settlement was spread out along fifty miles of river banks.

Ross found that his property was located just south of Fort Douglas about a mile north of Fort Garry. The frontage was 6.25 chains on the west bank of the Red River and stretched back for two miles encompassing the 100 acres he had been promised. If Alexander Ross had delayed his arrival at the Colony by one year he might have saved himself a great deal of aggravation. In 1826 the Red River overflowed its bank and Ross like the others had to abandon his home and move to higher ground along the Assiniboine River near Sturgeon Creek.[19] The house he had built on arrival was swept away by the flood waters and he had to do the job all over again. The waters did not subside until the middle of June. The flood, however, seems to have had some lasting benefit. The crop of 1826 although planted late was one of the best ever experienced in the Settlement and henceforth the Valley was never plagued to the same extent as it had been during the first fifteen years. Ross's wife Sarah and children arrived during the summer and were probably forced to move into temporary quarters.

In addition to the three daughters that he had left behind, he now had a second son, William, who had been born at Rocky Mountain House where the family had wintered. Sarah was to bear eight more children, the last being born in 1843 when Alexander was sixty years old.[20]

Alexander Ross occupied a respected position in the Red River Settlement for the rest of his life. After 1835 and for the next fifteen years he was the Sheriff of Assiniboia, an office which carried with it considerable prestige. He was also assigned other law enforcement duties. As Commander of the Volunteer Corps, Magistrate and Governor of the gaol he helped to control the unruly elements during the turbulent thirties and forties. Alexander Ross was well suited to the role since he was a man who had the ability to talk himself out of difficult situations.[21] He was also appointed to the Council of Assiniboia in 1836 and acted on such bodies as the Board of Works, Committee of Finance, and was Collector of Customs.[22] Ross's success with the Company may have been due in part because many of his old associates from the Columbia now held positions of authority in the Northern Department. Donald McKenzie (1783-1851) was Governor of Assiniboia from 1825 to 1833 and James Keith (d. 1851) was Chief Factor at York Factory and later held an executive position at the Company Headquarters at Lachine.[23] By virture of his position in the community, The Ross family occupied a social position only slightly below that of the commissioned officers of the Company.

Alexander Ross is perhaps best remembered today for his book, The Red River Settlement (1856). This history of the Selkirk Colony has gained for him the distinction of being likened to Herodotus.[24] Published posthumously Ross's book has been an unfailing source of information for generations of historians. Ross wrote mainly about what he and others saw and he has left us accounts which are considered by many

as the best of their kind. Alexander Ross probably was a man who knew how to speak his mind without giving offense to his superiors. In all his books he is often critical of the decisions made by the people he worked for but the most pungent remarks were reserved for publication long after the events he described took place. Ross's fame as a writer probably did not extend beyond the people who knew him but his stature as a historian and social commentator has grown with time. Alexander Ross was esteemed by those who associated with him and this high regard was passed on to his sons. First William and then James followed him as sheriffs of Assiniboia.

Alexander Ross was an extremely practical man. Although he held strong religious beliefs he did not allow them to influence his judgment when it came to everyday matters. Even though he strongly favored the Presbyterian creed and worked all his life to establish the Free Kirk in the Colony, he was prepared to accommodate his views and both attended and supported the Anglican Church for most of his life. The Selkirk settlers had been promised a Presbyterian minister who could speak Gaelic. This promise was later denied by the Company probably because its senior officials were staunchly Anglican. Ross and his fellow Scots never ceased to importune the Company to meet its obligations. They were finally rewarded in 1850 when the Company agreed to contribute £50 towards the salary of a Presbyterian minister and to deed certain lands to the new congregation for a church and a churchyard.[25] The difficulty of finding someone to come to the Colony was finally met by the Canadian Presbytery. On the eighteenth of September 1851, Rev. John Black arrived in the Settlement and preached his first sermon at the Kildonan manse ten days later. Rev. Black was bilingual, but unfortunately his second language was French not Gaelic. Three hundred parishioners left the Anglican fold

with the appearance of the young Canadian minister.[26] It is quite likely that Alexander Ross' pretty daughter Henrietta helped convince John Black to return to the Settlement after a brief visit to Toronto in the fall of 1853. They were married shortly after his return on December 21st and moved into the renovated manse soon after the New Year in time to open the new church which had been under construction for the past year and a half.[27] Alexander Ross was no doubt delighted at this turn of events.

Ross's attitude to the Indians and the halfbreeds was realistic. His own marriage to the daughter of an Indian chief of the Okanagan tribe took place about 1813 soon after his arrival in the Columbia district. He was therefore emotionally involved with native people and the offspring of mixed marriages all his adult life. Essentially he shared the views of his contemporaries. It was up to the Indian and the halfbreed to adjust to the ways of the white man. Civilization meant white civilization. He believed that the most important first step for an Indian or mixed blood was to give up his nomadic ways. The process of education and character building could begin only then. Conversion to Christianity and its ideals could only flourish in a sedentary society. This attitude is reflected in the standards he set for his children. Alexander Ross wanted them to acquire the skills and manners of the white community and while he was anxious for his boys to excel, he did not neglect his daughters. Under the guidance of this enlightened and compassionate man, The Ross family flourished in the Red River Settlement. Around them were other families similarily determined to resolve the contradiction between native and European cultures. The Red River Settlement became the crucible in which this amalgam was forged.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

The following still are thrilling to read:

1. Burpee, L.J. (ed.), Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye and His Sons, with Correspondence between the Governors of Canada and the French Court, Touching the Search for the Western Sea (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1927).

Edward Umfreville, The Present State of the Hudson's Bay, Containing a full Description of that Settlement, and the Adjacent Country : and Likewise of the Fur Trade (London, 1790). W.S. Wallace (ed.), (Toronto, 1954).

Samuel Hearne, A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay, to the Northern Ocean, in the years 1769, 1770, and 1772. (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1911) R. Glover, ed.

J.B. Tyrrell, ed., David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812 (Toronto, 1916).

2. Ross, Adventures of the First Settlers, Chapters 18, 19, 20, and 21, pp. 286/241.

3. T.C. Elliott, "Journal of Alexander Ross - Snake Country Expedition, 1824," in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, Vol. XIV, December, 1913, No. 4.

4. Alexander Ross's first born child was baptized along with five other children on December 4th, 1827. See Harry Shave, "Pioneer Protestant Ministers at Red River," in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transaction, Series III, No. 6, p. 42. He died on October 12, 1835, age 20. See P.A.M. Church of England Records.

5. Frederick Merk, ed., Fur Trade and Empire : George Simpson's Journal Entitled Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and Back to Fort York Factory 1824-1825 with Related Documents. Revised edition. Edited with new Introduction by Fredrick Merk. (Toronto, Saunders, 1968), p. 46.

6. Ibid., p. 45.

7. Ross, Fur Hunters, Vol. II, pp. 140/1.

8. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 136.

9. Ross, Fur Hunters, p. 232.

10. Simpson left the main party at Fort Edmonton and travelled by horseback to Fort Garry across country. After a brief stay he travelled to Norway House by boat for the annual meeting of the Northern Council. See Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, pp. 150/162.

11. Ross, Fur Hunters, p. 233.

12. Ross Papers, Item 4, June 18, 1825.

13. It is difficult to estimate Ross's assets at this time. Employees of the fur trading companies generally were able to save most of their cash earnings. These they deposited for safe keeping with their employer and earned 4% on their deposits. Ross earned about £1,200 during the ten years that he worked for the Astor Fur Company and North West Company. He was also granted £500 when the North West Company bought out the Astor Fur Company. Ross claims that he lost all his money when the North West Company became bankrupt. Ross recovered some of this money later on but when he arrived at Red River in 1825 he probably had the money he had saved while working for the Hudson's Bay Company plus the settlement. (note 12).

14. Ross, Fur Hunters, Vol. II, p. 260.

15. Image Plain is now called Middlechurch.

16. Ibid., p. 256.

17. Ibid., p. 258.

18. Ibid., pp 261/2.

19. Ross, Red River Settlement, pp. 98/110.

20. Alexander W. Ross was baptized on January 24, 1843. See P.A.M. Church of England Records.

21. Ross Papers, item 11, December 19, 1844.

22. E.H. Oliver, The Canadian North-West : Its Early Development and Legislative Records (Ottawa, 1914), p. 61.

23. For short biographies of McKenzie and Keith see W.S. Wallace, ed., Documents Relating to the North West Company (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1934). Appendix A, p. 459 and 477.

24. Jay Edgerton in the Introduction of the 1957 edition of Red River Settlement calls it a classic of western Americana.

W.L. Morton in the Introduction to the 1972 edition also calls it a classic of the history of the North American West. Morton also likens Ross to Herodotus and Thucydides in "The Historiography of the Great West." Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1970, p. 48.

25. Ross, Red River Settlement, pp. 341/361. This is Alexander Ross's own version of the struggle to establish a Presbyterian Church in the Red River Settlement.

26. Ibid., p. 359.

27. Ross Papers, item 69, January 28, 1854.

CHAPTER IV - THE COLONY'S ROOTS ARE CONFIRMED

The scene that greeted the Rev. John Black when he arrived at the Red River Settlement on the 19th of September 1851 was certainly more inviting than the one viewed by Alexander some twenty-five years earlier. The Presbyterian minister had travelled to his new assignment from Upper Canada via the United States. The American railroad system had by this time penetrated as far as Galena on the Mississippi River.[1] The route from there to the Settlement was usually covered on horseback. Black joined a party of Americans at St. Paul for this last leg of his journey.[2] The party was led by Governor Alexander Ramsey (1815-1903) and escorted by twenty-five dragoons from Fort Snelling. The Americans were on their way to Pembina to negotiate a peace treaty with the Red Lake and Pembina bands of the Chippewa Indians. The route to Pembina[3] was through hostile territory inhabited by Sioux Indians. Rev. Black was no doubt grateful for the protection of the Americans.

John Wesley Bond (1825-1901) was part of the official party. His main purpose was to gather information about Minnesota resources and to publicize them. Bond and the young minister were constant companions on the way to Pembina. Leaving Governor Ramsey at Pembina, Bond and Black continued alone to Fort Garry. Bond's first impressions were later printed in the Minnesota Democrat. His description bordered on the idyllic as he painted a picture worthy of Millet.

> "A village of farmhouses, with barns, stables, hay, wheat, and barley stacks, with small cultivated fields or lots, well fenced, are stretched along the meandering river, while the prairies far off to the horizon are covered over with herds of cattle, horses, etc., the fields filled with a busy throng of whites, halfbreeds and Indians .. men, squaws, and children .. all reaping, binding, and stacking the golden grain; while hundreds of carts, with a single horse or ox, harnessed in their shafts, are brought in requisition to carry it to well-stored barn, and are seen moving, with their immense loads rolling along like huge stacks, in all directions." (4)

Bond particularly noted the presence of the many windmills dotting the landscape and adding to the picturesqueness of the area. The not quite completed twin towers of the St. Boniface Cathedral[5] could be seen from afar. He was equally impressed by the two stone Forts at Upper and Lower Fort Garry[6] and the three Anglican churches along the Red River.[7]

Both Bond and the young minister from Upper Canada were visitors at the home of Alexander Ross and through him met many of the dignitaries of the Settlement. Bond took a liking to the people he met, especially the ladies of whom he wrote,

> "Here I met a number of the fair ladies of the Settlement; ladies of much beauty, educated and accomplished, and of some fortune I am told." (8)

and again

> "I had the pleasure of meeting the ladies of the fort this evening; and although they are from the Orkney Isles, a rude region amid the inhospitable northern seas, yet they will compare favorably with any I have ever met amid the fashionable life of an eastern city." (9)

Bond only spent three days at Red River but so pleasant was his stay that he confided to his diary,

> "The scene that has met my eyes this afternoon, has become daguerreotyped upon my optics, never to be effaced. As I see thee today, Selkirk, so shall I always see thee; and to the latest hour of my existence, thy beauties, as faintly portrayed above, will, to my mind's eye, at least, remain indelibly imprinted." (10)

These views of a pastoral paradise were perhaps the grateful words of a visitor who had been royally received after having endured the privations of a five hundred mile horseback ride over barely visible trails.[11] More likely they were promotionally motivated. The Red River Settlement was the only community worthy of that name north of St. Paul. Bond was no doubt pointing out to prospective

settlers to the Minnesota territory that what had been fashioned at Red River well north of the International Boundary was equally feasible on the American side. Whatever prompted Bond's elegiac assessment the fact remains that Red River after forty years had the appearance of a viable community. The farms exhibited the tidiness that comes with prosperity and there were sufficient public buildings in evidence to testify that the institutions of an organized society were in place.

The Red River Settlement now constituted a precarious balance between native and European influences. The Selkirk experiment could boast a measure of success. From a beginning of a few hundred people in 1821[12] there were now, thirty years later, about 6,000.[13] The community was now clearly organized along geographic, linguistic, racial and religious lines. Grouped along the west bank of the Red River and the north bank of the Assiniboine River were the English speaking, Protestant families some of whom had immigrated under the Selkirk plan and others who had retired to Red River under the Company plan. Most of the latter were mixed blood families and made up the majority of the English speaking sector. Along the east side of the Red and west of the English speaking settlements on the north side of the Assiniboine were clustered the French speaking Catholic elements.[14] The majority of these also had Indian ancestors. The settlement was really a series of enclaves each with its own church, churchyard and school. The churches not only administered to the spiritual needs of their parishioners, but also to their educational and social needs as well. The democratic structure of the Presbyterian Church at Kildonan may have had an influencing factor in establishing the parish as a political unit in the future.[15] While divisions did exist in the colony there was an underlying unifying force which was to become evident in the crucial years of the late sixties. Almost eighty percent

of the population was of mixed blood origin and family connections extended through the length and breadth of the Settlement.

Economically the Settlement was tied to the fur trade. The requirements of the Hudson's Bay Company dominated the everyday lives of the people there. The Company had to provision its trading posts and it also required manpower to operate its transportation system. The Settlement adjusted to these needs. The farmers were expected to provide for themselves and also for the needs of the Company.[16] At the same time the plains provisions derived from the buffalo hunt continued to be a valuable food source well into the 1860's.[17] After the initial decade, the Colony was never again to face starvation although there were shortages from time to time. Choosing to work the land and adopting the life style that went with it or the more mobile occupations of hunting and freighting was to a large extent culturally determined.

Many of the Scots recruited by Selkirk had been dispossessed from their farms by the enclosure movement and were accustomed to the hard work and patience required for successful farming.[18] The retirees of the Hudson's Bay Company too were mainly Scotsmen and Englishmen from rural areas and no strangers to the plough, hoe and sickle. Moreover they were indoctrinated by their religious beliefs in the powers of salvation associated with hard work. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) epitomized this belief in Past and Present as follows:

> "For there is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness, in Work. Were he never so benighted, forgetful of his high calling, there is always hope in a man that actually and earnestly works: in Idleness alone is there perpetual despair. Work, never so Mammonish, or mean is in communication with nature; the real desire to get work done will itself lead one more and more to truth, to Nature's appointment and regulations, which are truth". (19)

It was these firmly held beliefs that equated civilization,

Christianity and sedentary occupation with salvation which were passed on to the children of the mixed blood English-speaking families. Through example and education[20] the sons of these families tended to adopt the ways of their fathers and the tradition of farming was carried on. At the same time the English-speaking element was not oblivious to the opportunities in private trading, store-keeping and transporting goods for the fur company. Since many of the retired traders were men of intelligence and substance, they formed a social and economic group second only to the Company hierarchy. Their status was recognized as they took their place on the Council of Assiniboia, the Company's vehicle for administering and adjudicating the affairs of the Colony.[21]

The French-speaking element however had inherited a different tradition. It was the Canadians of the lower St. Lawrence River that made the fur brigades work, first for the French fur traders and then for the North West Company. Through natural selection the voyageur[22] developed into a highly efficient machine for propelling the canoes of the fur trade companies into the farthest reaches of the continent. When the Hudson's Bay Company first set up its trading posts in the interior of Rupert's Land they attempted to man their boats with recruits from Scotland, but after a while they recognized the special expertise of the French Canadians and began to employ them in their own system.[23] After 1821 the transportation system was dominated by French Canadians and their halfbreed sons. Actually the French of Quebec had discovered earlier than the Scots or English, the advantages of miscegenation.

The French-speaking mixed blood families predated the Selkirk settlers in the Red River Valley. In fact much of the construction at the Forks was dependent on local labor.[24] Rough work such as cutting and hauling timber was done by the people who lived close to Fort Gibraltar

and Fort Pembina both of which had been established by the North West Company. The main occupation of the French Canadians living at Red River was either on the canoe brigades or hunting Buffalo.[25] It was the pemmican and dried meat from the buffalo hunt that fueled the fur brigades. The affinity of the French-speaking halfbreeds for these activities has been attributed to their Indian heritage. Although the French-speaking retirees of the North West Company were given grants of land they showed little inclination to farm or raise animals. Both of these occupations require constant attention and were incompatible with freighting or buffalo hunting which took the men away from the Settlement for long periods of time. The homes of the French-speaking population except for a minority were convenient residences during the winter months.

As long as the buffalo were plentiful, the Métis, as the French-speaking halfbreeds were called, hunted in small groups. But as the herds were driven further and further west, the organization necessary to seek out the herds and bring back the products of the kill required greater preparation and organization. Difficulties encountered with some Indian tribes contributed also to the formation of larger hunting units. To protect themselves from attacks by hostile Indians, the buffalo hunters developed a para-military structure. Indian fashion the selection of the leader was highly democratic but once he was chosen his authority and that of his council became absolute.

Despite their intimacy with the Indians, the Métis developed a strong identity separate from the aborigine. Their experiences on the prairie and on the rivers of the north and west gave them a sense of community. Work on the brigades or in pursuit of wild animals was always hard and dangerous. Men engaged in this kind of activity develop an esprit de corps - an essential ingredient to survival. Release from

hazardous toil was found in singing, dancing and strong spirits. The reputation that the Métis gained as a gay light hearted people is a superficial assessment. Ultimately this cumulative experience on the plains and rivers generated a sense of nationhood which the Métis were to express in the moment of crisis which erupted at Seven Oaks in 1816. In the folklore of the Métis the Battle at Seven Oaks was a glorious victory against a hated enemy. It was also the birthplace of a 'New Nation.'[26] After his visit to the Settlement in 1817, Lord Selkirk recognized the need to establish a civilizing force for the Métis at Red River. At his request the Catholic Church at Quebec sent two missionaries to the Settlement.[27] Father J-N Provencher (1843-1887) and Father S. Dumoulin (1793-?) were the first priests in the new settlement. They arrived in 1818 and set up their mission on the east bank of the Red River opposite Fort Gibraltar. This site was to become the seat of the Bishopric in 1849. Their presence attracted other Canadians from Lower Canada but the majority by far of the French-speaking inhabitants had an Indian heritage. The influence of the Catholic Church on the French-speaking populace was complete. Catholic parishioners obtained their education at the parochial schools and in sickness were looked after by the Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns).[28] Politically the Métis turned to their priests when they felt that their rights had been impugned by the fur company. It was not until 1853 that a Métis was chosen to sit on the Council of Assiniboia.[29] Dr. John Bunn, M.D. (1800?-1861) an English-speaking halfbreed had been invited to attend Council meetings in 1835.[30]

Although the characteristics of the two communities which clustered along the river banks were easily definable, the demarcation was not rigid. The English-speaking halfbreeds participated in the buffalo chase both out of need and for the excitement it afforded. At the same time there

were amongst the French-speaking society many who worked their river lots or became private traders. A considerable number of the settlement were bilingual. The Red River divided the community during the summer but in the winter, a time for sport, recreation and socializing, it proved no impediment. Community interest overlapped at too many points for either sector to be unaffected by the actions of the other.

The Red River Settlement was a single enterprise community and exhibited all the characteristics of a company town. Nothing was done or premeditated in all of Rupert's Land which did not have the sanction of the Hudson's Bay Company. In time the settlers were successful in growing the agricultural products that the company needed. The main crops were a soft grade of wheat, barley, Indian corn, potatoes, garden vegetables. Cattle, horses, sheep and poultry were introduced early into the settlement. Milk, butter and eggs became commonplace items which at one time were considered a luxury. The Company carefully balanced its demand for these products with its purchase of pemmican and buffalo fat from the plains hunters. Prices were controlled and with no other market than that offered by the Company, there was little incentive to produce more than the community could consume.[31] Imperial forces were stationed at Red River for a short period (1846-1848) and provided a welcome demand for farm surpluses.[32] Farming expanded only as the population grew. In 1849 there were 5391 people in the area. In 1856 there were 6,523. The average increase of 160 per annum represented probably the natural growth of births over deaths. The objectives of the Company were being met and accelerated growth of the Selkirk Colony would depend on new incentives.

The sometime unfeeling attitude of the Company towards the settlers was often the result of its efforts to maintain a tight control

over its monopoly of the fur trade. Under Sir George Simpson's imperious governorship, the Company had reached a degree of efficiency, not hitherto attained by any of his predecessors. But to do this the Company was forced from time to time to take steps which were ultimately to undermine its major objective, namely the preservation of the fur trade. The Company recognized the basic incompatibility of the settlement and the fur trade. Any expansion of the settlement would drive away the furbearing animals. But the food supply which was derived from the buffalo hunt was becoming increasingly unreliable. They therefore encouraged the farmers to increase their agricultural output. Another measure introduced to increase efficiency at Fort Garry was the withdrawal of credit and the introduction of cash in the colony store.[33] To alleviate the hardship this measure generated the Company authorized some of the settlers to enter the retail trade with goods brought from England under the Company's auspices. The Company also found it convenient to license some of the settlers as agents in the fur trade.[34] Others entered into contracts with the Company to transport goods via the York route.[35] The Company, in other words, had discovered the advantages of free enterprise. But by encouraging independent efforts on the part of the settlers, the Company was adopting short term solutions which would have long term implications.

In 1844 the American Fur Company challenged the Hudson's Bay Company by establishing a trading post at Pembina. Norman W. Kittson (1814-1888) was in charge of the post and he was no stranger to the territory. For the first time the halfbreed hunters and the Indian trappers had a convenient alternative market. The presence of Kittson was especially advantageous to the halfbreeds because the Americans offered a ready market for the buffalo hides for which the Company had little use. The attraction of higher prices also produced a flow of other furs into

Kittson's hands. The American trader did not always observe the niceties of international trade and the Company retaliated by encouraging halfbreed private traders from Red River to penetrate the American side of the border to trade with the Indians there. The halfbreed traders found it difficult to resist the attraction of Kittson's higher prices and a lively trade in contraband developed both ways. The Company was gradually losing control over its front line operators and often resorted to strong arm methods to seek out the existence of furs held illegally in the homes of the colonists.[36] The Company also attempted to tighten its hold on the fur trade by cancelling all trading licenses and restricting the flow of goods from England. Fortunately for the settlement, St. Paul about this time had begun to develop as an entrepôt for the north-west. In a little more than a decade the Minnesota route was to undermine and replace the York route. In the battle between the Company and the free traders of the Red River Valley the odds were beginning to tilt in favor of the half-breeds. Private enterprise which had been enlisted to achieve greater efficiency of operation had risen to oppose the domination of the Company.

The Sayer trial in 1849,[37] although vindicating the Company's legal right to the exclusive fur trade of the British Northwest, demonstrated that resistance to the Company monopoly was no longer clandestine. The noisy demonstration of the Métis in and around the courthouse during the trial convinced the Company officials that the force necessary to sustain their monopoly of the fur trade in the Red River basin was neither possible nor desirable. The light sentence imposed on the convicted Sayer convinced everyone that free trade had arrived. The Hudson's Bay Company continued to argue in defence of its legal rights, but henceforth made no real effort to suppress private trading in all commodities including furs. The Company took a realistic position. The production of furs in the area

open to free trade was small in comparison to the high production areas of the Saskatchewan and Athabaska basins. Moreover, buffalo robes, which had found a ready market in the United States, were too costly to ship to England and were little sought after in that market. The Company needed both the skill of the Métis buffalo hunters and the diligence of the Scots halfbreed farmers to provision its trading posts and supply the fur brigades and freighters with the food needed to maintain them on the trade routes. In open competition with the Americans many of the advantages lay with the bigger company. The Hudson's Bay Company could afford to pay higher prices and in most respects its trading goods were cheaper and better than the American variety. To concede the presence of free traders in the Red River Settlement was a small price to pay for a tranquil and largely subservient society.

The fiction of keeping Company and colony matters separate was never seriously maintained after 1835 when the Company repurchased from his estate the rights deeded to Lord Selkirk in 1812. The Company maintained a tight control over the Colony through the Council of Assiniboia.[38] The Governor of Assiniboia was appointed by the British government and often as not was the chief official of the Company in Fort Garry. The Governor selected the members of the Council and these were drawn from Company officials, the clergy and some respected members of the settlement. An effort was made to choose representatives from all sectors of the community. The Council concerned itself mainly with administrative matters such as local improvements, supervision of the courts, appointment of magistrates and constabulary and other matters of a purely local nature. The administration of justice, namely the apprehension and punishment of criminal offenders and the adjudication of civil disputes, in fact took up most of the time of the Council which often sat as a court.

Since in the beginning no one on the Council possessed any legal training the justice handed out was based on either vague notions of British rights and procedure or rough frontier justice. In an attempt to create some order the Company engaged Adam Thom (1802-1890) in 1839 to fill the post of Recorder in the settlement.[39] The functions of this office often combined the duties of prosecutor and judge as the cases which the Recorder prosecuted in the lower district courts appeared before him in the higher or appeal court. It was this ambiguity, together with the Recorder's obvious connection with the Company, that made his decisions involving Company matters suspect in the eyes of the colonials. Moreover, Thom's anti-French attitude was well known in the settlement and his presence on the bench during the Sayer trial contributed to the turbulence of the Métis since Sayer and the others on trial were French speaking halfbreeds. After ten years as Recorder Thom had not only lost the confidence of the French speaking halfbreeds but his handling of the Foss - Pelly trial[40] lost him the respect of the English speaking halfbreeds. He was demoted from the bench and served for the next five years as Clerk of the Court and Clerk of the Council of Assiniboia. A replacement was not found until Thom left in 1854. The office of Recorder survived until the formation in 1870 of the Province of Manitoba. It brought a measure of orderly conduct into a community which exhibited all the unruliness of a frontier society.

From inception the Red River Settlement was dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company brigades and express canoes for communication with the world. In 1821 the Company inherited from the North West Company an efficient system of moving goods and information from Canada to Rupert's Land and beyond. In addition it had its own network of canoes and York boats to take trade goods to the interior posts and then move the furs to

York factory and thence to European markets. Information flowed along the same lines. But this system was tied to the needs of the fur trade. Furs which had been harvested all winter made their way in the spring to the coastal areas by waterway either at the Bay or Montreal. The same routes were used to move trade goods back to the interior to stock the trading posts. The information network used essentially the same routes and the same means of transportation with the difference that because they mainly used canoes they were able to travel faster. The express canoes were often used to move people throughout the system.

After the amalgamation of the two fur companies the movement of furs and heavy goods via Fort William, Lake of the Woods and the Winnipeg River to the interior was abandoned in favor of the more economic and shorter route from York Factory on Hudson's Bay. Nevertheless the Company found it convenient to maintain summer and winter expresses to and from Montreal via the old North West route. It also authorized a single return trip in the spring of each year from Montreal to Red River via the United States. In addition there was the annual packet from York Factory. Letters, dispatches and newspapers therefore found their way to Fort Garry about four times a year. Letters were often carried by passengers of the express canoes as a favor to the sender. The elapsed time between Montreal and Red River was approximately forty-five days.[41] The flow of information was therefore primarily in the hands of the Company with all the advantages that this entails in the Company's favor. The Company not only governed the amount of mail it would carry but it also was able to control the source and dissemination of information. It was also privy to what was said in correspondence by discouraging the use of envelopes.[42] Having first access to information enabled the Company to anticipate problem areas. Lacking any alternative this was

accepted by the people at Red River.

It was Company action which however added a new dimension to the handling of the mail. In 1844 Governor Christie (1792-1874) in a move to control the activities of the private traders, proclaimed that all mail leaving the settlement by those who had not signed a "declaration against trafficking in furs" must be left unsealed.[43] The settlers objected to this kind of censorship. The private traders were able to circumvent this regulation by utilizing the Kittson express from Pembina and Fort Snelling. It was the opening of the United States Post Office in Pembina in 1850 which established regular service on a monthly basis. The state of semi-isolation which had prevailed in the British North West had been breached. The flow of information and ideas now enabled the residents of the Red River Settlement to establish regular communication with the outside world independent of the Company's control and knowledge. People in the colony were now much more aware of their options and alternatives. The initiative based on prior knowledge was passing out of the Company's hands. Events and trends from the outside world were to become common knowledge soon after they took place or became apparent. The freer flow of information was to undermine the control of the Company over the Settlement and enabled the indigenous population to enter into the mainstream of nineteenth century life.

Self-reliant and substantially self-sufficient the inhabitants of the Red River Valley had come to terms with their environment and with themselves. All the institutions for a civilized society had been created in embryo and were functioning. Schools, churches, law and order had contributed to a society which took pride in itself and its achievements. Yet beneath this fragile framework forces were at work which were to utterly change the whole complexion of the settlement within a

generation. The cohesiveness of this community was to be tested to its roots in the years to come.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Reverend John Black travelled from Toronto to the Red River Settlement via the United States. The American railroad system had advanced as far west as Galena, Ill. on the Mississippi River about 150 miles west of Chicago. This route is described in detail by James Ross to his father Alexander. See James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, September 16, 1853, item 50, The Alexander Ross Family Papers 1810-1903 (Public Archives of Manitoba, 1957), hereinafter referred to as the Ross Papers.

2. Wesley J. Bond, Minnesota Resources : To Which are Appended Campfire Sketches; or Notes of a Trip from St. Paul to Pembina and Selkirk Settlement on the Red River of the North (New York, 1853), p. 255.

3. The Dakota route although more exposed to Indian attack was taken because of the military escort. Interior route via Crow Wing was favored cartage route. See, Gilman, et al, Red River Trails.

4. Bond, Minnesota Resources, p. 287.

5. St. Boniface became a Bishopric in 1848. Construction of cathedral completed in 1852. Housed bells donated by the Earl of Selkirk. Burned down on December 14, 1860.

6. Upper Fort Garry situated at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was rebuilt out of stone in 1835 following an Indian scare. This was the administrative and commercial headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Winnipeg Factory and the District of Assiniboia.

Lower Fort Garry also of stone was located about twenty miles north of the Upper Fort. Was built in 1831 by Sir George Simpson as a residence for his English bride. Had only limited use.

7. Three Anglican churches and one Indian mission church were built along the west bank of the Red River. St. John's in 1820 by Rev. John West two miles north of Upper Fort Garry. Later became seat of the Bishopric of Rupert's Land. St. Paul's in 1825 by Rev. David Jones, six miles north of St. John's (often referred to as Middlechurch). St. Andrew's in 1832 by Rev. William Cochrane, 13 miles north of St. Paul's. The Indian mission at St. Peter's by Rev. Cochrane, 13 miles north of St. Andrew's.

8. Bond, Minnesota Resources, p. 289.

9. Ibid., p. 271.

10. Ibid., p. 288.

11. Bond's "Sketches by Camp-fire" is almost a day by day narrative of the route between St. Paul and the Red River Settlement.

12. "Diary of Nicholas Garry," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1900, p. 135.

13. Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement : Its Rise, Progress and Present State (Minneapolis, 1957) with Introduction by Jay Edgerton. Originally published by Smith and Elder, London, 1856. Ross's latest census figures are for 1849. He estimated that by 1855 it was more than 6,500. See also Manton, Marble, "To Red River and Beyond," in Harper's, February, 1861, p. 316.

14. Red River Settlement CA 1835 map in Thomas, Lewis G. (ed.), The Prairie West to 1905 (Toronto, 1975), p. 39.

15. Morton, W.L., "The Red River Parish : Its place in the Development of Manitoba," in Manitoba Essays, R.C. Lodge (ed.) (Toronto, 1937).

16. Two excellent monographs on agricultural development in the Red River Valley are provided by W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," in Canadian Historical Review, December, 1949, pp. 305-321. Also F.G. Roe, "Early Agriculture in Western Canada in Relation to Climatic Stability," in Agricultural History (U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics) Vol. XXVI, July, 1952, pp. 104-123.

17. The importance of the food supply derived from the buffalo hunt is fairly presented by G. Herman Sprenger in "The Métis Nation : Buffalo Hunting vs. Agriculture in the Red River Settlement (Circa 1810-1870)," The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropolgy, Vol. III, No. 1 (1972).

18. John Prebble, The Highland Clearances, (London, 1963).

19. Cited in Henry Hamilton, History of Homeland (London, 1947), p. 110.

20. Short history of parochial and public schools in the Red River Settlement is related by Mrs. George Bryce, "Early Red River Culture," in The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transaction No. 57, February 12, 1901, pp. 10-15. A nostalgic view of the Presbyterian School at Kildonan is provided by R.G. MacBeth, "Educational Facilities," in The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life (Toronto, 1897), pp. 78-86.

21. The Council of Assiniboia held its first meeting on June 24, 1815 and its last on October 30, 1869. Composition underwent many changes. Membership was by appointment or invitation. The Council attempted to be representative. See Oliver, E.H., The Canadian North-West : Its early Development and Legislative Records, 2 Vols. (Ottawa, 1914). An excellent source.

22. Nute, Grace Lee, The Voyageur (New York, 1931).

23. Glazebrook, G.P. de T., "The Fur Traders, 1763-1821, " in A History of Transportation in Canada, Vol. I, pp. 45-58.

24. Douglas, William, "New Light on the Old Forts of Winnipeg," in The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 2, 1956, p. 7.

25. One of the best accounts of the buffalo hunt and its organization is to be found in Ross, Red River Settlement, pp. 241-272.

26. Morton, A.S., "The New Nation, the Métis," in The Royal Society of Canada Transaction, Series III, Section 2, 1939, pp. 137-145.

27. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Selkirk Papers, p. 20416.

28. Established at St. Boniface in 1844.

29. Francois Bruneau first French-speaking halfbreed appointed to the Council of Assiniboia. William Ross, son of Alexander, sworn in at same time. Oliver, Canadian North-West, Vol. I, pp. 66-68 also p. 389.

30. Dr. John Bunn, first English-speaking halfbreed appointed to the Council, March 9, 1836 along with Alexander Ross and John Maccallum. Oliver, Canadian North-West, Vol. I, pp. 61-63 also p. 276.

31. Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 117-118.

32. Ibid., pp. 363-365.

33. Ibid., pp. 155 ff.

34. Galbraith, J.S., The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, (Toronto, 1957), p. 61 and notes 52 and 53.

35. Martin, Chester, "The Hudson's Bay Company's Monopoly of the Fur Trade at the Red River Settlement, 1821-1850," in Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, VII (1913-1914), p. 262.

36. Hill, Robert B., Manitoba : History of its Early Settlement, Development and Resources (Toronto, 1890), p. 139.

37. The Sayer trial is covered in Ross, Red River Settlement, pp. 372-379; D. Geneva Lent, West of the Mountains : James Sinclair and the Hudson's Bay Company (Seattle, 1963) pp. 207-215; and Roy St. George Stubbs, Four Recorders of Rupert's Land : A Brief Survey of the Hudson's Bay Company Courts of Rupert's Land (Winnipeg, 1967), pp. 26-30.

38. Oliver, Canadian North-West, Vol. I, pp. 35-39.

39. Stubbs, Four Recorders, pp. 1-43 and Oliver, Canadian North-West, pp. 63-64 for biographical data re Adam Thom.

40. Foss - Pelly scandal and trial. See W.L. Morton introduction to London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colvile, 1849-1852 (London; Hudson's Bay Record Society, XIX, 1956), pp. ci-civ.

41. R. Fleming (ed.), Minutes of Council of Northern Department of Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1831 (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1940) p. 308.

42. Oliver, Canadian North-West, Vol. II, p. 788.

43. Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, p. 265.

CHAPTER V - JAMES ROSS - TORONTO 1853 - 1858

James Ross was born on May 9th, 1835. He was Sarah Ross's tenth child and her fifth born at Colony Gardens.[1] He was also the first male child in the Ross family after William. Sarah Ross was to have three more children. The youngest born in 1843 was also a boy and was named after his father.[2] Although the mortality rate in the Colony was very high, nine members of the Ross family lived long enough to marry and have children of their own.[3] Sarah Ross outlived her husband and most of her children. She died in 1884 at the age of eighty-five.[4] One picture that survives of Sally Ross, as she was affectionately called by her husband, is that of a white haired, fragile, old lady respectfully known throughout the Settlement as "Granny" Ross.[5] The Rev. George Bryce writing in 1903 tells us that, "... she had the deep brown colour of the pure Indians of British Columbia. She was an earnest Christian, and her family was well brought up. She was shrewd, witty, friendly, her only sorrow being that as the young city grew up the "Canakers", as she called the Canadians, were shutting her in with their streets and houses."[6] It has been said that Alexander Ross had her in mind when he described the marriage of an Indian princess to a white trader.

> "At last, however, it was discovered that How-How, the chief, had a daughter both lovely and fair, the flower of her tribe! Princess How-How was admired. Her ochre cheeks were delicate, her features incomparable, and her dress surpassed in luster her person; her robes were the first in the land; her feathers, her bells, her rattles, were unique; while the tint of her skin, her nose-bob, girdle and gait were irresistible." (7)

Alexander Ross cherished his Indian wife and insisted that his children show their affection and pay her respect.[8] James Ross in writing to his family after the news of his father's death reached him in Toronto reveals his feelings towards his mother.

> "... And be especially tender and affectionate to Mamma. Perhaps halfbreed children are not always respectful enough towards their Indian mothers. Let us not err that way.
>
> Yes, Mamma is an Indian! Does that free us from the obligation of obeying and respecting her? By natural duty and Scriptural injunction we are bound to revere and to love and cherish our aged Mamma." (9)

Growing up in the Red River Colony must have been a happy experience for James Ross. He was surrounded by a close knit family of brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins who showed a great deal of concern for each other.

Colony Gardens was a busy place. It was not only the Ross home but the location from which Alexander Ross conducted his business activities. In addition to the farm there was also the general store. Alexander Ross was also in the freighting business and Colony Gardens was conveniently located on the Red River to load and unload bulk cargo. William and James were both required to share in the chores and it was William, the older brother, who eventually took over his father's enterprises. James probably learned to ride and shoot a gun at an early age. His gun and saddle were two of his prized possessions as a young man.

Alexander Ross, as a former school teacher, likely had a hand in his children's education and it must have given him a great deal of satisfaction to witness James's aptitude as a student. James attended the Red River Academy under the watchful eye first of Rev. John Maccallum (1806-1849) and later of Bishop David Anderson (1814-1885).[10] The curriculum stressed languages and the classics as it sought to prepare its students for entrance into the Colleges and Universities in Canada and Britain. Bishop Anderson wrote with pride,

> "In the classics, one has studied with me the whole of the ethics of Aristotle, never before perhaps perused in Rupert's Land; several had read in Herodotus of Cyprus

> and Babylon; and just as the calamity approached we had entered on Thucydides. ... To this study of the classics had been joined that of modern languages. Four could read the gospels in Italian, the greater part of the school could do so in French and my senior scholar could read in Luther's own translation, the German of the Gospel of St. John." (11)

The Bishop's school, became known as St. John's College, and it offered three year scholarships valued at thirty pounds per year and James Ross was a recipient in 1851.[12] This early exposure to the classics and the humanities was to produce a lifelong interest in these subjects. At seventeen James was considered sufficiently qualified to spend the summer teaching at the mission school at St. Peter's. This was his first exposure to teaching, an occupation to which he gravitated from time to time. Isolation at the remote Indian settlement was made more acceptable as it appears that he formed an attachment for Rev. William Cockran's (1798-1865) daughter Maria.[13]

Considering James Ross's scholastic ability, there was little doubt that he would be entering one of the professions. Prerequisite to either the church, law or medicine was a university degree in the humanities. Rev. John Black's presence in the community must have influenced the family decision to send James to the University of Toronto where he could stay at Knox College. This was Rev. Black's alma mater. In July of 1853, therefore, James Ross, in the company of two classmates, Donald Fraser and Alexander Matheson (1827-1911) and escorted by Rev. John Black, left Red River for Upper Canada. Two months later safely established at Knox College dormitory he wrote to his father. The excitement of the long trip was still with him as he told of his experience.

> "... my journey to Toronto was extremely pleasant ... we had to deal with carts, horses, swamps, mires, rivers and prairies ... very agreeable and pleasant. Such a varied scenery ... together with perfect harmony and

> concord among ourselves tended greatly to make our passage over the wild prairies pleasant. We arrived in St. Pauls [sic] ... on Friday the 7th of July and left the next day for Toronto ... We glided down the majestic and far famed Mississippi on board the "West Newton." We arrived in Galena on the evening of the second day ... twenty-seven hours on the way ... passed "Prairie du Chien" and "Dubuque." Prairie du Chien seems to have passed its meridian ... Dubuque ... is a rising and flourishing place ... great large buildings, broad streets and good wharves ... Galena is certainly all life and bustle; but its situation is enough to disgust anybody, and especially bodies coming from a free, healthy, ventilated place as the Red River. It is ... a dirty little muddy hole ... I could not imagine how people could live there ... we left on Monday the 11th of July, and went by coach to a place called Rockford and thence by railway to Chicago ... first time I went into a railway car, you may imagine my anxiety, my fear and my excitement. I had heard of cars being thrown off their way ... clashing and killing hundreds ... I soon recovered ... It was a beautiful day and we were going at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour. At Chicago we stayed only three hours and set out by railway for Detroit ... a great commercial place ... We set out from Detroit for Buffalo at 9 o'clock A.M. on Wednesday the 13th and reached there the following morning at 3 o'clock A.M. ... went aboard the "Chippewa" ... to a village called Niagara ... whence ... by coaches to Queenstone [sic] ... caught a glimpse of that most magnificent of sights the Falls of Niagara. From Queenstone ... we are on board the "Peerless", the best boat at present on Lake Ontario ... went down ... the river Niagara on the proud waters of Canada ... riding lightly over the vast, unbroken expanse of water ... at last I saw TORONTO ... the whole mass of buildings ... its large stores ... its many hotels, and its lofty spires towering high over all." (14)

Toronto, a bustling city of 40,000 filled James Ross with awe. The lofty spires, the wide and airy streets, the three and four storey buildings, and the splendid edifice of Trinity College, lingered in his mind as he wrote of the multi-varied people he found there. His own strangeness troubled him little as he noted the presence of French, Germans, Russians and Italians and caught the sounds of strange tongues. Doubts he may have had during the journey from home were now being dispelled. The future beckoned, challenging but not insurmountable. He had proved himself equal, even superior, to his contemporaries in the entrance examinations to the University of Toronto. The scholarship

which he had won would augment the allowance he was receiving from home.[15] Alexander Ross voiced more than parental pride when on hearing of James's latest achievement he exclaimed, "What will they say of the Brules now."[16] Both Bishop Anderson and Rev. Black were encouraging him towards the ministry. His father, too, was urging him in this direction. James Ross, although inclined to accept the advice advanced by those closest to him, was undecided. Meanwhile he would pursue the classics and the humanities, subjects preliminary to a career in the church.

Like other exceptional sons of former Hudson's Bay Company employees James Ross now too had ventured into the white man's world of learning and affairs. Some like A.K. Isbister (1822-1883), who now resided permanently in England, attested to the ability of the sons of the prairies to enter and adjust to men and the ways of the civilized world.[17] Others like Cuthbert Grant[18] and James Sinclair (1806-1856)[19] had returned to become leaders of the mixed blood community at the Forks. A tradition of uniqueness akin to nationhood had been fashioned in the far away colony of the British Northwest. James Ross was proud of his mixed blood heritage but at the same time the term halfbreed troubled him. During his second year at Toronto, he wrote an essay attributing the term 'halfbreed' to a corruption of the word 'hybrid.' According to James Ross's reasoning, hybrid was by definition the merging of the best qualities of two different strains, thereby producing a product superior to either strain.[20] He also objected to the general assessment of halfbreeds as expressed even by his father. Writing to Alexander Ross as follows, "... Have read your book "Fur Hunters" and know your ideas on Halfbreeds; some of your statements are unnecessarily severe even if true ..."[21] During his student days in Toronto, James Ross carried on a lively correspondence with his family and friends and has provided us

with a valuable picture of the Settlement during this period. Apparently only James and his father bothered to save their letters but it can be deduced from the Calendar of Letters in the Ross Papers that James did not fail to respond to those who wrote to him.

James Ross developed more than the normal pupil relationship with the Bishop of Rupert's Land. Bishop Anderson wrote encouraging letters to the young student in Toronto and James Ross responded by keeping his former teacher informed of his progress as well as performing a number of literary chores for the Bishop.[22] The Anglican prelate was more than gratified with James's scholastic success and even expressed a wish that he could have twelve more with young Ross's ambition.[23] As long as there was likelihood that James Ross would enter the ministry Bishop Anderson recommended that James should further his education at Cambridge University in England. He pointed out that at St. Peter's College, James would not have to compromise his loyalty to Presbyterianism.[24] In fact Alexander Ross was somewhat concerned about this relationship between his son and the Church of England bishop. All through his schooling, James had been under the influence of the Anglican ministers and Alexander was worried that James had formed a strong allegiance to his teachers.

The arrival of John Black and the formation of a Presbyterian congregation at Kildonan had changed the religious alignment in the Colony. Relationships between Alexander Ross and the Bishop were now somewhat strained because of the conflict which arose with building of the Presbyterian Church. In addition to differences over ownership of the Upper Church property[25] and the consecration of the cemetary alongside the church,[26] there was now a lively rivalry for converts. This was a topic of central interest between James Ross and both Bishop Anderson and Rev. Black.

The question of career monopolized much of the correspondence between James Ross and his brother-in-law. John Black regarded the church as the highest calling, superior to either law or medicine as a vocation. Learning that James was considering switching to law or medicine, Black wrote, "I do not relish the idea of you studying law or medicine instead of the Divinity; are not both professions overstocked; the law is by no means a reputable profession; both are chosen for avowedly selfish means; the ministry only is where self must not interfere and is the noblest and most elevated profession on earth; I would be disappointed to see you in a lower profession."[27] Through most of his undergraduate years James Ross seemed convinced that his future lay in serving God and this notion was reinforced by his brother-in-law.

The Ross family at this time presented a very comfortable picture. Alexander, a respected elder of the church, was now surrounded by a thriving family. All his marriageable daughters had found mates and grandchildren were being added to the family almost yearly. His two oldest sons, William and James, both were demonstrating exceptional ability. Alexander Ross's work was to be carried on by his two sons. William, the older, was suited to the Settlement. Temperate and reliable he had mounted the first rungs leading to a position of responsibility in the community. He was married to Jemima MacKenzie, also the daughter of a mixed marriage, and was the father of five children. The Ross family name was being perpetuated. James, on the other hand, had gravitated to the world of letters, in which his father had carved out a respectable niche. Alexander Ross despite the years spent in the commercial world, had never lost his interest in the arts and sciences. He was confident that his son James was cast in the same mould.[28] The aging patriarch could look back with satisfaction. He had accomplished much since 1805

when he had left Scotland as a penniless youth and had ventured forth into the North American wilderness. Of his many children he now had two sons to carry on his work - William, the man of affairs and action; James the scholar and man of letters.

William Ross was ten years older than James and had already established himself as an enterprising young business man at the time his younger brother was showing exceptional promise as a student. Although there is no direct evidence, it can be assumed from the kind of positions that he was to assume, that his education had not been neglected by his father. His appointment as magistrate with four others to the Upper District was probably accelerated by the fact that Alexander had given notice that he wanted to retire from his position as Sheriff of Assiniboia. William must have acquitted himself in the eyes of the Company as well as the older members of the Council. Within less than a year Alexander's resignation was accepted and William was appointed, along with Cuthbert Grant Sheriff of Assiniboia. William Ross was only twenty-six and the council members probably thought it prudent to harness the younger man with the seasoned Warden of the Plains. (Grant died three years later and was not replaced). William was also made Governor of the Gaol at the same time. Appointment as a petty judge of the Upper District followed soon afterwards. William's performance again must have pleased his superiors because on November 29th, 1853 he was appointed by the Company's London Directors to the Council of Assiniboia. This was an accolade of the first order for the young halfbreed. The other councillors wasted no time in adding to his responsibilities. Along with his position as one of the Auditors of the Public Accounts he was also to become active on the Board of Works for the Management of Roads and Bridges. He later became the first Postmaster in Fort Garry.[29] William Ross was now a familiar figure of authority in the

Settlement. Alexander could boast to his son James that his brother, "... is still sheriff, councillor, magistrate, and Governor of the Jail; is in a fair way of becoming respectable."[30] The proud father was thus able to retire from public duties and concentrate on writing, especially his history of the Red River Settlement.

William wrote long newsy letters to his brother in Toronto, keeping him up to date on the activities of friends and relatives. William Ross was completely loyal to his father's church. In fact he had few good things to say about Bishop Anderson. He deprecated the eminent Bishop's pulpit manner[31] and warned James that the latter's Notes on the Flood of 1852 would be a disappointment and "not such a production as might have been expected."[32] On the other hand he was most enthusiastic about the new Presbyterian minister. He wrote James, "Mr. Black truly applies a vigorous understanding to explain the great topics of gospel truth; what a difference when I come out at Frog Plain and when I used to come out of the Upper Church." William was sensitive to the impression he was making on his younger brother. "You have no doubt laid me down for a bigot," as he defended the stricter Calvinistic code.[33] William was enthusiastic when it seemed that James was directing himself towards the ministry and pointed out on more than one occasion that there was room for a second Presbyterian minister at Red River. He did not favor James's plan to continue his education at Cambridge University. Roderick Ross (1834?-1909) one of James's closest friends, had left Cambridge after one year and had convinced both William and Alexander that unless James was going to enter the Church of England there was no advantage in going there to study either law or medicine.[34] James's father and brother would use all their persuasive powers to keep him within the family church. William's involvement in church matters kept

pace with his increased responsibility in family and community affairs. He was caught up in the Temperance movement and was able to write his brother,

> "... Settlement in a moral point of view has improved and is progressing slowly ... it is evident the cause is the introduction of Presbyterianism which has roused the clergy to rivalry and proselytism ... the total (abolition) of dancing has had a sensible effect ... second cause is the introduction of a Temperance Society in the Roman Catholic population - has about 900 members ... at least two-thirds of that number were once drunkards ... our Temperance Society has been too recent and people are prejudiced against it and it has not made much headway."[35]

William Ross had found a spiritual mentor in John Black and was fitting his life into the stern mould of the Free Kirk.

At the same time William Ross was adopting a more independent attitude towards the Hudson's Bay Company. His appointment to community positions must have flattered him at first into acquiescing with his elders. He was even concerned that a more independent James might be too open in his criticism of the Company. He cautioned him, "... you must be guarded in what you say about the Hudson's Bay Company; it can never do any good, may do you harm will do no good to our cause in Red River."[36] But as he was able to observe the effects of Company rule from the vantage point of the Assiniboia Council, he could be critical of the status quo,

> "... Red River is half a century behind the age - no stirring events to give vigor to our debilitated political life - the incubus of the Company's monopoly - the peculiar government under which we vegetate, all hang like a nightmare on our political and social existence ... our lives are a dull sameness - careless of every tie that binds this country to the Mother or sister colonies ... such a state cannot last ... the whole fabric will be swept away ... we ought to have a flood of immigration to infuse new life, new ideas." (37)

While William's rhetoric has an element of revolt, his response at this time was to join the established order with the, "object of devising

some mode of improving the social and moral condition of us Red River gents."[38] At a public meeting attended by most of the clergy, the main topics dealt with new manufacturing enterprises and restrictions on the use of alcohol."[39]

Williams untimely death in May 1856, at the age of thirty-one, shocked not only his family but the community at large. One of its brightest stars had been eclipsed. Sober, industrious, and devout - perhaps even pedantic - William Ross would be missed and his absence had a profound effect on his brother James.

James Ross started writing to his father almost as soon as he left Red River. His first letter was composed enroute at St. Paul and the topic which was uppermost in his mind for the next four years found expression immediately. "What profession would you and all the rest like I should follow? I rather think you will answer "the Ministry": but I will wait and see. You mentioned the ministry once or twice to me; but I supposed at that time that you did so, because you suspected that I was so attached to the Episcopal Church that nothing else could keep me from joining it. Pardon the suspicion if false. It was to the People of the Ep. [sic] Church my benefactors I was attached and not to the Church. I never had any idea of joining them. I must now suggest one thing and it is this: Whatever profession I follow there will be no room for me in Red River, and so I must look elsewhere for final settlement."[40] This statement suggests that although there was considerable pressure on James to enter the ministry, he had some other ideas on the subject. It is not surprising, however, that soon afterwards he declared, "(I) have come to the decision to enter the ministry."[41] James is to repeat this statement many times thereafter as if seeking to convince himself. Having spent almost two months travelling with

John Black he would tell his father, "... regarding my personal religion I feel about the same as when Mr. Black left; my views are for the holy Ministry."[42] When faced with the choice of enrolling at Knox College and studying for the ministry or entering the University of Toronto, James explained his decision in the following letter, "... after examining the necessary qualifications for admission to Knox College I considered them not beyond my grasp; my thoughts were to the Church; saw, however, that there was no room for restless James there; longed for a place where I signalize myself; this the University of Toronto supplied."[43] His thoughts nevertheless were never far from the Church. "... it is a heart-melting thought to look forward to the sacred and responsible office of the Ministry," he wrote to his father during his first Christmas away from home.[44]

A sign of James Ross's growing maturity is evident in the perceptive question to his father, "... how is it amidst all your dangerous travels your life has been preserved; Providence had some important work to do by means of Alexander Ross, that of representing and acting for the Presbyterian Congregation at Red River, and the flourishing state of our family; let us mark God's goodness to us."[45] What more endearing words to a father's ears. It must also have pleased Alexander to learn that James was, "... teaching in the Toronto Academy ... (and) in one of the Sabbath schools ... (as well as) attending Bible class."[46]

During his third year in Toronto, James gave serious consideration to attending Cambridge University. His success as a student no doubt influenced his thinking at this time. William's death, however, put a stop to such speculation. James now felt that it was his duty to return home although it is quite obvious that he was reluctant to do so. He now had serious doubts about entering the ministry. "... you asked if it is

my intention to enter the ministry; I certainly would have said unhesitatingly a month ago that it was my intention, at present I cannot speak so positively and I must wait some time before I can determine; I owe a great duty to my parents, hope my presence will not be necessary but should it be I will submit."[47] James was grateful when his father counselled him to finish his undergraduate courses and at the same time recognized that eventually he would return to Red River. He was concerned that as a minister he might be called to serve a congregation other than Red River and would thereby, "never be able to be with those whom you (Alexander) leave behind ... considered William's death significant and friends and relatives took hold on my mind; when I spoke of my presence being necessary I did not mean this or next year or some years to come but to my ultimately settling in Red River; I meant that I should study for law or medicine."[48]

Alexander's letters to James were of the sort a father would write to a son of whom he was very proud. He could say truthfully to James, "... on your studies I feel no anxiety; I know your active mind and ambition."[49] He was delighted with his son's achievements especially when noted by other people. He reported to James, "Have just had a visit from Sir George (Simpson); he said you were a credit to Red River."[50] At the same time the appearance of Alexander Ross's latest book, The Red River Settlement was a source of pride to the Ross Family.[51] It was perhaps the elder Ross's fame as a writer which gave James further incentive to seek to excel in literature and modern languages.

Money was never an important subject between James and his father. At first James promised to keep a strict accounting of his expenditures but this early resolve soon evaporated.[52] The young student apparently lived frugally because he seems to have managed well on the scholarships

which he earned plus the modest sums sent from home from time to time. Going to Cambridge would have been another matter. Various estimates placed the cost between £150 and £200 per year. While Cambridge was still a consideration James could write to his father, "... do not need any money at present and if I do not pack off to England won't need any for a couple of years to come."[53] It must have pleased Alexander to note that his son had learned to live within his means despite the temptations of the big city. Alexander once mildly resisted spending £50 towards the cost of travelling between Toronto and the Red River Settlement after James indicated a desire to come home after two years in Toronto.[54] Alexander never regretted the cost of bringing his son home for a brief holiday. This was the last time the whole Ross family were together.

There is no doubt that James's career was a central topic for family discussion during the summer of 1855. The subject was still full of speculation but the scale seemed to be tipping in favor of holy orders. To Alexander this presented a mixed blessing. Although William believed that James could become the second Presbyterian minister in Red River, James did not share this view. Disposition of a second minister in the settlement would be in the hands of the Synod and it would be unlikely that they would place another member of the Ross Family in Red River, no matter how great the need. James's chances would be better if John Black's ambition to return to academic circles would be approved by his superiors. In either case the Ross Family at Red River stood to lose one of its members. It may have been this dilemma which prompted Alexander Ross to write to his son, "as to your going home, leave the matter to Providence and your good judgment."[55] Alexander was prepared to accept James's choice. He had a good deal of confidence in his son's future.

Alexander Ross was accustomed to being bereaved. Six of his

children had died at an early age. Yet it was the premature death of his son William which severely shook the sturdy but elderly Scotsman. It was only mitigated by his earnest belief in God and the hereafter. Soon after the funeral he wrote to James, "... in William we have lost a kind and dutiful son; his death is looked upon as a public calamity ... never did a dying man leave this world with brighter hopes in the redeemer ... being a temperance man there was not a drop of liquor at the funeral ... we must bear up with our trials; so must you; this event has given a severe shaking to your mother and myself; our position is one of pain; Isabella with four orphan children and now Jemima with four.[56]

Alexander Ross felt the loss even more keenly as time went by. He longed for his son Jamie to come home and fill the void but in spite of his need he was able to unselfishly urge his son to continue with his studies. Shortly before his death he wrote to his son in Toronto, "we rejoice at your success; were we to be guided by our feelings we would at once say come to Red River but if guided by duty we would say, and do say, remain, prosecute your studies; we are lonely and helpless but troubles and trials are expected; have not even said to Sandy to leave Frog Plain; much less should I wish you to leave Toronto."[57]

Looking after the farm with almost no help was too much for Alexander Ross. The weather in October was raw as Alexander over estimated his ability to harvest his crop. The ensuing chill turned into pneumonia and he died on October 23rd, 1856. Alexander was borne four days later on the shoulders of his friends and neighbors from Colony Gardens to the Kildonan Church where he was buried at the head of his son William.

Within less than six months, James Ross lost probably the two people in the whole world who meant the most to him. The family tragedy was to have a maturing as well as an unsettling effect on the young man. James

realized that as the oldest living male in the family a good deal was expected of him and he responded with a sober letter to the family, as soon as he became aware of his father's death. Writing in a paternalistic vein, much as he thought his father would have wanted him to, he had this to say,

> "It is my duty to write to you at this time ... we are left like a flock of sheep without a shepherd ... how different from former years ... six months ago a dear brother was taken from us, just when he was beginning to be so useful ... papa is cut down too ... can anything be more pitiful than our condition ... there is a bright side ... we have reason to believe papa has gone to heaven ... he did not leave a bad name behind ... he did not leave mama in poverty ... you all have had portions (of the will) ... pardon me if I speak with authority and presumption ... beware how you conduct yourself ... we occupy a certain standing in the community ... it seems generally the case that halfbreed families dwindle into insignificance ... papa left a name ... it would be too bad if we acted unworthily of him ... while you must be cheerful and agreeable you must avoid frivolousness, foolish talking ... let me urge you to be economical, guard against extravagance." (58)

James Ross was now being forced to make another difficult decision. William's death had brought to an end any thoughts of continuing his education in Britain. Now the possibility had arisen that he would have to return home as soon as possible. John Black was aware of James's predicament and advised him to return home to comfort his family and then return to Toronto to begin his instruction for the ministry. The good Reverend wanted James to fulfill his father's fondest wish.[59] John Black was to change his mind later on when the burden of the Ross family and the estate became more worrisome than he had anticipated.

James Ross completed his final year at the University of Toronto in the spring of 1857. He graduated with a B.A. degree and was awarded a gold medal in Modern Languages.[60] Throughout his undergraduate years James Ross demonstrated a special aptitude in History, Literature and

Languages, both modern and classic. The four years in Canada had changed the teenage halfbreed from the west into a presentable young man with a record of achievement and the promise of a bright future. He had only to make a choice.

James Ross left soon after graduation for Red River and spent the summer there. He stayed only long enough to look after some family matters and with John Black's blessing returned to Toronto to prepare himself for a career in the church. His younger brother Alexander also went with him. Besides considerations of career, James Ross was attracted to Toronto for romantic reasons.[61] During the previous winter he had met Margaret Smith (1830-1900), the daughter of a Scottish family who had immigrated to Canada.

During the years in Toronto, there is little doubt that the young James Ross was stirred by events in Canada and beyond. The railroad had come to Canada and had brought thousands of immigrants to the British colonies in North America. The Globe in those years under George Brown (1818-1880) was strident in its appeal for 'Rep by Pop'. Separation of church and state also commanded the attention of the Globe readers. James Ross could not help being impressed by Toronto's growth and even more so by George Brown's attitude to the British Northwest. Since 1850 the Globe had drawn attention to the monopolistic situation in the far west and called for an inquiry into the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company Charter.[62] By 1856 George Brown had added the annexation of the Hudson's Bay Territories to his platform favoring non-sectarian education and representation by population. Toronto entrepreneurs, alive to the opportunities now available to Americans as the United States expanded its frontiers westward, began to regard the British Northwest as the legitimate hinterland to their own territory. This expansionist attitude was

actively supported by the Globe.

James Ross met George Brown during his first year in Toronto and acted as an intermediary between his father and Brown.[63] Brown's annexation policy was finding favor in the Settlement.[64] James Ross was kept informed of the rising tide of criticism against the Company. Although this movement was led by senior members of Red River it found its main support amongst the younger men.[65] The Kennedy - Gunn petition further crystallized the forces for and against the Company.[66] Whatever success the petition gained from the English-speaking community on the west side of the Red River, it was offset by its lack of support from the French-speaking element on the east side of the river.[67] James Ross seems to have sided with the anti-company forces. John Black did not consider this discreet and wrote to James disapprovingly,

> "I feel reluctant to speak but I must not in duty be silent in respect to your conduct in mingling yourself up with the movements going on in respect to this country ... as to the necessity of change perhaps my opinion corresponds pretty nearly with your own and though I might feel at liberty to compromise my own interests I had no right to compromise those of others, especially those of widows and orphans ... remember that the whole settlement of your father's estate depends on Sir G. Simpson ... let me speak also of the want of candor and straightforwardness - soliciting Sir G. and Smith to attend to your interests while you are seeking to injure theirs ... you have grieved us all." (68)

The winter of 1857-58 was a busy although an uneasy period for James Ross. Apart from attending the seminary he tutored students at Upper Canada College in French and Latin. He began to speak publicly giving a learned address entitled, "the English language."[69] Rev. Black at one point believed, "of all the professions the academical appears that for which your genius is best adapted."[70] He was also very much interested in politics. His diary for this period testifies to his political orientation.[71] His pursuit of these interests seems to indicate

that James Ross did not exhibit a deep religious calling. His decision to study for the ministry was probably compounded of several factors. The most important was the fulfillment of a goal which his father had set for him. Added to this was the example of his brother-in-law and the family tradition of public service. James Ross could visualize himself working in the public interest as either doctor or lawyer. He was therefore susceptible to John Black's appeal that he postpone his studies for three or four years and return to the Settlement, after which his brother Alexander would be old enough to assume some of the family responsibilities.[72] Black also pointed out that there was a good deal going on in the community and Red River would be a suitable arena for James's talents.[73] It was perhaps these arguments plus his own inclination that finally convinced him to give up the ministry as a career.

By this time James Ross also had thoughts of marriage. He had inherited enough money to keep him going for a while but his prospects for making a living and supporting a wife were much better in the Settlement where he was known and respected. Moreover, his political interest could no longer be pushed into the background. James Ross may not have realized it but he was too much of an activist for a life of scholarship and reflection. He was too anxious to take part in the tide of events around him and the settlement offered opportunities suitable for a young man with his connections. This is confirmed by his plunging into colony politics immediately upon his return with his bride in the summer of 1858.[74]

James Ross spent a lifetime reconciling himself to two worlds. Against the pull of the west with its fur trader and Indian, wilderness and settlement, river carts and buffalo hunts was the appeal of the established societies of the east. Canada was opening its doors to the world and James Ross felt the challenge and excitement of change. He

was now accepted in both worlds and it was this ambivalence which he had to resolve. James Ross was able to mitigate this conflict in part by bringing back to Red River the skills which he had acquired - first as a journalist and later as a lawyer.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Alexander Ross's property became known as Colony Gardens because it had been the garden area adjacent to Fort Douglas, the original headquarters of the Selkirk Colony and the Hudson's Bay Company. (See William Douglas, "New Light on the Old Forts of Winnipeg." Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 2, 1956, p. 48.

Ross eventually built a large two storey stone house on this site - a measure of his prosperity. (See Bond, Campfire Sketches, p. 287).

William Ross built a one storey wooden home about two hundred yards from his father's. Alexander's house no longer exists but William's has been preserved on a site opposite the CPR depot on Higgins Avenue in Winnipeg.

2. See note 20, Chapter III.

3. Ross Papers, Margaret Ross Married Hugh Matheson (one child), Isabella Ross married William Gunn and later William Green (four children), Mary Ross married George Flett (one adopted), William Ross married Jemima McKenzie (six children), Henrietta Ross married Rev. John Black (six children), Sarah Ross married James Cunningham (six children), James Ross married Margaret Smith (five children), Jemima Ross married William Coldwell (four children), Alexander W. Ross married Catherine Murray (2 children).

4. Headstone at Kildonan Presbyterian Church reads, "In memory of Sarah beloved wife of the late Alexander Ross who died, February 26, 1884, Aged 85 years."

5. W.J. Healy, Women of the Red River (Winnipeg, 1923), p. 18.

6. Rev. George Bryce, "Alexander Ross, Fur Trader, Author and Philanthropist," in Queens Quarterly, Vol. 11, 1903 - 1904, p. 49.

7. Ross, Fur Hunters, pp. 13-131 (reprint edition 1956).

8. Ross Papers, item 100, August 25, 1854, Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

9. Ibid., item 200 (December 24) 1856, James Ross, Toronto to Isabella, Mary, Sally, Henrietta, Jemima and Alexander W. Ross (Red River).

10. The Rev. David Anderson (1814-1885) was consecrated Bishop of the newly established diocese of Rupert's Land on May 29, 1849. He arrived in Red River on October 3, 1849. Rev. John Maccallum took over the parish school from Rev. D.T. Jones in 1834 and renamed it Red River Academy, indicating an advance towards higher education. Rev. Macallum died a few days before the arrival of Bishop Anderson. Under Bishop Anderson it became St. John's College.

11. David Anderson, Notes on the Flood at the Red River, 1852 (London, 1852), pp. 5-6.

12. Ibid., p. 119. Other recipients of this award were Colin Campbell McKenzie and Roderick Ross, both of whom studied later at Cambridge University.

13. Roderick Ross (no relative) was fond of teasing his close friend James Ross about his interest in Maria Cockran. She is mentioned often in the Ross family correspondence. Maria, however, married Rev. Hillyer in 1854 while James was in Toronto. She seems to have been very delicate and died in 1857. Roderick Ross's letter (Ross Papers, item 206, March 9, 1857) indicates that James was deeply moved by her death.

14. Ross Papers, item 50, September 16, 1853, James Ross, Toronto, to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

15. Ibid., item 55, November 1, 1853, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

16. Ibid., item 72, February 9, 1854, John Black, Kildonan Manse, to James Ross, Toronto.

17. H.C. Knox, "Alexander Kennedy Isbister," in Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 12, 1955-1956.

18. A full biography of Cuthbert Grant is provided by Margaret Arnett MacLeod, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown (Toronto, 1963).

19. Geneva D. Lent has written an equally fine work on James Sinclair West of the Mountains : James Sinclair and the Hudson's Bay Company. (Seattle, 1963).

20. Ross Papers, item 118, February 7, 1854, Rev. John Black, Red River to James Ross, Toronto. Rev. Black challenged James Ross's thesis. Ross likes to play with this idea. See Appendix B.

21. Ibid., item 194, October 18, 1854, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River (inc.).

22. Ibid., item 157, January 3, 1856, David Anderson, Bishop's Court, Red River to James Ross, Toronto.

23. Ibid., item 74, February 4, 1854, David Anderson, St. John's Red River to James Ross, Toronto.

24. Ibid., item 142, October 4, 1855, David Anderson, Bishop's Court, Red River to James Ross, Toronto.

25. Ibid., item 34 and enclosures, December 17, 1851, E. Colvile, Fort Garry to Alexander Ross, Red River.

26. Ibid., item 53, October 3, 1853, David Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land to Alexander Ross, Colony Gardens and Ibid., item 54, October 17, 1853, Alexander Ross, et al. to Bishop of Rupert's Land.

