275th Anniversary H B C

The Beaver

A MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY Hudson's Bay Company. OUTFIT 276 JUNE 1945

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The Beaver

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OUTFIT 276 JUNE 1945

275th ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

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ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE — Hudson's Bay Company. INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670 — WINNIPEG, CANADA

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Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper,
Governor,
Hudson's Bay Company:

On the occasion of your 275th Anniversary, I should like to send my congratulations to you and your staff.

The Hudson's Bay Company is the oldest chartered company in the world, and its life has been filled with achievements of which you may be justly proud. Yours is a fine record of enterprise in opening the vast territories of North America and in serving their peoples.

In sending you my good wishes I am glad to recall the fact that John Churchill was its third Governor.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Baron Churchill, Prince of the Empire and of Mindelheim. Born in 1650, the son of Sir Winston Churchill, he succeeded James, Duke of York, as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, when the latter ascended the throne. On April 2, 1685, he took the oath as Governor, and held the office for seven years. One of the most brilliant generals in British history, he is celebrated chiefly for his victories at Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. The above portrait, attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller, was presented to the Canadian Committee by the London Board on the Company's 275th anniversary.

Anniversary Addresses

Speeches given at the luncheon celebrating the 275th Anniversary of the Hudson's Bay Company, 2nd May, 1945, in London.

By Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey
High Commissioner for Canada

IT'S a great pleasure for me to be present on this occasion and help celebrate with you the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of this great company.

I've been reflecting on the parallels between 1670, the year in which your charter was granted, and our own times. Then, as now, the City of London was slowly recovering from the devastation of the great fire. Then, as now, the threat of invasion was only a little way in the past. Only four years before the enemy had been closely threatening the capital, but the danger had been beaten back, and the sky was clear and full of confidence when the Company was launched on the course which it has followed so far and so successfully. In the same way the black clouds of our own dangers have now been blown over. With a deeper breath and with a greater ease of mind, we can once again take time to celebrate such happy domestic ceremonies as that in which we are now participating.

We are in a sense indebted for this occasion to-day to a monarch whose talents and intelligence have hardly received full justice. Many of his creations are still with us. The Royal Society still flourishes, authoritative and distinguished. And the Company which you guide has now reached its two hundred and seventy-fifth birthday, and grown out of all recognition in its scope and power. If wisdom is justified in children, then Charles II and his advisers have been justified in you.

But anniversaries of this sort are like Janus. They are signposts pointing into the future as well as memorials of the past. It has been the genius of this country, more than any other, to dovetail the past into the future. It has used the past not as a fetish or a museum, but as an inherited skill, a legacy of experience with which to deal with the problems of the future. The Hudson's Bay Company represents this outlook to an extraordinary degree. It has retained its ancient traditions but it has been prepared to adapt itself to new conditions and seize new opportunities.

When gentlemen in Europe stopped wearing beaver hats, the Company did not sit down and sulk. The union effected in 1821 between the Company and the Northwesters, the growth of the great retail department stores—these are but two examples, from the comparatively recent past, of the Company's adaptability. And I am well aware, although the story cannot yet be fully told, how completely the Hudson's Bay Company has put its unique resources in the north and northwest at the service of the Canadian government during the war.

I can say this, however: that Hudson's Bay Company vessels have borne much of the freight for some of the great engineering projects carried out in our northwest in connection with the war; and also that their meteorological stations throughout the Arctic have been made available to the Canadian government.

More than ever during the last five years of war the attention of all Canadians has been directed to our northern territories. Establishment of the Northwest Staging Route, of the Alaska Highway and the great Canol Oil Project have driven new trails into the wilderness. It is unknown yet how large a population our northern territories can support, but it is clear that these territories contain great mineral treasure, much timber and water power, as well as countless fur bearing animals; and the task of survey and exploitation will be a fascinating one for years to come. Once again we have been reminded—something which we were in little danger of forgetting—that Canada is a country with a frontier. The frontier of the United States was declared closed in 1890. But Canada's northern frontier is still very much open and it has a stimulating and pervasive effect both on our economy and our thinking. Even most town-bred Canadians cannot avoid having the tang of the North sometimes in their imagination.

In these regions, as you know, your own Governor himself was a great adventurer. Where Sir George Simpson went by York boat and canoe, he travels more quickly but with less energy by air, criss-crossing ocean and northern silences with giant strides. In him the great tradition of the Company and its determined and resourceful Governors is splendidly continued. I must congratulate you in having at your head a man of such imagination, not only where the business of the Company is concerned, but also in the wider problems confronting the business community as a whole.

The Governor's enthusiasm and the generosity of the Hudson's Bay Company have now found new expression. I have the privilege to-day of announcing, at the request of the Company, that it has decided to establish a scholarship fund for the promotion of study in those subjects in which the Company is specially interested, particularly higher administration and management, distribution and those forms of trading in which it is engaged. Two scholarships are to be awarded each year to Canadians to enable them to study economic theory and business practice in this country, and two further scholarships will be similarly awarded to candidates here to enable them to carry on similar studies in Canada. I need hardly say how much I welcome the scheme. Not only will it forge new links between Canada and the United Kingdom, but it will bring new resources to bear on some of the most urgent problems of the time. It is a recognition of the fact that the increasing complexity of industrial and commercial enterprise necessitates a higher development of administrative and managerial technique if these complex processes are to be mastered by intelligence for the common good. Hudson's Bay Company scholars will be carefully selected men with appropriate training and experience. I have no doubt that, as the plan takes form and develops, they will make an important contribution to business leadership in both countries concerned. This new plan is a signal example of the open-mindedness with which the

Company faces the future. And yet, underlying all the changes, there is the same continuing spirit of resolution and adventure.

I have noticed with interest that in the Company's catalogue, along with the multitude of very modern commodities, there are still listed many of the traditional articles of trade that were in use in the earliest days—there is poetry in these words—tump lines, dog bells, snare wires, ice chisels, skinning knives. One cannot read that list without thinking of the pluck and endurance of Hudson's Bay factors and traders who have served in the past. In that spirit and readiness to adapt itself to the need of to-day lies the guarantee of the Company's future success.

Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in proposing the health of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay.

By Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper

Governor, Hudson's Bay Company

GREAT occasions crowd upon us and the words of greater orators than I sound in our ears: words telling of victory, peace, reconstruction and a brave, new world. It may seem to some, in such an hour as this, that to raise one's voice in praise of the continuance of a trading company—even though that history now reaches nearer three centuries than two—is an impertinence. Nothing could be further from the truth nor do a greater disservice to the future.

Let us look at the picture before us.

Victory, unless it bring swift and unfettered interchange of goods and services among the peoples of the world, will speedily end in disaster. Peace, unless it provide the strong with worthier testing grounds of their skill and fitness than does the battlefield, will do no more than light the fire of an even worse inferno.

The brave new world will be no world worth living in unless there is a place in it for a brave and adventurous spirit. There have been many wars in the last two hundred and seventy-five years, and it has been well proven that power alone is not enough to build a lasting edifice. Might is not right. The spirit of adventure must be harnessed to more than the mere will to dominate.

In my view, this spirit of adventure must be part of a triumvirate, spurred on by hope of reward, and balanced and restrained by a sense of responsibility to the communities which it serves, to those whom it employs, and to the country in which it labours.

It is because the Hudson's Bay Company has maintained adherence to this trinity of principles that it has endured while so much has vanished—in fact, in a world of shattered hopes it is to-day like a tree, living, blossoming and pregnant with much fruit.

It has occurred to me often in this war how much we owe to the sheer zest for adventure among our people; to that infectious enthusiasm that will try in any way and at whatever risk to get the job done and well done.

It was, I think, in the great naval battle of Cape Matapan that a saucy destroyer was being hotly pursued by major units of the Italian fleet, which it was decoying into position for the kill. With the enemy close on its stern, the destroyer's commander radioed to a companion, "Don't look round now, but I think we're being followed!" That is spirit. It was the spirit we needed. It is the spirit that the Empire needs now and through the days of peace no less than in the stress of war. We are not, surely, going to leave such magnificent vitality as this without a proper outlet. I say: take it into trade. Show these young people—as this Company of Adventurers has shown them—that there is testing enough for body and intellect in the broad domain of business. We can give a man all the thrills of the great outdoors. We can send him to vast spaces where implacable and relentless nature will be his enemy, and an unsleeping enemy at that. And business needs bold brains as well as strong muscles. It needs more of daring imagination, more of wide mental vision. We need men who can envisage what lies behind distant horizons, men who can plan and equip the great enterprises of modern business. Adventure? The world never held more of it, nor more men and women of this Empire so fitted to seek it. They are the people we want.

But I confess to a great disappointment that so little is being done in this country to keep such a spirit alive. Too much is heard of safety and security for its own sake. How seldom do we hear our leaders and educators urge upon our youth those vital qualities of enterprise, courage and hard work. Fortunately however, the flame still burns brightly despite a general lack of blowing by the educational bellows.

Can you expect a boy to lose his heart to a study of the Duke of Marlborough's campaigns when a new Marlborough holds the stage in this, the most vital real life drama for centuries? Are not Cunningham's achievements as worthy of study now in our schools as those of Nelson?

And if Frederick the Great was a famous warrior, what shall we say of Alexander and Montgomery, who have smashed the machine of which he was so skilled an architect? And what of the great men in trade and industry? It is fashionable to decry them, often to abuse them, but surely they are men who create employment, who make two blades of grass grow where one grew before. Surely there is no more valuable asset in this country, no better social worker, than a good employer whether he be large or small.

There is a well known phrase, "Let us now praise famous men." That refers for the most part to those who have passed on. I would like to add this phrase, "Let us now praise living men."

We do not want adventure and heroism buried under the dusty dates of long-dead kings. Don't suffocate them, bring them out into the air. These are living things. Man may have reached most of the geographical frontiers but uncharted lands still await the foot of the explorer in every field of human endeavour. The gospel of the trader should be the gospel of opportunity here, now and in future. Man can work to-day and hope for to-morrow, but the only thing he can do with yesterday is to learn from its failures. I am, as you will have gathered by all this, an uncompromising romantic about business. If business has no romance we may as well get out of it at once because there will be no pleasure in it—and where there is no pleasure there is likely to be little profit. I use that word in its biblical sense, "For what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" . . . The Hudson's Bay Company is an edifice built on the principles I have described—built but not completed despite its two hundred and seventy-five years of continuous construction. . . .*

*Owing to lack of space, four paragraphs have been omitted from this speech.

The Royal Society and the Company

by R. P. Stearns

Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the original Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1663. The painting is from the studio of John Greenhill. Courtesy National Portrait Gallery.

ON July 15, 1662, nearly eight years before incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company, Charles II, resolving "to extend not only the boundaries of the Empire, but also the very arts and sciences," granted corporate existence to the Royal Society of London. The charter, in fact, gave legal recognition to a group of "experimental philosophers" who had been assembling informally to conduct scientific experiments and to compare notes for some seventeen years. As the men in this group were not unknown to the original adventurers of the Hudson's Bay Company, as the activities of the two organizations led to a variety of inter-relations, and as the two chartered groups have grown in prestige as well as in years during two and three-quarter centuries, it seems fitting here to set forth a resumé of their early mutual relationships.