27. Ibid., item 212, May 9, 1857, Rev. John Black, The Manse, Red River to James Ross, Toronto.

28. Ibid., item 100, August 25, 1854, Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Toronto.

29. William Ross (1825-1856) was appointed magistrate with four others for the Upper District on October 16, 1850; sheriff with Cuthbert Grant, May 1, 1851;Governor of the Gaol, June 1, 1851; Petty Judge of the Upper District, November 27, 1851; sworn in as Councillor of Assiniboia, March 29, 1853. He was appointed Auditor of Public Accounts on March 29, 1853; member with four others of the Board of Works for the Management of roads and bridges October 18, 1853; Postmaster February 28, 1855 at £5 per annum, later £6; President of the Board of Works February 27, 1856. See Oliver, Canadian North-West, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

30. Ross Papers, item 100, August 25, 1854, Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

31. Ibid., item 43, September 11, 1852, William Ross, Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Indian Village.

32. Ibid., item 112, November 14, 1854, William Ross, Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Toronto.

33. Ibid., item 43.

34. Ibid., item 152, November 10, 1855, William Ross, Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

35. Ibid., item 159, January 10, 1856, William Ross, Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

36. Ibid., item 71, February 6, 1854, William Ross, Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

37. Ibid., item 162, February 9, 1856, William Ross, Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

38. Ibid., item 162.

39. Ibid., item 166, March 10, 1856, William Ross, Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

40. Ibid., item 49, July 22, 1853, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

41. Ibid., item 100.

42. Ibid., item 55, November 1, 1853, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

43. Ibid., item 55.

44. Ibid., item 67, December 31, 1853, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

45. Ibid., item 89, July 1, 1854, James Ross, Toronto, to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

46. Ibid., item 89.

47. Ibid., item 182, June 18, 1856, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

48. Ibid., item 194, October 18, 1856, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

49. Ibid., item 100.

50. Ibid., item 87 enc., June 28, 1854, Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Toronto.

51. Ibid., item 154, September 10, 1855, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

52. Ibid., item 50, September 16, 1853, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

53. Ibid., item 156, January 1, 1856, James Ross, Toronto to Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement.

54. Ibid., item 100.

55. Ibid., item 147, November 9, 1855, Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Toronto.

56. Ibid., item 176, May 8, 1856, Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Toronto.

57. Ibid., item 192, September 8, 1856, Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Toronto.

58. Ibid., item 200.

59. Ibid., item 196, November 8, 1856, Rev. John Black, The Manse, Red River to James Ross, Toronto.

60. University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1857, (Toronto, Henry Roswell, 1857).

61. Ross Papers, item 213, July 9, 1857, ( ), Sullivan to (James Ross, Red River), Inc.

62. J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe (Toronto, 1959) Vol. I, pp. 226-230.

63. Ross Papers, item 114, November 11, 1854, John Gunn, Jr., Red River Settlement to James Ross, Toronto.

64. Ibid., item 114.

65. Ibid., item 203, March 7, 1857, John Gunn, Jr., Red River Settlement, to James Ross, Toronto.

66. Dr. E. C. Shaw, "Captain William Kennedy," in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series III, No. 27, 1970-1971, pp. 13-14.

67. J.S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869 (Toronto, 1957), pp. 346-347.

68. Ross Papers, item 212, May 9, 1857, Rev. John Black, The Manse, Red River, to James Ross, Toronto. Sir George Simpson and W.G. Smith, Solicitor for the H.B.C. were both executors of the Alexander Ross Estate.

69. Ibid., item 498, entry March 26, 1858 in James Ross Diary, 1858-1859.

70. Ibid., item 226, March 11, 1858, (Rev. John Black), Frog Plain, Red River to (James Ross, Toronto).

71. Ibid., item 498, entry March 20, 1858 in James Ross Diary, 1858-1859.

72. Ibid., item 226.

73. Ibid., item 221, January 5, 1858, Rev. John Black, The Manse, Red River to James Ross, Toronto. (also 210)

74. Ibid., item 232, no date, (Rev. John Black, Red River), to (James Ross, Toronto), Inc.

CHAPTER VI - JAMES ROSS, THE NOR'- WESTER YEARS 1859-1864

The Colony in the fall of 1858 had begun the transition which was to culminate in provincial status by the end of the next decade. The isolation tenaciously defended by the Hudson's Bay Company was crumbling under the impact of mounting social, economic and political forces. The impending renewal of the Company's monopoly in 1859 was not only questioned in Canada but also in Britain. Imperial interests and mounting opposition to trading monopolies finally inclined the British government to a full scale investigation. A Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry was convened in 1857.[1] Appearing before this commission were the forces which vied for control of nearly half a continent. Sir George Simpson, defending the fur trade against the tide of settlement, argued that the country was unsuitable for colonization - the weather was too severe, the growing season was too short and there was insufficient rainfall to support a successful agricultural economy. He produced as evidence the failure of various schemes to promote home industry.[2] Opposed to him were the representatives of Canada. Judge William Henry Draper, (1801-1877) who led the Canadian delegation, boldly demanded the termination of the Company's monopoly without compensation, basing his claim on French presence in the West prior to the Conquest.[3] The territory opened up by LaVerendrye (1685-1749) in 1738 to the Montreal traders was offered in support of the argument that the British North West legitimately belonged to Canada. Witnesses from the Colony itself further opposed extension of the Company's authority.[4]

The debate over the suitability of the British North West for settlement was finally submitted to scientific analysis. The British Government commissioned Capt. John Palliser (1817-1887) to carry out a survey of the region from the Head of the Lakes to the Rockies.[5] He was

ordered to report on the geography, fertility, and the climate of the territory. At the same time the Canadians sponsored Prof. H.Y. Hind (1823-1908) and Simon J. Dawson (1820-1902) to conduct a similar study, but especially to determine the best route between Lake Superior and the Red River.[6] Both parties were aware of Blodget's survey of North America indicating that the climatic limits suitable for agriculture lay well north of the Saskatchewan River.[7] These activities were spurred on also by anxiety over the expansionist policy of the Americans. Commercial interests in St. Paul, encouraged by the adoption by the Hudson's Bay Company of the Minnesota route, began to envisage themselves as the entrepôt of the whole northwest. As many as 500 Red River carts, formerly the mainstay of the buffalo hunt, now converted to the freighting business, travelled in convoy between Fort Garry and St. Paul in 1856.[8] By 1858 the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce was offering a prize to anyone who would establish a steamer on the Red River.[9] The gold strike on the Fraser River in 1857 focused attention on the British North West. In order to avoid the long trip around the 'Horn' the route via the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers was being promoted, especially by the American railway interests and the ambitious politicians of St. Paul.[10]

The world was converging on the Red River Valley and James Ross, ambitious, educated and personable moved on to the centre of the stage. To a degree Ross represented the new order. Rooted in the Red River he had acquired the knowledge and drive of the Canadians. His eastern marriage had placed him in touch with influential people in Canada. Marriage ties had always been regarded as an important factor in the frontier settlement and much of the history of the Northwest can be told in terms of family connection.

The years in Toronto enabled James Ross to place his feet in two

camps. On one side were his father's old friends and companions who welcomed an energetic new recruit to the community and on the other side were the active proponents of expansion in Canada West who now had someone on the scene who could be relied upon for accurate information and local assistance. Roads and the future status of the Colony were the central subjects at the time and the young 'invader' did not hesitate to speak his mind. During the winter of 1859 several of the ministers in the area called a meeting for the purpose of circulating a petition in support of a Crown Colony.[11] James Ross spoke at this meeting and helped defeat the motion for a petition. For this he was later commended by William McTavish, (1815-1870) then both Governor of Assiniboia and Governor of the Company, and invited to speak at a much larger meeting in Kildonan a week later.[12] Ross himself sent a report of this meeting to the Globe.[13] Soon after he spoke again to the Parish of St. James on the subject of the future of the Colony. While he was reproved by Rev. W.H. Taylor and others for being outspoken he was warmly defended by his former mentor, Bishop Anderson.[14] Throughout the winter James Ross continued to speak publicly on various subjects such as the status of the Colony, roads and temperance, gaining both approval and disapproval from his elders. There is little doubt that James Ross had abandoned the role of the scholar. He was now a man of affairs, more than willing to take his father's and brother's place in the community. Always careful in money matters he was able to augment the income he derived from his father's estate by taking over the family commercial enterprises.

Only the mild criticism that he received from Rev. Taylor - mainly attributed to his youth - marred the favor he had found with the church groups (Black and Anderson), the local commercial interests (Donald Gunn) (1797-1878) and the Company (McTavish).

The most significant event in 1859 was the arrival in Fort Garry of William Coldwell (1834-1907) and William Buckingham (1832-1915) with the first printing press in the Northwest. Buckingham had been the Toronto Globe prize parliamentary reporter and William Coldwell was a skilled court reporter. This enterprise was a further expression of George Brown's expansionist attitude towards the West.[15] Even before the West's first newspaper had commenced publishing, a full report appeared in the Globe describing the trials and tribulations of the two enterprising young newspaper men as they carted their precious type and press in a wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen from St. Paul to Fort Garry through river, swamp and prairie fire.[16] The first issue of The Nor'- Wester, as the new paper was called, was printed on December 28th, 1859 and reached the Globe's office by the 26th of January. The Globe pounced on a letter from A.K. Isbister to Donald Gunn, which had been reprinted in the Nor'- Wester, as further evidence that Canada East was determined to prevent Canada West from exploiting the great opportunities which were now becoming evident in the Northwest.[17]

James Ross may not have been involved in bringing Coldwell and Buckingham to the Red River but it was not long after they arrived that he was hand in glove with the two new Canadians in the Settlement. Buckingham only stayed a year but Coldwell found the Colony more to his liking. He met and married James Ross's younger sister Jemima in 1860.[18] Jemima died seven years later and Coldwell kept his place in the family by marrying William Ross's widow Jemima (McKenzie) Ross.[19] James Ross and William Coldwell were almost inseparable as soon as the latter arrived at Fort Garry. After the first few issues of the Nor'- Wester James Ross became a full fledged partner. Buckingham sold his interest to the partners in October 1860. There is no indication of any rift developing

between the owners.[20] Buckingham returned to Canada and became an assistant to Alexander MacKenzie, Liberal prime minister of Canada from 1873 to 1878.

The impact of the bi-weekly, four page paper in the community was momentous. Up to this time local problems either simmered underground or else found expression from the pulpit, at public meetings, and in petitions to the Assiniboia Council. For the first time issues received wide dissemination and it was inevitable that opinions would be crystallized and positions would be taken. As professional newspapermen, the editors strove to stimulate public interest with controversial topics and one suspects that they aroused dissent from time to time in order to provoke discussion. The paper grandly stated, in the Prospectus to the inaugural edition, its object to "hasten the change not only by stimulating the industrial life of the Red River Settlement, but by assisting the work of governmental organization, the necessity for which is admitted on all sides; not only by cultivating a healthy public sentiment upon the spot, but conveying to more distant observers an accurate knowledge of the position, progress, and prospect of affairs." These high aims were amplified further as follows:

> "The Nor'- Wester starts on an independent commercial basis. Indebted to no special interest for its origin, and looking to none for its maintenance, it will rely wholly upon the honest, and efficient exercise of its functions, the reflex of the wants and opinions, the rights and interests of the Red River Settlement. Its projectors go thither tied to no set of men, influenced by no narrow preferences, shackled by no mean antipathies. Their journal will be a vehicle of news, and for the pertinent discussion of local question ... governed only be the desire to promote local interest, and a determination to keep aloof from every entangling alliance which might mar its usefulness at home or abroad ... Especially will it aim to be the medium of communicating facts, calculated to enlighten the non-resident reader with regard to resources and the geography, the life and the sentiment of the district in which it will be published." (21)

There is no question that the presence of The Nor'-Wester stirred up the Settlement. Archdeacon William Cockran described this state of affairs as follows:

> "An old man said to me last week, "We have got a newspaper now; did you see so and so in The Nor'-Wester?" "Yes," I replied, "I saw it." "Ah." said he, "we must be careful now, because if we are found doing anything wrong it will get into the newspaper." (22)

The young publishers made a valiant effort to turn out a paper along professional standards and despite the difficulties in securing paper on time, handling frozen ink in the winter, and doing all the work themselves, they came close to achieving their objectives. There was hardly a topic which they did not tackle. Their subject matter ranged from world politics to hay privileges, from church news to the latest scientific advances as well as from court news to colony socials. The editors were as good as their word. They covered the local scene with an eye cocked to what the rest of the world wanted to know about the Settlement. They were committed to their community and they tried to sell it to the world. They consistently advocated change which they regarded as a measure of progress. Inevitably their views came into conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company as they espoused greater control of the Settlement by the residents. As their opposition to the Company deepened they became more partisan. The Nor'-Wester during the Ross-Coldwell years (1859-1864) did as much as anyone to prepare the seed bed for the events that were to shape the destiny of the colony in the years ahead.[23]

For James Ross The Nor'-Wester was the ideal vehicle to establish his presence in the community. It substituted for the pulpit, which he had rejected, and by reporting his every move kept him in the public eye. There can be little doubt that he was now launched on a political career. James Ross rose in the esteem of the settlement and there was hardly an

activity in which he was not involved.

Soon after returning home he was appointed French interpreter to the General Quarterly Court.[24] His fluency in both languages, which dated back to his boyhood days, had been improved by study during his University career. He was to make good use of this faculty throughout his life. James Ross was able to move easily and intimately in both English and French societies.

His interest in education never flagged. The second issue of The Nor'-Wester printed a letter from James Ross lamenting the decline of the Red River Academy, which had so successfully produced candidates for Cambridge and the University of Toronto. He indicated the need for a source of future teachers and pointed with admiration to the success of the Catholic school across the river.[25] This letter, besides highlighting an important topic, sparked a lively exchange of views by Bishop Anderson and Francois Bruneau, a respected member of the Council of Assiniboia,[26] on the relative merits of the French-speaking and the English-speaking school system.[27] James Ross's name appears along with Rev. John Black on the Board of Examiners at the annual examination of the Presbyterian School.[28] It is noteworthy that school houses were used throughout the settlement for other purposes. Religious, educational and political activities were organized along parish lines in the settlement and public meetings took place in both school houses and churches.[29]

Cultural life in the settlement seems to have received a new stimulus with the presence of James Ross. The Nor'-Wester reports the formation of four Young Men's Societies devoted to "mental improvements." These societies although dominated by young men also found support from the older generation. Thomas Bunn (1830-1875), son of the Recorder Dr. John Bunn, James Stewart (1826-1911) and the Rev. G.O Corbett are noted as the

founders in the parishes of St. Paul, St. James and Headingly respectively. Ross and Rev. John Black represented the parish of Kildonan.[30] The proceedings consisted of discussions, essays, readings and recitations and provided an additional opportunity for James Ross to display his intellectual attainments. During the winter of 1859-1860 he spoke twice, once on the "Law of England" and the second time on "The British Government."[31]

The subject matter was of interest because the political future of the Colony was uppermost in the minds of the people in the Settlement. The prospect of becoming a Crown Colony rather than being absorbed by Canada appeared to many a more attractive alternative. In an assessment of the mood of the English-speaking residents one cannot minimize their attachment to British laws and British institutions. The Canadian contingent was small and represented at this time a connection that was distant and tenuous. The British on the other hand had been represented by the Honourable Company, the Protestant clergymen who had been recruited from the Mother Country for almost fifty years, and the Imperial army which had made a welcome appearance in 1846.[32] The French-speaking element fearing domination by Canada West, also favored Crown Colony status.

James Ross also found time to act as postmaster, a post which his brother William had filled in 1855. Postal service was maintained between the Settlement and Pembina, providing a vital link with the world.[33] Mail was expected from Pembina on the 13th of the month. The regular mail left on the return trip two days later. If warranted there was a supplementary outgoing mail on the 28th.[34] The appointment only paid £10 per annum and Ross regarded it as a chore which he only did out of a sense of public duty.[35] Given his record as a careful man in money matters, Ross appears to have been less than candid in his protestations to the Council

for an increase. He was appointed Sheriff in June 1861 and Governor of the Gaol with a salary of £30 per year.[36] He was particularly proud of his appointment as Sheriff as this post had been held by his father and brother before him. It is a measure of the confidence he enjoyed with the Company officials that the Council would seek his services despite the critical attitude of The Nor'- Wester for which he was responsible along with Coldwell.

During this period James Ross also acted for Canadian interests in the Settlement. Appearing regularly for several months just above the editorial column of The Nor'- Wester was an advertisement to the effect that James Ross was the legal representative of the North-West Transit Company of Canada[37] and that any claims against the Company were to be directed to him.[38] The Nor'- Wester's interest in the Lake Superior route was therefore far from lacking in partisanship. Since the Company finally disappeared from view Ross's immediate gain was nominal. This connection, however, proved of some value later on when he moved to Toronto.

Although James Ross had not received any legal training to this point, his position as interpreter in the Quarterly Court now exposed him to legal procedures. He even appeared as defence counsel in the case of one Daniel O'Brien who was accused of a felony. The charge and evidence presented to the court was reported in The Nor'- Wester and appeared so damaging that it seemed as if a minor miracle had been performed when the defendant was found 'not guilty.'[39] This no doubt enhanced Ross's reputation and was to lead to other opportunities to enhance his skill before the bench. These appearances were but a prelude to the part he later played in the celebrated Corbett trial. (Details and implications of this event are covered subsequently in this paper).

The Nor'-Wester had from the beginning assumed the task of bringing to the attention of the world the opportunities and advantages that could be derived from development of the Northwest. During the first year of publication its editors devoted considerable space to such topics as the description of the countryside, the agricultural possibilities, the strategic advantage of an overland route to the far west, the structure of settlement society and the nature of the Company rule. In doing so they resorted to original work by such notables as their famed expatriate A.K. Isbister,[40] or reprints from prominent publications such as Harper's Weekly.[41] In 1860 the paper announced that it had been fortunate in securing the services of a "competent person" who would contribute a series of articles which would "lay before (the) readers a sort of history of this new and rising place together with a description of its actual physical appearance." The announcement disclaimed that the author of the history could be dignified by the name 'historian' but that he would make every effort to be "impartial and correct" in his statements even though he was aware that his position was circumscribed by his involvement in the community. Nevertheless the author promised to be "generous in his opposition, moderate and respectful in his criticism."[42]

The authorship of this series is of some interest since it was the first history of the Settlement to achieve wide public exposure. Alexander Ross's The Red River Settlement, its Rise, Progress and Present State appeared in 1856 but by 1861 had enjoyed only a modest success. The first printing consisted probably of no more than 750 copies.[43] The Nor'-Wester on the other hand had a circulation of some eight hundred outside the colony.[44] The sixteen part history of Red River printed by the paper provided for its time a comprehensive and coherent

description of the settlement. To many of the residents, the writer admits in the announcement, the narrative would reveal nothing new, but the intention was to please not only those who had no knowledge of the past but to enable others to "peruse with pleasure a narrative of incidents and events in which they and their fathers may have played a part."

The series was unsigned and we may speculate as to the authorship. Whoever he was, he made liberal use of Alexander Ross's History. It therefore must have been someone very close to the family. James Ross, had title to the book by his father's will, and if he was not the author of the series he certainly had authorized the serialist to use the information in his father's book. Certain stylistic characteristics however suggest that James Ross wrote the series. The use of Latin phrases would be peculiar to someone not only well versed in the classics but also familiar with legal terms. James Ross possessed both these attributes. Two others close to the family could also have been responsible for this work. They are Rev. John Black and Frank Larned Hunt (1825-1903) who had just married one of Alexander Ross's granddaughters.[45] Both of these men were well educated. Black was well known as a scholar of the classics.[46] Hunt had practiced law in Detroit before coming to the Colony.[47] Nor can William Coldwell be eliminated. To the present day historian the series sheds very little new light on the period covered by the outline, namely from 1812 to 1850. The importance it now possesses lies in the use to which it was put, the matter that it emphasized and what it can tell us about the true direction of The Nor'-Wester at this point in time.

Since the main purpose of the series was directed outside the territory it first had to be informative. The author however considered it equally important to illustrate the difficulties which were still besetting the colony in its efforts to take its place alongside such

thriving new communities as Oregon, California, Vancouver Island, Australia and New Zealand. The series in its totality emphasizes that despite much of the paternalism of the Company, "the unsatisfactory character of the government that has hitherto ruled the country has contributed to cripple the efforts of the inhabitants and retard their progress."[48] The rapid transformation in other parts of the world from wilderness to self-sufficient communities led the author to ask for an end to restrictions which had impeded development. From a reading of the series it is clear that The Nor'- Wester's quarrel with the Company is connected to the Idea of Progress which had captured the imagination of the western world and was now probing into the remote reaches of British North America. It was not only the expansionists of Canada West or the annexationists of Minnesota who challenged the old order. It was now also the English-speaking Protestant element in the colony which questioned the Company's authority. In the forefront of the attack were those of mixed blood who owed their origin to the alliance between the successful Scottish traders and the Indian women. The Nor'- Wester was a major catalyst in this process of social change. It contributed in good measure to the pressure which was eventually to bring an end to the stranglehold of monopoly. Its opposition to the Company from the beginning was to become increasingly outspoken. James Ross thus played no small part in hastening the process by which Canada acquired its first new province.

Other themes that found consistent expression in The Nor'- Wester were the title to lands and the plight of the Indians. With respect to land claims, the paper, both in its history series and its editorials supported the legality of the Selkirk treaty with the Indians.[49] The Company's title and authority to dispose of the land was upheld and the efforts of those who tried to use the complaints of the Indians to

upset the existing order were ridiculed in the paper. Nonetheless they devoted considerable space to letters which differed with their own position.[50] Regarding the Indians, the editors shared with Alexander Ross a deep sympathy with the aborigines. The paper was aware of the failure of most Indians to cope with the new society and it appealed to the community at large for help and understanding. Articles appeared frequently describing the "Red Man" and his plight along with the need to deprive him of liquor. The rapacity of the traders was also singled out as contributing to the poor condition of the native people.[51]

The Nor'-Wester's attention to culture and science reflected James Ross's interest in these matters. The formation of the "Institute of Rupert's Land" in February 1862 was celebrated by an extra edition of the paper featuring the inaugural address by the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, President of the Institute, on the subject of the need and scope of scientific investigation. James Ross was one of four vice-presidents, the other three being the Venerable Archdeacon William Cockran, the Venerable Archdeacon James Hunter (1817-1881) and the Rev. John Black.[52] The report also announced that the next meeting would be addressed by James Ross, Esq. M.A.,[53] Sheriff of Assiniboia, the subject being, "On the Indian Tribes of Rupert's Land."[54]

In the spring of 1860 The Nor'-Wester began a series of articles on the Catholic Church in the Red River Settlement.[55] These were friendly in tone and were well received by the French Catholic community. A more serious effort to gain the support of the people across the river was the appearance in March 1861 of a column written in French entitled, "The Bishop of St. Boniface."[56] The French column was to remain a permanent feature of the paper as long as either Ross or Coldwell was connected with The Nor'-Wester.

James Ross, in the short space of four years, achieved considerable prominence in the community. He had made his mark as a speaker and a writer and had been entrusted with a number of responsible administrative positions. The Scottish halfbreed families in the Red River Settlement could be proud of Alexander Ross's gifted son. Rev. A.C. Garrioch (1848-1934) provides us with an illuminating picture of James Ross at this time. In the winter of 1862-1863 both Ross and Coldwell paid a visit to Portage la Prairie at the invitation of the Rev. Thomas Cochrane (? - 1868). In the morning James Ross examined the Bible Class in reading, spelling, scripture, and history. In the afternoon, however, according to Garrioch,

> "... he delivered a lecture in the schoolhouse for the benefit of the old folks. The building was crowded, for the settlers were proud of their gifted fellow countryman, firmly believing he had no equal in the Red River Settlement ... Mr. Ross ... was a man of commanding appearance and as, with flashing eye he turned first one way and then another as he spoke, he rivetted the attention of his hearers in a manner that was fine to see. He was often cheered, but there was no laughter, for he did not attempt to be funny; and the absence of a joke, or of words big enough to send me to Walker's dictionary as soon as I got home rather surprised and disappointed me.
>
> Mr. Ross, as I think it, now showed his ability and good judgement and not only in what he said but in his manner of saying it. He easily and naturally adapted himself to that one half of his audience of whom hardly any could be called educated. His speech was about impending changes and how to face them and turn them to good account. Though it was fifty years ago that I had the lecture, it would seem to have stuck better than most others that I have heard since. Perhaps it was because I was at that time of life when one is liable to take a lively interest in anything that promises to beneficially affect the food supply; and the lecturer was full of the advantages bound to accrue when the all-Canadian route had become an accomplished fact. He put it something like this (note the simplicity of the language): "The kind of goods you are now using, if brought to you over this route would cost you very little over half of what you have to pay for them now. Tea for which you now pay five shilling a pound would cost you only two shillings and six pence or at most three shillings; sugar for which you now pay eight pence a pound would cost no more than five pence, while tobacco and ammunition and all other goods would come down in price in the same way." From the way in which the eyes of

> his hearers sparkled, his remarks were evidently appreciated, and he could have secured many recruits then and there to assist in opening the Dawson route." (57)

The Nor'- Wester consistently maintained that many of the ills of the Settlement could be resolved if the Company reformed the Council of Assiniboia. Almost from the beginning the paper resented not being allowed to attend the council meetings and had to be satisfied with hand-outs.[58] This in itself was a great concession by the Company and at the time the paper could expect little more. But the young publishers were not satisfied and continued to press for permission to attend and report the proceedings.[59] Failing in this objective, the paper agitated for a reform of the council itself, advocating a more representative form of government.[60]

The flash point between the paper and the Company came unexpectedly in the fall of 1862. A party of Red River people returning from Georgetown were plundered and harrassed by an Indian war party at Grand Forks. What raised this to more than ordinary concern for The Nor'- Wester was the presence of Mrs. James Ross in the party. Also in the group were William Coldwell, Bishop A.A. Tache (1823-1894), A.G.B. Bannatyne (1829-1889) and Norman W. Kittson (1814-1888). This took place during the Sioux uprising while the Civil War was in progress. The event reported in the paper, no doubt by Coldwell, must have been a spine-tingling experience.[61] Kittson, who was an old hand with the Indians, took charge and was able to save the party at the expense of giving away most of the cargo to the assailants. The travellers were allowed to continue home arriving barely with their skins intact. Further news of massacres in Minnesota so excited the Settlement at Red River that a special meeting of the Council was called to consider the need for asking the Imperial Government to send troops again to the Colony.[62] While there was general agreement

that this course of action would be necessary the paper took strenuous issue with the Company over the manner of the request.

The Company wanted to circulate a petition amongst the inhabitants so that the request for protection would not come from the Company alone but also from the community at large. The paper charged that this was just a device on the part of the Company to avoid the cost of the troops. The Nor'-Wester claimed that Whitehall only paid attention to the Company. This had been demonstrated on many previous occasions, and therefore the Company's petition was an attempt to saddle the people of Red River with some of the cost. Moreover, the people were now demanding that a full enquiry into the state of the community be included in the request for a military force. The Nor'-Wester instead of printing the Company's petition, as had been ordered, impulsively printed a petition of their own seeking support against the Company's decision.[63]

The issue became a red hot political battle between opposing forces meeting throughout the settlement. Most of the prominent people became involved and the battle for signatures to the two petitions was passionately waged according to The Nor'-Wester.[64] The lines were firmly drawn as the journal implacably attacked the Company. The Company defended its position and in a fit of anger fired James Ross from his position as Sheriff, Governor of the Gaol and Postmaster.[65] The Nor'-Wester understandably became even more vehement in its opposition to the Company. James Ross was anxious to carry this and other issues to London. A movement was initiated to raise funds to send him to England with a petition from the settlement favoring as well the opening of a route and telegraph line from Canada to British Columbia.[66] Meetings were held and £50 was immediately subscribed. The full amount required was £150.

John McNab, one of the promoters of the North-West Transit Company, must have been apprised of this project for he advised Ross at this time that Sandford Fleming (1827-1915) was going to England on the matter of a trans-continental railway and that Fleming was prepared to represent the settlement at no expense to the petitioners. The offer was accepted and the money subscribed for the Ross mission was returned. Fleming joined forces with A.K. Isbister in London and the petition of the settlement gave added weight to Fleming's proposal.[67] The whole scheme of linking Canada with the Pacific coast had been brought to the fore by Hind's survey, which had been written in part by Fleming.[68] The mission was unsuccessful in achieving its objective but it did add impetus to the movement for a transcontinental railroad.

Ross by this time had given up any hope of reforming the colony from within. He had failed to convince the Council to permit a reporter to be present at their meetings. He had also failed to alter the structure of the Council and now he had been fired from all connection with the administration. Ross took the only step that seemed open to him and that was collaboration with the element which sought to annex the territory to Canada. This act brought him into harmony with the Canadians in the Colony and in close relationship with Dr. John Schultz (1840-1896).[69] Ross not only broke with the Company establishment but he incurred the wrath of Bishop Tache who wrote an indignant letter attacking The Nor'-Wester as being too anti-Company, too pro-Canadian and too Protestant. The paper welcomed this intervention because it was controversial. It could also enhance its independent posture by replying scornfully to the Catholic Bishop, who had little influence on the paper's readership which was almost entirely Protestant.[70]

The petition squabble which roused the Settlement was mild in

comparison to another event which rocked the Settlement that winter. The Rev. G.O. Corbett, one of the most respected clerics in the Settlement, was arrested in December 1862 and charged with attempting to produce an abortion on a servant girl who had been in his home from time to time.[71] This was not only a scandal of the first order but it served to harden the lines between the pro-Company and the anti-Company forces. The outspoken minister charged that the main reason he had been arrested was that his was the first name on the petition circulated by The Nor'-Wester in connection with the Indian scare.[72] Corbett had also appeared before the Select Committee in 1857 and had openly criticized the Company.[73] He claimed that the Company also held this against him. The Nor'-Wester vigorously went to the defence of Corbett. The delay in granting bail was vociferously denounced in the paper.[74] The date of the trial also provoked considerable controversy.

The Corbett trial, in the opinion of a present-day legal authority[75] was the first time in the Settlement history that briefs were in the hands of people who had some knowledge of the law. Judge John Black (1817-1879), of The Recorder, presided over the court and in the opinion of The Nor'-Wester was an 'able and conscientious' jurist. John Bunn, Jr. and Thomas Bunn, sons of the previous Recorder Dr. John Bunn, acted for the prosecution. Frank Larned Hunt was chosen by Corbett to defend him and Hunt selected James Ross to assist in the trial.[76] Efforts were made to convene a special court to try the case on the grounds that certain people involved in the case would not be available at the regular session of the Quarterly Court. J.J. Hargrave (1841-1891), who was unfriendly to The Nor'-Wester, reported that James Ross at this time was endeavouring to raise funds for the trip to England and used this as an excuse to obtain this concession.[77] Black refused the request, especi-

ally since the main witness, Maria Thomas, was about to have her child and could not be moved safely the twenty miles between her home in Ste. Agathe and Fort Garry the site of the trial. As related, the petition was carried to London by Sanford Fleming and James Ross remained to assist in the trial. According to Hargrave, Ross took over the main questioning of the witnesses because Hunt became convinced of Corbett's guilt and quietly removed himself from the centre of the stage.[78] The trial lasted nine days and was reported almost verbatim in The Nor'-Wester.[79] The motives for doing so are difficult to understand as the paper now seems to have demeaned itself in the eyes of the respectable element with the revelation of the lurid details. One plausible explanation is that the publishers could not resist an opportunity to arouse reader interest by titillating their subscribers.

Despite efforts on Ross's part to discredit the testimony of Maria Thomas, the credibility of her evidence was not shaken and the defendant was found guilty and sentenced to six months in jail. The Corbett affair however continued to agitate the community. An appeal was made to Governor Dallas for commutation of the sentence. This was refused on the recommendation of Judge Black, who upon reviewing the evidence concluded that Corbett was guilty and that the sentence imposed was light considering the nature of his crime. This failed to satisfy Corbett's friends and on the 20th of April James Stewart, a parochial schoolmaster in the neighboring parish of St. James, led a force of men on the gaol, overcame the guard and released the prisoner. The next day Stewart and twelve others were arrested in connection with the breakout. A much larger group under the leadership of William Hallet (1824- ?) and John Bourke (1823-1887) then appeared before Governor Dallas and demanded the release of Stewart and his companions. When this was refused the Hallet-

Bourke contingent now numbering some fifty armed and determined men forced their way into the gaol and freed the prisoners.[80] The authorities made no effort to stop them at this time nor did they do anything later on. Corbett returned to his family and lived in the settlement for almost a year. Subsequently he went to England and entered an action against Governor A.G. Dallas (1818?-1882) for £5,000. The plea was rejected.

The response of the Governor and the established authority is noteworthy because it took no action against the perpetraters. The Council meeting on the 28th of April justified its failure to resist force because they were,

> "restrained from using force at their disposal by motives of humanity,... by the desire to avoid bloodshed ... by a wish to prevent deadly exasperation of feeling among the settlers ... and, above all, by a consideration of the dangerous consequences to the whole community that would have arisen from the Indian tribes witnessing the spectacle of open warfare between different sections of the people." (81)

According to The Nor'-Wester the whole affair had developed strong political overtones. Those who supported Corbett did so not only because they at first believed him to be innocent but mainly because he represented opposition to the Company and it was in the Company courts that he was being tried. They believed, according to the newspaper, that Corbett could hardly expect any justice from a court dominated by a Company which already had a prejudiced view of the accused. The Nor'-Wester pointed out the anomaly between the Company as a business enterprise and its powers as the government. The paper called for the abolition of Company rule.[82]

The aftermath of the trial really demonstrated that the Company was powerless in the face of determined action. This was not the first

time that outraged men had taken the law in their own hands. The Sayer trial had succeeded in intimidating the court. It was now clear that even the decision of the court could be voided. A tradition of violent action was being created and this was to have important repercussions in the Settlement in subsequent years.

From this point until he moved to Toronto in the summer of 1864, Ross seems to have spent more time in the court room than with the paper. Even when he sold his interest in The Nor'-Wester, the paper loyally followed all his exploits. He appeared in the Quarterly Court each time it sat in September and November of 1863 and in March and May of 1864.[83] He undertook both civil and criminal actions and in the latter case appeared for the plaintiff as well as for the Crown. He seems to have been more than moderately successful in gaining favorable decisions for his clients. His motives for leaving the Settlement are not clear but his experience in the court room probably helped to convince him to direct his career on a new course.

The Nor'-Wester in the last year of the Ross-Coldwell partnership continued to criticize the Company. The proposed sale of the Hudson's Bay Company to the International Financial Society - a group of British financiers who controlled the Grand Trunk Railway and who were strong supporters of George Brown's annexation policy - gained favour with the paper.[84]

One of the difficulties in ascertaining James Ross's attitude to his Indian heritage is that there is no way of determining which of the two editors was responsible for the articles and editorials in The Nor'-Wester. Also there is no way of knowing to what extent they made use of other writing talents in the Settlement. We do know that they made an effort to train young men in the printing trade and proudly

announced in one issue that the paper had been turned out by its apprentices.[85] It is not clear whether this applied only to the actual printing of the paper or also included the writing as well. The sentiments expressed with regard to the mixture of the races must be accepted as consonant with the thinking and beliefs of both editors.

Aside from the space devoted to discussion of Indian claims to the land, to which it was not always sympathetic, the paper on several occasions concerned itself with the general image of the Indian and the halfbreed. They realized that constant reference to drunkeness, crime and violence was damaging to the picture of the Indian and that the prevailing view of him was far from complimentary. The paper could, as it did on one occasion, regret the passage of the former state of the Indian before the white man came, "when living as God and nature made them, they thrided [sic] the forest, roamed the prairie, and fished and paddled upon the mighty waters or lesser streams of this magnificent continent."[86] The people of the Red River Settlement were too close to the native population to have any romantic ideas about the Indians and the halfbreeds who had adopted the Indian ways. They could be critical of those who had not adjusted in greater measure to the ways of the white man. One of the chapters of the "History of the Red River Settlement," in describing the French-speaking halfbreed population, excerpted a good deal from Alexander Ross's book on the history of the Colony. The paper was taken to task by one of its Catholic readers for implying by omission that the English-speaking halfbreeds were superior. The writer further submitted that, "prudence and good taste alike forbid the publication of all disagreeable truths, simply because true."[87] The editors apologized for inadvertently creating this impression but pointed out that halfbreeds were not alone in possessing failings. Every class in every society has its complement of those with short-comings. Neither white population nor

half caste was exempt. Appealing as it felt that it did to the world, The Nor'-Wester spoke out on behalf of not only the English-speaking halfbreeds who were its main subscribers but also the French-speaking halfbreeds.

> "There may be individuals among our half-caste population who do little credit to their class, just as there are individuals among our white population who reflect no credit on their countrymen ... these are exceptions in both cases, and cannot be pointed to as representative of the rest. The Halfbreed as a whole, Francais et Anglais are a manly, generous, and energetic class. Their powerful physical development is only equalled by their courage, their hospitality, and their kindness. The most fastidious stickler for "Whiteism" must admit that in this country they are second to none, in social position, literary requirements, or material possessions. We cannot pause to ferret out differences between French and English sections. This is useless, and it would be the worst of policy, for both stand on the same footing, and they ought to regard each other as brethren. We have always viewed them as one people ... each interested in the other's welfare ... common heirs of a like ancestry ... and bound by every consideration of patriotism as well as nationality to UPHOLD AND DEFEND EACH OTHER." (88)

Some time later the paper attempted to demonstrate that the term halfbreed could just as easily have been derived from the Latin hybrida as from the fact that the offspring of an alliance between a Caucasian and an Indian is half white and half red. The author of the article finally admitted that his argument was merely a flight of fancy. It is evident, however, that the author was concerned about the derogatory nature of the word and he defended his definition with erudition and skill. The use in this article of etymological terminology, French and Latin examples, and legalistic reasoning all point to James Ross as the author. (He had written on this subject as an undergraduate). It is obvious that the writer was trying to adduce to a commixture of blood a quality of purity which the common use of the word 'halfbreed' did not convey.[89]

If The Nor'-Wester's policy seems too congruent with Canada West it must be understood that the paper was speaking for an element of the Settlement that was both conscious of its unique origin and anxiously seeking to enter the mainstream of western society. To accuse The Nor'-Wester of excessive criticism, at least during the first four years of existence, is undeserved. The paper supported separation of commercial interests and political authority. It also argued for responsible government, freedom of the press and a link with the world. That its owners ran full tilt into established interests and authority and had to retreat does not diminish the fact it spoke for the future. It had its supporters. One contemporary commentator put it this way,

> "... without question The Nor'-Wester was a boon to the settlers, bringing them regularly in reliable form the news of the day both domestic and foreign. So great was the general confidence in its veracity, that in any wordy conflict, the disputant who could support his assertion by saying, "I saw it in the Nor'-Wester" was supposed to have placed the matter beyond dispute. Among beneficial effects it encouraged the people to take a more intelligent interest in public affairs and afforded opportunity as well as incentive to assert themselves in that connection. Besides keeping its readers posted in the home on foreign news of the day, it furnished in both prose and poetry some splendid selections that made profitable reading at a time when good reading was none too plentiful." (90)

After James Ross sold his interest to William Coldwell the latter took in Dr. J.C. Schultz as a partner. Both men were active Masons and explains in part their coming together. After Ross's departure the paper seems to have lost some of its spice and vigour.[91] A disastrous fire on February 23, 1865 destroyed the paper's equipment. William Coldwell gave his interest to Schultz and also left the Settlement to find employment with the Globe.[92] The community thus lost two of the brightest young men. Ross, striking in appearance, active on the platform,

eager to challenge authority and Coldwell, thorough, articulate and professional were now gone. Several years were to pass before either was to return to again challenge the old order.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

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3. Ibid., pp. 210-231. Testimony of William Henry Draper.

4. Ibid., David Anderson, pp. 231-247; Alexander Isbister, pp. 120-137; Rev. G.O. Corbett, pp. 137-150.

5. Irene Spry, edited with Introduction and Notes, The Papers of the Palliser Expedition 1857-1860 (Toronto, Champlain, 1968).

6. H.Y. Hind, Narrative.

7. Lorin Blodget, Climatology of the United States, and of the Temperate Latitudes of the North American Continent. (Philadelphia, 1857).

8. H.B.C.A. Series A 12/8, Simpson to the Governor and Committee, June 29, 1855, cited in Alvin C. Gluek, Jr., Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the British Northwest : A Study in Canadian-American Relations (Toronto, 1965), p. 91.

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10. Gluek, Minnesota, pp. 133-135.

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12. Ibid., entry dated February 3, 1859.

13. Ibid., entry dated February 11, 1859.

14. Ibid., entry dated February 17, 1859.

15. Careless, Brown of the Globe, (Toronto, 1963), Vol. II, p. 7.

16. Globe (Toronto), November 25, 1859.

17. Nor'- Wester, December 28, 1859; Careless, Brown of the Globe, Vol. II, pp. 8-9.

18. Ross Papers, Descendants of Alexander Ross. Jemima Ross born 1837? Married William Coldwell October 31, 1860. Died at Toronto June 29, 1867.

19. Jemima McKenzie Ross married William Coldwell after the death of her sister-in-law Jemima Ross Coldwell.

20. Nor'-Wester (Red River Settlement), October 16, 1860.

21. Ibid., December 28, 1859.

22. Ibid., December 28, 1859.

23. Stanley, Riel, pp. 45 ff.

24. Ibid., December 28, 1859.

25. Ibid., January 28, 1860.

26. Oliver, Canadian North-West, p.66.

27. Nor'-Wester, February 14, 1860 and February 28, 1860.

28. Ibid., February 28, 1860.

29. W.L. Morton, "The Red River Parish : Its Place in the Development of Manitoba." in Manitoba Essays, ed. R.C. Lodge (Toronto, 1937), pp. 95 ff.

30. Nor'-Wester, April 14, 1860.

31. Ibid., April 14, 1860.

32. J.J. Hargrave, Red River (Montreal, 1871), pp. 93-95. Also Ross, Red River Settlement, pp. 363-365.

33. Oliver, Canadian North-West, pp. 98-100.

34. Nor'-Wester, January 28, 1860.

35. Oliver, Canadian North-West, pp. 505-508.

36. Ibid., p. 479.

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38. Nor'-Wester, December 28, 1859, and succeeding issues of the paper.

39. Ibid., August 28, 1860.

40. Ibid., June 15, 1861, First part of a four part series.

41. Manton Marble, "To Red River and Beyond," Nor'-Wester, August 28, 1860, condensed and reprinted from Harper's New Monthly Magazine, February, 1861, pp. 306-322.

42. Nor'-Wester, December 1, 1860.

43. Ross Papers, item 12, November 7, 1848, Smith, Elder & Co., London to W.G. Smith, Hudson's Bay Company, London, copy.

44. Nor'-Wester, April 14, 1860, "Red River Post Office."

45. Ibid., December 1, 1860, "Marriages."

46. Ross Papers, item 90, Alexander W. Ross, Kildonan Manse to James Ross, Toronto, July 1, 1854.

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48. Ibid., February 1, 1861, "History of the Red River Settlement."

49. Ibid., February 1, 1861.

50. The question of Indian title to the land was debated in the columns of The Nor'-Wester from February 14, 1860 until September 28, 1860 by Chief Peguis, Andrew McDermot, Donald Gunn, Andre Tutier, Urbain Delorme, L'aketay-Hoond and Pascal Breland.

51. Ibid., March 15, 1861.

52. Ibid., February 25, 1862 (Supplement).

53. Ibid., February 25, 1862 (Supplement), James Ross was awarded an M.A. at the Commencement exercises of the University of Toronto on June 8, 1865. His use at this time cannot be explained.

54. Ibid., February 25, 1862.

55. Ibid., April 28, 1860.

56. Ibid., March 1, 1861.

57. Rev. A.C. Garrioch, First Furrows : A History of the Early Settlement of the Red River Country (Winnipeg, 1923), pp. 146-148.

58. Nor'-Wester, March 14, 1860.

59. Ibid., April 30, 1862.

60. Ibid., August 15, 1861.

61. Ibid., September 24, 1862.

62. Ibid., November 4, 1862 also, Oliver, Canadian North-West, pp. 511-513.

63. Ibid., November 4, 1862, "Petition of the People of Red River Settlement to the Duke of Newcastle."

64. Ibid., November 29, 1862.

65. Oliver, Canadian North-West, p. 514.

66. Nor'-Wester, January 24, 1863.

67. Lawrence J. Burpee, Sandford Fleming; Empire Builder (Oxford, 1915), pp. 61-71.

68. H.Y. Hind, Narrative.

69. Dr. Murray Campbell, "Dr. J.C. Schultz," in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transaction, Series III, No. 20, 1963-1964.

70. Nor'-Wester, January 24, 1863.

71. Ibid., December 12, 1862.

72. Ibid., December 12, 1862.

73. Report from the Select Committee, pp. 137-150.

74. Nor'-Wester, December 24, 1862.

75. Roy St. George Stubbs, Four Recorders of Rupert's Land (Winnipeg, 1967), pp. 149 ff.

76. Hargrave, Red River, p. 264.

77. Ibid., p. 265.

78. Ibid., p. 272.

79. The Corbett trial was carried in successive issue of The Nor'-Wester from March 3, 1863 to May 23, 1863.

80. Nor'-Wester, April 27, 1863.

81. Hargrave, Red River, Appendix E, pp. 502-503.

82. Nor'-Wester, May 12, 1863.

83. Ibid., March 3, 1864 and May 31, 1864.

84. Ibid., July 22, 1863, and August 19, 1863.

85. A.C. Garrioch, The Correction Line (Winnipeg, 1933), p. 229.

86. Nor'-Wester, March 15, 1861.

87. Ibid., August 15, 1861.

88. Ibid., August 15, 1861.

89. Ibid., November 4, 1862.

90. Garrioch, First Furrows, pp. 143-144.

91. Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, 3 Vols. (Toronto, 1894). Vol. I, p. 353.

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CHAPTER VII - TORONTO REVISITED, 1864 - 1869

When James Ross left the Red River Settlement for Toronto about the middle of June 1864 he was no longer the stripling who had ventured forth to Canada a little more than a decade earlier. He was now a man of substance who had tasted both success and failure. Besides his wife he reluctantly left behind four children, a son and three daughters.[1] Although his father had expected him to become either a clergyman or a scholar, James Ross through both circumstances and choice was now a man of affairs. He had edited a newspaper in partnership with his brother-in-law William Coldwell and also shared with him in the ownership of a general store. Before leaving the Colony, James Ross publicly stated that he only intended to stay away for two or three years.[2] He affirmed this resolve when he arrived in Toronto when he explained to the Toronto Globe that he proposed, "to qualify himself for the law profession and then return to his home in the Northwest."[3] In his first letter home he reiterated, "I will tell you frankly this ... that my staying here one or three years is a matter on which my mind exactly balances. I don't feel in favor of the one cause more than the other but like them both equally, because either cause has its advantages."[4] James Ross was to change his mind several times but he never lost his deep attachment to his place of birth.

People from the Settlement travelling south in the spring and summer now took the river boat steamer the International as far as Georgetown on the Red River about 200 miles south of Fort Garry. The Valley in the spring of 1864 was experiencing one of the worst droughts in the history of the Colony and the International, after one trip to the Settlement was stuck on a sand bar at Goose Rapids 25 miles north of Georgetown and was out of commission for the balance of the year.[5]

James Ross and William Coldwell left Fort Garry on horseback and for protection joined a brigade of carts bound for St. Paul. Although the main uprising of the Sioux tribes had been crushed by the Americans there was still the threat of marauding bands.

The route on the U.S. side from Pembina was along the Red River to Fort Abercrombie; from there southeast to Sauk Center and then to Anoka which was now connected to the American railway system.[6] Because of the Indian threat, the party of horsemen, ox and horse carts travelled in full brigade fashion.

> "... soon after leaving Pembina, the French and English members of the party held a meeting and decided we should travel in full brigade style. Two guides were appointed to lead off by turns. At four o'clock in the morning all is astir and animation for the guides flag is hoisted and that is a signal for hitching up. Half awake or whole awake all parties make a simultaneous rush for oxen and horses and in a few minutes the brigade is under way and continues so for three or four hours when a halt is called for breakfast. We stay two hours and then travel till dinner when another two hour spell succeeds and finally we travel until with half an hour or hour of sundown we camp for the night." (7)

This primitive form of travel must have been galling to the Red River inhabitants as they witnessed the steady advance of modern transportation in Minnesota and along with it the spread of immigration and colonization. That some Red River people now considered annexation to the United States an acceptable alternative is not surprising. A further incentive to side with the Americans was related to the Sioux. Pursued by the U.S. Army many Sioux sought refuge in the British territory. One such incident is described as follows:

> "Another trouble is a visitation of some three or four hundred Sioux. This is a very strange time of the year for them to come here ... which circumstance, taken in connection with their suspicious conduct, has caused a painful sensation. Governor MacTavish went to meet them as they were approaching our bounds, with the view

> of persuading them to turn back ... but they haughtily declared they would not do anything for him or anyone else. Scheming Americans who have long been endeavouring to get us to cry for annexation to Minnesota, are suspected of urging these unwelcome visitors to come here ... and one circumstance that supports this supposition is that they are now saying to us, 'Why don't you join the States, and then you will be sure of constant and ample protection? Britain will not move a finger for you.' I must say this argument is really unanswerable, and it is possible that before many months, there will be desperate work here." (8)

James Ross was to emphasize these attitudes later on in an article for the Toronto Globe.[9]

Toronto, in 1864, had changed considerably since 1853 when James Ross had first seen this city. The population had grown from just over 30,000 in 1851 to about 46,000 in 1864. Toronto was now connected by railroads to Montreal, Collingwood on Lake Huron and Windsor, across the river from Detroit, and had begun to outstrip both Hamilton and Kingston as the commercial nerve centre of Upper Canada. Toronto entrepreneurs could look forward to challenging Montreal as both an industrial and mercantile centre. To achieve this goal ambitious men envisaged taking over the entire British Northwest as a hinterland. These aspirations were enunciated in 1859 by George Brown and after that these beliefs found continuous expression in his newspaper, the Globe.[10] By 1864 the expansionist movement in Upper Canada was in full cry. Once Lower Canada's opposition to the acquisition of the Hudson's Bay territories had been removed by the plan for Confederation, George Brown could say in the Globe:

> "One of the evils which our present Union with Lower Canada has produced, is to be found in the obstacles placed in the way of a closer alliance between this province and the Northwest ... While the influence of the eastern section of the province predominated in our government, jealousy of our growth in wealth and population together with the dread of our increasing influence was sufficient to override all other considerations. Now

> we trust a better state of tidings is about to prevail Lower Canada freed from all fear of danger to her institutions in which she has so long indulged may aid us in the grand task of Western extension." (11)

James Ross, as a student in Toronto during the hears when the Globe first began to espouse its expansionist ideas, could not fail to be influenced by the promise of a great future held out by the paper for his homeland. Exposure to the expansionist rhetoric must have made a lasting impression. The Nor'- Wester reprinted Brown's credo for the Northwest on February 14, 1860. On his return to red River in 1858 James Ross had not only a young man's restlessness to change things but he was already imbued with an objective. It was to free the Colony from the yoke of the Hudson's Bay Company. If he at first favoured Crown Colony status — which did not preclude ultimate affiliation with Canada — he soon became disillusioned with the lack of action of the Imperial government and their apparent agents the Hudson's Bay Company and swung over to the Canadian party. During the years at The Nor'- Wester he endorsed the idea of the Lake Superior route with considerable fervor and this no doubt gained favor for him with the promoters of the North-West Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company. James Ross could, upon arrival in Toronto, count with justification on the help of many influential people in Upper Canada to establish himself in that city.

Within a week in Toronto, James Ross joined John McNab's law firm. McNab was one of the principals of the ill-fated railway company and was well acquainted with Ross's achievements. Articles of Clerkship were signed on July 5, 1864 and provided that James Ross would be engaged for a period of three years at an annual rate of $200.00 per annum. It further provided that,

> "... the said John McNab covenants with the said James Ross, that he will, by the best ways and means

> he may or can, and to the utmost of his skill and knowledge, teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, the said James Ross, in the said practice or profession of an attorney at Law or Solicitor in Chancery, which he the said John McNab, now doth or shall at any time hereafter, during the said term, use his best means and endeavours, at the request, costs and charges of the said James Ross, to cause and procure him, the said James Ross, to be admitted and sworn an Attorney of Her Majesty's said Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, and Solicitor of the Court of Chancery, or any other Her Majesty's Courts of Law or Equity, provided the said James Ross shall have well, faithfully, and diligently served his said intended clerkship" (12)

In order to be admitted to the Law Society of Upper Canada, James Ross was required to pass an examination set by the Benchers of Osgoode Hall. Ross wrote the examination of the 10th of August, 1864 and could hardly contain himself when he wrote his wife,

> "In August, I wrote you saying that my first Law Examination was very successful ... I stood first of 29 (twenty-nine)! Was this not a glorious success? I was in Canada just six weeks before the examination: my time for preparation was, therefore, limited. Still by diligence and hard study and natural ability, I came out triumphantly the first of 29! This shows I have lost none of my former powers and it ought to be as pleasing to you my wife as to myself, for my success is yours ... my honor is yours." (13)

As usual James Ross's exploits did not escape The Nor'- Wester. Not surprising. William Coldwell was back in the Settlement editing the paper. James Ross's name was at the head of the list of successful candidates. To drive home the fact that these examinations were not a mere formality, the story noted that not everyone passed the examination.[14] Although James Ross performed a number of useful legal tasks for friends from Red River there is no evidence that he actively pursued a career in law. His failure to proceed in a direction begun so suspiciously can be ascribed to the fact that he encountered almost immediately considerable success as a journalist.

James Ross visited the office of the Globe even before working out his arrangement with McNab. His presence in Toronto may not have been front page news but it gained the same prominence as the arrival and departure of David Anderson, the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land. The Globe noted as follows:

> "Messrs. James Ross and William Coldwell of the Red River Nor'- Wester are in town. They have been proprietors of that journal since it was established in 1859 and have done much to diffuse information relative to the great Northwest territory. Mr. Ross has been Sheriff of the Red River Settlement and as our readers may recollect was last year appointed delegate on behalf of the Red River people to represent to the Home Government the unsatisfactory state of things under the Hudson's Bay Company. He proposes to remain here to qualify himself for the law profession and will then return. We wish him success and hope he will avail himself of all favorable opportunities to further the interest of the Northwest."[15]

Soon afterwords the Globe printed a report of a House of Commons debate concerning the Hudson's Bay Company. The exchange in the House centered on the Hudson's Bay Company role in inhibiting colonization in the Northwest. Following the capsule report, the Globe featured verbatim coverage on the front page the next day.[16] Perhaps by design, the Globe then printed a long letter from James Ross as a response to the debate.[17] Ross's views on the future of the Red River Settlement had already been expressed in The Nor'- Wester, but now he had a much larger audience and he proceeded to describe the Settlement in all its glory and frustrations. As a resident and native of the Red River Colony, James Ross had a special vantage point and his observations and recommendations added credibility to the claims of the expansionists. Since his views were consistent with those of the paper, the Globe was pleased not only to print his lengthy letter but found room for two more installments equally detailed.[18] Whatever else these articles achieved, Ross's reputation as a competent writer was established. His name was brought into prominence in short

order. In addition to Ross's three long articles, several other items regarding the Red River Settlement appeared during July and August and it is safe to assume that it was no coincidence. Ross and Coldwell had not wasted their time in publicizing the plight of the Red River Colony.

Ross raised the American spectre in the first of his articles. This served the Globe's purpose but at the same time Ross wrote with restraint and conviction:

> "It is undoubtedly the case that, at the present time, the feeling of the Red River people is tending strongly towards union with the United States. This feeling has been growing for the past fifteen years, but with accelerating strength within the last half of that period. Many who once would have summarily repudiated the ideas of formally joining the States, now regard the eventuality not only possible but in many respect desirable, and indeed, inevitable, if Britain and Canada continue to disregard the interest of the Northwest territory. I do not mean to say, nor do I believe, that the annexation of that country to the States is a matter wholly dependent on the wishes of the Red River people and the disposition of the Washington government; the consent of the British would probably be an essential condition in the arrangement; still it is easy to see that under certain circumstances a determined move on the part of the Red River people would seriously embarrass the Home government, if not their acquiescing in a separation. But whatever may be the fact as to this I repeat that the Red River people would regard with indifference their connection with Britain ..." (19)

Having thus established his connection with the Globe, James Ross was given his first assignment not related to his special knowledge. In September he was assigned to cover a rifle competition at Hamilton. While this was primarily a sporting event it had military overtones. A concern for national readiness was taking hold in Britain as Ross wrote,

> "Rifle matches have come greatly into vogue of late years. Volunteering and rifle practice suddenly assumed vast importance in England, four or five years ago, in consequence of a suspicion that Louis Napoleon meditated a hostile descent upon Great Britain; and the impetus then given has not, as many supposed would happen, ceased to operate with the cessation of the ostensible cause. A

> patriotic feeling of self-preservation and self-protection has taken powerful hold upon the British people, and the feeling has happily received due encouragement from the Government and from Her Majesty in person. This resolute determination to defend the sacred soil of England from invasion manifested itself in volunteering; and the genuiness and earnestness of the movement have been attested by the hearty manner in which drilling and rifle practice are kept up. Canada, for good and wise reasons, has followed in the wake of the parent country. Volunteering has been followed by the inauguration of Rifle Associations throughout the Province, and, as a logical sequence, we have rifle practice and competition at stated periods." (20)

Some Canadians too were concerned with the state of the militia and regarded the rifle competitions a device for improving the calibre of marksmanship. The 'Revolutionary War' as the Globe preferred to call the War between the States was still in progress and border incidents were not unknown. British forces stationed in Canada would have to be augmented by Canadian militia in the event of a clash with the Americans. The competition lasted for six days and Ross filed lengthy stories that were prominently displayed each day.[21] James Ross was later called upon to produce for the Hamilton Rifle Association a booklet based on his articles. His work was noted by the Hamilton Spectator and he received an offer from the new owners to join their staff as a local editor and reporter.[22] The pay was not more than $600 per year which was considerably more than he would earn in John McNab's office. Ross accepted the offer although it meant postponing his law career for the time being.

Margaret Ross was unhappy at being left behind. She felt neglected by her husband's family and complained to him on more than one occasion, "they never come to take me anywhere; I receive more kindness from strangers."[23] She felt especially bitter towards her sister-in-law Jemima Coldwell who according to Margaret Ross spent too much money

on clothes,[24] and was disagreeable desides.[25] Isolated from the others at Macduff House[26] and with four little children to look after it is easy to understand her miserable mood. Moreover there was a recurrent problem with Indians. Without her husband at home to protect her she was especially frightened. In her first letter to James she wrote, "we are tormented by Indians, they stole all my hens and are stealing a great deal amongst the Scotch."[27] In her next letter she again reiterated her fears,

> "The Indians are stealing everything they can find. They are even killing cattle. A few nights ago [we found] ... a piece of animal beside the sheep ... The Indians are numerous at the Fort ... They will break into houses next ... I am always afraid at night." (28)

Margaret Ross's fear of Indians probably stemmed from her encounter with the Sioux in 1862. Her fears were real not imaginary. The Sioux bands arrived in the Settlement when most of the men were away on the buffalo hunt which may account for the arrogance of the Indians from Minnesota.

James also found the separation not to his liking. In his first letter home he expressed his loneliness:

> "I am enjoying excellent health ... never was better ... and only at evening when the bustle of the day is over, I feel lonely. At all hours of the day and every day, my thoughts ... homeward to my dear wife and children, but especially in the evenings. And yet, I cannot say that I would approve of your coming here, under present circumstances and with my present plans. This would be allowing natural feeling to triumph over judgement ... affection overpowering discretion. However, it may be that before long, I shall see it desirable to have you come down, and in that event, you may rely upon instantly hearing from me." (29)

John Black doubted the wisdom of Margaret living alone in Red River and counselled her to join her husband in Canada where the living was bound to be cheaper and where they would be happier all together.[30] By the time James Ross wrote to Rev. Black telling Margaret to pack up and

leave, she had already made up her mind to do so and had worked out arrangements with friends and relatives to help her over the arduous route to Canada.[31] James's sister Isabella Green and her husband helped Margaret Ross from Fort Garry to St. Paul. From there she was escorted by the Rev. James Woolsey, a friend of the family, who was happily going to Canada as well. Granny Ross was strongly attached to little Caroline and Margaret Ross was unable to refuse her mother-in-law the pleasure of keeping the whild with her. The Ross party left the Settlement about the 25th of August and arrived without incident at the Smith home in Glencoe — 150 miles west of Toronto — on the 17th of September. The family was re-united shortly afterwards in Toronto.

Ross's income at this time appears to have been adequate. In addition to his salary at the Spectator he had other resources. There was the income from his inheritance as well as money owing to him from Dr. J.C. Schultz from the sale of his share of The Nor'- Wester.[32] Ross was a wholesaler as well as a retailer and a number of Settlement merchants were indebted to him. His home was a substantial asset and he eventually sold it to Magnus Brown. James Ross like his father was a prudent man and we never hear of him of being in financial difficulty.

James Ross arrived in Toronto at an auspicious time in Canadian history. The political deadlock between Upper and Lower Canada in the Legislature had been broken and the new government could look forward to a general British American Union involving the Lower Provinces. Events at Charlottetown were followed by the Quebec Conference. It was here that the future of the Northwest was included in the Confederation talks. There was considerable assurance that a deal with the British could be worked out. All parties to the Conference were anxious to effect a marriage. The British also wanted the union to be consummated.

Their attitude was characterized by John McNab in a letter to James Ross:

> "... the tone of the press of England when speaking of Canada has been like a parent who has a daughter he expects will elope with the coachman unless he can get her speedily married off his hands and who has abused the Coachman until matters have taken such a turn that he is anxious that the Coachman take her and prevent disgrace to the family." (33)

Following the Quebec Conference the delegates toured the Canadian provinces in gala fashion.[34] The participants sensed that they were experiencing a great moment in history and their visits to Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston, Belleville and Cobourg had a triumphant air. The last stop of the cavalcade was Toronto and the centerpiece of their schedule was a Dejeuner in the afternoon of November 3rd, 1864. This was arranged as a show piece for George Brown. Alert to the publicity value for the Northwest, John McNab arranged for James Ross to be invited to participate in the festive occasion as a spokesman for the territory.[35] At the head table were all the luminaries from the Maritime colonies as well as a number of local dignitaries. George Brown delivered a long speech on the benefits of Confederation. But for a brief moment before the Brown address, James Ross was able to present the case for the Northwest.

Ross spoke of the resources of the vast territory; the primitive and patriarchal character of the government which was anything but favourable to the progress of the country; the climate - cold, dry, bracing and healthy; the fertility of the soil; the untold minerals - copper and gold; the fish of the lakes and rivers. He concluded his remarks by expressing his gratitude for being allowed,

> "... a native of the Red River country, and its sole representative ... in having that part of the country so prominently brought before the attention of the delegates of the Lower Provinces ... and allow[ed] ... to express the hope that in the scheme now being devised the vast extent, the resources, the capabilities and the

> value of the Northwest may be fully remembered. There is a country there to which the overcrowded populations of European countries may resort and find a comfortable home." (36)

It was an accolade of the first order to invite a halfbreed from the Red River Settlement to address this distinguished gathering. James Ross was justified in preening himself before his family back home. His achievements, accomplished in such a short time, must have sounded unbelievable to his sister Henrietta who accused him of being an "incorrigible boaster."[37] James Ross was not a retiring person. His need to be recognized was not just a personality trait. A case can be made for his need to offset a sense of insecurity arising out of his mixed blood heritage.

After a winter in Hamilton, James Ross received an offer from Gordon Brown - George Brown's brother - to work for the Globe. The pay was not much better than at the Spectator and one can surmise that Ross changed jobs in order to return to Toronto where he would be more comfortable. Margaret Ross's brother and sister both lived in Toronto. The Spectator was a conservative paper and the Globe's editorial policies were probably closer to James Ross's outlook. He accepted the offer conditional on being given five weeks leave of absence before starting his new job.[38]

James Ross used this concession to return to Red River Settlement. As a newspaper man, he was courted by the railway promoters and was able to travel all the way to St. Paul without paying for either passage or meals. Ross used the medium of the Globe to repay his benefactors. At St. Cloud he filed his first story depicting the route from Toronto to Red River.[39] He had kind things to say first about his Canadian hosts, the Great Western Railway which ran from Toronto to

Windsor. He wrote, "I have now been over nearly 800 miles of railway, and I do say, without injustice to any of the American lines, that the Great Western Railway of Canada is the smoothest road I was over." He also recounted a visit to the salt-works of Saginaw in the company of senior officials from both the Canadian and American lines. James Ross was treated as an equal and during the two day jaunt found many opportunities to talk about his native land.[40] James Ross was very much impressed by the aggressiveness of the Americans and there is a tinge of envy in his reports. At St. Paul he met Governor Ramsey, Geo. Becker and James W. Taylor (1819-1893). These men were actively engaged in promoting a railway line to Pembina and they boasted that the border would be reached within two years.[41] It would be thirteen years before this prediction came true. James Ross spent only twelve days travelling between Toronto and Fort Garry but most of them were on the trail from Elk River, Minnesota.[42] The barrier to the colonization of the Red River Settlement was not only political but physical. James Ross had passed through Minnesota many times in the twelve years that he first travelled the route, and the comparison between development on both sides of the border was striking. Minnesota passed from territory to statehood in 1858 and in the decade of the fifties had grown from a population of a little over 5,000 to an impressive 172,000.[43] This was in sharp contrast to the growth of the British Northwest and confirmed James Ross's fears that unless the British and Canadians acted promptly, American intentions in the Northwest would be realized.

The first year away from the settlement had been a busy one for James Ross. In addition to his work with the two newspapers he had completed the requirements towards a Master's Degree. He was accorded the coveted M.A. title at the commencement exercises of the University of

Toronto on the eighth of June, 1865. Despite his achievements he needed to reassure himself that he had made in the right decision in moving away from the place where he had so many ties and where he had attained so much prominence. Thinking about this while travelling he wrote to his wife,

> "Everything confirms me in the view which we both (you and I) had that it was wise for me to proceed to Canada last year. That was a good step and perhaps you deserved the best part of the credit for it." (44)

Conditions in the Settlement were relatively unchanged. The rumoured approach of one thousand Sioux turned out to be a false alarm. The telegraph line lay on the ground in coils at Fort Garry for the lack of poles. The men were away hunting buffalo, voyaging on the inland lakes and rivers or freighting between Fort Garry and St. Paul. The condition of the crops was far from satisfactory. James Ross took every opportunity to point out the need for opening the Lake Superior route. Despite the fact that there was often a shortage of crops in the Red River Settlement due to grasshoppers or drought the main thing that can be said against the country was,

> "... as matters are at present, it is impossible either to import or export grain. We have no means of cheap and expeditious transit. We are shut in, in the middle of the continent — have no seaboard and no means to reach one, except through a foreign country, and even then only by a route which we must call roundabout, slow, and very expensive. The remedy for this lies in the opening up of the Lake Superior route, and to secure that, possibly the annexation of the whole country to Canada may be a necessary preliminary." (45)

After a week at Colony Gardens he wrote his wife reiterating that it was fortunate that they had left when they did.[46] Nevertheless his return to the Settlement was a happy one. He was re-united with his daughter Caroline, now five years old, and who at first hardly knew him. He enjoyed being with his relatives and old friends in familiar

surroundings. A new schoolhouse had been built at Kildonan next to the Presbyterian Church and according to the report in The Nor'- Wester was considered the most modern building of its kind in the area. Most of the credit went to Rev. James Nisbet the second Presbyterian minister in the parish. This was the position that once had been contemplated for James Ross. Now he was one of the dignitaries at the dedication ceremony and was given the privilege of moving a resolution thanking, "the various friends in Canada who have so liberally contributed funds toward the erection of this substantial and commodious schoolhouse."[47]

Ross stayed only a short time. Claiming his daughter and settling some family matters, mainly related to his father's estate, he gladly left the Settlement. His haste in returning home can be explained by the fact that Margaret was expecting again. His timing was almost perfect. The baby, a boy, arrived in Toronto at almost the same time as he did. James Ross did not leave the Settlement unchanged. Following a drastic fire at The Nor'-Wester, Coldwell sold his interest in the paper to his partner Schultz and prepared to leave Fort Garry. The Colony lost another Ross when the youngest member of the family, Alexander (Sandy) Winfield Ross and his new bride Catherine Murray also left shortly afterwards.[48]

With both Ross and Coldwell gone The Nor'- Wester lagged badly under Schultz. The paper appeared irregularly and was printed on different kinds of stock. The format changed from time to time.[49] The reading matter consisted largely of reprints from other newspapers. There was little of local interest nor was there any effort to publicize the potential of the Northwest as the former editors had done. Only the editorials had a local flavour. There was some concern for public health - Schultz was a doctor. The lead articles were persistingly critical of the

Hudson's Bay Company and sought to bring its authority to an end.