At the outset, cordial reciprocity was fostered by interlocking personnel. Among the possible "driving forces" behind the organization of the Hudson's Bay Company, King Charles II was revered as Founder of the Royal Society and had been elected Fellow in 1665. Similarly, four of the Adventurers of 1670 were Fellows of the Royal Society before the Company existed—Prince Rupert (March 1665), Anthony Ashley Cooper (August 1663), George, Duke of Albemarle (January 1665), and James Hayes, one of the "Original Fellows" (May 1663). Besides these earliest promoters of the Hudson's Bay trade, the Adventurers named in the Company's charter of 1670 also included Sir Paul Neile, who had been listed in both the first and the second charters of the Royal Society as a member of the Council, Sir Philip Carteret, who had been elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1665, and Sir Peter Colleton, who was elected to the Royal Society in 1677.

Thus it appears that of the eighteen original adventurers named in the Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, six were Fellows (or, as in the case of Sir Peter Colleton, soon became a Fellow) of the Royal Society[1]. Subsequent officers and investors in the

[1] A biographical note in *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671-4* (p. 223) states that William, Earl of Craven, was an F.R.S.; but the published records of the Royal Society do not substantiate this claim.

Hudson's Bay Company enlarged the interconnection with the Royal Society up to 1700. James, Duke of York, who was awarded a share in the Company in 1672 and who succeeded Prince Rupert as Governor in 1683, had been Fellow of the Royal Society since 1665. Sir Christopher Wren, a member of the Hudson's Bay Committee of Seven in 1680, was simultaneously President of the Royal Society and had been one of the Original Fellows, and Sir William Trumbull, Governor from 1696 to 1701, was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1692. The eighteenth century was by no means so replete with men associated with both organizations, although examples are not lacking—as, for instance, Samuel Wegg, who was Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1774 to 1782 and Governor from 1782 to 1799. As Fellow of the Royal Society since 1753 and Treasurer from 1768, Governor Wegg—as we shall have occasion to note below—was uncommonly active in promoting profitable co-operation between the two chartered associations.

In addition to overlapping memberships, contacts between the two groups were studiously cultivated by the Royal Society. Charles II, in his charters to the Royal Society, stated that his purpose was to "encourage philosophical studies, especially those which by actual experiments attempt either to shape out a new philosophy or to perfect the old." And in their earliest Statutes (1663), the Society proclaimed:

> The business of the Society in their ordinary Meetings shall be, to order, take account, consider, and discourse of philosophical experiments and observations; to read, hear, and discourse upon letters, reports, and other papers, containing philosophical matters; as also to view, and discourse upon, rarities of nature and art: and thereupon to consider, what may be deduced from them, or any of them; and how far they, or any of them, may be improved for use or discovery.

To further these aims, the Society was empowered by charter

> . . . to enjoy mutual intelligence and knowledge with all and all manner of strangers and foreigners, whether private or collegiate, corporate or politic, without any molestation, interruption, or disturbance whatsoever: Provided nevertheless that this our indulgence . . . be not extended to further use than the particular benefit and interest of the aforesaid Royal Society, in matters or things philosophical, mathematical, or mechanical.

Thus motivated and empowered, the Society's secretaries, aided from time to time by committees created for specific purposes, embarked upon a remarkably varied and widespread correspondence. Enquiries were addressed to all manner of persons, individual and corporate, in the eager quest for scientific data. Replies were discussed at the Society's weekly meetings, disseminated widely among members and other interested persons, and painstakingly preserved. After establishment of the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1665, many "enquiries" were addressed to the world at large through the medium of its pages, and communications were published from correspondents in all parts of the world.

A strongly utilitarian bent is readily discernible in the Society's activities, not only because the Fellows hoped to advance their own and England's interest by means of "experimental philosophy," but also because they envisioned the advancement of the sciences by enlisting the support of intelligent, practical men upon whose observations scientists could rely. Specimens of flora, fauna, and minerals were eagerly sought, both for the Society's "Repository" and for the collections of individual Fellows; and "advices" were freely given as to the possible uses to which "rarities" might be put. From such a union of scientific and economic enterprise, it was almost inevitable that, ignoring other interconnections, a correspondence between the Royal Society and the Hudson's Bay Company would develop.

Indeed, the Royal Society had exhibited interest in Hudson's Bay before the Company was formed. On February 17, 1663-4[2], a letter was read before the Society from Mr. John Beal "concerning Capt. [Thomas] James's Voyages and wintering in Charleton island in Hudson's Bay." Again in December, 1665, the arrival in England of Radisson and Des Groseilliers and their artful report of the discovery of the Northwest Passage were duly reported to the Society. By this time, the Royal Society was industriously circulating *Enquiries, Directions for Seamen bound for far Voyages*, and the like. In a single volume of the *Classified Papers* in the Royal Society Library there are still extant in manuscript fifty-three questionnaires, with replies, dated between December 24, 1662, and March 14, 1670-71. Among these is one labelled "Queries proposed to the captain that went to the place of the Bevertrade." It includes twenty-two questions addressed by Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society, to Captain Zechariah Gillam, after the latter's return from his voyage to Hudson's Bay in 1668-1669. Captain Gillam's replies were recorded, and Oldenburg read both queries and answers before the Royal Society on May 19, 1670.

The interview netted the Royal Society considerable information about the time of the voyage, the location of places visited, the weather at various seasons, the variations of the compass during the voyage, the language, government, religion, and manner of life of the natives, the soil, the flora and fauna, and the behaviour of the tides in Hudson's Bay. Careful comparison was made with the information previously gathered from Captain James's voyage, and two years later, after another interview with Captain Gillam—this time accompanied by Charles Bayly, who had just returned from his first voyage as

[2] Feb. 17, 1663, was actually in 1664, as in England the calendar year of those days ended on March 24.—*Ed.*

Sir Christopher Wren's stock account in the Company's first stock ledger. The famous architect was president of the Royal Society at this time.

Governor in Hudson's Bay for the Company—Oldenburg read (April 18, 1672) another report to the Society. Only sixteen queries had been propounded this time, but the answers contained greater detail, especially with regard to geography, wild life, and the natives—all the result, no doubt, of somewhat more mature experience in Hudson's Bay. By this time, of course, the Hudson's Bay Company had been chartered, and reverberations of its findings in the Bay region echoed again and again in the meetings of the Royal Society.

Such were the vicissitudes of the Company, however, that little of scientific value accrued to the Royal Society from that source until after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). On June 29, 1681, Sir Christopher Wren, President of the Society as well as member of the Company's Committee of Seven, related that natives of the Hudson's Bay region were reputed to enjoy a remarkable longevity, "living to the great age of 130 or 140 years without the use of spectacles," told of methods of fending off bears, and discussed the interesting habits of the beaver. A week later a report was presented on the method of dressing skins practised by the Indians of Hudson's Bay—an account carefully compared with similar processes reported from the Indians of Virginia and from the Russians.

An illustration from John Reinhold Forster's "Catalogue of the Animals of North America," 1771. In June 1772, Forster read a paper to the Society on the birds of Hudson's Bay.

Dr. Daniel Coxe, the eminent colonial promoter, reflected the bitter struggle with the French for control of the beaver trade when he proposed to the Royal Society (January 12, 1686-7) "That an advantageous settlement for the beaver-trade might be made" on the Great Lakes. On March 19, 1689-90, Edmond Halley

> presented from Mr. Colson [evidently a sea captain] a white Hudson-bay Partridge whose feet were all overgrown with a thick Down to preserve them from the Cold, with this account thereof from the Presenter, *viz:* This Partridge was taken in the Winter. In the Summer he turns Gray like the ends of two feathers on his breast, & the down or hair weares off his feet.[3]

Sir Robert Southwell, in January 1694, presented "a Sort of hardstone with Spar in it from Hudsons Bay," but the Society, upon subsequent examination, reported no metal of value in it. A "girdle from Hudson Bay & also a lower jaw of a Beaver" were presented to the Society in 1699; and in 1701, Sir Robert Southwell, on the authority of James Young, a captain in the Company's employ, reported briefly on the habits of Indians west of Hudson's Bay. Nothing more from Hudson's Bay appears to have attracted the notice of the Society until the end of the War of Spanish Succession, when (July 16, 1713) a pair of snowshoes used by natives of Hudson's Bay was presented and placed in the Society's repository, and (November 19) one Mr. Callet, writing from York Factory on September 19, 1713, to Samuel Morland, F.R.S., desired a further correspondence on philosophical matters. Evidently Mr. Callet had been in correspondence with Morland before, but no record of further intercommunication exists in the Royal Society's archives.

Captain Christopher Middleton, one of the ablest employees of the Hudson's Bay Company in the early eighteenth century, won considerable notice by the Royal Society. On June 24, 1731, there was presented to the Society from Captain Middleton a "Table of Observations" on the weather, barometer and thermometer readings, and the variations of the "Magneticall Needle" made during nine different voyages to Hudson's Bay between 1721 and 1729. The following winter the captain was a visitor to the Society (February 24, 1731-2), as guest of the Secretary, Cromwell Mortimer, and he presented a similar journal of his observations made during his voyage in 1731. Captain Middleton's *Observations* were subsequently printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and, on April 7, 1737, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society as one "well vers'd in natural and mathematical knowledge."

In the same year, the captain further distinguished himself by becoming one of the earliest navigators to use Hadley's quadrant for determination of longitude at sea. And though his later career was marred—especially in the eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company—by his association with Arthur Dobbs, it is worthy of note both that the captain appears to have been innocent of collusion in Dobbs' shrewd politico-economic schemes and that, after the fruitless voyage in search of the Northwest Passage (1741-42), Captain Middleton became the tenth recipient of the Royal Society's Copley Medal (1742), thus becoming enrolled with such men as Stephen Gray, John Theophilus Desaguliers, Sir William Watson, and Benjamin Franklin.

[3] *Journal-Book*, VIII, 286. This and other manuscript materials cited from the Royal Society Library are employed with the kind permission of the Council of the Society.

James, Duke of York—later King James II—second Governor of the Company (1683-5), was elected F.R.S. in 1665. From the portrait by Jacob Huysmans in the possession of the Company.

Captain Middleton's contributions to the Royal Society heralded a period of scientifically rich relationships with the Hudson's Bay Company. The occasional small gifts from obscure benefactors continued to come in to the Royal Society—as, for instance, one George Edwards' presentation of "a large white owl from Hudson's Bay, with a description of its way of life." But the scientific excitement attendant upon the transit of Venus in June 1761 led the Royal Society to make careful preparations both for observations in 1761 and for the short-cycle, repeat performance in 1769. Subsequent to the first recorded scientific observations of the transit of Venus between the earth and the sun in 1639, Edmond Halley had urged more exact work in 1761 and 1769 for accurate determination of the solar parallax, in order to calculate more closely the distance of the sun.

Conscious of the value of observing the parallax from as widely separated places as possible on earth, the Royal Society planned to locate an observation

post—among others—in Hudson's Bay. William Wales was selected as the Society's observer, to be assisted by Joseph Dymond. They were supplied with appropriate instruments by the Society and transported, in 1768, with all their gear, to Prince of Wales' Fort at the mouth of Churchill River, the transportation being donated by the Hudson's Bay Company[4]. By early November 1769, they had returned to England and (November 9) made their preliminary report to the Royal Society. William Wales, however, had made good use of his time and had collected data on items other than astronomical. Accordingly, at the request of the Council, he drew up a manuscript entitled "Journal of a voyage made by order of the Royal Society to Churchill River on the Northwest coast of Hudson's Bay; of thirteen months residence in that Country; and of the voyage back to England, in the years 1768 & 1769." This account, a document of about fifty pages, was read before the Society at two successive meetings (March 8 and 15, 1770) and, according to the minutes of the secretary, the journal contained

> A variety of new and useful matter; such as latitudes and longitudes of Harbours and Capes, and similar occasional investigations at Sea; Observations for determining the variations of the needle in different latitudes and longitudes; Remarks upon the nature, formation, course, and Navigation of the numerous Islands of floating Ice; concerning the temperature; fossil vegetable and animal productions of the Country about Hudson's Bay; of the genius of the inhabitants, and of the Eskimaux Indians &c.