For the next four years James Ross lived the life of a moderately succuessful journalist in Toronto. His five children, despite the usual children's diseases, were thriving. James wrote his mother,

> "Caroline still keeps her rounded cheeks. She sometimes says, "Oh, I would like to go and stop at Granny's again. Granny has so much milk." Caroline is a great nurse ... always hold the baby. Louisa hates to nurse, but she is a good girl for all that. She goes to school every day and is learning fast to read and write. Next year Caroline will go to school too ... Herbert and Henrietta are as wild as dear. They are strong and healthy ... full of life and play. Our little baby is now nearly four months old. His name is James Rupert. I think he is darker than the other children. He is a real halfbreed." (50)

After a year and a half at the Globe, James Ross received a raise in pay to $16.00 per week.[51] He acquired a home on Grosvenor Street, a short distance west of Yonge Street, north of Queen Avenue, near the University. By his own admission he worked very hard to maintain himself and his family in the style and manner befitting his education, occupation and social status. His lament to his mother has a familiar ring:

> "I never get away from the office during these parliamentary times till 5 o'clock. Think of continuous sitting and hard brain work from seven evening till five morning — ten weary hours." (52)

> "It costs a great deal to live here. Everything nearly is dear. Money just goes like nothing. And we have such a large family now ... five children ... that they would need a household of gold to keep them ... I am almost killed with work, but I cannot help it, I must make a living." (53)

In this environment, James Ross could forget, except when he looked at his youngest son, that he was a halfbreed. His ability and family conncection had enabled him to find acceptance in Anglo-Saxon Protestant Toronto. He was able to help his brother Alexander also find a job with the Globe. William Coldwell, too, joined the Globe staff soon after

arriving in Toronto. James's family lived next door to Margaret's brother James. Alexander Ross and his wife lived with the Coldwell's. The Ross-Smith-Coldwell family formed a comfortable family group. Rev. John Black now became the recognized head of the Ross clan at Red River. The connection between the two branches of the family seems to have been maintained mainly between John Black and William Coldwell. James and the Reverend, after Sir George Simpson's death in 1860, became the executors of the Alexander Ross estate. John Black was often critical of James's handling of the funds earned by the estate. There is little of the personal disclosures that featured their correspondence while James was a student. All was now businesslike -- references to bills of exchange, shares bought and sold, monies distributed, debts paid and incurred. Personal notes were appended as an afterthought.

What induced James Ross to return to his home in Red River is open to conjecture. Notwithstanding his adjustment to city life, living in Toronto had its restrictions. Did James Ross yearn for the outdoors? Did he long to have his favorite horse 'Charley' under him? There is nothing in his correspondence to indicate as much. When he wrote his mother, "we intend all of us to go back to Red River,"[54] was he only expressing a nostalgia for his youth? Perhaps after five years of hard work the glamour of his existence in Toronto had worn off and he was only lacking the appropriate incentive to send him back to the Settlement. Maybe the departure of his brother Alexander after one year in Toronto tended to influence his outlook towards the future. In any case James Ross began to plan a return in the fall of 1868 when he entered into negotiations to sell his house. The deal was not completed but was indicative of a change in attitude. It was the events of the winter of 1868-1869 that may finally have firmed up James Ross's resolve.

The Settlement had suffered a complete crop failure in the summer of '68 and the call for amine relief reached out to the world. Fund-raising committees were formed in Canada and elsewhere. The New York papers covered this story of imminent starvation. John Black's brother David raised $672.00 at Brushland, New York, and forwarded the money through James Ross. Did James feel the need to do more than help raise funds for the beleaguered Colony? His upbringing and religious conviction would have predisposed him to do so.

At the same time negotiations to annex the colony to the new confederation were rushing to a conclusion and the end of Hudson's Bay Company rule was in sight. The presence of the Canadian survey parties at Red River created a state of apprehension and nervous expectation. The Canadians were not too popular as Alexander was to tell his brother James,

> "... some of your Canadian friends have got themselves into trouble. Snow has been summoned to appear and answer to two charges of selling liquor to Indians at Point du Chine. Our old friend Hall, ditto. Both cases to come up today at Fort Garry. For the letter which he wrote about R.R. ladies, Mr. Mair got an awful overhauling from Mrs. Bannatyne ... it is said she slapt his face and then struck him several times with a riding whip in Mr. B's (Bannatyne) store in the presence of several persons." (55)

A pressing issue in the Red River Settlement at this time was the legitimacy of the land titles held by the inhabitants. James Ross wrote to William McDougall (1822-1905), then Minister of Public Works in Ottawa, on the subject of land titles and received a reassuring letter that Ross's fears were 'not well grounded.' McDougall also wrote hopefully of a road between Fort William and Fort Garry, a project close to Ross's heart, predicting a passable highway within two years. There is also an implication that Ross would be needed in the new possession and should take care not to wear himself out at the Globe.[56] Ross was to state

later on that he had been, "induced by Mr. McDougall to leave a lucrative and honourable position in order to come to the Settlement."[57] We only have James Ross's word for this. There are no further documents to support this claim.

By May 1869 both Ross and Coldwell had made up their minds to move back to the Settlement. Word had filtered back to the Colony that they intended to bring a new press with them and start up a paper in opposition to The Nor'-Wester.[58]

The legislation in 1869 enabling the Canadians to take over the British Northwest still had to be processed in the two Parliaments. There was little doubt however that in a short time Britain would be relinquishing its interest and the Company - suitably reimbursed - would be surrendering its monopoly and authority. There was still some apprehension at Fort Garry that the territory might still fall like a 'ripe plum' into the American basket. Minnesotans made no secret of their territorial ambitions and some Canadians were concerned that the British might deal off their interest in the Northwest to the Americans in settlement of the Alabama claims.[59] In these circumstances Canadian interest developed a new urgency, which may account in part for their failure to be as careful about the transition that the situation required. The Canadian government sent Joseph Howe (1804-1873) Secretary of State to Red River to assess the feeling there. This minimal effort was, however, insufficient to stem the tide of resentment which was fomenting in the Red River Settlement.

James Ross's return to the Settlement was probably compounded of a personal need and opportunism. It would have been out of character for Ross not to have expected to play an important and rewarding role in the new Canadian territory. The Rosses owned a large tract of land in

the heart of Winnipeg - the name adopted for the area in the center of the Red River Settlement - and James Ross's experience in Toronto during the period of growth in the 50s and 60s alerted him to the possibilities of subdivision, once the expected tide of immigration manifested itself. The Rosses had never completely divorced themselves from buying and selling manufactured and processed products and here too there were some benefits to be obtained. There is even some reason to believe that James Ross was considering some banking activity.[60] Red River was expected to undergo an extensive change and there is little doubt that Ross was not only aware of this but looked forward to profit from it.

James Ross's arrival in the Red River Settlement on June 16, 1869 was barely noted in The Nor'- Wester. The fact that he and Coldwell were planning to start another paper may have had something to do with it. The Ross family moved in with Granny Ross and were barely settled when James Ross became involved in the turmoil of events instigated by the French-speaking halfbreeds led by Louis Riel.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Louisa Jane (1859-1886), Caroline Sarah (1860- ?), Herbert William (1861- ?), Henrietta Black (1863- ?), James Rupert (1865-1882). See "Descendants of Alexander Ross," in Calendar of the Alexander Ross Family Papers 1810-1903.

2. The Nor'- Wester, June 10, 1864, p. 3, col. 1.

3. Toronto Globe, June 30, 1864, p. 2, col., 6.

4. Ross Papers, item 253, July 20, 1864, James Ross, Toronto to (Margaret Ross, Red River).

5. The Nor'- Wester, July 13, 1864, p. 2 col., 2.

6. L.B. Irwin, Pacific Railways and Nationalism in Canadian - American Northwest, 1845-1873 (Philadelphia, 1939).

7. The Nor'- Wester, July 2, 1864. See also July 13, 1864, July 23, 1864, August 2, 1864 and August 18, 1864 for description of route from Pembina to St. Paul.

8. Globe, September 15, 1864, p. 2, col., 3.

9. Ibid., July 19, 1864, p. 1, col., 7.

10. Ibid., November 16, 1859, reprinted in The Nor'- Wester, February 14, 1860, p. 2.

11. Ibid., July 4, 1864, p. 2, col., 3.

12. Ross Papers, item 250, July 5, 1864. "Agreement between John McNab, Attorney, and James Ross, Toronto and Articles of Clerkship."

13. Ibid., item 265, September 19, 1864, James Ross, Toronto, to (Margaret Smith Ross, Glencoe).

14. Nor'- Wester, October 17, 1864.

15. Globe, June 30, 1864, p. 2, col., 6.

16. Ibid., July 15, 1864, "Hudson's Bay Territory."

17. Ibid., July 19, 1864, p. 1, col., 7.

18. Ibid., July 27, 1864, p. 2, col., 4 and August 2, 1864, p. 1, col., 7.

19. Ibid., July 19, 1864, p.1, col., 7.

20. Ibid., September 7, 1864,

21. Ibid., September 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13, 1864.

22. Ross Papers, item 264, September 17, 1864, T & R White, Spectator Office, Hamilton to James Ross, (Toronto).

23. Ibid., item 256, July 29, 1864, Margaret (Smith) Ross, Macduff House, Red River, to (James Ross, Toronto).

24. Ibid., item 257, August 2, 1864, Margaret (Smith) Ross, Macduff House, Red River, to (James Ross, Toronto).

25. Ibid., item 258, August 10, 1864, Margaret (Smith) Ross Macduff House, Red River, to (James Ross, Toronto).

26. Magnus Brown bought Macduff House from James Ross. His property is River Lot 39 about 1 1/4 miles north of Colony Gardens, probably bounded today by Magnus and Alfred. See Ross Papers, item 546 for plan of Township 11, Range 3E, St. John's Parish.

27. Ibid., item 249, July 1, 1864, Margaret (Smith) Ross, Macduff House, Red River, to (James Ross, Toronto).

28. Ibid., item 251, July 8, 1864, Margaret (Smith) Ross, Macduff House, Red River, to (James Ross, Toronto).

29. Ibid., item 253, July 20, 1864, James Ross, Toronto to (Margaret Smith Ross, Red River).

30. Ibid., item 258, August 10, 1864, Margaret (Smith) Ross, Macduff House, Red River, to (James Ross, Toronto).

31. Ibid., item 259, August 19, 1864, Margaret (Smith) Ross, Macduff House, Red River, to (James Ross, Toronto).

32. James Ross had difficulty collecting from Dr. J.C. Schultz. They were always on speaking terms but it is probable that James Ross never fully trusted Schultz.

33. Ross Papers, item 268, November 1, 1864, John McNab, Toronto to James Ross, Hamilton.

34. E. Whelan, Union of the British Provinces, (Charlottetown, 1865).

35. Ross Papers, item 267, October 27, 1864, John McNab, Toronto to James Ross, Hamilton.

36. Globe, June 26, 1865.

37. Ross Papers, item 273, December 24, 1864, Henrietta Black, Kildonan Manse to (James Ross, Hamilton).

38. Ibid., item 278, April 1, 1865, J.G. Brown, Globe Office to James Ross, Hamilton.

39. Globe, June 26, 1865, p. 2, col., 7.

40. Ross Papers, item 282, June 14, 1865, James Ross, Holly Station to (Margaret (Smith) Ross, Toronto).

41. Ibid., item 283, June 19, 1865, James Ross, St. Paul to (Margaret (Smith) Ross, Toronto).

42. Ibid., item 287, July 5, 1865, James Ross, Colony Gardens to (Margaret (Smith) Ross, Toronto).

43. P.B. Waite, Life and Times of Confederation 1864-1867, (Toronto, 1962) reprinted in 1965, p. 308, note 2.

44. Ross Papers, item 283, June 19, 1865, James Ross, St. Paul to (Margaret (Smith) Ross, Toronto).

45. Globe, July 25, 1865, p. 1, col., 7.

46. Ross Papers, item 287, July 5, 1865, James Ross, Colony Gardens to (Margaret (Smith) Ross, Toronto).

47. Nor'- Wester, August 1, 1865.

48. Alexander Winfield Ross (1843-187?).

49. Difficulties in printing a paper in Fort Garry are described in detail by Bruce Peel, Early Printing in the Red River Settlement 1859-1870, (Winnipeg, 1974).

50. Ross Papers, item 300, James Ross, Toronto to (Sarah Ross, Red River).

51. Ibid., item 349, January 10, 1867, James Ross, Toronto to Rev. John Black, (Red River).

52. James Ross worked the night shift at the Globe. Ross Papers, item 326, July 20, 1866, (James Ross), Toronto to Rev. John Black, (Red River).

53. Ibid., item 331, August 21, 1866, James Ross, Toronto to (Sarah Ross, Red River).

54. Ibid., item 331,

55. Ibid., item 364, February 15, 1869, Alexander W. Ross, Pembina, Dakota Territory to (James Ross, Toronto).

56. Ibid., item 366, May 6, 1869, William McDougall, Ottawa to James Ross, (Toronto).

57. Ibid., item 465, March 11, 1871, James Ross, Winnipeg to Hon. A.G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor.

58. Ibid., item 367, May 15, 1869, Walter Robert Bown, Nor'- Wester, Winnipeg, to James Ross, Toronto.

59. Alvin C. Gluek, Jr., Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest (Toronto, 1965), pp. 216-217 and 274-275.

60. Ross Papers, item 376, November 16, 1869, Blaikie and Alexander, Toronto to James Ross, Fort Garry.

CHAPTER VIII - RESISTANCE AT RED RIVER 1869 - 1870

It is not the intention of this study to recount in detail the events surrounding the Red River Resistance which began inauspiciously in October 1869 and which led, less than a year later, to the creation of the Province of Manitoba. The story has been told often enough both by contemporary witnesses and by later historians, that the chief facts are not in dispute.[1] It is proposed herein to focus attention, within the framework of these events, on the activities of James Ross and thereby to reveal not only his contribution to the solution of the grievances facing a troubled community but also to illuminate the role played by the English-speaking halfbreeds.

The confrontation which took place at Red River during the winter of 1869-1870 was initiated by the French-speaking halfbreed community against the Canadian government which sought to implement its purchase of the North-West Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company. The main protagonists were the French party led by Louis Riel with full support of the Catholic Church and the representatives of Canadian Government and abetted by a small but vociferous group of Canadians most of whom were newly arrived in the Settlement. The glare of publicity has surrounded the figure of Louis Riel so thoroughly that it has tended to blot out all but the main characters opposed to him, such as William McDougall, Donald A. Smith (1820-1914), Dr. John C. Schultz, and Thomas Scott (1846-1870). There was however a third element in the settlement composed of English-speaking halfbreeds who made up almost half of the population. With them, in close association, were the Scottish and English settlers who were either related to them by marriage or shared a common economic outlook. Both of the main parties to the struggle played upon the sympathy and sought the support of the English-speaking element and our study may

reveal that it was their preference for Riel and not the Canadians which played a decisive role during the Resistance. This decision of the English party as they were to become known, was arrived at in countless small meetings. In the homes, the churches, on the street, and in the taverns opinion slowly swung from indifference to reserve, acceptance and finally active cooperation with the Riel forces.

James Ross's performance during those turbulent days encompassed all of the above moods except the first. From what we know of him, it would be very unlikely that he would play a passive role. Both sides would vie for his support. In addition to an impressive bearing and "rare fluency of utterance"[2] he was respected for his scholastic achievements, legal knowledge, and journalistic skill. James Ross's talents were fully matured by this time but he would have full need of them since he was to be sorely tested in the days to come. The years on The Nor'-Wester and the Toronto Globe had placed him squarely on the Canadian side. He firmly believed in the benefits to be derived from material progress and that the take-over by the Canadians was a desirable alternative for the future. He had spoken out too often against the H.B.C. authoritarian regime; he had written on too many occasions about the advantages to be gained from the Canadian connection; and he had too many friends among the Canadian establishment not to be counted among the friends of the Canadian party in the Settlement. On the other hand he was a halfbreed fully conscious of his mixed blood heritage. He could also identify with early settlers in the North-West, both white and halfbreed, especially on the subject of land title. Before leaving Toronto he met with William McDougall and tried to make him understand,

> "... that his [Canada] government and the measures that he would no doubt take to open up the country and to bring about its settlement as quickly as possible might be some-

> what harmful to the present colonists who were settled in the country and had lived and worked there for a long time without taking the precautions of which they none the less had need to preserve unimpaired their rights and privileges, while coming under a change of government, a government composed of people more interested in advancing the interests of a large number of immigrants than the interest of the first settlers." (3)

James Ross envisaged for himself a role which was to put heavy demands on his loyalties and these were to have serious implications for his future. Although handicapped by his ambivalence, Ross's contribution to the development of the settlement was significant, as the following will attempt to illustrate.

The crisis at Red River was created by the deal worked out between the Canadian and British governments with respect to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. For the sum of £300,000, and other valuable considerations, the Company surrendered its charter to the British government which in turn deeded Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to Canada for a similar amount of money.[4] Enabling legislation was passed in 1868 and Canada planned to exercise its rights under the agreement on Dec. 1, 1869.[5] Since these negotiations were conducted without reference to the needs and concerns of the settlers, considerable suspicion and mistrust were generated in the Settlement. The inhabitants at Red River were particularly worried about the title to their property which to that date had been loosely managed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Everyone expected the change in political authority to produce an influx of immigrants from Upper Canada and this was a cause of concern both for Catholic French-speaking Red River and Catholic French-speaking Quebec. There was also widespread concern that the government to replace the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company would not be representative of the people in the Settlement. The dominant fact which emerged was that

the people at Red River were given no opportunity to voice their opinion and that decisions were made of which they were oblivious.

The first evidence, that the inhabitants at Red River resented the manner in which the Canadian Government was acting, took place on October 11, 1869 when a Canadian survey party was stopped from doing its work on André Nault's farm and ten days later a similar group of Métis barricaded the road from Pembina at St. Norbert and declared that the newly appointed Lieutenant Governor to the North-West Territory would be denied entrance to the Settlement. The Métis fears were stated publicly by Louis Riel and John Bruce (1831- ?), the apparent leaders of these two actions, when they appeared before the Council of Assiniboia on October 25th and stated,

> "... that his party were perfectly satisfied with the present government and wanted no other; that they objected to any Government coming from Canada without their being consulted in the matter; that they would never admit any Governor, no matter by whom he might be appointed, if not by the Hudson's Bay Company, unless Delegates were previously sent with whom they might negotiate as to the terms and conditions under which they would acknowledge him." (6)

Riel was as good as his word. William McDougall was effectively barred from entering the Settlement when he arrived at Pembina on October 30th. Three days later Riel seized Fort Garry with its stores of food, guns and ammunition. Louis Riel demonstrated exceptional ability and determination in harnessing the resentment fomented in the Settlement by the action of the Canadian government and the behavior of the Canadian 'party'. He utilized the organizational experience of the buffalo hunt to weld together a force of armed men who had committed themselves to carry out the bidding of a National Committee of which Bruce was the president and Riel the secretary. Discipline was tight, drinking was prohibited, and lives and property were protected. Riel's actions to

this point were a potent demonstration that he and his party were determined to force the Canadian government to reconsider its position. Despite these decisive steps Riel was still unsure of himself. He now had four hundred armed buffalo hunters at his back but he knew that there was a lack of unanimity even within the Métis ranks. Moreover, the English-speaking element, while it did not openly oppose him, did not support him either. Riel needed the backing of the whole community in order to cloak his actions with an aura of legitimacy. As a consequence Riel called a meeting for November 16th to which were invited one representative from each of the ten English parishes and two from the "town of Winnipeg." These twelve representatives were to be matched by twelve representatives from the four French parishes. The notice of the meeting was taken to The Nor'- Wester to be printed. Dr. Walter R. Bown (d. 1903) owner and publisher of the paper, after consulting with someone, probably Dr. John Christian Schultz, a prominent Canadian, refused to do so. The deputation sent by Riel to the printers thereupon,

> "took possession of his press and type calling in the aid of two experienced hands they succeeded in printing off a number of copies. Mr. James Ross one of the proprietors of the "Red River Pioneer" newspaper standing by to overlook the work that it was done correctly." (7)

By this act James Ross confirmed not only his approval of the meeting but admitted to its legitimacy. It is not difficult to assess his reasons for doing so. All his training and experience would incline him towards a negotiated settlement and even if at that time he considered Riel's actions as rebellious he was prepared to resolve the differences by talking rather than fighting. Although the Settlement had entered an activist state, it had not adopted the grim appearance that it was to acquire later on. McDougall was at Pembina and so far had done nothing to aggravate the situation. Governor William Mactavish, the legally constituted

authority in Rupert's Land had not yet spoken. No blood had been spilled and nothing irrevocable had been done. If a representative gathering of the Settlement could be convinced in allowing McDougall to enter Fort Garry, a peaceful solution could be achieved. This meeting was to provide a public arena for the persuasive skills of James Ross and Louis Riel.

The contrast between these two men is worth noting at this point in the study. It is doubtful whether they had ever met before the fall of 1869. Riel at twenty-five was nine years younger than Ross. There could hardly have been any contact between them before 1853. Their disparity in ages was too great during their boyhood years. They were not only separated by time but also by space. The Ross and Riel families had very little in common other than their Indian heritage. Socially and culturally James Ross and Louis Riel lived in different worlds although they were only separated by the Red River. James Ross attended the Red River Academy, which was supported by the Church of England, while Louis Riel was educated in the Catholic School of St. Boniface. When Ross returned to the Red River in the summer of 1858 the young Riel had left for Montreal to attend the College de Montreal under the Sulpician fathers, presumably to study for the priesthood. In this respect both Ross and Riel shared a common experience. Both were encouraged by their elders to enter the service of God. Both had strong religious convictions.

Both men were away from the Settlement during the crucial years of the Confederation debates. Ross as has been noted was completely under the influence of the expansionists of Upper Canada and one may conjecture that so strong was the influence of George Brown of the Globe that he may have substituted for Alexander Ross as a father figure. Riel on the other hand spent many impressionable years in Montreal and could not help being exposed to the ideas of the French-speaking politicians. G.F.G. Stanley

in his biography of Louis Riel suggests that, "although he never left positive proof of this, there seems little doubt that Riel's thoughts must have, on occasions, returned to the arguments he had heard so frequently in those days in Montreal in 1865 and 1866 when Taschereau and Dorion and LaFlamme were expressing their fears as to what confederation would do to the French minority."[8] Both men were articulate and fluent in both languages. Throughout the public meetings Ross was to interpret for Riel when he spoke in French and Riel would in turn interpret for Ross when he spoke in English. Both men could rise to the occasion with passion and eloquence but Ross's appeal was basically legal and logical while Riel was inclined to be emotional.

The convention assembled on November 16th in the Court House just outside the walls of Fort Garry. The English parishes had hurriedly met and elected their representatives. Of the twelve men selected three were halfbreeds, one was a full-blooded Indian, six were long time Scottish and English settlers and the other two, a Canadian and an American, were known to be sympathetic to the American annexationists.[9] No Canadian sympathizers were chosen. The meeting started with a fanfare. The English party delegates were startled when they were greeted with a sixteen round salute from a six pounder and assorted firing of muskets. The English regarded this as a show of force but were assured that this demonstration was meant as a signal of honour.[10] Unfortunately the French refused to allow a reporter to be present at the discussion. The public was also excluded. Evidence however is clear that the principal speaker for the French party was Riel and the principal speaker for the English party was James Ross. Our main sources of information are Louis Riel's notes of meetings which took place between November 16th and December 1st.[11] Riel naturally gave himself the best of the exchange but he

acknowledges Ross's arguments respectfully. Although Donald Gunn, the representative from St. Andrews, found nothing in the first two days of meetings worthy of inclusion in his history of Manitoba, the difference between the two parties were fully explored.

The verbal skirmishing was characteristic of a negotiating situation between opposites. The English questioned the authority of the chair and called for a fresh election. The French countered by questioning the credentials of the English representative. The first substantive issue was the arrival of a communication from Governor Mactavish. This was the first public statement by the established authority since the Council meeting on October 25th, and was eagerly awaited by the Settlement. The English wanted the document read immediately but the French, probably worried as to its contents, opposed the suggestion. A compromise was reached when it was agreed that the Governor's communication would be read at the end of the meeting.

According to Riel, Ross questioned the taking off the Fort by the Métis and the following exchange took place,

Ross - What cause led you to take the Fort?
Riel - To preserve it for the inhabitants of the country and in order that McDougall with his strangers should not come and establish himself there as absolute master.
Ross - The means you have taken to arrive at your end are unconstitutional - The Queen conferred authority on Mr. McDougall at pleasure - All loyal subjects have only to obey.
Riel - Let Mr. McDougall show his authorization : We have never refused to obey the Queen of England.
Ross - Mr. Mactavish is still the representative of the Queen. You occupy the Fort in spite of him.
Riel - I do not know whether our occupation of the Fort is very disagreeable to him.
Ross - (indignantly) - Mr. Mactavish is a worthy representative of the Queen.
Riel - We think so still.

> Ross - Well, then, if so, as it is a little late and time for us to think of adjourning, I demand that the communication which has been sent to you by Mr. Mactavish be read now. Mr. Riel will make no objection, I presume, because of what he has said. (12)

Riel's worst fears were realized when the document was read because Governor Mactavish, after enumerating all of the acts of Riel's men had committed namely obstructing the roads, seizing private goods, blocking the mail, seizing the fort, expelling certain persons from the Settlement and resisting the lawful transfer of the country, urged all those who were engaged in this unlawful business to set aside their arms and disperse, before it was too late.[13]

Ross did not hesitate to face Riel with the reality of this statement but lost the initiative when Riel cleverly turned Mactavish's closing words to his advantage.

> "See what Mactavish says. He says that from this assembly and from the decisions of this assembly can come an inestimable good. Let us unite. The evil that is feared will not take place. See how he speaks. Is it surprising? His children are of mixed blood like ourselves." (14)

The need to establish the legitimacy of his actions was a tightening noose around his neck but Riel was able to wriggle out from the implications of Mactavish's proclamation by resorting to rhetoric. Ross, by calling Riel's action rebellious had pushed Riel into a corner and for a while Riel's appeal to brotherhood and kinship worked. Outside the Court house walls however the English party realized that by going along with Riel they were exposed to being charged as rebels and subject to punitive measures in the event of a showdown, if not with the Canadians, then with the British. Riel seemed to be rushing headlong down a precipitous incline and it was Ross who was pointing out some of the

obstacles on the way.

The convention met again the next day and now that each side knew where the other one stood, the mood was more amicable. The English party pressed for allowing McDougall entry into the country. Ross took the position that once McDougall would be in the Colony, he could reasonably be dealt with. Riel was adamant on this issue. He didn't trust McDougall and his entourage and forcing him out after letting him in would indeed be an act of rebellion. From a tactical point of view Riel was correct. Whatever advantage the Métis possessed it could best be exploited while McDougall was still in Pembina. Ross continued to argue for a reconciliation with McDougall pointing out that unless they admitted him, the colony would draw down "misfortunes such as it had never known." Riel then appealed to Ross not to be intimidated by portents of the future, but

> "to speak with his eloquent voice in the name of the love which he bears to the country of his birth, invoking as we do the union of all the settlers of the colony ... speak up for your country, do not seek to silence it. With your learning, your gifts, say to your English fellow-countrymen that Mr. McDougall is not yet our governor ..." (15)

The issue unresolved, the convention adjourned for two days to allow the Quarterly Court to hold its regular session. Back in session neither side had budged. This time James Ross's arguments took a different tack. According to Riel,

> "Mr. Ross raises the question of the gains which would flow from our entry into the confederation, gains which would be considerable for us and important for the accomplishment of the design of confederation. We are, as it were, the key stone of the arch of that grand undertaking." (16)

Riel responded that, such being the case, it was incumbent that

the Settlement be put on "such footing that the settlers here may go on living prosperously ... and that outsiders coming here to live may find institutions all ready to make them happy by bestowing on them those liberties which all America likes to see its children enjoy without distinction."[17] Donald Gunn again wound up the day's session by complaining that nothing had been accomplished and nothing would as long as the French had guns and the others didn't. Riel shrugged off a request to lay down their arms and so the meeting adjourned to the next day. While James Ross's logic was unable to alter the position of Riel's supporters, by the same token Riel's passion failed to sway the English parish representatives. Thus after four days of parlaying the Settlement had hardly made any progress.

Meanwhile, events outside the courtroom were adding a further dimension to an already tangled situation. The Canadian party led by Schultz, who was thoroughly hated by the French and distrusted by the English, gave evidence that they were preparing to take direct action. The threat of civil war hung over the Settlement like a sinister cloud. The thought of bloodshed horrified the English party and efforts were made to persuade the Canadian party not to act rashly. James Ross organized a meeting between Bannatyne and Schultz and again between Schultz and some of the Protestant clergy. In Begg's view "It goes to show that Mr. James Ross is in hand and glove with the McDougall S[c]hultz party irrespective of the claims of the settlers here - a two faced traitor."[18] An alternate view is that Ross was doing everything he could to keep the situation from boiling over. Assuming the latter it was a dangerous thing for James Ross to do. With the best of intentions, his actions could be easily misinterpreted. Fortunately for Ross, the people of his parish continued to trust him.[19] To keep the situation from deteriorating

Riel determined to establish a Provisional Government for the purpose of dealing with the Canadian Government. He spent a whole night convincing his followers of the rightness of his plan. He had to reassure them that this would not constitute rebellion. Riel was able to do this and on the morning of the 24th he put his plan into action by first seizing the books of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the Convention met he invited the English to join the French in forming a Provisional Government. The Métis leader pleaded eloquently with the English party, "We invite you to join us sincerely. The government will be composed equally of French and English. It will be only Provisional."[20] The English party were not surprised at this turn of events but felt that their mandate did not permit them to take such a momentous step. They asked for time to consult with their parishes. Riel consented and the Convention adjourned until December 1st.

December the first was a day full of foreboding. This was the day on which the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company would expire. It was therefore expected that William McDougall, the Lieutenant Governor designate, would exercise his authority by revealing the Queen's Commission, which would have the effect of placing the Settlement in a state of rebellion if it did not put down its arms and disband. The English party would have to respond to Riel's invitation to form a Provisional Government. It was a time of decision with serious consequences on the outcome. McDougall's proclamation arrived as expected and the Convention assembled to consider its authenticity and implications. The English continued to press for a meeting with McDougall. Riel finally accepted the validity of the document and stated that he was not only prepared to meet with Mr. McDougall but anxious to do so.

> "If Mr. McDougall is really our government today, our chances are better then ever. He has no more than prove to us his desire to treat us well. If he guarantees our rights, I am one of those who will go to meet him in order to escort him as far as the seat of his government." (21)

Ross then asked the question which had been unanswered to this point, namely, "What will we ask him." Riel accepted the reasonableness of the question and retired with his advisers to prepare a List of Rights.[22] For the first time the insurgents had stated their demands explicitly. The looseness and vagueness of the List offended Ross's legal sensibility but he failed to convince the gathering that more clarity was required. The English were probably pleased to have something on the table and according to both Ross and Riel a motion to adopt easily gained a majority. The whole plan foundered however when Riel insisted that McDougall guarantee these demands, after demonstrating that he had the authority to do so, or failing this to have the List of Rights guaranteed by an Act of Parliament. The English, under these conditions refused to meet with McDougall. Riel then hotly replied,

> "Go, return peacefully to your farms. Rest in the arms of your wives. Give that example to your children. But watch us act. We are going to work and obtain the guarantee of our rights and of yours. You will come to share them in the end." (23)

Riel thereupon dissolved the Convention and it was evident that he intended to proceed with his stated course of action without the support of the English.

A printed version of the List of Rights was circulated throughout the Settlement on December 8th. The List although hastily put together indicated the parameters of Riel's demands. Some had the whole-hearted support of the Settlement. These were the rights of the people of Red River to elect their own legislature; the appropriation of public lands

for the building of schools, roads and other public works; the payment by Canada for four years of the expense of public administration; official status for both the French and English languages in the courts and legislature; the confirmation of all existing "privileges, customs and usages" and "full and fair" representation in the Parliament of Canada. Others such as the election of sheriffs and magistrates; power of the legislature to override the executive and the right to veto all federal legislation unless sanctioned by the people of Red River were bargaining points that could be conveniently discarded during the process of negotiation.[24] The demand for a railway link with the United States may have been inspired by the Americans in the Settlement but was of extreme importance to the commercial elements in the Settlement.

Riel's next step was to disarm everyone and anyone who could possibly challenge his authority. There were two groups who presented a potential threat. The first was led by Col. John Stoughton Dennis (1820-1885) who had been commissioned by McDougall with authority to raise an armed force within the colony in order to dislodge the Métis hold on Fort Garry. Using the Stone Fort (Lower Fort Garry) as a base Dennis tried to carry out his commission but met with very little success. He wrote to Ross and others in the Settlement soliciting their support. James Ross responded to this appeal in unequivocal terms,

> "I take the liberty to write you a line to express my strong convictions that you should <u>not</u> move aggressively against the French. Pray don't do that. I cannot see what in the world we are going to fight for. A civil war is far too dear a price to pay for anything wanted. I am still hopeful of peace. Many besides me think you should not move ... You may have a deputation today or tomorrow from the English people urging the same views upon you." (25)

Dennis soon realized the futility of his mission. In leaving the Settlement he sent a proclamation to Bannatyne explaining that he was

abandoning his efforts because he was convinced that a peaceful solution was attainable. He then called upon the French Party, "to satisfy the people of their sincerity in wishing for a peaceful ending of all these troubles by sending a deputation to the Lieutenant Governor at Pembina without unnecessary delay."[26] Riel had no intention now of sending a deputation to McDougall because by this time he was convinced that McDougall's proclamation was false and he was determined to force the Canadian Government to deal with him directly.