The presence of Wales and Dymond in Hudson's Bay appears to have inspired the Hudson's Bay Company to unprecedented action. On November 29, 1771, the secretary of the Royal Society recorded receipt of a letter dated the previous day by the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company and written to advise that the Company was presenting the Council of the Royal Society with eight boxes of stuffed and dried skins of quadrupeds and birds, together with a collection of stones and fossils and "Descriptive & Historical remarks on several arts sent from Severn River in Hudson's Bay by Mr. Andrew Grahame," the chief factor at Severn Fort. This was the first of four large collections presented by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Royal Society in as many successive years.

A special committee was appointed by the Society (March 26, 1772) to preserve and arrange the specimens—a committee headed by Samuel Wegg, soon to become Deputy-Governor and then Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Committee employed Johann Reinhold Forster, the naturalist, to name, describe, and classify the specimens, and to prepare a complete catalogue of them. On May 21, 1772, Forster read a paper, "Quadrupeds from Hudson's Bay," describing to the Society twenty of the specimens; and on June 25 he read a similar paper on the birds received in the collection. In November 1772, again in 1773, and again in 1774, the Royal Society acknowledged receipt of collections "transmitted by the Governor and Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company," some of them including, besides the items mentioned above, insects, fishes, and plants, usually reported "in excellent preservation." The Society's Committee, which by 1773 had become a standing "Committee on Natural History," was hard pressed to dispose of the items—speaking in terms both of physical and scientific disposition. It deplored the disorder of the Society's repository, gave duplicate (second-best!) specimens to the British Museum, and assigned names to specimens after the naturalists who wrote the best scientific descriptions of them, a practice which provoked a plethora of papers on the Hudson's Bay collections.

Despite these difficulties, the Royal Society's scientific curiosity was insatiable. The generosity of the Hudson's Bay Company led the Committee on Natural History to recommend that the Society should appeal to the East India Company, the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company, and others for similar collections. On December 23, 1772, Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary of the Royal Society, acting upon instructions from the Society, addressed a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, F.R.S., Secretary of State for the Colonies,

> . . . to inform your Lordship that we are very desirous of procuring for our Musaeum the more uncommon natural productions of his Majesty's most extensive dominions in America.
>
> Whether your Lordship will think it proper to lay this matter . . . before his Majesty, or in what other manner these natural productions may be procured, is with great deference submitted to your Lordship.
>
> We take the Liberty of enclosing a Copy of some short instructions which may be useful in forming [and preserving] such a collection. . . .

The Earl replied three days later, promising to lay the matter before the King and "to take any other steps that may be necessary to forward their wishes." Had the responses been commensurate with the Hudson's Bay Company's contributions, it is difficult to imagine what the Committee on Natural History could have done; perhaps it was fortunate that the disorders attendant upon the approaching American Revolution precluded any such eventuality!

Sir Christopher Wren, P.R.S., read a paper to the Society on the natives of Hudson's Bay. From the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery.

[4]On Dec. 7, 1769, the Company declined payment from the Society for freight on the instruments and accepted only £250, as formerly stipulated, for accommodation of the observers.

Meanwhile, The Royal Society, acting through the Committee on Natural History, sought to justify its existence in a practical way. Witness the following letter, dated May 5, 1773, and addressed to "the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company":

Gentlemen:

Having endeavoured to find out whether some of the natural productions which you have been so obliging as to present to the Royal Society may not furnish materials for our manufactures, we take the liberty of stating to you the result of our inquiry.

We have put some parts of one of the Buffalo's hides into the hands of a Tanner and are informed both by a very experienced Leather dresser and Book-binder, that it seems to be as good a material as the Skin of the Russian Buffalo for Bookbinding; if these Skins therefore can be procured in any quantity, the importation may answer well to the Company, and no further preparations of the hides will be necessary in Hudson's Bay, than to dry them properly with the hair on, and to take care that the Sea water does not injure them on the passage. It is supposed that each Skin brought in this state to England may be worth about four shillings.

We also beg leave to present to the Company in the name of the Society a pair of Stockings made here from the hair of one of the Buffalo's hides, which hung near the neck, as also a hat; but it may be proper to inform you that the greatest part of the materials used in the latter is Rabbit's hair, as that of the Buffalo cannot be worked into a proper consistence for this purpose without a mixture of some other hair.

As you have presented to the Society likewise a Specimen of a wild Swan, we have put the Skin into the hands of an importer, and we shall perhaps surprize when we inform you that if it had been in a state to be properly dressed, it would have been worth at least a Guinea and an half, so scarce is this commodity at present and so great is the demand for Powder puffs, the best sort of which can only be made from Swan down.

We have stated however that the Skin sent from Hudson's Bay was absolutely spoilt, by not being properly prepared, though we are informed that nothing further is necessary than the following simple process.

All the larger feathers must be pulled off as soon as the Swan is killed, leaving only the down on; after this the Skin must be cut all along the back, and stripped off the body, then take all the fat away, and turning the Skin inside out, let it dry.

As Swan Skins therefore are so valuable an article of commerce at present, and there is a probability of procuring many of them from Hudson's Bay, it may perhaps be worth while for the Company to purchase one of them for the more fully instructing their Servants in what state they should be sent over. . . .

How practical these suggestions may have been is for the economic historian to determine. But they well illustrate the cordial relations existing between the Royal Society and the Hudson's Bay Company on the eve of the American Revolution. This cordiality continued throughout the war, although the Royal Society's contacts elsewhere were seriously interrupted. In fact, some of the best scientific work accomplished in Hudson's Bay was done between 1774 and 1783, principally by Thomas Hutchins, chief factor and governor at Albany Fort. In co-operation with the Royal Society, which supplied him with the necessary instruments, Hutchins conducted "experiments on the Dipping Needle" in 1774 and kept a record of meteorological observations during the winter of 1774-75. The latter were continued during the following year and, at the same time, Hutchins experimented in an attempt to freeze mercury. Concurrently, Samuel Wegg presented to the Royal Society "Meteorological Journals" kept at York Fort from 1774 to 1778. Then, on April 10, 1783, Governor Wegg communicated to the Royal Society "A Paper entitled, Experiments for determining the freezing point of Quicksilver, by Thos. Hutchins, Chief Factor and Governor at Albany Fort in Hudson's Bay." The paper was read before the Society at two successive meetings (May 1 and 15, 1783), and the experiments were, in part, repeated. As a consequence, on December 1 following, in recognition of his work in determining the freezing point of mercury, the Royal Society presented the Copley Medal to Thomas Hutchins, the second of the Hudson's Bay Company's employees to be honoured in this manner.

George Monk, first Duke of Albemarle, one of the founders of the Company, was elected F.R.S. in 1665. Painting from the studio of Sir Peter Lely, in the National Portrait Gallery.

Thomas Hutchins' award was a handsome termination to a century and a quarter of reciprocal association between the Royal Society and the Hudson's Bay Company, a period marked by more meaningful interrelation than any like number of years since. Tangible profits are, of course, difficult to assess; but surely it is evident from the foregoing that the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company materially assisted Fellows of the Royal Society and their scientific colleagues throughout the world to improve their knowledge of geography and to correct maps of the Hudson's Bay area and the Arctic region, to enlarge their knowledge of oceanography, astronomy, and weather forecasting, to fill in gaps in natural history, and to add to their information regarding the native peoples of the New World—all of which added priceless increments to learning as a whole, to the classification of the things of this world, and to the formulation of the natural laws which regulate them. And while the Hudson's Bay Company contributed to the advancement of knowledge, it also reaped profits in the form of improved maps, safer navigation, wider and more economical use of the raw materials of the Hudson's Bay region, and infinite good-will.

Camp of James Bay Indians at Charles Fort, with the "Nonsuch" anchored off shore. From the mural by A. Sherriff Scott, R.C.A., assisted by E. T. Adney, in the elevator lobby of the Winnipeg store.

The Savages of James Bay

by Douglas Leechman

SOME countries, like some people, are changed almost overnight by the impact of a new culture. No such change has taken place at the bottom of the bay. Here, both the country and the people are very much as they were two hundred and seventy-five years ago when Governor Charles Bayly first sailed along the coast and saw that it was low lying and wooded.

There have been changes, of course; that was inevitable. Changes in clothing, in weapons, in accessibility of various products of the white man's skill. But in most ways the people are the same; they think the same thoughts and live the same lives, hunting, trapping, fishing; gathering berries and roots for food and medicines; camping and canoeing on the same lakes, rivers, and sea-shores that they have frequented for so many generations. How many? Nobody knows.

They were already there when, about 1660, an Iroquois invasion fell on them and wiped out hundreds, but we have no knowledge of them before then for they leave few, if any, permanent traces of their occupation of the land and no archaeologist has yet explored their ancient village sites.

There are a surprisingly large number of early journals and other documents describing "the Savages of the Bottom of the Bay" and we are able to form an accurate and detailed picture of these people, a picture much more full than that of many other tribes which came to the notice of scientists later in history*. We are told of their characters, their physical appearance, their houses and clothing, their religion and ceremonies, their ways of travelling and hunting, the food they ate and how the women prepared it. There is hardly a detail of their daily lives that is not recorded somewhere. Even their language was studied in detail by the missionaries, who determined that it was a dialect of the Algonkian tongue and closely related to the speech of their neighbours and relatives to the south, the Ojibways.

The people living on the shores of James Bay did not excite any great curiosity among their first white visitors, for they were so clearly the same Indians with whom they had already become familiar along the St. Lawrence, speaking the same language and living the same life.

The missionaries, methodical as ever, had them all listed and named. Such names, too! Sometimes derived from the river they frequented; sometimes from the name of the chief man of the moment in their little band. One of the largest groups was the Kristineaux, whose name may be spelled in any one of fifty different ways, and the first syllable of which, Kri or Cree, gives them the name by which we know them today. They are said to have occupied a point of land to the westward of the mouth of Rupert's River, but actually the Crees were one of the most wide-spread groups in Eastern Canada and inhabited the whole watershed south and southwest of Hudson Bay, as well as the east side of James Bay.

Also to the west of Rupert's River were the Moosoni, or Moose River tribe, while to the northeast were various sub-groups of the Mistassini Cree living between the coast and the lake from which they take their name. North of these again were the Eskimo.

With the exception of these last, all the tribes were what we should call Crees today. After the introduction of firearms they extended their territory far into the interior, even to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains and to the shores of Great Slave Lake. The Iroquois and the smallpox were their worst enemies and reduced their numbers sadly.

Physically, all the early observers agree, the Crees were well built men and women, usually free from all bodily deformities and many of them handsome in appearance. Some mention is made of their copper complexion but others comment on their lightness of skin and how easily they might pass for Europeans.

*Notable among these accounts are two of Thomas Gorst's, who was at Fort Charles in 1668-9, 1670-1, and 1672-5. His journal for 1670-1 is preserved at the Guildhall Library, and copied in Grace Lee Nute's *Caesars of the Wilderness*. A paraphrase of his other account was printed in John Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, 1708, and reprinted by the Champlain Society in *Doc. Rel. to Early History of Hudson Bay*.