Dealing with Schultz and the Canadians was a more serious matter. Schultz had turned his home into an armed camp and defied Riel's demand to give up their arms. The Métis surrounded the house, brought up their cannon and were prepared to blast the Canadians into submission. This was the confrontation that everyone feared. Bannatyne was the spokesman for a group of concerned citizenry who after talking to Riel was able to convince Schultz that his position was foolhardy. The Canadian party surrendered their arms and were imprisoned at Fort Garry. Wives of some of the leaders opted for confinement with their husbands. Alexander Begg gives full credit to his friend and partner Bannatyne for bringing about a peaceful solution to a very difficult situation.[27] McDougall, after learning of Dennis's fiasco and Schultz's capitulation, had no alternative but to return to Canada.

Riel's threat to proceed alone had proved no idle boast. His enemies were either scattered or in jail. Riel followed up these actions with a Proclamation announcing the establishment of a Provisional Government.[28] The English version was immediately heralded as a Declaration of Independence[29] and some historians have claimed that it was influenced by the American Declaration of 1776. The similarity may be due to the fact that both documents appeal to a higher authority than that constituted by man.

In using such terms as "The God of Nations," "fundamental moral principles," "sacred right," "Divine Providence," Riel invoked the same spirit that permeated the philosophy of the American Declaration. The American founding fathers based theirs on the natural rights of man. A major difference is that while Riel called for his rights as a British subject, the Americans carefully avoided mentioning their former rights under the King.[30]

An uneasy peace returned to the Settlement as Riel raised his standard over the Fort. James Ross's description of what followed was briefly recorded but evokes a vivid picture of a community released from a frightening possibility,

> "French flag hoisted today at 3 p.m. It is said to have a fleur de lis and shamrock. Great firing and eclat over it. The boys' brass band from St. Boniface came down to town and played three tunes. Dutch George distributed cakes among them. Guards in town fired several salutes also. The crowd was at George's door. A cry for "three cheers for the Provisional Government" was responded to ... in evening great jollification in town. Large parties going from saloon to saloon getting treats. Bob O'Lone had boy beating an old kettle for drum, announcing progress of the party ..." (31)

The English speaking community demonstrated, during the hectic days beginning with the dissolution of the Convention, that while they were not prepared to risk being declared rebellious they definitely favored Riel and contributed substantially in preventing a clash between the Canadian party and the Métis. Ross's behavior during this period typifies the attitude of the English party. On December 2nd, the day after the dissolution, he wrote in his diary,

> "Bob O'Lone, an honest man, said he did not want to help either side, but would do what in his judgment and conscience he believed right for the whole settlement. I told Bob the difficulty we English delegates felt was that the French wanted us to do what was unlawful, and as law-abiding subjects we could not consent." (32)

Two days later he was not upset when Coldwell showed him the List

of Rights to which Riel had added two new ones as well as a comment that the delegates had agreed to all of them. This was not true but Ross did not think it important at that time.[33] The next day, the 5th of December, he met with Coldwell, Bannatyne and Hargrave and they agreed to see Riel about keeping Dennis and Schultz quiet and also about a joint delegation to see McDougall about the rights claimed. He then "wrote a letter to Canada, advising George Brown not to encourage sending any force here [Fort Garry], but to urge the Government to grant all they possibly could to the French and thereby save the Settlement."[34] James Ross thus made his feelings known to the Globe and may have contributed towards the coolness the paper exhibited to him later on. Ross discovered that it had been reported that he had been taken prisoner along with Schultz and Charles Mair (1838-1927) and probably saw to it that this error was corrected.[35] His negative response towards Dennis has already been noted. The English community although not actively supporting Riel's actions were not distressed by his use of force. In fact they may have silently approved these measures because it offered the best way to preserve peace in the Settlement. The departure of McDougall and Dennis and the imprisonment of the Canadian party had eliminated any real counter threat. But Riel still had to win over the English and subdue some of the rumblings in his own ranks. On the whole Riel's appeal to blood and country had told. The Red River Settlement cut off by winter from the world could now settle back to enjoy the Christmas season and await the New Year.

Much of the information we have today of the resistance period is derived from the New Nation, the only newspaper published in the Settlement. A few comments on the origin of this paper are in order because of the Ross-Coldwell connection. At the commencement of the resistance there were two printing presses at Red River. One press was owned by Dr. Bown

and printed The Nor'- Wester. The other press had been bought by Ross and Coldwell in June. They intended to start a new paper, first to be called the North Star and later named the Red River Pioneer. Only the first and fourth pages of the paper were printed when Riel seized both presses. The last issue of The Nor'- Wester was printed on November 23rd. Henry M. Robinson, an American, probably with Riel's cognizance and approval, bought the Ross-Coldwell presses and became the editor and publisher of a new paper entitled the New Nation. Coldwell stayed on as a reporter.[36] The first issue was printed on January 7, 1870 and consisted of pages 1 and 4 of the Red River Pioneer and pages 2 and 3 of the New Nation. The paper was openly in favor of annexation by the United States and this stance seems to have been permitted by Riel. Robinson's view in March, however, became even too rabid for Riel and he was replaced by Thomas Spence (1832-1900) as editor. There was speculation at the time that James Ross would become the new editor.[37] The printing office was at the rear of the Bannatyne-Begg store which seems to have been the unofficial headquarters of the English party. This may account in part for Begg's intimate knowledge of what was going on throughout the community. The last issue of New Nation appeared on the 22nd of July, 1870.[38] It appeared thirty-three times, missing only once on March 18th. With the arrival of Lieutenant Governor Adams G. Archibald on September 3rd William Coldwell in partnership with Robert Cunningham (1836-1874) reacquired the press and type. A new paper The Manitoban made its first appearance on October 15, 1870. Schultz accused Ross of owning a part of the paper but Cunningham vehemently denied this.[39]

The new year was to usher in a fresh series of events. Sir John A. Macdonald, the Canadian prime minister, having determined to negotiate with the disaffected residents at Red River, sent two parties of emissaries

to the Settlement. The first party consisted of the Grand-Vicar Jean Baptiste Thibault (1810-1879) and Colonel Charles de Salaberry (1820-1882). Their role was intended to be palliative. Neither of these men had any authority to act. This fact was soon determined by Riel and the role they played was insignificant in the days that followed their arrival at Fort Garry. Donald A. Smith, the second envoy, on the other hand had been entrusted with considerable discretionary power. Smith was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Richard Hardisty. Both parties arrived during the last week in December. Donald Smith entered the colony as a private citizen and spent the next two weeks using the economic power of the H.B.C. to solicit support from some of Riel's Métis supporters.[40] While Smith did not reveal the exact nature of his commission it was assumed by everyone that he was a representative of the Canadian government. Smith's efforts seemed to be making headway, so much so, that Riel reluctantly agreed to a public meeting with Donald A. Smith as the main attraction. The whole Settlement was invited to attend an outdoor meeting on January 19th at Fort Garry to listen to the Canadian visitor. Smith at this time revealed his credentials, and after meeting for two days outside in the bitter cold, Riel was convinced that he could not avoid dealing with the Canadian Commissioner. He therefore proposed that a convention consisting of forty delegates - twenty French and twenty English - be convened "with the object of considering the subject of Mr. Smith's commission, and to decide what would be best for the welfare of the country."[41] Riel's motion was approved by the gathering and the date of the second convention was set for January 25th, barely five days away. The meeting closed with a final address from Riel, directed mainly at the English.

> "Before this assembly breaks up, I cannot but express my feeling, however briefly, I came here with fear. We are not yet enemies (loud cheers) - but we came near

> being so. As soon as we understood each other, we joined in demanding what our English fellow subjects in common with us believe to be our just rights (loud cheers). I am afraid to say our rights; for we all have rights (renewed cheers). We claim no half rights, mind you, but all the rights we are entitled to. Those rights will be set forth by our representatives, and, what is more, gentlemen, we will get them (loud cheers)." (42)

The English parishes had less than a week to apportion the twenty delegates and to name their representatives.[43] James Ross was the unanimous choice St. John's Parish but only after a determined effort on Alexander Begg's (1839-1877) part to secure the nomination. Begg did not like Ross any more after losing and confided in his diary that, "It is hoped he will not give the trouble he did in the last council."[44] Begg rarely had anything complimentary to say about James Ross. Usually undeserved. Although the English still had their reservations, they were mollified by the evident willingness of the British and Canadian Governments to listen to their grievances and promises to redress them. These concerns are evident in the terms of reference given James Ross by the Parish of St. John's. He was directed as follows:

> 1. That we the people of St. John's Parish acknowledge allegiance to England, and are opposed to any change of allegiance.
>
> 2. We hold that the Hudson's Bay Company Government is the only legal government in this country at present and that it is entitled to our obedience and support until set aside by authority direct or indirect from the Queen of England.
>
> 3. We are opposed to any Provisional Government which is not based upon the direct authority of the Queen or upon the delegated authority possessed by the Hudson's Bay Company.
>
> 4. Seeing that the Queen has signified her wish that all those who have complaints to make should do so to the Governor General of Canada and seeing that the said Governor General and his Cabinet have, by several official communications evinced the utmost willingness to accord to us all just rights, it is the

> opinion of the people of St. John's Parish that negotiations should be at once opened with the Canadian Commissioners by our delegates acting as a Committee of management of the people. (45)

These guidelines affirmed the British connection and presumably were included in order to emphasize an unwillingness to consider any affiliation with the Americans. A second inference is that the Parish took issue with Riel's Proclamation of December 8th and its appeal to 'natural law.' The settlers saw themselves as British subjects and wanted to be treated as such. The attachment to the Crown can also be related to a non-sentimental issue - the ownership of real property. Unless there was a clear transfer of authority from the Company to the new government, with the blessing of the Crown, much of the difficulty related to the ownership of land would be realized. This was one of the issues which had sparked the unrest in the first place and had such wide community support.

The Convention of Forty convened on January 25th as planned but three of the French delegates failed to arrive because of a severe winter storm. Opening of the assembly was delayed until the next day. The Convention of Forty differed from the earlier convention not only in numbers. This time representatives from the outlying French and English parishes were included.[46] The anxiety, moreover, which pervaded the English group, because its actions could be considered rebellious, was no longer in evidence. The new consulting body had official status. It had been authorized into existence in the presence of a Canadian commissioner and under terms of a Crown proclamation. The Governor General, in his directive to Donald A. Smith, referred to a telegraph he had received from the Colonial ministry which "calls upon all who have any complaints to make, or wishes to express to address themselves to me as Her Majesty's represent-

ative." Sir John Young was not only the Governor General of Canada but also the representative of the British Crown. Smith was also empowered to state, "that the Imperial Government has no intention otherwise - or permitting others to act otherwise - than in perfect good faith towards the inhabitants of the Red River district of the North West." A further statement from the Crown was, even more reassuring.

> "The people may rely upon it that respect and protection of property will be perfectly guarded ... and that all the franchises which have existed, or which the people may prove themselves qualified to exercise, shall be duly continued or liberally conferred." (47)

Another major difference lay in the consideration of the List of Rights. Whereas the first convention had concluded with a hurriedly put together list whose terms and conditions brought about the dissolution of the convention, the second meeting of representatives had a starting point.

Because of these differences the Convention of Forty met in a spirit of amity and tolerance. Good humour was in evidence throughout the first nine days of the sittings. The meeting began in true parliamentary fashion. Judge John Black (1817-1879) was the unanimous choice as chairman and was given the unusual right to vote and speak for his constituency. William Coldwell was appointed to record the proceedings in English, while Louis Schmidt (1844-1935) was selected to do the same in French. Louis Riel was nominated to translate English into French, and James Ross was chosen to translate French into English. The first order of business was the need to establish the bargaining position of the Red River inhabitants. Riel's instinct for negotiations prevailed. He insisted that it was the convention's task to inform the Canadian commissioner and not to be informed by him. Logic dictated that the Convention

now draw up a List of Rights. Louis Riel, Charles Nolin (1823-1907), Louis Schmidt, James Ross, Thomas Bunn and Dr. Curtis J. Bird (1838-1876) were chosen as a committee of six to recommend to the body at large a list of demands. It is significant that all the members of the committee are young and native born. Only one, Dr. Bird, did not have some Indian blood. The committee took a whole day and most of the night to draft their List and it was presented to the body with reservations by its chairman, James Ross, who in his opening remarks stated,

> "We felt ... a serious responsibility in drawing up this document. We felt great difficulty in arriving at conclusions which so vitally affect the welfare of the country; and for that reason ... we were very much hurried ... obliged to present the document in very crude shape ..." (48)

Neither Riel nor Ross expected the List to survive as presented. The discussion which followed was representative of any group charged with the responsibility of working out an acceptable consensus. Only two items of the original list of fourteen failed to make the new List. These were the power of veto over th- Dominion Parliament for Acts local to the region and the right to elect all Sheriffs, Magistrates, Constables, School Commissioners, etc. The committee probably realized that the articles of Confederation either allowed for or prohibited these former demands.

Of the twenty items on the List, those relating to direct taxation, cost of military and other public expenses, provincial rights (same as Ontario and Quebec), homestead and pre-emption, appropriation for local improvements and public buildings, language rights in the Legislature and before the Courts, traditional property rights and liability for public debt were passed as written or with slight amendments. Commercial concerns such as the rate of duty on imported goods and the connecting up with Lake Superior and Pembina by rail took up a little more time, but were easily

resolved. The substantive issues on the List were Indian rights, disposition of the hay privileges and the nature and power of the Legislature. It was these latter issues which brought out the debating skills of both James Ross and Louis Riel.

Both men had different basic outlooks toward the forthcoming merger with Canada. There was little doubt that this was going to take place. James Ross was representative of his economic class and was naturally more protective of property rights. Louis Riel on the other hand was highly suspicious of what would happen once the Settlement was overrun by immigrants from Upper Canada and was more concerned with protecting cultural values. Whereas James Ross was unconcerned about Dominion representation in the local legislature or local representation in the Dominion Parliament, Louis Riel argued forcibly for curtailment of Federal power in local affairs. Ross and Riel could however agree on the franchise but for different reasons. When the convention accepted an age, residence and property requirement it was obvious that Riel favored this demand because he wanted to keep the power of legislation in the hands of the local people for as long as possible. Ross wanted to make sure that only men of property (and substance) would determine the future course of the Settlement. On the subject of the Indians both men betrayed their heritage. Riel, only one-eighth Indian, was more concerned about what would happen to the halfbreeds. Ross, however, with an Indian mother had always felt compassionately towards the Indians. In the discussion regarding Indian Rights he pointed out that "this matter of treating with the Indians was held by the Imperial Government to be one of great importance." He quoted Earl Granville who said as follows:

> "I am convinced your Government [Canada] will not forget the care due to those who will soon become exposed to new dangers - who will be, in the progress

> of civilization, deprived of lands which they have been accustomed to enjoy as their own home, and shut up in resorts other than they have been accustomed to." (49)

Ross was critical of those who classed the halfbreeds along with the Indians. He challenged the French halfbreeds, saying,

> "The fact is we must take one side or the other - we must either be Indians and claim the privilege of Indians - Certain reserves of land and annual compensation of blankets, powder and tobacco (laughter) - or else we must take the position of civilized men and claim rights accordingly. We cannot expect to enjoy the rights and privileges of both the Indian and white Man." (50)

The longest arguments were reserved for two issues. The first was the nature of the military force necessary to maintain the peace and to defend the Colony. Riel wanted this force to be composed solely of native born people. Did he have in mind the possibility of having to raise the banner again in the future? Perhaps. In any case he argued vigorously in favor of keeping out all troops except those raised locally. James Ross led the opposition to Riel urging that a permanent military contingent made up of residents would be beyond the means of the Settlement, misuse of a scarce manpower, and probably unacceptable to the Dominion. The debate was the longest of the session to that date and squarely aligned the English against the French. The body finally deleted this item from the List and Riel was probably chagrined by this turn of events although he accepted the verdict in good grace.

The other most contentious item was the disposition of the land which hitherto had been enjoyed as a privilege. Every river lot in the Settlement generally extended two miles back from the river. A further two miles was privileged to the river lot owner for the hay which grew wild on it. This was an indispensable energy requirement. It was also a valuable asset in anticipation of the forthcoming land boom. Ross and

the English party wanted to convert these privileges into property rights immediately. Riel claimed that there were so many conflicting rights to be resolved that he wanted the issue decided later on by the local legislature. Riel gained the day only because one of the English delegates elected to go along with him.

Thus after nine days, the Convention of Forty dealt with twenty items in a spirit of give and take. Riel and Ross had borne the brunt of the discussion especially since in addition to voicing their own views they were responsible for translating for the benefit of those who only spoke one language. In some respects Riel acted like a government leader defending his legislative program with Ross in the role of leader of the opposition. Sometimes the positions were reversed. Because they were aware that the whole world was privy to their debate they were anxious to present a picture of a civilized and mature society. Up to this point it had been generally assumed that the Red River Settlement would enter Canadian Confederation as a Territory. Many American States had first passed a probationary period as Territories and this was a concept that was fairly well understood in the Settlement. It therefore came as a complete surprise, at least, to the English contingent, when Riel suggested that it would be a greater advantage to the Settlement to enter Confederation as a Province rather than as a Territory. The debate lasted for two days and again pitted James Ross against Louis Riel. The latter contended that Provincial status would entitle the new authority to the income from the potentially valuable public lands. Ross, however, took the opposite view. He favored the position which had been adopted by the committee, namely, entry into Confederation as a Territory. Ross and his supporters could envisage the cost of establishing an expensive administrative machinery and they were concerned that the burden would fall on

the property owners. The Convention was finally allowed to vote on the issue and Riel's proposal was defeated. Some of the more affluent of Riel's supporters sided with the English. It was a major victory for the representatives of the English parishes.

Riel was still not in favor of sending the List to Donald Smith for consideration. He introduced a second motion demanding that the deal between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company be declared null and void and that Canada enter into negotiation from the beginning with the residents of Red River for the disposition of the North-West lands. Again Riel's motion was defeated but this time he verbally attacked Charles Nolin, George Klyne and Thos. Harrison for what he termed a betrayal. He berated the three and in doing so disclosed that while he was prepared to go along with the Convention, he reminded his audience that in the last resort, "You must remember that there is a Provisional government, and though this measure has been lost by the voice of the Convention, I have friends enough, who are determined to add it to the List, on their own responsibility."[51]

The List of Rights was delivered to Donald Smith and he was given two hours in which to frame a reply. Riel tried to get Smith to guarantee the List and Smith countered by avoiding a commitment without seeming to do so. The Canadian Commissioner finally tendered an invitation to the Convention to send a delegation to Ottawa to negotiate a settlement based on the List of Rights approved by the Convention. This won the support of the majority of the assembly. Riel now felt that this was the time to establish a true union of the English and the French. He pointed out that a Provisional Government now existed but it lacked a true consensus. He asked the English to join in this government and thereby present a united front to the Canadian Government. The delegates from

Red River would not only represent the Convention but would also be the only effective government in Red River.

James Ross moved that the invitation to send delegates be accepted and that Louis Riel be one of the delegates. Riel declined stating that "I am not going to descent to the position of a delegate, as long as my country chooses to held me here." This was further evidence of Riel's negotiating skill. Ross then made a statement which fully committed him to Riel's camp. With respect to the Provisional Government, he said,

> "We can no longer waive the question. We are not in a satisfactory position in this Settlement at present. We all feel that; and as we are met here to take such steps as may be best for the future welfare of the country, we must deal with this question of Government ... The fact is, we have no option in the matter. We must restore order, peace and quietness in the Settlement."[52]

Despite Ross's statement some of the English still questioned the legality of a Provisional Government. The suggestion to seek the advice of Governor Mactavish was acted upon and the delegates returned with a statement from Mactavish, "form a Government, for God's sake, and restore peace and order in the Settlement."[53] This was construed by the English as both a directive and a blessing from a dying man. The only party in the Settlement that could have challenged the authority of the Provisional Government had now seemingly given its blessing.

James Ross then delivered a speech which placed the stamp of approval on the Provisional Government,

> "For my part, having looked at the matter fairly and fully, I have come to the conclusion that there is a basis on which we can unite, and yet save our principles. The greatest difficulty the English people had to come into the union with their French brethren, was the legality of the Government. We did not like to go outside the law, lest it might involve us in responsibilities which we did not like to incur. That difficulty is, I conceive, now done away with. The man in this country who has - if

> anybody has - legal authority - authority from England - has told us plainly that for his part, we are at perfect liberty to go forward and form any Government we think best for the welfare of the country." (54)

Riel had received a valuable assist - a legal opinion from someone who was highly regarded in matters of law. But Ross gained something for his friends. The offer of a written contract from Riel that would free the English from "all responsibility of acts done by his party (Riel's) and himself up to the time of Union." Ross was also able to announce that he expected that all the prisoners held by the Riel party would now be released. Ross had given his support to Riel in exchange for a clear conscience for the English community. Riel was delighted, closing the session saying, "This moment is a happy one for Red River people - for we are determined to unite and be brethren henceforth. To secure such a boon anything in our power will be granted."[55]

The same committee which had drafted the second List of Rights - with one change: W.B. O'Donoghue (? -1878) replaced Schmidt - now withdrew to arrange the details of the new Government. James Ross was again chairman and Dr. Bird was secretary. The committee recommended a number of resolutions. It was proposed that there should be an elected assembly consisting of 24 members - twelve French and twelve English; an executive consisting of a president, a treasurer, and two secretaries; and a Supreme Court. The assembly would be able to veto the president with a two-thirds vote. All those holding civic offices were re-confirmed. Only the position of President was seriously debated.[56] Riel insisted on being President and the fear that he would again take matters in his own hands as he had done in December led the Convention to accept him as leader. James Ross became Chief Justice, O'Donoghue was appointed Treasurer, and Bunn and Schmidt were nominated and elected as Secretaries of

State. The Convention had one more act to perform - the nomination of the delegates. On the last day of the convention Rev. N.J. Ritchot (1825-1905), Judge John Black and Alfred H. Scott were selected. The Convention closed on a high note of friendship and accord. The community seized the occasion to take part in a "regular drunk ... in which everybody seemed to join ... and which was kept up till four o'clock in the morning."[57]

Between February 3rd when he opposed Riel on the issue of Provincial or Territorial status and February 10th when he spoke in favor of the Provisional Government, James Ross seems to have made a major decision to support Riel to the fullest extent. This was an important victory for Riel because he had converted one of his chief adversaries into an ally. Alexander Begg grudgingly admitted that,

> "... the English delegates agreed to enter a Provisional Government with Riel ... in part because of an eloquent speech by James Ross in favour of the formation of a Provisional Government." (58)

Why Ross was won over to Riel is obscure but it would seem that his legal objections were swept aside when Smith agreed to a negotiated settlement and gave his blessing to the creation of a Provisional Government. Some importance must also be attached to the time Ross spent in close quarters with Riel in the fashioning of the second List of Rights and the constitution of the Provisional Government. Riel had appealed over and over again to a common Indian brotherhood and Ross was susceptible to this kind of appeal. The Toronto Globe, which had always expressed concern for the welfare of the Red River halfbreeds while Ross was on staff, took a different tone. On November 17th, 1869, it said,

> "For a handful of half castes in this way to claim authority over almost a third of a continent is a big

> thing, but the days of such pretension are over, and, though they were not, these men are not of the stuff nor are they in the position to make such pretensions good. ... That country is bound to be occupied, and at no distant day, by thousands and millions of industrious cultivators, and the few foolish persons who are now thinking to stop the way are no wiser, and will be no more successful, than Mrs. Partington in her well known effort to brush back the Atlantic tide with a mop and pail." (59)

There is little doubt that Ross must have seen this editorial and could not help but resent it. In the hands of Riel it could have been a potent argument to gain Ross's support. What has been said is of course speculative but it is offered in support of our belief that the commonality of blood weighed heavily on both the English and French speaking halfbreeds.

The Settlement enjoyed a few days of calm but as long as the active leaders of the Canadian party, Schultz, Mair and Scott were still around this was likely to be short lived. Roused by Mair and Scott a party from Portage la Prairie under the leadership of Captain C.A. Boulton (1842-1899) marched on Fort Garry with the intention of attacking the Fort and releasing the prisoners still there. They were joined in Kildonan by Dr. Schultz but failed to obtain any real support in the parish. The Canadian action was responsible for the first death since the beginning of the Resistance. On February 15th, Norbert Parisien a retarded French halfbreed, was imprisoned by the Portage party as a Riel spy. The young native managed to escape with a rifle. En route to Fort Garry he met Hugh Sutherland, the son of John Sutherland (1821-1899) one of the parishioners and believing him to be one of his captors in pursuit shot him at point blank range. Sutherland died almost instantly. Parisien was recaptured and beaten so mercilessly that he, too, died within a few days.[60] This incident had a sobering effect and the Portage party

was practically expelled from the Lower Settlement. As a measure of bravado or defiance, it is difficult to ascertain which, Boulton chose to return to Portage la Prairie, passing within a few hundred yards of the Fort. A party issued forth from the Fort capturing the whole group including Scott and other hot heads. Captain Boulton was sentenced to death. The Sutherlands, Bishop Machray (1831-1904), Father Lestanc (1830-1912) and others pleaded with Riel for clemency, but to no avail. Donald Smith, assisted by James Ross, by agreeing to a personal endorsation of the Provisional Government was able to convince Riel to rescind the sentence.[61] Scott proved a difficult prisoner, taunting and deriding his captors. The breaking point was reached on the 28th of February. Scott defied Riel and is reported to have cried out, "The Metis are a pack of cowards. They will not dare shoot me."[62] Scott was tried on March 3rd for "insubordination" and executed by a firing squad the next day.

The Settlement was stunned by this turn of events and the bridge, which had been so laboriously built over the division between the French and the English during the Convention of Forty, was in danger of collapsing. Submitting to the concerted pleas of Smith, Ross, the Protestant clergy and others, the English parishes went about the business of electing their representative to the Provisional Government but the elan associated with the great new adventure which the convention had created gave place to a quiet watchfulness. Preparation of the instructions to the delegation to Ottawa was disrupted by the trouble with the Canadians but by the 22nd of March a new 'List of Rights' had been prepared. The List now included provincial status and general amnesty. These were inserted by Riel and was unknown to the Legislative Council which having met on the 10th of March concerned itself mainly with consideration of a new constitution.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

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2. R.G. MacBeth, The Making of the Canadian West being the Reminiscences of an Eye-Witness (Toronto, 1898), p. 66.

3. Begg's Journal, p. 423.

4. E.E. Rich, The Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870, Vol. II, (London, 1959), pp. 880-890.

5. An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada cited in E.H. Oliver, The Canadian North-West and its Early Development and Legislative Records (Ottawa, 1914), Vol. II, p. 972.

6. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 617.

7. Gunn and Tuttle, Manitoba, pp. 354-355.

8. G.F.G. Stanley, Louis Riel (Toronto, 1963), p. 66.

9. Begg's Journal, pp. 166-167 for names and biographical data of the parish representatives.

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11. "Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions of the November Convention of English and French, November 16 to December 1, 1869," in Begg's Journal, pp. 420-428.

12. Ibid., p. 422.

13. Oliver, Canadian North-West, Vol. II, pp. 890-892.

14. Begg's Journal, p. 423.

15. Ibid., p. 424.

16. Ibid., p. 424.

17. Ibid., p. 425.

18. Ibid., p. 174.

19. MacBeth, Canadian West, pp. 66-67.

20. Begg's Journal, p. 427.

21. Ibid., p. 427.

22. Hartwell Bowsfield, Louis Riel : Rebel of the Western Frontier or Victim of Politics and Prejudice (Toronto, 1969), pp. 56-57.

23. Begg's Journal, p. 428.

24. New Nation, January 28, 1870, 3rd Day.

25. Ross Papers, item 380, December 5 (1869), James Ross, Colony Gardens, to Col. Dennis (Lower Fort Garry).

26. Begg's Journal, p. 224.

27. Ibid., p. 216.

28. Ibid., pp. 447-450. The original document composed by Dugas and Ritchot in French can be found at p. 579.

29. Toronto Globe, December 25, 1869, p. 1, col., 7, "Latest from Red River," dateline December 24, 1869, St. Paul, Minnesota.

30. For an analysis of the Declaration of Independence see Carl L. Becker, The Declaration of Independence : A Study in the History of Political Ideas (New York, 1922).

31. Begg's Journal, pp. 443-444.

32. Ibid., p. 438.

33. Ibid., p. 440.

34. Ibid., p. 441.

35. Toronto Globe, December 30, 1869, p. 1, col., 7, "Latest from Red River."

36. Begg's Journal, p. 244.

37. Ibid., pp. 339-340.

38. For a full account see Bruce Peel, Early Printing in the Red River Settlement, 1859-1870, (Winnipeg, 1974).

39. Manitoban, November 19, 1870, p. 3, col., 1.

40. "Memoirs of Louis Schmidt, Secretary of the First Provisional Government, Chapter 5, 1868-1870," in Begg's Journal, p. 469.

41. New Nation, January 21, 1870.

42. Ibid., January 21, 1870.

43. Ibid., January 21, 1870.

44. Begg's Journal, p. 282.

45. Ross Papers, item 390, January 24, 1870, W.G. Fonseca, Secretary to James Ross, Red River.

46. Begg's Journal, p. 285.

47. New Nation, January 21, 1870.

48. Ibid., February 4, 1870, 5th Day.

49. Ibid., February 4, 1870, 7th Day.

50. Ibid., February 4, 1870, 7th Day.

51. Ibid., February 11, 1870, 11th Day.

52. Ibid., February 18, 1870, 13th Day.

53. Ibid., February 18, 1870, 13th Day.

54. Ibid., February 18, 1870, 14th Day.

55. Ibid., February 18, 1870, 14th Day.

56. Ibid., February 18, 1870, 14th Day.

57. Begg's Journal, p. 303.

58. Begg, History of the North-West,

59. Globe, November 17, 1869.

60. Begg's Journal, p. 105.

61. Ross Papers, item 398, February 19, 1870, Rev. J. McLean to Protestants of Red River Settlement.

62. Stanley, Riel, p. 112. For original in French see A.H. Tremaudan, "The Execution of Thomas Scott," in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. VI, No. 3, September, 1925, pp. 222 ff.

CHAPTER IX - AFTERMATH AND CONCLUSION

James Ross did not play an active role in the deliberations of the Provisional Government that assembled on March 9th, 1870. For personal reasons, which are not stated, Ross declined to be nominated as the delegate from St. John's Parish. Colin Inkster (1843-1934) also refused and A.G.B. Bannatyne was selected instead.[1] James Ross may have declined because he was still smarting from the Boulton affair. When Riel seemed determined to execute Boulton, Ross appealed to Riel for mercy. Donald Smith reports that Riel insulted Ross in the presence of Robinson and Bannatyne when he rejected Ross's plea for Boulton's life in a contemptuous manner.[2] The process of disillusionment must have deepened with the execution of Thomas Scott. James Ross had all along done his best to prevent any violence and now the man to whom he had offered his allegiance, had betrayed him by a violent act.

The rift between Ross and Riel became apparent to others. When Bannatyne importuned Riel to release two of the prisoners, he, according to Begg, "unfortunately used the name of Mr. James Ross. Riel said he was sorry that he had used the name of Ross as that gentleman was continually coming between him and his action."[3]

There was other evidence that Ross and Riel were drifting apart. Although there were rumours to the effect that Ross would replace Robinson as editor of the New Nation[4] the position went to Thomas Spence (1832-1900). When the Provisional Government convened it was suggested that James Ross be included on the committee to draft a constitution. W.B. O'Donoghue argued against the appointment pointing out that Ross was not a member of the house and it would set a bad precedent to put him on a government committee. O'Donoghue carried his point probably supported by

Riel.[5] James Ross therefore played no role in either drafting the Constitution or preparing the third List of Rights. His help however was needed when it came to considerations of the administration of justice. This time no one raised the subject of precedent. On March 26th, the last day of the session, the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia read and passed a bill which inter-alia called for:

1. That James Ross be sworn in as Chief Justice of Assiniboia.

2. That all Justices, Magistrates and subordinate officials who held office under the Governor and Council be appointed and empowered to act in their several capacities under the Provisional Government.

3. That all the local laws and regulations which were under the rule of the Governor and the Council of Assiniboia be adopted for the present.

4. That the President, James Ross, Messrs. Bruce, Bannatyne and Bird be appointed to codify the local laws. (O'Donoghue and T. Bunn were added later).

James Ross then took the oath of office swearing to, "faithfully and impartially perform all duties of Chief Justice of Assiniboia."[6] Ross was to claim later that he accepted the position because of a sense of obligation.[7] The acts of the Provisional Government were never legitimized by Canada and James Ross's right to the title as the first Chief Justice of Manitoba has failed to survive.

The session was prorogued until April 26th which gave the committee a month in which to do its work. During this period Ross had occasion to translate a document for Schmidt and received a thank-you letter from Riel which was especially cordial. Riel closed his remarks with, "I pray you to believe in my true respect for yourself."[8] The committee presented its report on the first day of the second session

and Thos. Bunn, vice-chairman, commented that,

> "... in our labors on this committee we received very liberal and valuable assistance from Mr. Chief Justice Ross; I have great pleasure in taking this opportunity of making the acknowledgement." (9)

Although Ross and Riel seem to have resumed working together their relationship was not close enough for Riel to consider him for the Executive Council.[10]

The delegates chosen by the Provisional Government to negotiate with Canada left the Settlement on the 23rd and 24th of March and their efforts culminated in the Manitoba Act which passed the Canadian Parliament on the 12th of May.[11] It was not until May 23rd that those at Red River learned that the Bill had been passed but they would have to wait for the return of Rev. N.J. Ritchot on June 17th before they would have full knowledge of its contents.[12] From April 26th until May 9th the Provisional Government busied itself with adopting a Constitution and promulgating a series of laws. These were accepted by the Settlement.[13]

The next three months were a dark period in James Ross's life. At a time when hard drinking was the norm rather than the exception Ross seems to have indulged in more than was good for him. He was to look back on this period with terrible remorse because it not only affected his public image but influenced his home life. He later wrote to his wife,

> "Oh! how deeply I lament my unworthiness! It has never been off my mind since I left you. What in the world possessed me to be so foolish, during the few months before I left Red River! I can scarcely believe my memory when I look back and reflect. I am a different man. God has brought me to my senses ... I am sure you will find me all you could desire; at least as far as I know. I stayed just one month in Toronto, and God is my witness, I never forgot your wise and affectionate warning." (14)

He also seems to have been seriously ill during this interval.[15] Despite these disabilities James Ross kept up his social life. The Rosses were present at a gala concert given by the St. Boniface Collegiate, presided over by Bishop Tache and attended by such notables as Col. De Salaberry, Captain Coulton, A.G.B. Bannatyne and Alffred H. Scott.[16] He also participated in an effort to establish a Presbyterian school on the east side of the River.[17] James Ross never gave up his interest in education. He kept in touch with the programs at his old alma mater, St. John's College[18] as well as those at the St. Boniface College.[19]

James Ross, however, by the end of July seems to have recovered sufficiently in order to undertake a trip to Toronto with William Coldwell. Coldwell was again considering publishing an independent paper while Ross perhaps left as a precautionary measure. Lieutenant Governor Adams G. Archibald (1814-1892) and Colonel Garnet Wolseley (1833-1913) were on their way from Canada and no one was quite sure what action would be taken against those who had sided with Riel.