There seem to have been divergent opinions as to their honesty. One missionary at least, Father Marest, writing in 1694, had but a poor opinion of them. "They are cowardly, base, idle, churlish, and wholly vicious," he says. "They are very superstitious, and very dissolute; they live in polygamy, and in a great aversion to the Christian Religion."

Others insisted that, on occasion, these same Indians could be friendly and trustworthy, especially in regard to those who behaved with propriety towards them. What could be the basis of this conflict? How could they be both "good" and "bad" Indians? The solution appears to be that they were "bad" when it was a matter of trading and matching wits with the white man; they were "good" when dealing with a fellow tribesman or a friend, even if that friend were a white man, provided he had been successful in winning their confidence, and more especially if he spoke their language.

Their wigwams, as we already termed them, even in those early days, were of saplings or slender poles arranged in the form of a tent and covered with moose or caribou hide. Further south, they were in the habit of using spruce or birch bark or woven mats, but in the north, where there were few large birch trees, hides were more usual.

Their beds were of spruce boughs laid on the ground and covered with hides, moose or caribou and, on some occasions at least, even beaver skins served for sleeping on and under. Not many Indians have blankets of beaver skins today, and it would no longer be expected of a wife that, when her hunter returned tired and hungry, she would help him off with his things and give him "a beaver skin to serve as a dressing gown."

Their clothing was of skins, dressed soft like chamois leather, and still familiar to most people as "buckskin"; they wore long leather stockings of the same material, as Fenimore Cooper knew so well; and a sort of loose jacket with sleeves, often detachable. The young men tied up their hair in various styles and painted their faces with red and yellow ochres, but few of the older men bothered with such tricks to catch the eyes of the girls.

Women's costumes were much like those of the men, except that the coat or smock was longer and sometimes fitted with a hood which could be pulled up over the head in the Eskimo style, and they braided their hair. Caps they wore but seldom, though some of the men would wind a fisher or an otter skin round their heads.

Bear, beaver, and otter skulls and a loon's wing on a pole at a Cree hunter's camp. See page 17. All photos by National Museum of Canada.

Hunting and fishing were the principal daily occupations of the men, and tiring and dangerous tasks they could often be. Hunting in those days was not a sport but a sheer necessity, and a man who got no game went hungry, as did his entire family with him. The preparation of the food, the gathering of vegetable foods, the care of the home and of the children, was the work of the women.

Meat was cooked in vessels of birch bark, or in pockets of hide, the water being brought to a boil by dropping in stones heated in a nearby fire. There were no tables or chairs, no forks, no napkins, save their own hair or the shaggy coat of a convenient dog. But there does appear to have been an abundance of foods, at least at certain seasons.

Indians with their wigwam and canoe at Fort George, 1896. The upper covering of the wigwam is deerskin.

Framework of a conjurer's lodge, 1916.

The conjurer emerges from the lodge after a seance.

Smoking a moose skin in the process of dressing it for wear.

Father Albanel, in 1673, heard of a place on Akimiski Island where wild fowl were so numerous at their moulting time that "Savages or deer coming to the spot are buried in feathers over their heads, and are often unable to extricate themselves."

Providence and forethought were never conspicuous characteristics of these people and the notion of game conservation had not made much headway among them. More than one writer says they had a saying, which they most firmly believed in, that "the more we kill, the more there will be to kill." Common sense had nothing to do with the case and if they could kill off a herd of two or three dozen caribou they would do so, taking perhaps only the succulent tongues and leaving the carcasses to rot.

Stories of cannibalism as a result of starvation are distressingly common in these early records and there is no doubt that they were reduced to these appalling straits many times, a necessity as revolting to them as to us.

Polygamy was the rule rather than the exception, especially if the man was successful enough as a hunter to be able to support two women and their children. Sisters were preferred as they were less likely to quarrel than two strangers would be. When a young man married, it was the custom for him to join himself to the family of his father-in-law and to hunt and fish for them, often for the remainder of the older man's life, which made daughters a very desirable possession.

Naturally enough, polygamy was not approved of by the missionaries, and we read of one Indian with three wives who was told that he was living in a state of sin and that he must tell his wives that he would have but one in future. He pondered these instructions for a time and then, turning to the priest, he suggested quietly, "You tell them!"

The Cree have long held a high reputation as magicians and conjurers, and this phase of their religion was well known from the earliest days. Even as they do to this day, the magician would build a small circular conjurer's lodge of poles thrust into the ground and covered with skins so that the performer, once inside, could not be seen. Outside would gather a little knot of people to discover what the fates held in store for them.

Soon would be heard the songs of the medicine man, magical songs, calling forth the power of the spirits. Then would come loud cries, shouts of agony and terror, then mutterings and incoherent words. The lodge poles would tremble and then shake, ever more violently, till it seemed that the structure must be overturned.

Then a sudden silence. The lodge stood still and a clear, new voice from within would ask the people what it was they wanted to know. Questions would be put to the oracle and answers given, answers which so often proved correct that many white men asked the advice of the conjurer, though the mere presence of an Englishman or, according to another account, a Frenchman was enough to prevent any occult manifestations.

Some of the magicians would swallow arrows or lay eggs, or perform other tricks of sleight of hand to astound their followers. Their descendants today are still much impressed by conjuring tricks, and there are many stories of a certain officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who was credited by the Indians with magical powers because of his skill as an amateur magician.

A hunting culture is sure to attach much importance to charms and incantations. Amulets were carried by nearly everybody and they still are. The first goose of the spring was treated with ceremonial respect, songs of propitiation were sung to the bear before killing him, their skulls and those of beavers, otters and other animals, were carefully cleaned, their jaws tied together so that they might not gape in any unseemly manner, and they were fastened high up in a tree or on a pole so that they could not be defiled by dogs. All these things are still done today by many, if not all, of the hunters.

There have been changes, yes. We see the aeroplane and the railway, the radio and the gasoline motor; but side by side with these we still find the canoe and the toboggan, the moccasin telegraph and the tumpline. The changes impress us less, perhaps, than do the things that have not changed and, if ever you have seen the bottom of the bay, think of it as you knew it and as it always was, with its shimmering mud flats at low tide and the acrid smell of the rotting eel-grass, the dancing sun-lit waves when the tide is in, the woods and the streams, the lakes and the trading posts where, today as then, "the Indians come a pace & are willing to Trade."

Geese are still important as a food for these Indians of James Bay. Lorene Squire

Rupert of the Rhine

by
R. O. MacFarlane

Prince Rupert in Garter robes. From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely presented to the Company by Richard Hulse (later deputy governor) in 1794.

PRINCE Rupert's name is much better known than are his achievements. He is something of a legendary figure in the English Civil Wars of the XVII century, personifying the superiority of the Royalist cavalry over that of the Parliamentarians in the early campaigns. He is also well known as the first governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, after whom the vast area drained by waters flowing into Hudson Bay was named Rupert's Land. But he was also a man who made a reputation among his contemporaries in many other fields, accomplishments which have since been almost forgotten. As a sailor, business man, courtier, politician and scientific experimenter he loomed large among the great men of his day.

He found a biographer in Eliot Warburton, whose *Memoirs of Prince Rupert* was published in London in 1849, and C. H. Firth has contributed a substantial article on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. While the index of every historical work touching the Restoration period contains the name of Rupert, references to him are for the most part casual. In spite of his association with important and diverse public issues in his own day, Prince Rupert remains little more than a name to most readers to-day.

He was born at Prague in 1619, the third son of Elizabeth (a sister of Charles I of England) and of Frederick V, Elector Palatine. His father was known as the "Winter King" because within a few months of his accession he suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in the opening stages of the Thirty Years War and was forced to flee his kingdom. The exiles went first to Berlin and later to Holland, establishing themselves at Leyden in 1623. Here Rupert was educated, although all that is known of his formal training is that he showed proficiency in languages. The family was in somewhat straitened circumstances financially and Rupert was granted a pension of £300 by his uncle, Charles I of England.

The Prince in his youth was handsome and prepossessing. He was tall, strong and active. He was one of the best tennis players of his day in England. He was somewhat sparkish in his dress. For a battle he once wore "scarlet, very richly laid in silver lace, and mounted on a very gallant Barbarry horse."

Rupert's fame has rested chiefly on his ability as a military commander. His training began before he was sixteen, when he served in the Life Guards of the Prince of Orange. Three years later he accompanied the Elector Palatine on his invasion of Westphalia. Although Rupert gave a good account of himself, he was taken prisoner by the Emperor, Ferdinand III, and held in captivity at Linz for three years. He was released in 1641 through the influence of his uncle, King Charles I.

The Prince played an important role in the Civil War, first as commander of the Royalist horse, and later as commander-in-chief. He joined the King at Nottingham in 1642, and immediately was given a cavalry command. In the early engagements, Rupert's mounted troops showed a definite superiority over their opposite numbers on the parliamentary side. This superiority accounted in large measure for the early Royalist success. In 1644 Rupert was created Earl of Holderness and Duke of Cumberland and made "Capt. General of the Counties of Chester, Lancaster, Worcester, Salop [Shropshire], and six northern counties of Wales" with power to appoint commissioners for the levy of taxes and troops.

Almost uninterrupted success followed Rupert until he came up against Cromwell's new cavalry force at Marston Moor in July 1644. Rupert's tactics on that day have been criticized, but two factors help to explain his defeat. The King's instructions to him for the campaign were vague, if not muddle headed, and Rupert interpreted his orders as giving him no alternative but to engage the enemy, even under unfavourable circumstances. The real reason for the failure was the new, well trained and disciplined cavalry of the Parliamentarians, superbly led by Cromwell.

The King was not dissatisfied with Rupert's effort, in spite of the defeat, and he made him commander-in-chief of his armies. The appointment was popular with the troops, but it aroused the jealousy and hostility of the royal officials and the courtiers. The Prince was charged with "want of respect," "slighting the King's Council," and "showing contempt for military advisers." The dissensions which followed in Royalist councils upset the plans for the campaign of 1645, and this led eventually to the serious defeat of the King's troops at Naseby and the inglorious surrender of Bristol by Rupert.

The surrender of Bristol is the most serious blot on Rupert's military reputation. The King considered the loss due to "dereliction of duty" by the Prince, and his commission was revoked. Rupert explained the disaster as being due to "weakness of fortifications and insufficiency of the garrison." He demanded a trial by court martial to determine the facts. The verdict was "not guilty of any the least want of courage or infidelity, but did absolve him from the charge of indiscretion."

In spite of this vindication Rupert remained out of favour with the King. There were constant disagreements over military appointments, and it was not until the end of the year that Rupert "on free acknowledgment of his errors" was reconciled with his uncle. By this time the Royalist cause in the first phase of the Civil War was all but lost. Rupert was captured at Oxford and given ten days by Parliament to get out of the country.

His career as a soldier of fortune was continued on the continent. In 1646 the King of France appointed him *Mareschal-de-camp* with command of all the English troops in the service of France. He appears to have acquitted himself reasonably in this rather unimportant post, and he was wounded in his next campaign. Thereafter he abandoned military for naval service.