In Toronto, James Ross had very little trouble convincing his relatives that what he had done during the Resistance was for the best of the country but dealing with the newspapers was another matter. The Telegraph had 'pitched into him' on more than one occasion and Ross was surprised to find that the publisher John Ross Robertson (1841-1919) blamed him for being expelled from Red River during the previous winter.[20] The Globe also had been disparaging and James Ross visited the paper hoping to meet with George Brown and offer an explanation of his actions. The publisher was not available, but the rest of his old friends on the staff listened to him and ran a short story the next day which did nothing to redeem James Ross.[21] The Leader however turned a surprisingly friendly ear to him and in their weekly issue on September 2nd had this

to say,

> "As far as Mr. Ross was concerned he only occupied the same position all the English people had to take in order to avoid a civil fight. Being unwilling to accept any position in connection with the Provisional Government, and being in a measure obliged to accept some position, Mr. Ross accepted the chairmanship of the Quarterly Court, but has never acted in that capacity - the statement that he was appointed Chief Justice being simply absurd and ridiculous. He had never had anything to do with Riel's Government; never attended a single meeting of the "council" or "cabinet" and indeed had not seen Riel for four months before he left for Canada on his present trip. When the English eventually joined the French he did so at the urgent request of Mr. Commissioner Smith, who said that Canada would go in, in the spring and take possession, and that in the meantime peace would be preserved in the Settlement. With regard to the melancholy shooting of poor Scott, Mr. Ross was never made aware of the intention of Riel and his intimate friends to commit the deed. Indeed it is said to have been kept secret even from those living but a few yards from Fort Garry. When it was announced that Scott had been shot there were two feelings about it - one of indignation at its atrocity, and the other of doubt that such an occurrance had taken place. Mr. Ross, in common with hundreds of others, lamented and denounced the act of Riel as it was as cowardly as impolite." (22)

It is difficult to condone James Ross for claiming that he had never been appointed Chief Justice. There is no doubt that he was accurately reported.[23] It had to be the act of a man desperate to be restored into the good graces of his friends and associates in Toronto. In a sense Ross was telling the truth. He did not stand for election to the Provisional Government. He did not participate in any of their assembly or cabinet meetings and the court over which he had been appointed never functioned. But it was only half the truth, because on March 26th, before witnesses he swore an oath to serve the Provisional Government by supervising the Judiciary. Legally, James Ross is innocent, but morally he is guilty. This act may have cost him the full confidence of his friends and supporters back home in the Settlement later on.

James Ross was well aware that his career was in disarray. On the way home from Toronto he wrote to his wife full of despair. He urged her to speak for him to people now influential in the Province.

> "... my true position ... that I did my best to get McDougall in, until he left - that I opposed Riel until we found out Canada had not yet got the country, and until all the English clergy and people thought we had better give in, and let Riel have his way - that I did not urge a fight against the French because it would have been hopeless anyway, and might have resulted in massacre of man, women, and child - that from the time we gave into the French and when once peace was secured, I never went near the Fort for nearly four months." (24)

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald was firmly in control by the time James Ross returned home early in October. The new appointee proved to be, by all accounts, the right man for the job. Only those who participated in the execution of Thomas Scott were in hiding. A general amnesty was in force. If anything the Lieutenant-Governor seemed to favor the former insurgents. The Imperial troops had returned to Canada and only the Volunteers remained. As long as the French stayed on the east side of the river an uneasy peace reigned in the community. Schultz had returned to Red River and demanded that the former insurgents be made to pay for their actions. Fortunately Archibald turned a deaf ear to the vociferous 'Loyalist' party.

One of the first acts of the Lieutenant Governor was to carry out a census of the population and establish twenty-four electoral divisions. The new constituencies conformed closely to Riel's electoral division.[25]

The political campaign got underway on November 3rd when a meeting was called at the St. John's Parish school house to consider a set of resolutions supportive of the Lieutenant-Governor and his policies. James Ross was one of those who helped to draft this party platform as

it was soon to be designated. Those supporting the resolution called themselves the Government party while those opposed became known as the Loyalist party. The resolutions placed before the body were as follows:

1. That we heartily approve the liberal, generous policy announced and indicated by the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to carry it out.

2. That it is not the policy of this party to be retrospective in its action: but that we approve of the selection and support of candidates on their individual merits.

3. That we desire to act cordially in unison with our French Brethren, and with all other classes of the community, who will work along with us in supporting the policy indicated by the Government.

4. That, on general principles, no man will secure our support or vote in the elections who has not a stake in the country, and is not in that sense identified with us. (26)

James Ross not only introduced these resolutions to the meeting mentioned above but vigorously defended them before both friendly and hostile audiences. He undertook the role of a peacemaker constantly urging audiences to put aside their hatred and prejudices and work for the common good. He saw the achievement of responsible government as the greatest boon that the Settlement could imagine and that the Manitoba Act could be likened to the Magna Carta. He altered his position towards the Hudson's Bay Company whom he had opposed for such a long time, saying, "I fought against the Hudson Bay Company as a governing body -- but never as a commercial body." He defended the actions of the English in going along with Riel. In a spirited exchange at a subsequent meeting in Kildonan, he argued,

> "I thought then and, think still, that what the delegates did was on the whole the best that could be done at the time. They maintained the peace between the two sections of the people - which was as great a benefit as its opposite would have been

> a disaster ... By conceding we secured the public peace. We had either to yield or fight. We thought everything was preferable to war, as this would be utter ruin of the Settlement. (Hear, hear)." (27)

He even played the role of teacher spending considerable time explaining the working of the electoral system. Amongst even those friendly towards the government there were some who felt that Archibald's policy in appointing former insurgents to position of office was offensive. Ross pleaded that it was time to forget the past and look only towards the future. Conduct at the meetings was unparliamentary despite the impression one obtains from a reading of the Manitoban. The threat of violence was always present. Ross braved the lion's den when he spoke at a meeting in Kildonan convened to propose Dr. Schultz for the House of Commons. Claiming that all could be friends and still have differences of opinion, Ross attacked Schultz on the grounds that his policies would favor the newcomers against the old settlers and would initiate a series of retaliatory measures against the French and their supporters. The Manitoban failed to record Schultz's response. The Newsletter, Scultz's paper, gives us a different version.[28]

Most of the violence was attributed to the Loyalist party as they desperately sought to gain a majority of the seats in the new Assembly. The most serious affair took place at Poplar Point on November 30th. James Ross had been invited by Rev. James Tanner and George Gunn to speak at a political rally there with a view to Ross contesting the seat for the Federal House. The other speaker was Dr. Joseph Lynch (1841-1894). Both speakers defended their now familiar positions. James Ross supported the Lieutenant-Governor's actions and policies while Dr. Lynch attacked Archibald with some especially caustic remarks about the part played by the Hudson's Bay Company during the Resistance and afterwards.

Rev. James Tanner, a kindly, elderly gentleman tried to smooth things over but sided in the end with the Government party. Support for Ross's position was obtained by a vote. Leaving the Parish school house, an unidentified band of ruffians rushed Tanner's horse, "waving their overcoats and throwing missiles, evidently to terrify the horse which was proverbially skittish."[29] James Tanner was thrown from the horse and died soon afterwards from a head injury. James Ross riding immediately behind Tanner also had to run the gauntlet through a shower of clubs, stones and snow-balls.

Archibald's conciliatory policy towards the French and the efforts of the English and the English halfbreeds produced a majority for the government party on December 30th. The most signal triumph was the defeat of Dr. Schultz by Donald A. Smith in the St. John's constituency. Donald Smith's prestige at Red River was at its height and he needed all of it to defeat the rambunctious Schultz by the narrow margin of seven votes.[30] It could be that at this time Ross had his sights set on a seat in the House of Commons. It must have been deeply disappointing for him to yield the nomination of the government party to Angus McKay in the riding of Marquette. The Federal election was held on March 2, 1871 and Dr. Lynch and Angus McKay tied.[31] Both candidates went to Ottawa to claim the seat but before the ad hoc committee could report the Federal House was dissolved. James Ross never had another chance to run for election.

Between the provincial election at the end of December and the federal election in March of 1871, Archibald had made appointments to the Executive and Legislative Councils, as well as to other administrative positions. Because of his experience and his service to the Government, Ross had every reason to believe that he would be favored with a position in government. When this did not happen he wrote to the Governor

expressing his chagrin,

"I see in today's "Manitoban" a number of new appts. (sic) gazetted. From intimation made to me, some weeks ago, by friends enjoying your confidence, I had ceased to expect to figure on this list, but it forcibly reminds me how completely I am ignored in all the appointments of office made under the new regime. I did not expect this - indeed, I think I had some reason to expect the contrary. It is not pleasant to trumpet one's self; but in a case of this kind, I cannot well avoid "showing cause" for the disappointment indicated.

My father was, for over thirty years, one of the main pillars of this Settlement - enjoying as well as meriting the fullest confidence and esteem of rulers and people. He did much to make the Settlement as it is, and his services were ever well appreciated. My brother followed in his footsteps - filling various important offices of trust, and discharging his duties in a manner conducive to the best interests of the Colony. Their memories live in the hearts of the people of all races and nationalities. When through with my education, I took up the mantle left me, and in various offices of trust rendered the public good service for some years. A native of the country - speaking all the languages of the country - with all my relatives here - all my interests centred here - and with the family record indicated - I, nevertheless, see a number of men preferred who have not been over a year or two in the country - (some only a few months) - and who have little or no stake in the country.

With natural abilities and an education possessed by not very many in this Settlement I see men of but little natural ability and still less education chosen.

Between four and five years, one of the Editors of the Globe, my experience in public affairs could be of considerable service here - yet I see men appointed who have not the least experience in public affairs.

Possessing the leisure requisite for the efficient and thorough discharge of public duties, I see men appointed who, of necessity, must give as little attention as possible to public matters.

Induced by Mr. Wm. McDougall to leave a lucrative and honourable position in order to come here, I naturally do not relish the turn of events.

Having had to bear the brunt of last winter's storm, and having taken a leading part in guiding and directing matters to a peaceful issue, I now receive only abuse and ingratitude in return from prejudiced or jealous persons who at the time thoroughly endorsed and approved my

course, and who possibly now whisper misrepresentations to your Excellency.

Having labored unceasingly since October, in private and in public, to convince people of the justice of the Government policy of Conciliation, and of the wisdom of the Peace policy of the English Delegates last winter - and having thereby, as I knew well would be the result, destroyed my chances among the English of election to the Assembly - I naturally regret to find myself the loser on all hands - My only comfort being in the thought that I have rendered some service to my native country on trying occasions, and that time will yet do me justice.

I would have valued an appointment far more as an endorsation of my course last winter and this, than for its honor and its pay. Happily I do not need office for the sake of its pay.

I have been told, by mutual friends, that an objection your Excellency urged to my appointment to office was that I am too fond of my wine. This has, no doubt, been exaggerated; but if I am, it is of recent date and possibly can be satisfactorily explained. In any case, if that is a valid objection, then two - perhaps three - would not have been on the list of appointments published today, and several would have been left out of former lists.

Another objection has been suggested to me, namely, that I do not visit the Government House more frequently. I do not attach much weight to this supposition, but will just remark that, considering the disparity of station, visiting for mere visiting's sake, would, in my opinion, be little short of impertinence. When I have business to attend to, I shall be only too ready to avail myself of the privilege kindly extended to all by Your Excellency."

It is still puzzling of course, why James Ross, considering all his credentials and particularly for his stand during the Provincial elections, was ignored by Archibald. The Lieutenant Governor in his wisdom may have decided that James Ross's profile like Riel's was still a little too high for the moment. Perhaps if James Ross had accepted Archibald's invitation to meet, he would have received an explanation that could not be put in writing.[33]

Denied a part in public affairs James Ross turned to business ventures. He was admitted to the Manitoba Bar - his name is the

second on the membership roster of the Manitoba Law Society.[34] He was contacted by Torontonions interested in building a railroad to the Hudson Bay.[35] Donald Smith also replied to James Ross on business and political matters and their relationship seems quite friendly. Smith promised to meet with Ross on his forthcoming visit to the Settlement.

James Ross did not live to fulfill the promise of his early training and his later experience. There was a history of pulmonary disease in the family. He died of tuberculosis after a short illness on the 20th of September, 1871. The Manitoban printed a long obituary. After detailing the highlights of his career it closed with the following words.

> "Mr. Ross has suffered much obloquy on account of the action he took during the troubles in Red River; but on all occasions, public and private, he was prepared to enter upon the subject, and we venture to say that no man who heard him explain his deposition, can deny that all he did was with a single eye to the good of his country, and with a clear perception of the results which have ultimately ensued." (37)

The French paper, the Métis, also mourned his passing and claimed him as one of their own.[38] The Globe noted his passing, but without comment.[39]

How does one then evaluate James Ross. In his private life his behavior is praiseworthy. A loving husband and a devoted father he seemed to miss his family as soon as he left them. Writing from Toronto during his last visit there his letters are replete with expressions of longing and affection. The following example is typical,

> "One day lately I went all through it (our former house) and in each room I stood and mused of you and the children and could not help shedding tears. This College too often saddens me, for every corner and room and desk remind me of old times, when you and I were young and were pleasingly twining the cords of love which at last resulted in our marriage.
>
> Oh! that I could press you to my bosom, and kiss

> the dear little children - I pray to God to give you health, strength and happiness; and in due time to bring me safely to you all again." (40)

He was always solicitous for his mother's welfare and undertook many onerous tasks for family and friends.

In his public life, despite his undeniable intellectual and forensic gifts, he lacked Riel's resolve. He enjoyed the public arena, sometimes for its own sake; but that did not prevent him from serving what he believed to be in the best interest of all, regardless of race or creed. James Ross's task during the Resistance was much more difficult than the one that faced Riel. If the Métis leader had any inner qualms they were not evident during the events of 1869-1870). Ross on the other hand had to reconcile his undoubted sympathy for the Indian and halfbreed, his allegiance to the Old Settlers of Red River, and his adopted way of life which was in tune with the new spirit of Canada. All of these impulses were further tempered by his love of learning and his faith in a Living God. Riel who favored poetry was far more of a realist than the lawyer-journalist who had a fundamental belief in man's inherent goodness.

James Ross reached a crisis in his life in the latter days of February once the Convention of Forty had done its work. Begg never lets us forget that Ross drank not only more than was necessary but didn't seem to be able to handle it too well. Ross admitted later,

> "What on earth possessed me in Red River to forget my dignity and self respect? Surely the Evil spirit had control of me." (41)

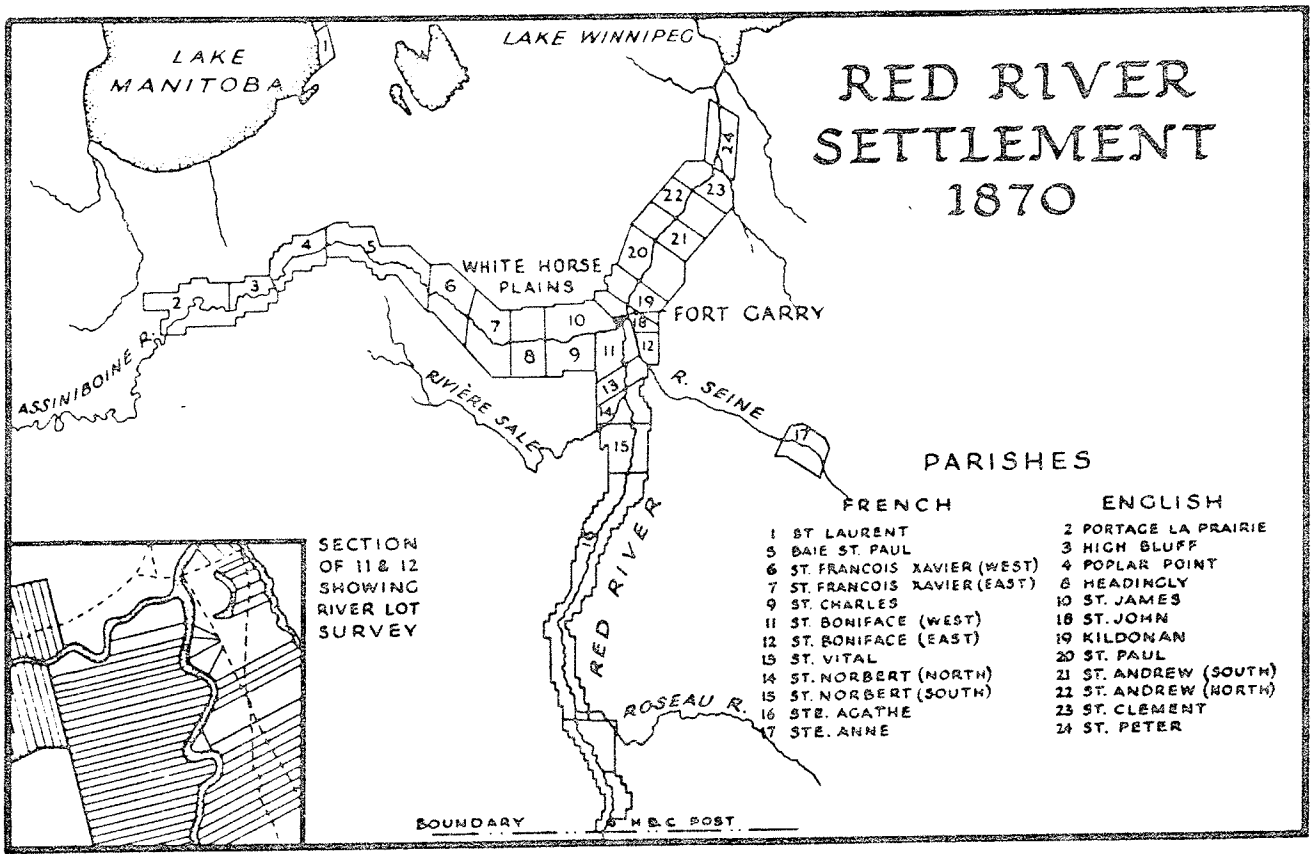
Nevertheless, a month away from the pressures of home and Settlement, seems to have been exactly what he needed. The vigor with which he carried on during the provincial election indicates that he now had hold

of himself. He was still a young man. As one of three lawyers in a community that was bound to expand he could look forward to a lucrative career. James Ross had made errors but he was still an appealing figure to both English-speaking and French-speaking halfbreeds. The political arena which he loved so much would sooner or later find a place for him. His life ended tragically because he was denied the opportunity to show that he could profit by his mistakes. James Ross had contributed his share to the family tradition of public service.

The death of James Ross and the exile of Louis Riel deprived the new Province of Manitoba of two of its most dynamic leaders. Manitoba politics was to suffer in the 1870's because of their absence. The death of Thomas Scott had national repercussions but its effect in Manitoba was just as calamitous. A provincial government led by Riel-Ross - they had demonstrated an ability to work together - in those crucial years could have had inestimable benefits for the Province. Certainly the cultural affinity of these two men would have produced a climate more conducive to a harmonious preservation of the two founding cultures.

James Ross, as we see him now, was Riel's counterpart. Louis Riel, French and Catholic, represented the best the Settlement on the east side of the Red River had to offer. James Ross, Scotch and Protestant was the equally proud product of a contrasting culture. It was unfortunate that the promise their cooperation aroused during the hectic days of the Resistance was never fulfilled. With them the Settlement might have been able to preserve its bi-cultural society in the face of the mass immigration which was to follow the coming of the railroad. Without them, an opportunity was lost to demonstrate that two cultures could live and grow in harmony and friendship. The Canadian experience has been the poorer for this reason.

FIG. 3



Copied from: G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada : A History of the Riel Rebellions (University of Toronto Press, 1936) facing p. 14

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

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3. Begg's Journal, p. 336.

4. Ibid., p. 399.

5. New Nation, April 2, 1870, p. 2, col., 6-7.

6. Ibid., April 8, 1870.

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9. New Nation, April 29, 1870.

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13. Ibid., p. 369.

14. Ross Papers, item 447, September 29, 1870, James Ross, St. Paul to (Margaret Smith Ross, Fort Garry).

15. Ibid., item 422, August 15, 1870, James Smith, Toronto to (Margaret Smith Ross, Red River) also item 426, August 18, 1870, J. Murray Smith, Peterboro to (Margaret Smith Ross, Red River).

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17. Ross Papers, item 413, May 14, 1870, D. Bannerman, Kildonan Cottage to (James Ross, Red River).

18. Ibid., item 414, May 23, 1870, Archdeacon J. McLean, St. John's College to James Ross (Red River).

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21. Globe, August 27, 1870.

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23. Ross Papers, item 430, August 27, 1870, James Ross, Toronto, to (Margaret Smith Ross, Fort Garry).

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26. Manitoban, November 5, 1870, p. 2, col., 3.

27. Ibid., November 12, 1870. Ross speeches and appearances are reported on November 17, 1870; November 19, 1870; November 26, 1870; December 3, 1870 and December 10, 1870.

28. Newsletter, November 19, 1870, p. 2, col., 1-2.

29. Manitoban, December 3, 1870.

30. Ibid., December 31, 1870.

31. Ibid., March 2, 1871.

32. Ross Papers, item 465, March 11, 1871, James Ross, Winnipeg to Hon. A.G. Archibald, (Fort Garry).

33. Ibid., item 466, March 11, 1871, A.G. Archibald, Government House, Fort Garry, to James Ross, Winnipeg.

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35. Ross Papers, item 462, January 12, 1871, A. Kirkwood, Toronto to James Ross, Winnipeg.

36. Ibid., item 475, August 28, 1871, Donald A. Smith, Hudson's Bay House, Montreal to James Ross, Winnipeg.

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APPENDIX 'A'

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Amos, Andrew (1791 - 1860)

Jurist. Born in India. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Called to the Bar in London. Recorder of Oxford. Professor of Law, University College, London. County Court Judge. Professor of Law, Cambridge, 1848 to 1860. Died in London 1860.

Anderson, Bishop David (1814 - 1885)

Born in England in 1814. Educated at Edinburgh University and Exeter College, Oxford (B.A. 1836). Ordained a priest of the Church of England. Consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1849. Arrived in R.R.S. October 3, 1849. Returned to England in 1864. Is author of Notes of the Flood at Red River, 1852 (London, 1853) and the Net in the Bay, a Journal by the Bishop of Rupert's Land (London, 1854). Died in 1885 after a long illness.

Archibald, Sir Adams George (1814 - 1892)

Lawyer, politician. Born Truro, Nova Scotia May 18, 1814. Educated at Pictou Academy. Studied law. Called to the Bar in Prince Edward Island in 1838 and Nova Scotia in 1839. Supported Tupper on Confederation. Attended Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences in 1864 and London in 1866-1867. Became Secretary of State for Canada in 1867. And again in 1869. Appointed first Lieut-Governor of Manitoba in 1870. Resigned in May 1873. Lieut-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1873 to 1883. M.P. for Colchester 1888-1891. Died in Nova Scotia in 1892.

Bannatyne, A.G.B., (1829 - 1889)

Merchant, politician. Born October 31, 1829 in the Orkneys, entered the service of the H.B.C. in 1846: came to Red River in 1849; retired from service; married a daughter of Andrew McDermot and went into business in Red River, 1851; made magistrate, 1861; Postmaster, 1862 and Councillor of Assiniboia, 1868. Member of Riel's Provisional Government in 1870. Appointed member of North-West Council in 1872. Represented Provencher in 1875. First postmaster of Fort Garry and first Police Magistrate of Winnipeg. Died May 18, 1889.

Becker, George L., (1829 - 1904)

American Railroad developer and politician. General Manager St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. Minnesota State Senator 1868- 1871.

Begg, Alexander (1839 - 1897)

Journalist, historian. Born in Quebec City July 19, 1839. Educated at St. John's, Canada East, and Aberdeen, Scotland. Came to Red River in 1867 as agent for firms in Hamilton and Toronto. Became partner of Bannatyne in 1868. Active during the Resistance. Helped to organize Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. Published and edited a number of papers in Winnipeg from 1872-1877. Appointed Queen's printer in 1877. Employed by provincial government until 1884. Immigration Agent for C.P.R. in London from 1884-1888. Moved to British Columbia. Resumed journalistic career. Died September 6, 1897. See bibliography for writings.

Bird, Dr. Curtis, J. (1838 - 1876)

Physician, politician. Born at Middlechurch in 1838, son of Chief Factor James Curtis Bird. Educated at St. John's College in Winnipeg. Studied medicine at Guy's Hospital in London. Returned to practice in Red River. Succeeded Dr. Bunn as coroner in 1861. Appointed member of Council of Assiniboia in 1868. Member of Convention of Forty. Elected to Legislative Assembly in 1870. Speaker from 1873-74. Died on trip to England in May 1876.

Black, John (1817 - 1879)

Fur trader, administrator. Recorder of Rupert's Land (1862-1870), was born in Scotland in 1817. Went to the R.R.S. with Adam Thom in 1839 and eventually entered the service of the H.B.C.. Rose to the position of Chief Trader. Resigned in 1852 and spent the next ten years in Scotland and Australia. Returned to R.R.S. in 1862 when appointed Recorder. In 1870 was member of delegation sent by the Red River settlers to Ottawa. He did not return to the west. Died at St. Andrew's, Scotland, February 3, 1879.

Black, Rev. John (1818 - 1882)

Born at Dumfries, Scotland, January 8, 1818. Educated at Delaware Academy, Delhi, New York and at Knox College, Toronto. Ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church in 1851. Arrived in R.R.S. on September 19, 1851. Married Henrietta Ross, daughter of Alexander Ross in 1853. Died at Kildonan, Manitoba, February 11, 1882. D.D. degree conferred by Queen's University Kingston, Ont.

Bond, J. Wesley (1825 - 1901)

American Journalist. Came to Minnesota in 1849; secretary to Governor Alexander Ramsey in 1851.

Boulton, Captain (later Major) Charles Arkell, (1842 - 1899)

Soldier and politician. Born at Cobourg, Canada West. Educated

at Upper Canada College. Served with Royal Canadian Regiment at Malta and Gibraltar. Captain of the 46th Militia Regiment, member of the Dennis survey party; wintered at Portage la Prairie 1869-70, and led the Portage party in attempt to keep them within bounds; later Senator from Manitoba; author of Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellion. Died at Shellmouth, Man. May 18, 1899.

Bourke, John (1823 - 1887)

Buffalo hunter. Halfbreed from St. James parish, R.R.S. Along with William Hallett enabled James Stewart to break out of gaol. Leader of buffalo hunt.

Bown, Walter R. (? - 1903)

Dentist and journalist, born in Brantford, Canada West. Son of Dr. J.Y. Bown, M.P. for North Brant (1861-1873). Came to Red River in 1863 and practised as a dentist. He became a friend of Schultz and his partner in the free trade; in 1868 proprietor of the Nor'- Wester. Appointed to North-West Territories Council in 1873. Served as Schultz's private secretary from 1888-1895. Died at Battle Creek, Mich., on March 11, 1903.

Brown, George (1818 - 1880)

Journalist and statesman, born at Alloa, near Edinburgh, Scotland on November 29, 1818. Educated at the High School and at the Southern Academy, Edinburgh. Emigrated with his father to the U.S.A. in 1838. Moved to Toronto in 1843. Founded the Banner, a Presbyterian weekly. Founded the Globe in 1844 which became an extremely influential newspaper. Elected in 1851 to the Legislative Assembly of Canada as a Reform member. Formed the Brown-Dorion Government in 1858. Joined the "Great Coalition" in 1864. Played prominent role in Quebec Conference (1864). Resigned in 1865 through inability to work with John A. Macdonald. Defeated in 1867. Appointed to Senate in 1874. Died in 1880.

Bruce, John (1831 - ?)

Carpenter and legal practitioner. Métis of St. Norbert. Elected president of the Métis National Committee in October 1869. Resigned in December 1869 with formation of Provisional Government. Served as Commissioner of Public Works in Riel administration.

Bryce, Dr. George (1844 - 1931)

Historian, clergyman. Born at Mount Pleasant, Upper Canada, April 22, 1844. Educated at University of Toronto (B.A. 1867, M.A. 1868; L.L.B. 1878; L.L.D. 1884) and theology at Knox College, Toronto (D.D. 1903). Ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church in 1871 and left for Winnipeg immediately. Founded Manitoba College and had part in establishing University of Manitoba in 1871. From 1871 to 1909 he occupied various positions at Manitoba College and the University of Manitoba. Moderator

of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1902. Elected to Royal Society of Canada in 1901 and president in 1909. Wrote extensively on the history of Manitoba. Died at Ottawa, August 5, 1931. See Bibliography attached.

Buckingham, William (1832-1915)

Author and journalist. Born in Crediton, Devonshire, England, December 3, 1832. Educated in England. Came to Canada in 1857 and joined Globe as parliamentary reporter. Came to Red River with William Coldwell in 1859 and founded Nor'- Wester. First issue appeared on December 28, 1859. Returned east in 1861. Worked on Simcoe Reformer, Stratford Beacon. Official reporter at London Conference on Confederation Bill. Secretary to Alexander Mackenzie from 1873-1878. Deputy Minister Interior in 1878. President Canadian Press Ass'n. Died on June 11.

Bunn, Dr. John, M.D. (1800? - 1861

Pioneer physician was born at Hudson's Bay Company post on Hudson Bay about 1800. Studied medicine at Edinburgh University 1817-1819 and 1831-1832 and became licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. Returned to R.R.S. and was the sole physician there for many years. Appointed member of Council of Assiniboia in 1835. Held several other public offices. Died at Upper Fort Garry, May 31, 1861.

Bunn, Thomas (1830 - 1875)

Lawyer, politician. English halfbreed born at R.R.S. May 16, 1830. Son of Dr. John Bunn. Elected in 1869 to Riel Provisional Government from St. Clements. Served for a few months as Secretary of State. Elected to the first Legislative Assembly for St. Clements. Called to Manitoba Bar in 1871. Died on April 11, 1875.

Christie, Alexander (1792 - 1874)

Governor of Assiniboia (1833-1839 and 1844-1848). Native of Scotland. Entered service of H.B.C. in 1809. Chief Factor in 1821. Appointed councillor of Company's territories in 1822. Appointed Councillor of Assiniboia in 1839. Retired in 1849. Died in Scotland in 1872.

Cochrane, Rev. Thomas (? 1868)

Clergyman. Son of Archdeacon William Cockran. Born at R.R.S. Educated at C.M.S. School in England for sons of missionaries. Graduated from University College, Durham in 1845. Ordained in 1852. Suffered ill health. Never held a specific parish. Spent most of his life teaching at either St. John's College Parish school or at Portage la Prairie. Died at Toronto in 1868.

Cockran, Archdeacon William (1798 - 1865)

Clergyman. Born at Chillingham Northumberland, England in 1798. Ordained deacon on December 19, 1824, priest on May 29, 1825 and appointed archdeacon in 1853. Came to Red River in 1825 as assistant to Rev. D.T. Jones. Commenced construction of St. Andrew's Parish in 1827. Erected church for Indian Settlement which became Parish of St. Peter's in 1836. Began stone church at St. Andrew's in 1846. Consecrated in 1849. Also established missions at Portage la Prairie 1851, St. Margarets, High Bluff, Ste. Anne's, Poplar Point. Died at Portage la Prairie on October 1, 1865. Buried at St. Andres's.

Coldwell, William (1834 - 1907)

Journalist. Born in London in 1834 and educated in Dublin. Came to Canada in 1854. Worked on Toronto Leader until 1859. Came to Red River with William Buckingham. Founded Nor'- Wester. After fire in 1865 left for Toronto and worked on Globe until 1869. Started Red River Pioneer with James Ross. Stopped by Riel. Clerk of Provisional Assembly during Riel period. Published Manitoban with Robert Cunningham in 1870. Merged with Manitoba Free Press in 1874. Last Work was parliamentary reporter for the Free Press. Spent last twenty years in retirement. Died in Victoria February 4, 1907.

Colvile, Andrew Wedderburn (1799 - 1856)

Born Andrew Wedderburn; brother-in-law of Lord Selkirk. Was associated with him in schemes for the Settlement of Red River. On Selkirk's death he took over the trust. Became member of H.B.C. Committee in 1810 and exercised great influence in the administration of affairs. Was chiefly instrumental in securing George Simpson for the service and in bringing about the amalgamation of the H.B.C. and the North-West Company. Was Deputy Governor from 1839 to 1852 and Governor from 1862 until his death. He assumed the name of Colvile by Royal Licence in 1813.

Corbett, Rev. Griffith Owen (.d 1882?)

Clergyman. Came to R.R.S. in 1850 (Colonial and Continental Church Society). Ordained minister in 1853. Established Trinity Church, Headingly. Appeared before Select Committee (Britain) in 1857. Involved in scandal with servant girl in 1863. Failed in suit against Governor Dallas. Author Notes on Rupert's Land (London, 1868). The Red River Rebellion : The Cause of it (London, 1870).

Cunningham, Robert (1836 - 1874)

Journalist and politician. Born at Stwearton, Ayrshire, May 12, 1836. Educated at Glasgow College and London University. Came to Canada in 1868. Sent to Manitoba in 1869 as special reporter of the Globe. Expelled by Riel. Started the Manitoban with Coldwell in 1870. Elected M.P. for Marquette in 1872. Re-elected in 1874 and appointed member of North-West Council. Died in St. Paul, Minnesota, July 4, 1874.

Dallas, Governor A.G. (1818? - 1882)

Fur Trader. Born in Scotland about 1818. Retired from China trade. Appointed Chief Factor of H.B.C. at Victoria in 1850. Governor of Rupert's Land in 1862 succeeding Sir George Simpson. Resigned in 1864. Returned to Scotland. Died January 2, 1882.

Dawson, Simon J. (1820 - 1902)

Civil engineer. Born at Redhaven, Banffshire, Scotland in 1820. Came to Canada as a young man and became a civil engineer. Received government appointment to open up St. Maurice River region. Appointed to explore country from Lake Superior westward to Saskatchewan in 1857. Employed by federal government in 1868 to open communication with Red River from Lake Superior. Supervised in 1870 transportation of Red River Expeditionary Force. Member from Algoma from 1878 to 1891. Died in Ottawa in 1902.