Rupert had as much experience as a sailor as he did as a soldier, but he never had the success on sea that he did on land. He led a partially successful naval expedition to Ireland in 1649 in support of the Royalist cause, and afterwards did well as a privateer until he was finally run down by Admiral Blake in the Mediterranean. Rupert made his escape, and from 1650 to 1652 he privateered continuously in the Atlantic and West Indian waters. During the first Dutch War he commanded the British fleet jointly with his cousin James, Duke of York, who succeeded him as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; but, due to factors beyond their control, they had little success. By 1672 Rupert had become admiral of the fleet, and fought a few indecisive actions against the Dutch. From 1673 to 1679 he was First Lord of the Admiralty.

Throughout his life Rupert was interested in overseas trading adventures, and in exploiting new opportunities. Before he was twenty his name was associated, as prospective governor, with a wild colonization scheme for Madagascar. Fortunately for Rupert, as well as the colonists, nothing came of this venture. In 1663 he was one of the patentees of the Royal African Company. He associated himself with this group partly in expectation of profit, and partly because of a genuine interest in maritime and colonial adventures. The next few years, however, were so taken up with naval affairs that he devoted little time to the African

The prince as a young man. From the engraving by J. Cochran after the painting by Van Dyck in the collection of the Earl of Craven.

Rupert at the age of twenty-three. From a signed painting by Lely done in 1642, once owned by Joseph Addison, now by A. Scott Carter, Esq., Toronto.

interest, and he played only a very minor role in the work of the company.

Rupert's second overseas adventure proved more enduring. In June 1668 he put up £270 toward defraying the costs of an exploring and trading expedition into Hudson Bay. The Frenchmen, Radisson and Groseilliers, had succeeded in interesting an influential group of Court and City men in London in supporting this venture. Two vessels, *Eaglet* and *Nonsuch*, set sail, but the former never reached the Bay. The latter, however, returned to the Thames in October 1669 with a cargo of furs and some new information about the northern waters. (See Dr. Nute's article in this issue on Radisson and Des Groseilliers.)

When the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered in 1670, Rupert was named the first Governor, a position which he held until his death twelve years later. He was not only a "big name" so necessary for a corporation about to seek royal favour, but he was an actual investor in the Company, and he and his secretary Hayes had a role in launching the new corporation. But the Prince's part in establishing the Hudson's Bay Company must not be overestimated. Sir John Clapham, in his introduction to the *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671-4*, states, "That Rupert was in any sense the designer or director of the adventures, there is no evidence. Rather his was the great name of an admittedly curious and enterprising prince around whom gathered the men of ideas, and the men who saw chances of gain."

Rupert was not a man of business. Pepys, who was trying to do some with him had discovered that "it cannot come to anything, but it is done by Hayes, or some of his little people about him." It would appear then that most of the work in organizing the Company and collecting the original subscriptions was done not by Rupert the Governor, but by Hayes his secretary, who later became deputy governor.

Although Rupert spent most of his life at Court, he was not successful either as a courtier or as a statesman. During the Civil War his very strong views on military policy, and his inability to suffer fools gladly, made him many enemies among the King's friends. After the death of Charles I he travelled on the continent for a time with Charles II, but he was not well thought of by Charles' followers, in spite of his recognized ability and the great need for all available talent. In fact he was refused any part in an expedition which was sent to Scotland, on purely personal grounds. A short stay at the French Court was not any happier.

At the restoration he came back to England and was granted an annuity of £4000, and admitted to the Privy Council. But he was not liked any better here than elsewhere. Pepys entered in his diary for 29 September 1660, "This day or yesterday, I hear Prince Rupert is come to Court, but welcome to nobody." Four years later Pepys again noted, "For the Prince is by no means well esteemed by anybody." Nominally Rupert belonged to the Court party, but for a few months in 1673 he had a very unhappy alliance with Shaftesbury and the Country group. The only office he held outside the army or navy was membership in the Council for Trade and Plantations from 1670 onward.

Rupert showed an interest in science far beyond that of any other Restoration courtier and he became a member of the Royal Society. Navigation and exploration attracted him, and account for some of his interest in overseas enterprises. He spent considerable time on mathematical problems and chemical experiments. This knowledge he sought to turn to the improvement of war materials. He had some success with a more potent explosive than had formerly been used, he developed a new method of making hailshot, and of boring cannon. He also did some interesting work with an alloy of copper and zinc that came to be known as "Prince's metal." One of his inventions took the form of tear-shaped glass globules called "Rupert's drops," made by letting drops of molten glass fall into cold water. Their interest to the prince and his contemporaries lay only in the curious fact that they resisted heavy blows on the side, but shattered into minute particles when the tail was broken off. But this scientific toy of Rupert's provided the basis for experiments that led, in modern times, to the manufacture of bullet-proof glass.

Drawing and painting took his fancy during his imprisonment at Linz, and he has sometimes been credited with the invention of mezzotint engraving; but he learned this art from Ludvig von Siegen, a Dutch officer in the Hessian army whom he met in Brussels in 1654. The process was explained to him, and he soon produced a print known as "The Large Executioner," after Spagnoletto—a very fine piece of rouletting. Rupert is said to have taught the art to William Sherwin, a well known line engraver, who made mezzotint portraits of Charles II and his Queen in 1669, both of which were dedicated to the prince.

Judged by the standards of the Restoration Court, Rupert was an austere man. An early estimate of his character made by Sir Thomas Roe following his visit to England proved to be a sound one: "I have observed him of a rare condition, full of spirit and action, full

of observation and judgment. Certainly he will *reussir un grand homme*, for whatever he wills, he wills vehemently; so that to which he bends he will be in it excellent. His Majesty Charles I takes great pleasure in his unrestfulness for he is never idle, and in his sports serious, in his conversation retired, but sharp and witty when occasion provokes him. . . . It is an infinite pity he is not employed according to his genius, for whatever he undertakes he doth it vigorously and seriously. His nature is active and spriteful and may be compared to steel, which is the commanding metal, if it be rightly tempered and disposed."

Personal courage was an attribute which friend and foe alike allowed in Rupert. Even Pepys, who had not much use for him, wrote, "He was the boldest attaquer in the world for personal courage." He was a master of all weapons, and when he fought a duel with Lord Percy he wounded him. The Comte de Grammont said of him, "He was valiant and hardy even to rashness, but his nature was subject to certain eccentricities which he would have been ill pleased to have had to reform. His genius delighted in mathematical calculation, beside which he had some talent for chemistry. He was courteous almost to excess when politeness was not strictly necessary, yet overbearing to the point of brutality when circumstances demanded a more civilized mode of behaviour. He was a large man and his general bearing all too ungracious. Plain and severe even when he sought to show most softness, his physiognomy when he was in one of his evil humours wore the expression of the true reprobate."

An engraving of the prince sold during the Civil War. After a portrait by Van Dyck. McCord Museum.

An old copy of a portrait presented by the prince to the Company on its foundation. Opinions differ as to whether the original, in the H B C archives, was painted by Van Dyck, Lely, or William Dobson. This copy hangs in the dining room of the Company's retail store in Winnipeg.

Rupert never married, but he left two natural children whom he provided for in his will. In his later years he may have been something of an easy mark for one of the types of female who crowded about the Court. To quote De Grammont again, "Prince Rupert was charmed by the appearance of another little actress, whose name was Hughes, and whose effect was to extinguish all the natural severity of his tastes. Good-bye then to alembics, crucibles, furnaces, and the alchemist's whole sooty paraphernalia! Good-bye to mathematics, its instruments and calculations! Powders and perfumed essences now filled his mind. The little wretch must needs be attacked in all forms; and proudly resisting the temptations of money, that in the event she might sell her favour the more dearly, she made out of this poor prince such an odd character that the figure he cut seemed positively too extravagant for real life, an adventure which delighted the King [Charles II] and produced a great rejoicing at Tunbridge."

Rupert died in his house in Spring Gardens, Westminster, November 29th 1682, and was buried in King Henry VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey. He was a good sample of a younger son in a dynastic age. As a gentleman, soldier or sailor he had a finger in most of the pies of his day. His interests were wide, and he achieved considerable success in diverse fields of endeavour. But he was never popular in England, possibly because he was only half an Englishman by birth and training.

The White Tower, in the Tower of London, where Bayly was imprisoned from 1664 to 1669. Bettmann Archive.

First Governor on the Bay

Charles Bayly, Quaker, had a chequered career on two continents.

by Alice Johnson

"We Doe . . . grant to . . . the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay that all Landes Islandes Territoryes Plantacions Fortes Fortificacions Factoryes or Colonyes . . . shall bee ymediately and from henceforth under the power and command of the said Governor and Company . . . and the said Governor and Company shall have liberty full Power and authority to appoint and establish Governors and all other officers to governe them. . . ."

The Royal Charter incorporating the Hudson's Bay Company.

THE fact that Charles Bayly was the first overseas governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and built the first fort to be erected after incorporation, is sufficient reason in itself to consider his career at this particular time. Our interest is stimulated when we learn that he was released from prison only on condition that he took "himselfe to the Navigation of Hudsons Bay, and the Places lately Discovered and to be Discovered in those parts." The purpose of this sketch is not to assess the importance of his work in Hudson Bay, for that has long been recognized, but mainly to attempt an outline of his career immediately prior to his appointment.

Very little concerning his early life has been discovered so far, and it is only from the funeral arrangements recorded in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company that we find he was born in the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London. The actual year is unknown, and it is not until about 1658 that we learn anything definite about him. Then, Robert Clarkson, the Quaker, spoke of him as a young man abiding "convinced" in Severn, Anne Arundel County,

Maryland, and although much is obscure, the fact does emerge that he became a follower of John Perrot in his particular brand of extreme and aggressive Quakerism.

The command of "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel . . ." had especial appeal for Quakers, and although their travels were always the outcome of individual enthusiasm there is some evidence to show that the expenses were met out of a common fund, and plenty of proof that very often the only apparent results of their zeal were persecutions and sufferings for themselves.

Perrot felt the urge to convert the Pope and was accompanied by Bayly during part at least of his mission. The little that is known of their wanderings suggests that they met with plenty of trouble. Perrot escaped from the Inquisition in Leghorn (Livorno), and according to a report made in August 1661 by George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, Bayly had suffered imprisonment in Rome and was then being held in the North of France "for crying against their idol priests and their idols."

On his release Bayly returned to England. He behaved extravagantly at Dover, where he was imprisoned in 1662: later he went to Bristol, and "for witnessing against the idol priests against whom the anger of the Lord is kindled, Who hath decreed that not one of them shall remain in the land" was put in Newgate Gaol, where he was held under the Act of 1662 "for preventing the mischiefs and dangers that may arise from certain persons called Quakers." From the time of his imprisonment in Bristol we can, to a certain extent, follow his movements, although we cannot understand the motives behind them.

From Newgate, where he was "a prisoner for the truth," Bayly wrote to King Charles II on September 4, 1663. He had had a vision and, in fulfilment of a promise made when he had last spoken with the King, was revealing "anything that would do him hurt." Unless the King avoided "rioting and excess, chambering and wantonness, oppression, for which the land mourns, and injuries to the Lord's people" he was threatened with a share in the whirlwind of the Lord that was coming over the nation.

We are curious about the occasion on which Bayly spoke with the King, and we are puzzled when we hear of him in January, 1664, being a prisoner of the Mayor of St. Albans, pending transfer to the Tower of London, where the lieutenant, Sir John Robinson, was to receive him a "close prisoner." As confinement in the Tower was reserved for persons of importance we wonder if Charles had any personal reason for having Bayly removed. His letter of September 4, 1663, and another to be mentioned later, give the impression that he had known the King in the past, and his removal from a common gaol to the Tower suggests preferential treatment. Had he ever held a Court appointment? If so, it could only have been at the exiled Court, for since before the Restoration of 1660, he had been busy trying to spread Quaker beliefs. And a Court appointment seems unlikely when it is remembered that Quakers belonged principally to the labouring, artisan, trading and yeoman classes, with but few converts from the gentry. It seems more probable that the occasion on which Bayly spoke with the King occurred if, and when, like other Quakers, he had at some time petitioned the King in person. In any case, the intimate tone of his letters could be due to the fact that as a Friend he was without any sense of difference in rank, although of course he recognized that Charles, as head of the State, was in a position to exercise power for good whilst lesser men had to rely upon precept. But until we know more we can only speculate.

Bayly was still a prisoner in the Tower in February, 1667, when he was listed as being a Quaker held for seditious practices and existing "on His Majesty's allowance"; and although he had been there since early in 1664 he was still unexamined. In May of 1667 he again addressed the King, pleading with him to open the prison doors of those who suffered for the sake of conscience, and reminding him of the counsel given by his late father, King Charles I.

In the summer of 1669 Bayly was released on bail so that he might go to France for some unspecified purpose. His visit seems to have been connected with Lady Lexington's children, for the English ambassador, Henry Savile, writing to his brother on September 4, 1669, said there was no one with the children except "an old Quaker with a long beard, one Bayly, who I think was prisoner in the Tower when I was." If Bayly had indeed been a "young" man when in Maryland, his prison life must have greatly aged him.

In November 1669, Bayly returned to the Tower, and in the following month he petitioned the King for release and obtained it, conditionally. He was to betake himself "to the Navigation of Hudsons Bay"; so in effect he was exiled, but in his interest the Hudson's Bay Company were to assure him "such conditions and allowances as may be agreeable to reason and the nature of his Employment."

George Fox's judgment of Bayly was that "he came to nought," but up to the time Bayly was released from the Tower he had undoubtedly suffered for the beliefs he had outlined in eight or more religious-political pamphlets. Prisons of the seventeenth century were notoriously uncomfortable and pestilential places, and Bayly endured their rigours several times. He may have been better off in the Tower than in a common gaol, but it must be remembered that seventeenth century Quakers were regarded as dangerous by law-abiding citizens and their gaolers were nearly always unnecessarily harsh towards them.

That "talking, bragging, bufflehead," as Pepys unfairly called the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Robinson, was one of the original adventurers, and the first deputy governor of the Company, and it seems safe to assume that he was responsible for Bayly's entry into the Company's service. Robinson evidently saw an opportunity of ridding the King of a stubborn and obstinate prisoner, but he must have respected that prisoner, or he would not have recommended him for a position of trust in Hudson Bay. The fact that Bayly accepted exile suggests that he had not then renounced Quaker ways, so Fox's judgment can hardly have referred to his conduct so far.

It may not have been long after his release that Bayly was put to the test, and it is regrettable that most of the Company's early records are missing until October 1671, for they might have given us some clue as to how soon he began to backslide. It is not clear if the Company required their servants to take oaths of loyalty as early as 1670, or if this regulation only came into force a few years later; consequently we do not know if or how Bayly was affected. The question may not have arisen: if it did he may have forgotten his Quaker principles and taken the oath. Again, he may have refused to comply, and in that

case the Company must have dispensed with the formality in his particular case. But if no oath was required, or if it was dispensed with, the Company appears to have found another way by which to ensure his allegiance. On May 31, 1670, he acquired £20 stock in the Company, and on the following day this amount was made up to £300. According to the terms of the Charter, Bayly ought now to have taken an oath of loyalty as a member of the Company, but as the available evidence suggests that no such oath was exacted from stockholders until late in 1673, it seems unlikely that his Quaker principles were put to the test in this instance. Was Bayly obliged to buy the stock as a pledge of his integrity? As a prisoner in the Tower he did not maintain himself as was customary in those days, but existed upon the King's allowance, or, as some records say, on charity—presumably that of the Friends. Where did Bayly obtain the money to buy the stock? He apparently had no means of his own, so it is probable that Sir John Robinson or one of the other adventurers stood surety for him. The stock was held in Bayly's name until sometime between 1673 and 1675, when it was sold; but by then Bayly had proved his worth to the Company.

Thomas Gorst, who accompanied the expedition of 1670, kept a journal which has been published,* and from this record it is clear that Bayly was sent to Hudson Bay as governor. Thus, Zachariah Gillam, Pierre Esprit Radisson, and Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, experienced men in the northern trade, were made subordinate to one who, so far as we know, was a novice.

Bayly sailed in the *Wivenhoe*, commanded by another newcomer, Robert Newland, with Radisson as fellow passenger, and Groseilliers sailed in the *Prince Rupert*—first of many Company ships so named—commanded by Gillam. We should like to know how the Quaker got along with the two captains and the two French Papists, for there must have been many long intervals when business was forgotten and they became just companions sharing the discomforts of a winter residence on the bleak shores of Hudson Bay. There is no evidence in the archives to show that their relations were otherwise than good, but one thing is certain: Bayly came out of his first voyage with credit. One of his first acts was to plant the King's arms at Port Nelson, near the present York Factory, a spot which had first been taken possession of by Thomas Button for England in 1612. Since both Newland and his mate died during the autumn of 1670, probably from scurvy, Bayly himself brought the *Wivenhoe* home after the close of a successful trading season.

In February 1672, the Governor and Committee resolved to build their second fort at "Moussebee†" and ordered that the *Wivenhoe* should "bee sent thither with some brickes and nayles to serve for erecteing the forte." Bayly, reappointed overseas governor, went back to Charles Fort on the same ship, and the following year built a small outpost on Hayes Island, the lower end of which is now about one mile upstream from the present post of Moose Factory.

Next year, he sent Groseilliers and Gorst in the coasting vessel *Imploy* to trade with the Indians there. Bayly joined them later and himself bought fifteen hundred skins from the Albany River Indians who made the long journey down the coast especially to trade with him. In mid-July he set sail on the *Imploy* for Albany River, "where no Englishman had been before" but where a post was built five years later. Thence he continued up the coast of James and Hudson Bays to "New Severn," where in 1680 another post was established. In August he was back at Charles Fort, and shortly afterwards received the Jesuit Father Albanel, who had come overland from Quebec bearing a letter from Count Frontenac.

*G. L. Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness* (New York, 1943), pp. 286-92. A transcript of another version appears in John Oldmixon's *The British Empire in America*, 1708, republished by the Champlain Society in *Doc. Rel. to the Early History of Hudson Bay*.

†*Moose seebee*—Moose River.

Moose Factory, founded by Bayly in 1673, as it appeared in 1854. The flat roofed building was the store, built in George III's reign. The three on the left are still standing.

Covent Garden with St. Paul's Church, where Bayly was buried by torchlight. Bettmann Archive.

The *Prince Rupert* and the *Shaftesbury* (lent to the Company by the King) which brought the new outfit in the autumn of 1674, also carried a new governor, and Bayly received instructions to return home. Why he was recalled is not altogether clear, but as his successor, William Lydall, who had been carefully chosen on account of his experience gained in Russia, received so many emphatic instructions to suppress private trade, it might well be that Bayly had not been diligent enough in this respect.

But the ships were late in arriving and the season became too far advanced for them to return that autumn, so Bayly, no doubt to his annoyance, was obliged to winter in the Bay subordinate to Lydall. The winter was a hard one, as provisions were short owing to the extra mouths to feed. Bayly, at Moose, managed fairly well, no doubt as a result of experience. Lydall at Charles Fort had a difficult time, but it was mainly through his own obstinacy in not listening to a suggestion for rationing in the early days. The Governor and Committee must have been very surprised indeed when Lydall, disappointed and disliking the country, returned home in 1675 instead of Bayly.

The Company either did not look for or could not find another successor immediately, so Bayly retained his position as governor at a salary of £50 per annum until 1678. From that time until he was finally recalled in 1679, he was paid at the rate of £200 per annum. He met the Committee on December 17, 1679, and was informed that certain charges had been brought against him which would be made out in writing. But before anything could be done in the matter Bayly, who had arrived in good health, "fell sick and dyed" on January 6, 1680, at the Strand home of William Walker, a member of the Committee.

The nature of the charges, based on memorials sent home by discontented subordinates, is not known, but it seems unlikely that they were serious ones. Although Bayly was not able to clear his name, at least his detractors got no satisfaction: for the Company "bestowed an honourable buryall on him" by torchlight in the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, on January 8, and invited the Committee, members of the Company, and the officers of the ship *John and Alexander* "to attend the Corps." The apothecary's fees and the cost of the burial, amounting in all to £31 0*s*. 9*d*., were borne by the Company, and in the summer of 1680 they sent an escutcheon to Hudson Bay to be "set up for the observation of the Indians" that they might be made to understand that Bayly was dead and "that the Company used him kindly."

Bayly left a widow, Hannah, who first makes her appearance in the Company's books in February 1673, but all we know about her is that she argued with the Committee from the time of her husband's death until December 1683, before coming to an agreement about the settlement of his account.

There is no doubt that Bayly did not strictly abide by his early Quaker principles, but how far he allowed them to lapse is not clear. Perhaps he compromised by regarding the guns he traded to the Indians as being solely the means of obtaining food and skins and not as potential weapons of war. But whether the Committee's instructions for holding public prayers and reading the scriptures, at least on Sundays, were disregarded as not being in accordance with Quaker usage, or merely from indifference, we do not know. His burial in a "steeple-house" confirms the evidence that he had become a backslider. But since Fox regarded music as being almost worse than gunpowder, he, no doubt, would have said that equally damaging evidence against Bayly was the entry in the Company's journal showing that a "Violl & shell & strings" costing £2 10*s*. 0*d*. were sent to him in 1678, doubtless to relieve the monotony of what a later writer described as the "Cold Days and Long Winter Nights" in a "Disconsolate part of the world."

The Royal Charter

Foreword by Chester Martin

The Charter of 1670 to "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay" remains one of the venerable landmarks of British history. Few documents have been challenged by such powerful interests or recognized, at one time or another for two centuries, by such an array of official evidence—by order-in-council, by act of parliament, by royal commission, by the opinion of law officers of the crown, by treaty, and by select parliamentary committee.

In 1697 at the Peace of Ryswick the Company was reduced to one post on the Bay, and Governor Knight had to be authorized by Queen Anne's own commission after the victorious Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to reclaim the lost territory "for the use and benefitt of the Govr. & Compy of adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay." A narrower escape, perhaps, attended the assault of the Canadian North West Company upon the validity of the Charter in the throes of the "pemmican war" at Red River. During much of this conflict the Colonial Office sought to leave the fur trade to "salutary neglect," and openly pronounced the chartered claims of the Company "to say the least of it extremely doubtful." It was during this decade that Selkirk anchored once for all the proprietary rights of the Charter in the soil of the Red River Settlement; though it is curious to speculate upon the fortunes of the Company had the bloodshed at Seven Oaks in 1816 not forced the Colonial Office to bury their unsavoury blunders in a coalition of the two companies under sanctions from government such as King Charles himself could scarcely have contemplated in 1670.

At the coalition of 1821 the government conceded to the Company not only "the powers vested in them by the Charter," but added a license for twenty-one years (renewed in 1838) over the whole of British North America "not being part of the lands and territories heretofore granted to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay and not being part of any of our provinces in North America." The chartered rights of the Company itself to the whole watershed of Hudson Bay were recognized at last.