Dennis, Col. John Stoughton (1820 - 1885)

Land surveyor and civil servant. Born October 19, 1820 near York, Upper Canada. Surveyor of public lands in 1842. Sent by Canadian Government in 1869 to organize system of surveys in the North-West. Partly responsible for precipitating Red River Resistance 1869-1870. Appointed surveyor-general of Dominion Lands in 1871. Deputy Minister of Interior from 1878-1881. Died near Ottawa on July 7, 1885.

Draper, Judge William (1801 - 1877)

Politician and jurist, born near London, England, March 11, 1801. Came to Canada in 1820. Studied law at Port Hope and Cobourg, Upper Canada. Called to the Bar in 1828 (Q.C. 1842). Represented Toronto in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada from 1836-1840. Appointed solicitor general in 1837 and attorney general in 1840. After Union in 1841 held various posts in government. Appointed to bench in 1847. Held various senior judicial appointments until his death on November 3, 1877.

Dugas, The Reverend Georges (1833 - 1928)

R.C. Priest and author. Born St. Jacques de l'Achigon November 5, 1833. Educated at L'Assumption College and ordained in 1862. Served in Manitoba from 1866 to 1888. After that became cure of the parish of Ste. Anne de Plaines, Quebec. Wrote a number of books regarding the west and the Resistance of 1869. Died at Quebec on December 14, 1928.

Dumoulin, Father Sévere , Joseph Nicolas (1793 - ?)

R.C. Priest. Born Ste. Anne, Isle of Montreal December 5, 1793. Ordained February 23, 1817. Educated at Seminary of Nicolet. Arrived Red River 1818 with Bishop Provencher. Left Settlement on July 16, 1823.

Fleming, Sandford (1827 - 1915)

Civil engineer, born at Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, Scotland, January 7, 1827. Studied surveying and engineering in Scotland. Came to Canada in 1845. Became chief engineer of Northern Railway in 1857. Was chief engineer of Intercolonial Railway during its construction. Appointed engineer-in-chief of Canadian Pacific Railway in 1871. Surveyed route through the Yellowhead Pass in the Rockies. Was for many years a director of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Franchère, Gabriel (1786 - 1863)

Fur trader, born at Montreal, Canada, on November 3, 1786. Joined Astor's Pacific Fur Company in 1810 and helped found Astoria in 1811. Returned to Montreal in 1812. Published in 1920, Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814 (Translated from the French by W.T. Lamb). See bibliography. Lived successively at Sault Ste. Marie, St. Louis and New York. Died on April 12, 1863 at St. Paul.

Garry, Nicholas (1782? - 1856)

Executive, deputy governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (1822-1835), born in England about 1782. Became director of H.B.C. in 1817. Visited Canada in 1821 to supervise the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company. Diary of his journey has been printed in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (1900). Died in England on December 24, 1856.

Garrioch, Rev. A.C. (1848 - 1934)

C of E Clergyman, Historian. Born at Kildonan February 10, 1848. Educated at St. John's College. Ordained priest 1875. Missionary of Peace River country. Later incumbent at several Manitoba parishes. Retired in 1905 from parochial work. Wrote First Furrows (Winnipeg, 1923; The Correction Line (Winnipeg, 1933) and others. Died at Winnipeg December 3, 1934.

Giroux, Reverend Louis-Raymond (1841 - 1911)

R.C. Priest. A college friend of Riel's who came to Red River in 1868, and was priest at the Cathedral and Ste. Anne des Chênes, and chaplain to Riel's forces in Fort Garry.

Grant, Cuthbert (1796 - 1854)

Fur trader. Halfbreed son of Cuthbert Grant. Born in North-West about 1796. Educated in Montreal. Returned to North-West in 1815 and was one of the leaders at Seven Oaks affair in 1816. Employed as clerk by H.B.C. in 1823-24. Appointed "Warden of the Plains" in 1828 and retained title until 1848. Died at White Horse Plains on July 15, 1854.

Gunn, Donald (1797 - 1878)

Fur trader and historian, born in Halkirk, Caithness, Scotland, in September, 1797. Entered the service of the H.B.C. in 1813. Stationed at York Factory, Severn and Oxford House. Left the service in 1823 and settled at Red River. One of judges of petty court for twenty years. Appointed to Legislative Council of Manitoba from 1871 to 1876. Died at St. Andrews, Manitoba on November 30, 1878. Contributor to the Smithsonian Institute. With C.R. Tuttle wrote History of Manitoba from the Earliest Times (1880).

Halkett, John (1824 - 1852)

Was a brother-in-law to Selkirk, having married Selkirk's sister, the Lady Katherine Douglas, in 1815; and was very active in looking after Selkirk's interests in England while the latter was in Canada. He published Historical Notes Respecting the Indians of North America (London, 1825). Is responsible for Statement Respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement of Kildonan (London, January 1817). Died at Brighton, England on November 12, 1852.

Hallett, William (1824 - ?)

Described by Charles Mair as a leader of the "English Plains Hunt." Was employed in 1869 as guide and interpreter for one of the Dennis survey parties, and when the troubles began served Dennis as a guide in evading patrols of the Métis between Fort Garry and Pembina. Was involved with John Bourke in freeing James Stewart.

Hargrave, Joseph James (1841 - 1891)

Fur trader and historian. Son of James and Letitia Hargrave and nephew of William Mactavish. Entered H.B.C. service in 1861. Arrived in R.R.S. in 1861. Served at Fort Garry and Edmonton. Became Chief Trader in 1879. Retired to Montreal in 1889. Died in 1891. Author of Red River (1871) and numerous articles in the Montreal Herald during the Resistance.

Henry, Alexander (d. 1814)

Fur trader. Nephew of Alexander Henry the elder. The author of Travels and Adventures. Entered service of the North West Company as a clerk in 1792; during next twenty-two years he travelled all over the North West from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. His journals which he kept from day to day, have been published under the title, New Light on the Early History of the Greater North-West (3 vols., New York, 1897). Partner of the North West Company from 1799-1802. Was drowned off Fort George on the Pacific coast on May 22, 1814.

Hind, Henry Youle (1823 - 1908)

Geologist and explorer. Born at Nottingham, England, June 1, 1823. Educated at Queen's College, Cambridge but did not graduate.

Emigrated to Canada in 1846. Taught at provincial normal school from 1848 to 1853. Professor of chemistry and geology at Trinity College, Toronto from 1853 to 1864. Geologist of Red River expedition in 1857 and in charge of Saskatchewan expedition in 1858; Labrador in 1861; geological survey of New Brunswick in 1864; Nova Scotia gold fields in 1869-71; fisheries commission in 1877. Died at Windsor, Nova Scotia on August 9, 1908. Wrote Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858 (2 vols., Toronto, 1859).

Howe, Joseph (1804 - 1873)

Politician. Premier of Nova Scotia 1860-1863. Fisheries Commissioner under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1862-1866. Secretary of State for Provinces 1869-1873.

Hunt, Frank Larned (1825 - 1903)

Lawyer. Born at Detroit, Michigan October 23, 1825. Educated at Washington and Philadelphia. Studied law in Detroit. Came to Red River in 1860 and practised law in Winnipeg. Lived at Poplar Point, Manitoba. Wrote on various subjects. Died at Poplar Point November 20, 1903. Married to Alexander Ross's granddaughter.

Hunter, Venerable Archdeacon James (1817 - 1881)

Missionary. Born in England in 1817. Sent by Church Missionary Society to Canada in 1844. Stationed at Cumberland House. Established mission at The Pas. Translated portions of the hymn book, the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible into Cree. Was appointed in 1855 secretary of the society at St. Andrew's Red River. Later appointed Archdeacon of Cumberland. Established permanent missionary organization in the Mackenzie River District. Returned to England in 1864. Placed in charge of St. Mathew's Bayswater, London. Died in London in 1881.

Inkster, Colin (1843 - 1934)

Politician and civil servant. Born at R.R.S. August 3, 1843. Appointed member of the Legislative Council 1871. Became Minister of Agriculture and President of Council in 1876. Appointed Speaker of Council. Cast deciding vote in abolishing Council. Sheriff of eastern judicial district from 1882 to 1934. Died near Winnipeg September 29, 1934.

Isbister, Alexander Kennedy (1822 - 1883)

Educationist and author. Born Cumberland House, North West Territories in 1822, halfbreed son of Thomas Isbister an officer of the H.B.C. Educated in Scotland. Returned to Canada in 1837 and entered service of H.B.C. After several years returned to Scotland. Studied at Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities (M.A. 1858). Taught school in London from 1858 to 1882. Editor of Educational Times. Dean of College of Preceptors, Bloomsbury. Admitted to Bar in 1864 (L.L.B., London, 1866). Championed rights of half-

breeds of Manitoba. Died at Islington, London on May 28, 1883.

Keith, James (d. 1851)

Fur trader. Entered service of North West Company about 1800 and became partner in 1814. Was at Columbia from 1813 to 1816. Became Chief Factor H.B.C. in 1821 in charge of English River Department and later at Fort Chipewyn. Placed in charge of Montreal department in 1826. Remained there until 1843. Returned to Scotland and retired from service in 1845. Brother-in-law to Sir George Simpson. Died in Scotland on January 27, 1851.

Kennedy, Capt. William (1813 - 1890)

Arctic explorer, missionary, H.B.C. employee. Born at Cumberland House in 1813. Halfbreed son of Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy. Sent to Orkney for education at age 13. Entered H.B.C. service in 1836. Left Company in 1848 and went to Canada West. Engaged in own business. Lobbied for Canadian expansion into North-West. Commanded two of the Arctic searches for Sir John Franklin. Published book on his adventures in 1853. About 1860 became missionary and teacher to Indians at Fairford on Lake Manitoba. Settled at St. Andrew's in 1861. Retired. Died at St. Andrew's on January 25, 1890.

Kittson, Norman W. (1814 - 1888)

Fur trader. Born at Chambly, Lower Canada in 1814. Apprenticed to American Fur Co. in 1830. Became agent of the American Fur Co. in 1843 for Upper Minnesota River and Red River. Established himself at Pembina. Withdrew from fur trade in 1854. Developed line of steamers on Red River during the 1860's. Later associated with J.J. Hill in railway enterprises. Died in 1888.

LaVerendrye, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de (1685 - 1749)

Explorer and fur trader. Born at Three Rivers, Canada on November 17, 1685, son of Governor of Three Rivers. Served in the French army both in Canada and Europe. Returned to Canada in 1709. Engaged in fur trade. Left Montreal for west in 1731. Built chain of fur trading posts from Lake of the Woods to Lake Winnipeg and Assiniboine River. In 1742 his two sons explored as far west as the Rockies. Died in Montreal on December 5, 1749.

Lestanc, Father Jean-Marie (1830 - 1912)

R.C. Priest. Born in Breton, France. Came to Northwest in 1855. Appointed parish priest St. Norbert, R.R.S. in 1857. In charge of St. Boniface diocese during Bishop Tache's absence in 1869. Not friendly to Riel. At Fort Pitt in 1877.

Lynch, Dr. James Spencer (1841 - 1894)

Born near London, Canada West. Graduated in medicine from University of Toronto. Moved to Red River in 1868. In the 1871 election he and Angus McKay each received 282 votes. Both candidates went

to Ottawa to claim the seat but before the ad hoc committee reported the house dissolved. In the second election in 1872 he contested Marquette, losing to Robert Cunningham.

Macallum, Rev. John (1806 - 1849)

C of E Clergyman and teacher. Scotsman, native of Fortrose, County of Ross. Educated at King's College Aberdeen. Obtained M.A. in 1832. Came to Red River in 1833. Appointed to Council of Assiniboia in 1836 and in 1839. First teacher of Red River Academy. Ordained Deacon on June 30, 1844 and priest on July 7, 1844. Died October 5, 1849.

Macdonald, Rt. Hon. Sir John Alexander (1815 - 1891)

Politician, Lawyer. Prime Minister and Minister of Justice in 1869, during Resistance period.

MacKenzie, Alexander (1764 - 1820)

Fur trader and explorer. Born near Stornoway, in the Island of Lewis. Emigrated with father to New York in 1774. Attended school in Montreal. Entered service with fur trader in 1779 as clerk. Became partner of North West Company in 1787. Made expedition to Arctic Ocean in 1789; to Pacific Ocean in 1793. Knighted in 1802. Re-joined North West Company in 1804. Elected to Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada in 1805. Returned to Scotland in 1808. Died near Edinburgh on March 12, 1820.

Mactavish, William (1815 - 1870)

Fur trader. Born in Scotland. Came to Rupert's Land in 1833 as clerk with H.B.C. Became Chief Factor in 1851. Appointed Governor of Assiniboia in 1858. Became Governor of Rupert's Land in 1864. Was incapacitated during Red River Resistance 1869-70. Died at Liverpool, England in 1870. Son-in-law of Andrew McDermot.

McDougall, William (1822 - 1905)

Journalist, Politician. Minister of Public Works in the Dominion Cabinet, 1867-1869; appointed Lieutenant Governor of Rupert's Land and the North West Territories, September 28, 1869; ordered by National Committee of the Metis not to enter Rupert's Land without special permission, October 30, 1869.

McKenzie, Donald (1783 - 1851)

Fur trader. Born in Scotland in 1783. Emigrated to Canada in 1800 and entered service of North West Company as a clerk. Joined J.J. Astor's American Fur Company in 1809 and made overland trip to Astoria in 1811. Re-entered service of North West Company in 1813. Became partner and in 1821 Chief Factor of H.B.C. Appointed member of Council of North West Territories in 1822 and Governor of Assiniboia from 1825 to 1833. Retired then from fur trade and settled in Mayville, New York. Died there on January 20, 1851.

McLean, John (1828 - 1886)

C of E Clergyman. Born in Portsoy, Banffshire, Scotland on November 17, 1828. Educated at King's College Aberdeen. Ordained in the Church of England in 1858. Came to Canada that year as Curate of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Canada West until 1866. Came to Red River in 1866 and appointed Rector of St. John's Cathedral and Archdeacon of Assiniboia. Later became Professor of Divinity and Warden at St. John's College. In 1874 he was consecrated first Bishop of Saskatchewan. Received honorary degrees from Trinity, University of Toronto; Bishop's College and Kenyon College. Died at Prince Albert on November 7, 1886.

Machray, Robert (1831 - 1904)

Archbishop of Rupert's Land C of E. Born in Aberdeen, Scotland, May 18, 1831. Educated at King's College Aberdeen and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Elected Fellow in 1855. Appointed second Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1865. He became Metropolitan of Canada in 1875 and elected Primate of All Canada in 1893. Re-organized St. John's College. Appointed first Chancellor of the University of Manitoba in 1877. Received honorary degree from Cambridge, Manitoba, Durham and Trinity Universities. Died in Winnipeg on March 9, 1904.

Mair, Charles (1838 - 1927)

Poet, civil servant. Born Lanark, Upper Canda September 21, 1838. Educated Queen's University. Did not proceed to degree. One of the originators of "Canada First" movement in 1868. Represented Montreal Gazette during Resistance. Was imprisoned by Riel but escaped. Spent rest of life in government service in the West. Author of Dreamland and other Poems (1868) and Tecumseh, a Drama (1886).

Matheson, Alexander (1827 - 1911)

Presbyterian Minister. Close friend of James Ross. Graduated from Knox College in 1860. Served under Rev. John Black at Red River. First teacher of Kildonan West School. Established congregations at Portage la Prairie, Burnside, Little Britain and Springfield. Died in Winnipeg in 1911.

Nault, André (1830 - 1924)

Canadian of Red River, behind whose lands the survey was stopped; associate of Riel in raising barricade at St. Norbert.

Nolin, Charles (1823 - 1907)

Merchant, fur trader, politician. Born at Cavanagh, North Dakota in 1823. Family came to Red River in 1825. Educated by Bishop Provencher. Worked as trader and merchant until 1869. Member of Convention of Forty during Riel regime. Commanded loyal group of Métis during Fenian scare of October 1871. Elected to Provincial Legislature from Ste. Anne in 1874. Minister of Agriculture in

1875. Took part in agitation which preceded Rebellion of 1885. Disagreed with Riel and Dumont over use of arms. Died in November 1907, buried at St. Boniface.

W.B. O'Donoghue (? -1878)

Teacher. Irish American who came to St. Boniface as a teacher and candidate for Holy Orders in 1868, but joined Riel in 1869. A probable Fenian and annexationist. Elected to Riel's Provisional Government. Fled in 1870. Clemency of Crown extended toward him in 1877. Died in St. Paul, Minnesota on March 26, 1878.

Ogden, Peter Skene (1794 - 1854)

Fur trader. Born in Quebec, Lower Canada in 1794. Entered service of North West Company as clerk in 1811. Stationed at Isle a la Crosse from 1811 to 1818. Transferred to Columbia in 1818. Made partner in 1820. Became Chief trader in 1823 and Chief Factor in 1835. Died near Oregon City on September 27, 1854.

Palliser, John (1817 - 1887)

Explorer and geographer. Born in county Waterford, Ireland on January 29, 1817. Sheriff of Waterford in 1844 and Captain in Waterford artillery militia. Undertook hunting expedition in American North-West in 1847 and published experiences in 1853. Appointed leader of expedition by British Government to explore British North America. Elected to Royal Geographical Society in 1861 for his report. Died at Waterford on August 18, 1887.

Provencher, Joseph Norbert (1787 - 1853)

Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface 1847-1853. Born Nicolet, Quebec February 12, 1787. Educated at Nicolet Seminary and ordained R.C. priest in 1811. Arrived in Red River 1818 and 1820 appointed Bishop of Juliopolis in partibus infedelium and apostolic vicar of the North West. Bishop in 1847. Died near Winnipeg on June 7, 1853. Founded College of St. Boniface in 1818.

Provencher, Joseph Alfred Norbert (1843 - 1887)

Journalist and Indian Agent. Born at La Baie du Febvre, Lower Canada, on January 6, 1843. Educated at Nicolet Seminary and called to Bar in Lower Canada in 1864. Editor of La Minerve in 1866. Nephew of Bishop Provencher of Saint Boniface. Secretary designate of McDougall's provisional council to be formed when transfer was completed. Indian Commissioner from 1870 to 1876 in North West Territories. Returned to Montreal in 1881. Editor-in-chief La Presse in 1884-1885. Died in Montreal on October 28, 1887.

Ramsey, Alexander (1815 - 1903)

American politician. First territorial Governor of Minnesota from 1849-1853. Governor of Minnesota 1860-1863, United States Senator

1863-1875, one of the leaders of the Minnesota expansionist movement.

Riel, Louis (1844 - 1885)

Politician. Born at St. Boniface on October 22, 1844. Educated at seminary in Montreal in 1868. Led Resistance at Red River in 1869-70. Left country in 1870. Elected to Canadian House of Commons to represent the constituency of Provencher in 1873 and 1874. Expelled from House in 1874. Warranty for arrest issued in 1875. Took refuge in Montana until 1884. Led second rebellion of half-breeds in North-West in 1885. Captured on May 12, 1885. Tried in Regina in July 1885 and found guilty of high treason. Hanged on November 16, 1885.

Robertson, John Ross (1841 - 1918)

Journalist, historian, philanthropist. Born in Toronto on December 28, 1841. Educated at Upper Canada College. Founded Daily Telegram in 1866 and Evening Telegram in 1876. Success of paper laid foundation to large fortune. M.P. for East Toronto from 1896- 1900. Elected Fellow of Royal Society of Canada in 1914. Died in Toronto on May 30, 1918.

Robinson, Major Henry M.

American journalist, trader at R.R.S. Vice-Consul under Oscar Malmros during Resistance. Owner-editor of the New Nation. Forced out by Riel on March 19, 1870. Author of The Great Fur Land (New York, 1879).

Ritchot, Joseph-Noel (1825 - 1905)

Roman Catholic priest. Born at l'Assomption, Lower Quebec, December 25, 1825. Entered ecclesiastical orders in 1852. Arrived at Red River on June 7, 1862 and appointed to Parish of St. Norbert where he served for forty-three years. Built a church, a rectory, a convent and an orphanage. Title of Monseigneur in 1897. During Resistance was closely allied with Riel. One of delegates chosen by Convention of Forty to negotiate with Canadian government at Ottawa. Returned to Settlement on June 17, 1870 with Manitoba Act. Remainder of life devoted to religious duties. Died at St. Norbert on March 16, 1905.

Ross, Roderick (1834? - 1909)

Fur trader. Close friend of James Ross. Born at Norway House, son of Donald Ross, Chief Trader. Was educated at St. John's College later at Cambridge University. Entered service of H.B.C. and had postings at Fort Chipewyn, Norway House, Ile á la Crosse and Athabasca. Retired with rank of Chief Factor. Died at Selkirk in 1909.

Salaberry, Col. Charles de (1820 - 1882)

Soldier. Son of the victor at the battle of Chateauguay, 1813. In 1857-58 he was in charge of the commissariat of the Dawson expedition to Red River and became popular among the Métis. He

was a Quebec Forestry Commissioner in the District of Montreal, 1869-1882.

Schmidt, Louis (1844 - 1935)

Métis, probably of German descent. Educated at St. Boniface and sent in 1858, with Louis Riel and Daniel McDougall to Quebec to continue their studies: Schmidt at the College de Saint-Hyacinthe. Returned to Red River in 1861. Close associate with Riel during Resistance.

Schultz, Dr. John Christian (1840 - 1896)

Physician, merchant, journalist, politician. Born at Amherst, Upper Canada January 1, 1840. Educated at Amherstburg and Oberlin Colleges. Studied medicine at Queen's University, Kingston and Victoria College, Toronto. Came to Fort Garry in 1860 to visit his half-brother Henry McKenney. After completing his studies he returned to Red River. Gained reputation as trader and politician. Part ownership in Nor'-Wester from 1864 to 1868. Played leading role in opposing Riel. Was imprisoned by Riel and escaped. Elected M.P. for Lisgar from 1871 to 1882. Called to Senate in 1882. Lieutenant-Governor from 1888-95. Knighted in 1894. Became very wealthy. Died in Mexico April 13, 1896.

Scott, Alfred H.

Bar-keeper at R.R.S. Was considered to be an American but claimed to be of British birth. His proclivities were American and annexationist, as was his employer, Henry McKenney. He may have been a Roman Catholic, since he signed a Roman Catholic petition in 1869. Part of delegation to Ottawa in 1870 to negotiate terms. Did not return to R.R.S.

Scott, Thomas (1846 - 1870)

Born in Ireland in 1846. Came to Canada in 1863. Came west to work on Dawson Road before 1869. Joined Canadian forces resisting Riel. Taken prisoner by Riel on February 17, 1870. Tried by court martial for insubordination and shot at Fort Garry on March 4, 1870.

Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, Earl of (1771-1820)

Philanthropist. Born at St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland on June 20, 1771. Educated at Edinburgh University. Succeeded to Earldom in 1799. Planted first colony of crofters in Prince Edward Island in 1803. Also attempted colony in Upper Canada. Chief project Red River Colony. Obtained from H.B.C. grant of 45 million acres in Red River Valley in 1811. Conflict with North West Company proved bloody and costly. Died in south of France April 8, 1820.

Semple, Robert (1777 - 1816)

Trader, executive. Born in Boston, Mass. February 26, 1777.

Emigrated to England after American Revolution. Travelled extensively for business reasons. Wrote about his travels. Appointed Governor of Assiniboia and Chief Agent of H.B.C. to succeed Miles MacDonell at Red River in 1815. Killed in action on June 19, 1816 at Fort Garry in armed collision with halfbreeds of Red River. Twenty other men died at the same time.

Simpson, Sir George (1787? - 1860)

Fur trader. Born at Loch Broom, Ross-shire, Scotland about 1787, illegitimate son of George Simpson. Employed in India trade in 1809. Took service with the H.B.C. in 1820. Appointed Governor of northern Department in 1821 and later Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land and general superintendent of H.B.C. in North America. Crossed continent in 1841-42 and made trip around the world. During later years he lived in Lachine. Died there on September 7, 1860. Administration marked with great firmness and encouragement for geographical exploration. Knighted in 1841.

Sinclair, James (1806 - 1856)

Fur trader, explorer. Graduate of University of Edinburgh. Returned to Red River in 1828 to become 'petty trader' with Andrew McDermot. Led party of immigrants through Rockies in 1841. Died at Oregon. See Geneva Lent. James Sinclair and the Hudson's Bay Company (Seattle, 1963)

Spence, Thomas (1832 - 1900)

Merchant, civil servant. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, June 3, 1832. Came to Canada in 1862 with party of engineers to erect Forts at Port Levis in Quebec. Came R.R.S. in 1866 where he practised law and conveyancing. Opened store in Portage la Prairie in 1867. Attempted to establish the Republic of Manitobah, in 1868. Became Clerk of the Legislative Assembly from 1878-85. Appointed editor of New Nation in 1870 by Riel. Held a number of positions with Federal government related to immigration. Assistant registrar for lands in Edmonton in 1895. Died there in 1900.

Stewart, James (1826 - 1911)

Fur trader, teacher. Born in Orkney Island in 1826. Entered service of H.B.C. in 1851 and came to Rupert's Land in that year joined Rae's party which was looking for traces of the Franklin expedition. Served at Fort Garry Company store from 1855 to 1863. Became a teacher then. Participated in the Corbett affair. Close to Schultz during Riel period. Held prisoner for three months by Riel. Moved to Prince Albert in 1900. Died there in January, 1911.

Strathcona, Donald Alexander Smith, first Baron of (1820 - 1914)

Trader , politician, railroad developer. Born at Forres, Morayshire, Scotland in 1820. Educated in Scotland and joined H.B.C. in 1838. Spent thirty years with Company in Labrador and in 1869 he was appointed to the Montreal office where he rose to become resident Governor and Chief Commissioner for Canada. Appointed special

commissioner in 1869 to investigate troubles in Red River. Member of Legislative Assembly of Manitoba from 1870 to 1874. Also M.P. for Selkirk from 1870 to 1880. Elected member for Montreal West in 1887. Held same until 1896. Appointed High Commissioner to London in 1896. One of the organizers of the C.P.R. Died January 21, 1914.

Sutherland, John (1821 - 1899)

Farmer, merchant, politician. Born at Point Douglas August 21, 1821. Educated at St. John's College. After flood of 1852 moved to East Kildonan. Farmed and operated general store. Appointed member of Council of Assiniboia in 1866. Delegate from Kildonan to Convention of Forty. Became Collector of Customs by Provisional Government and High Sheriff of Manitoba by Provincial Government. Appointed to Canadian Senate in 1872. Held post until he died on April 27, 1899 at Kildonan.

Taché, Alexander Antonin (1823 - 1894)

Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface. Born at Rivière du Loup, Lower Canada, July 23, 1823. Nephew of Sir Etienne Taché. Educated at College of St. Hyacinthe and Theological Seminary of Montreal. Became novice of Oblate Order in 1844. Missionary to Red River in 1845. Co-adjutor Bishop of St. Boniface in 1851 and Bishop in 1853 on death of Provencher. Absent at beginning of Red River Resistance but returned to take an active part in resolving disturbance. Became Archbishop in 1871. Wrote extensively about Manitoba school question and his years in the North-West. Died at Winnipeg, June 22, 1894.

Taylor, James Wickes (1819 - 1893)

Journalist, Publicist, railway promoter, U.S. civil servant. Born New York state November 6, 1819. Educated at Hamilton College, New York. Studied law with his father from 1838 to 1842. Admitted to Ohio courts in 1843. Moved to St. Paul in 1856. Active in promoting railway development. Special agent of U.S. treasury department from 1859-69. Appointed Consul at Winnipeg in 1870. Held post until he died at Utica, New York on April 28, 1893.

Thibault, Grand-Vicar Jean Baptiste (1810 - 1879)

R.C. priest. Came to Red River in 1833; taught at St. Boniface College, and served as a missionary at White Horse Plains, and on the Saskatchewan; retired to Canada in 1868.

Thom, Adam (1802 - 1890)

Jurist. Born in Scotland on August 30, 1802. Educated at King's College, Aberdeen. Emigrated to Canada in 1832. Studied law in Montreal. Called to the Bar of Lower Canada in 1837. Editor of the Montreal Herald during Rebellion of 1837. Attached to staff of Lord Durham in 1838. Appointed Recorder to Red River in 1838. Arrived in Red River in 1839. Removed from bench in 1849 after

Sayer trial. Acted as Clerk of Council of Assiniboia until 1854. Returned to England. Died in London on February 21, 1890.

Wolseley, Col. Garnet (1833 - 1913)

Soldier. Born at Dublin County, Ireland June 4, 1833. Educated at Dublin. Commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in 1852 and sent to Burma. Saw service in Crimea in 1855. Took part in relief of Lucknow in 1857. Promoted brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in 1858. China service 1860. Came to Canada in 1861. Chosen to lead expedition to Red River in 1870. Returned to Britain in 1871. Served in Egyptian campaign in 1882 and promoted to General. Rescued Gordon at Khartoum in 1884-5. Died in France, March 25, 1913.

Young, George (1821 - 1910)

Methodist clergyman and author. Born Prince Edward County, Upper Canada, December 31, 1821. Became itinerant preacher for Methodist Church in 1842. Appointed Superintendent of Methodist missions in the west in 1868. First president of the Manitoba and North-West Conference. Established many missions in Manitoba before settling in Winnipeg. Attended Thomas Scott at his execution. Built original Grace and Zion churches. Also the Wesleyan Institute. Returned to Toronto in 1884. Died there on August 1, 1910.

A P P E N D I X "B"

An article under the heading "Habfbreed" appeared in The Nor'- Wester on October 22nd, 1862. The title obviously was a typographical error. The editors thought it necessary to reprint the article in the next edition of the paper, on November 4th, under a corrected heading. The style and content of the article point to James Ross as the probable author. Italicized words in the printed version are underlined in the following typescript.

H A L F B R E E D

The word "Halfbreed" is heard or used here every day of the year. There is such a large number of those popularly designated as "Halfbreeds" - a vast majority of the people of Red River, in fact — and they are so interwoven in all movements and concerns of the place, that they must, of necessity, be constantly mentioned. A European takes to himself, as wife, one of the native Indian women, and his offspring we call Halfbreeds. An Indian marries a European or, at least, a white woman, and his progeny bear the same appellation. And the reason usually assigned is that said offspring or progeny are literally halfbreeds, — half white, half red — or, if you will, half one race, half another, half Caucasian half Indian. Were this the extent of the application of the name, the explanation would be passable, but the name is given equally to those who may have a White father and Halfbreed mother, or vice versa and who are, thus, quarter-breeds — if we accept the reason of the name Halfbreed above given as sound. In this country in fact, the name applies to all who have Indian blood in a greater or less degree. This is the general acceptation of the term, and, in this sense nine-tenths or more of the civilized people of Rupert's Land are "Halfbreeds."

The object of these lines is not to characterize the class so designated — not to compare or contrast them with others — not to speculate on their destiny or their prospects: we have simply to do with the name, a term, or appellation. It is not a question of character or capability, but one of mere etymology — a matter of philology, not ethnology — one for the linguist, not the politician, or the social reformer.

Is the name "Halfbreed" a simple compound of "half" and "breed"? All will at once answer, Yes, and feign amazement at the man who would be doubtful. Of course that is the most obvious explanation. The orthography and the sense point to the same conclusion, and long established notions are irrefragable. We think there is another explanation, which if not correct, is at least very plausible. Let us see. Is it not rather a remarkable coincidence that the term "halfbreed" should so closely resemble in sound and sense the Latin hybrida (a mongrel)? This word is derived from the Greek; but there is no present reason for going beyond the Latin. Hybrida is, in meaning, sound, and appearance, as like Halfbreed as can be; and if the latter did not happen to consist of two parts, each of which has a distinct signification in English, we would as readily conclude that it was derived from the Latin word, as we hold that "master" and "governor", come respectively from magister and gubernator, or, "scripture" and "conscience" from scriptura and conscientia. But, as already said, because Halfbreed happens to be composed of two words current in our language, the inference is at once that it is a compound of said two parts.

Admitting the force of this, we, nevertheless, have good analogy in support of the view that Halfbreed is an Anglified form of the Latin Hybrida. This is, in fact, one of those instances (sufficiently numerous in our language to establish a rule) in which words of foreign simulate

a vernacular origin. This process is traceable in the French, Spanish, and Italian, but more decidedly in our own tongue, and for the very reason, we presume, that the English is more mixed or composite than, perhaps, any other living language. We have many words of foreign origin to which from their appearance and meaning, we at once assign a native Anglo-Saxon or English pedigree and all the more readily when the original orthography requires but little alteration. Such amongst others are beef-eater from boeuffetier, sparrow-grass from asparagus; Shotover (as in "Shotover Hill," near Oxford) from Chateauvert. The compound vulgarism sky-larking, moreover, has nothing to do with "larks" at all, — the latter half is a corrupt form of an Anglo-Saxon term meaning game. Billy Ruffian is a popular paraphrase of the classic Bellerophon, as Sir Roger Dowlas is the slang of the marines for Surajah Dowlah. Without multiplying examples any further, let us apply these specimens to the point in hand. How easy for the uneducated masses who know nothing of etymology or of what Trench so beautifully illustrates the "history of words," when they use the words, beef-eater, sparrow-grass, or Jerusalem (artichokes) to believe that the officers designated by the first either eat or used to eat more beef than other people; that the second was the name for a grass of which sparrows must be particularly fond; and that Jerusalem artichokes come from Palestine. To account for the name Shotover Hill, it has been said that "Little John" (of romance celebrity) shot over it. Here the process of corrupt accomodation, in order to seem consistent breeds a fiction. Again, in chess, the piece now called the queen was originally the elephant (ferz in Persian). The French in Gallicising the Persian ferz, so far improved upon the original, as to make it vierge, from which some Englishman of fertile brain could easily elicit the queen, for "virgin-queen" ever rings in his ears.

Well, if analogy is so strongly in favor, what is there impossible in supposing that some gentleman traveller in giving an account of his tour should speak of the half-caste individuals with whom he met as Hybrids, and that the mass of his hearers or readers, who knew nothing of the Latin or Greek original would at once assume that he must have said or meant Half-breeds, for the sound and appearance were almost identical and half and breed exactly conveyed the necessary meaning. After all, dogmatism must be discarded. We are not positive. This nice superstructure may be a mere fancy or fiction — to a certain extent, pretty and plausible, but in fact and truth, totally wrong. Whether it be so or not, we have no more space or time to pursue the argument; and incentive is lacking, for the result either way, is of little importance.

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