In 1868, a few weeks before the Rupert's Land Act authorized the surrender of Rupert's Land to the Crown, and its transfer to Canada, the Colonial Secretary stated with authority that "the validity of this Charter cannot justly be disputed by the Crown." The surrender was accepted by the Crown on June 22, 1870, just two centuries after the Crown had granted it and the transfer to Canada followed on July 15. Thus the most venerable and picturesque charter of its sort then extant passed into history except for its validity to this day as the instrument of incorporation for "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay."

This printing of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter is copied from a photostat of the original in the Company's archives. The exact spelling and use of capitals have been adhered to throughout, but in the original there are no paragraphs. The charter is written on five sheets of parchment about thirty-one inches wide and twenty-five deep.

Charles the Second By the grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the faith &c To All to whome these presentes shall come greeting WHEREAS Our Deare and Entirely Beloved Cousin Prince Rupert Count Palatyne of the Rhyne Duke of Bavaria and Cumberland &c Christopher Duke of Albemarle William Earle of Craven Henry Lord Arlington Anthony Lord Ashley Sir John Robinson and Sir Robert Vyner Knightes and Baronettes Sir Peter Colliton Baronett Sir Edward Hungerford Knight of the Bath Sir Paul Neile Knight Sir John Griffith and Sir Phillipp Carterett Knightes James Hayes John Kirke ffrancis Millington William Prettyman John ffenn Esquires and John Portman Cittizen and Goldsmith of London have at their owne great cost and charge undertaken an Expedicion for Hudsons Bay in the Northwest part of America for the discovery of a new Passage into the South Sea and for the finding some Trade for ffurrs Mineralls and other considerable Commodityes and by such theire undertakeing have already made such discoveryes as doe encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of theire said designe by meanes whereof there may probably arise very great advantage to us and our Kingdome

And whereas the said undertakers for theire further encouragement in the said designe have humbly besought us to Incorporate them and grant unto them and theire successors the sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas Streightes Bayes Rivers Lakes Creekes and Soundes in whatsoever Latitude they shall bee that lye within the entrance of the Streightes commonly called Hudsons Streightes together with all the Landes Countryes and Territoryes upon the Coastes and Confynes of the Seas Streightes Bayes Lakes Rivers Creekes and Soundes aforesaid which are not now actually possessed by any of our Subiectes or by the Subiectes of any other Christian Prince or State

Now know yee that wee being desirous to promote all Endeavours tending to the publique good of our people and to encourage the said undertakeing HAVE of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion Given granted ratifyed and confirmed And by these Presents for us our heires and Successors DOE give grant ratifie and confirme unto our said Cousin Prince Rupert Christopher Duke of Albemarle William Earle of Craven Henry Lord Arlington Anthony Lord Ashley Sir John Robinson Sir Robert Vyner Sir Peter Colleton Sir Edward Hungerford Sir Paul Neile Sir John Griffith and Sir Phillipp Carterett James Hayes John Kirke ffrancis Millington William Prettyman John ffenn and John Portman That they and such others as shall bee admitted into the said Society as

King Charles the Second, who granted the charter to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, on the second of May 1670. From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the possession of the Company.

is hereafter expressed shall bee one Body Corporate and Politique in deed and in name by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay and them by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay one Body Corporate and Politique in deede and in name really and fully for ever for us our heires and successors WEE DOE make ordeyne constitute establish confirme and declare by these Presentes and that by the same name of Governor & Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay they shall have perpetuall succession And that they and their successors by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay bee and at all tymes hereafter shall bee persons able and capable in Law to have purchase receive possesse enjoy and reteyne Landes Rentes priviledges libertyes Jurisdiccions ffranchisyes and hereditamentes of what kinde nature and quality soever they bee to them and theire Successors And alsoe to give grant demise alien assigne and dispose Landes Tenementes and hereditamentes and to doe and execute all and singuler other thinges by the same name that to them shall or may apperteyne to doe

And that they and theire Successors by the name of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay may pleade and bee impleaded answeare and bee answeared defend and bee defended in whatsoever Courtes and places before whatsoever Judges and Justices and other persons and Officers in all and singuler Accions Pleas Suites quarrells causes and demandes whatsoever of whatsoever kinde nature or sort in such manner and forme as any other our Liege people of this our Realme of England being persons able and capable in Lawe may or can have purchase receive possesse enjoy reteyne give grant demise alien assigne dispose pleade defend and bee defended doe permitt and execute And that the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay and theire successors may have a Common Seale to serve for all the causes and busnesses of them and theire Successors and that itt shall and may bee lawfull to the said Governor and Company and theire Successors the same Seale from tyme to tyme at theire will and pleasure to breake change and to make a new or alter as to them shall seeme expedient

And further Wee will And by these presentes for us our Heires and successors WEE DOE ordeyne that there shall bee from henceforth one of the same Company to bee elected and appointed in such forme as hereafter in these presentes is expressed which shall bee called The Governor of the said Company And that the said Governor and Company shall or may elect seaven of theire number in such forme as hereafter in these presentes is expressed which shall bee called the Comittee of the said Company which Comittee of seaven or any three of them together with the Governor or Deputy Governor of the said Company for the tyme being shall have the direccion of the Voyages of and for the said Company and the Provision of the Shipping and Merchandizes thereunto belonging and alsoe [end of page 1] the sale of all merchandizes Goodes and other thinges returned in all or any the Voyages or Shippes of or for the said Company and the mannageing and handleing of all other busnesse affaires and thinges belonging to the said Company

And wee will ordeyne and Grant by these presentes for us our heires and successors unto the said Governor and Company and theire successors that they the said Governor and Company and theire successors shall from henceforth for ever bee ruled ordered and governed according to such manner and forme as is hereafter in these presentes expressed and not otherwise And that they shall have hold reteyne and enjoy the Grantes Libertyes Priviledges Jurisdiccions and Immunityes only hereafter in these presentes granted and expressed and noe other And for the better execucion of our will and Grant in this behalfe WEE HAVE ASSIGNED nominated constituted and made And by these presentes for us our heires and successors WEE DOE ASSIGNE nominate constitute and make our said COUSIN PRINCE RUPERT to bee the first and present Governor of the said Company and to continue in the said Office from the date of these presentes untill the tenth of November then next following if hee the said Prince Rupert shall soe long live and soe untill a new Governor bee chosen by the said Company in forme hereafter expressed AND ALSOE WEE HAVE assigned nominated and appointed And by these presentes for us our heires and Successors WEE DOE assigne nominate and constitute the said Sir John Robinson Sir Robert Vyner Sir Peter Colleton James Hayes John Kirke ffrancis Millington and John Portman to bee the seaven first and present Committees of the said Company from the date of these presentes untill the said tenth day of November then alsoe next following and soe untill new Committees shall bee chosen in forme hereafter expressed

And further wee will and grant by these presentes for us our heires and successors unto the said Governor and Company and their successors that itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company for the tyme being or the greater part of them present at any publique Assembly commonly called the Court Generall to bee holden for the said Company the Governor of the said Company being alwayes one from tyme to tyme to elect nominate and appoint one of the said Company to bee Deputy to the said Governor which Deputy shall take a Corporall Oath before the Governor and three or more of the Committee of the said Company for the tyme being well truely and faithfully to execute his said Office of Deputy to the Governor of the said Company and after his Oath soe taken shall and may from tyme to tyme in the absence of the said Governor exercize and execute the Office of Governor of the said Company in such sort as the said Governor ought to doe

And further wee will and Grant and by these presentes for us our heires and Successors unto the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay and theire successors That they or the greater part of them whereof the Governor for the tyme being or his Deputy to bee one from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter shall and may have authority and power yearely and every yeare betweene the first and last day of November to assemble and meete together in some convenient place to bee appointed from tyme to tyme by the Governor or in his absence by the Deputy of the said Governor for the tyme being And that they being soe assembled itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor or Deputy of the said Governor and the said Company for the tyme being or the greater part of them which then shall happen to bee present whereof the Governor of the said Company or his Deputy

for the tyme being to bee one to elect and nominate one of the said Company which shall bee Governor of the same Company for one whole yeare then next following which person being soe elected and nominated to bee Governor of the said Company as is aforesaid before hee bee admitted to the execucion of the said Office shall take a Corporall Oath before the last Governour being his Predecessor or his Deputy and any three or more of the Committee of the said Company for the tyme being that hee shall from tyme to tyme well and truely execute the Office of Governour of the said Company in all thinges concerneing the same

And that ymediately after the same Oath soe taken hee shall and may execute and use the said Office of Governor of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next following and in like sort wee will and grant that aswell every one of the above named to bee of the said Company or Fellowshipp as all other hereafter to bee admitted or free of the said Company shall take a Corporall Oath before the Governor of the said Company or his Deputy for the tyme being to such effect as by the said Governor and Company or the greater part of them in any publick Court to bee held for the said Company shall bee in reasonable and legall manner sett downe and devised before they shall bee allowed or admitted to Trade or traffique as a Freeman of the said Company

And further wee will and grant by these presentes for us our heires and successors unto the said Governor and Company and theire successors that the said Governor or Deputy Governor and the rest of the said Company and theire successors for the tyme being or the greater part of them whereof the Governor or the Deputy Governor from tyme to tyme to bee one shall and may from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter have power and authority yearely and every yeare betweene the first and last day of November to assemble and meete together in some convenient place from tyme to tyme to bee appointed by the said Governour of the said Company or in his absence by his Deputy and that they being soe assembled itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor or his Deputy and the Company for the tyme being or the greater part of them which then shall happen to bee present whereof the Governor of the said Company or his Deputy for the tyme being to bee one to elect and nominate seaven of the said Company which shall bee a Committee of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next ensueing which persons being soe elected and nominated to bee a Committee of the said Company as aforesaid before they bee admitted to the execucion of theire Office shall take a Corporall Oath before the Governor or his Deputy and any three or more of the said Committee of the said Company being theire last Predecessors that they and every of them shall well and faithfully performe theire said Office of Committees in all things concerneing the same And that imediately after the said Oath soe taken they shall and may execute and use theire said Office of Committees of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next following

And moreover Our will and pleasure is And by these presentes for us our heires and successors WEE DOE GRANT unto the said Governor and Company and theire successors that when and as often as itt shall happen the Governor or Deputy Governor of the said Company for the tyme being at any time within one yeare after that hee shall bee nominated elected and sworne to the Office of the Governor of the said Company as is aforesaid to dye or to bee removed from the said Office which Governor or Deputy Governor not demeaneing himselfe well in his said Office WEE WILL to bee removeable at the pleasure of the rest of the said Company or the greater part of them which shall bee present at theire publick assemblies commonly called theire Generall Court holden for the said Company that then and soe often itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the residue of the said Company for the tyme being or the greater part of them within convenient tyme after the death or removeing of any such Governor or Deputy Governor to assemble themselves in such convenient place as they shall thinke fitt for the eleccion of the Governor or Deputy Governor of the said Company and that the said Company or the greater part of them being then and there present shall and may then and there before theire departure from the said place elect and nominate one other of the said Company to bee Governour or Deputy Governor [end of page 2] for the said Company in the place and stead of him that soe dyed or was removed which person being soe elected and nominated to the Office of Governor or Deputy Governor of the said Company shall have and exercize the said Office for and dureing the residue of the said yeare takeing first a Corporall Oath as is aforesaid for the due execucion thereof And this to bee done from tyme to tyme soe often as the case shall soe require.

And alsoe Our will and pleasure is And by these presentes for us our heires and successors WEE DOE grant unto the said Governor and Company that when and as often as itt shall happen any person or persons of the Comittee of the said Company for the tyme being at any tyme within one yeare next after that they or any of them shall bee nominated elected and sworne to the Office of Comittee of the said Company as is aforesaid to dye or to bee removed from the said Office which Committees not demeaneing themselves well in theire said Office WEE WILL to be removeable at the pleasure of the said Governor and Company or the greater part of them whereof the Governor of the said Company for the tyme being or his Deputy to bee one that then and soe often itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor and the rest of the Company for the tyme being or the greater part of them whereof the Governor for the tyme being or his Deputy to bee one within convenient tyme after the death or removeing of any of the said Comittee to assemble themselves in such convenient place as is or shall bee usuall and accustomed for the eleccion of the Governor of the said Company or where else the Governor of the said Company for the tyme being or his Deputy shall appoint

And that the said Governor and Company or the greater part of them whereof the Governor for the tyme being or his Deputy to bee one being then and there present shall and may then and there before theire Departure from the said place elect and nominate one or more of the said Company to bee of the Comittee of the said Company in the place and stead of him or them that soe dyed or were or was soe removed which person or persons soe elected and nominated to the Office of Comittee of the said Company shall have and exercize the said Office for and dureing the residue of the said yeare takeing first a Corporall Oath as is aforesaid for the due execucion thereof and this to bee done from tyme to tyme soe often as the case shall require

The Royal Charter
granted to the
Hudson's Bay Company
by Charles II

And to the end the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay may bee encouraged to undertake and effectually to prosecute the said designe of our more especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion WEE HAVE given granted and confirmed And by these presentes for us our heires and successors DOE give grant and confirme unto the said Governor and Company and theire successors the sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas Streightes Bayes Rivers Lakes Creekes and Soundes in whatsoever Latitude they shall bee that lye within the entrance of the Streightes commonly called Hudsons Streightes together with all the Landes and Territoryes upon the Countryes Coastes and confynes of the Seas Bayes Lakes Rivers Creekes and Soundes aforesaid that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our Subjectes or possessed by the Subjectes of any other Christian Prince or State with the Fishing of all sortes of ffish Whales Sturgions and all other Royall ffishes in the Seas Bayes Islettes and Rivers within the premisses and the ffish therein taken together with the Royalty of the Sea upon the Coastes within the Lymittes aforesaid And all Mynes Royall as well discovered as not discovered of Gold Silver Gemms and pretious Stones to bee found or discovered within the Territoryes Lymittes and Places aforesaid And that the said Land bee from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one or our Plantacions or Colonyes in America called Ruperts Land

And further wee doe by these presentes for us our heires and successors make create and constitute the said Governor and Company for the tyme being and theire successors the true and absolute Lordes and Proprietors of the same Territory lymittes and places aforesaid And of all other the premisses SAVING ALWAYS the Faith Allegiance and Soveraigne Dominion due to us our heires and successors for the same TO HAVE HOLD possesse and enjoy the said Territory lymittes and places and all and singuler other the premisses hereby granted as aforesaid with theire and every of theire Rightes Members Jurisdiccions Prerogatives Royaltyes and appurtenances whatsoever to them the said Governor and Company and theire Successors for ever TO BEE HOLDEN of us our heires and successors as of our Mannor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent in free and common Soccage and not in Capite or by Knightes Service YEILDING AND PAYING yearely to us our heires and Successors for the same two Elkes and two Black Beavers whensoever and as often as wee our heires and successors shall happen to enter into the said Countryes Territoryes and Regions hereby granted

And Further our will and pleasure is And by these presentes for us our heires and successors WEE DOE grant unto the said Governor and Company and to theire successors that itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company and theire successors from tyme to tyme to assemble themselves for or about any the matters causes affaires or buisnesses of the said Trade in any place or places for the same convenient within our Dominions or elsewhere and there to hold Court for the said Company and the affaires thereof And that alsoe itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for them and the greater part of them being soe assembled and that shall then and there bee present in any such place or places whereof the Governor or his Deputy for the tyme being to bee one to make ordeyne and constitute such and soe many

This picture of King Charles obviously formed the basis for his portrait on the first page of the charter. The original was done in plumbago by David Loggan, "perhaps the greatest exponent of the art," and is now owned by the Company.

reasonable Lawes Constitucions Orders and Ordinances as to them or the greater part of them being then and there present shall seeme necessary and convenient for the good Government of the said Company and of all Governors of Colonyes ffort and Plantacions ffactors masters mariners and other Officers employed or to bee employed in any of the Territoryes and Landes aforesaid and in any of theire voyages and for the better advancement and contynuance of the said Trade or Traffick and Plantacions and the same Lawes Constitucions Orders and Ordinances soe made to putt in use and execute accordingly and at theire pleasure to revoake and alter the same or any of them as the occasion shall require

And that the said Governor and Company soe often as they shall make ordeyne or establish any such Lawes Constitucions Orders and Ordinances in such forme as aforesaid shall and may lawfully impose ordeyne limitt and provide such paines penaltyes and punishmentes upon all Offenders contrary to such Lawes Constitucions Orders and Ordinances or any of them as to the said Governor and Company for the tyme being or the greater part of them then and there being present the said Governor or his Deputy being alwayes one shall seeme necessary requisite or convenient for the observacion of the same Lawes Constitucions Orders and Ordinances And the same ffynes and Amerciamentes shall and may by theire Officers and Servantes from tyme to tyme to bee appointed for that purpose levy take and have to the use of the said Governor and Company and theire successors without the impediment of us our heires or successors or of any the Officers or Ministers of us our heires or successors and without any accompt therefore to us our heires or successors to bee made All

and singuler which Lawes Constitucions Orders and Ordinances soe as aforesaid to bee made WEE WILL to bee duely observed and kept under the paines and penaltyes therein to bee conteyned Soe alwayes as the said Lawes Constitucions Orders and Ordinances ffynes and Amerciamentes bee reasonable and not contrary or repugnant but as neare as may bee agreeable to the Lawes Statutes or Customes of this our Realme

And Furthermore of our ample and abundant grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion WEE HAVE granted and by these presentes for us our heires and successors DOE grant unto the said Governor and Company and theire successors That they and theire Successors and theire ffactors Servantes and Agentes for them and on theire behalfe and not otherwise shall for ever hereafter have use and enjoy not only the whole Entire and only Trade and Traffick and the whole entire and only liberty use and priviledge of tradeing and Trafficking to and from the Territory Lymittes and places aforesaid [end of page 3] But alsoe the whole and entire Trade and Traffick to and from all Havens Bayes Creekes Rivers Lakes and Seas into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or Land out of the Territoryes Lymittes or places aforesaid and to and with all the Natives and People Inhabiteing or which shall inhabit within the Territoryes Lymittes and places aforesaid and to and with all other Nacions Inhabiteing any the Coastes adiacent to the said Territoryes Lymittes and places which are not already possessed as aforesaid or whereof the sole liberty or priviledge of Trade and Traffick is not granted to any other of our Subiectes

And Wee of our further Royall favour And of our more especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion HAVE granted and by these presentes for us our heires and Successors DOE grant to the said Governor and Company and to theire Successors That neither the said Territoryes Lymittes and places hereby Granted as aforesaid nor any part thereof nor the Islandes Havens Portes Cittyes Townes or places thereof or therein conteyned shall bee visited frequented or haunted by any of the Subiectes of us our heires or successors contrary to the true meaneing of these presentes and by vertue of our Prerogative Royall which wee will not have in that behalfe argued or brought into question WEE STREIGHTLY Charge Command and prohibite for us our heires and Successors all the Subiectes of us our heires and Successors of what degree or quality soever they bee that none of them directly or indirectly doe visit haunt frequent or Trade Traffick or Adventure by way of Merchandize into or from any the said Territoryes Lymittes or Places hereby granted or any or either of them other then the said Governor and Company and such perticuler persons as now bee or hereafter shall bee of that Company theire Agentes ffactors and Assignes unlesse itt bee by the Lycence and agreement of the said Governor and Company in writing first had and obteyned under theire Common Seale to bee granted upon paine that every such person or persons that shall Trade or Traffick into or from any the Countryes Territoryes or Lymittes aforesaid other then the said Governor and Company and theire Successors shall incurr our Indignacion and the forfeiture and the losse of the Goodes Merchandizes and other thinges whatsoever which soe shall bee brought into this Realme of England or any the Dominions of the same contrary to our said Prohibicion or the purport or true meaneing of these presentes for which the said Governor and Company shall finde take and seize in other places out of our Dominions where the said Company their Agentes ffactors or Ministers shall Trade Traffick inhabitt by virtue of these our Letters Patentes As alsoe the Shipp and Shippes with the Furniture thereof wherein such Goodes Merchandizes and other thinges shall bee brought or found the one halfe of all the said fforfeitures to bee to us our heires and successors and the other halfe thereof WEE DOE by these Presentes cleerely and wholly for us our heires and Successors Give and Grant unto the said Governor and Company and theire Successors

And Further all and every the said Offenders for theire said contempt to suffer such other punishment as to us our heires or Successors for soe high a contempt shall seeme meete and convenient and not to bee in any wise delivered untill they and every of them shall become bound unto the said Governor for the tyme being in the summe of one thousand poundes at the least at noe tyme then after to Trade or Traffick into any of the said places Seas Streightes Bayes Portes Havens or Territoryes aforesaid contrary to our Expresse Commandment in that behalfe herein sett downe and published

And Further of our more especiall grace WEE HAVE condiscended and granted And by these presentes for us our heires and Successors DOE grant unto the said Governor and Company and theire successors That wee our heires and Successors will not Grant liberty lycence or power to any person or persons whatsoever contrary to the tenour of these our Letters Patentes to Trade Traffick or inhabit unto or upon any the Territoryes lymittes or places afore specifyed contrary to the true meaneing of these presentes without the consent of the said Governor and Company or the most part of them AND OF our more abundant grace and favour to the said Governor and Company WEE DOE hereby declare our will and pleasure to bee that if it shall soe happen that any of the persons free or to bee free of the said Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay who shall before the goeing forth of any Shipp or Shippes appointed for A VOYAGE or otherwise promise or agree by writeing under his or theire handes to adventure any summe or Sumes of money towardes the furnishing any provision or maintainance of any voyage or voyages sett forth or to bee sett forth or intended or meant to bee sett forth by the said Governor and Company or the more part of them present at any Publick Assembly commonly called theire Generall Court shall not within the space of twenty dayes next after warneing given to him or them by the said Governor or Company or theire knowne Officer or Minister bring in and deliver to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed for the Company such summes of money as shall have beene expressed and sett downe in writeing by the said Person or Persons subscribed with the name of the said Adventurer or Adventurers that then and at all Tymes after itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company or the more part of them present WHEREOF the said Governor or his Deputy to bee one at any of theire Generall Courtes or Generall Assemblyes to remove and disfranchise him or them and every such person and persons at theire wills and pleasures and hee or they soe removed and disfranchised not to bee permitted to Trade into the Countryes Territoryes and Lymittes aforesaid or any part

thereof nor to have any Adventure or Stock goeing or remaineing with or amongst the said Company without the speciall lycence of the said Governor and Company or the more part of them present at any Generall Court first had and obteyned in that behalfe Any thing before in these presentes to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding

And Our will and pleasure is And hereby wee doe alsoe ordeyne that itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company or the greater part of them whereof the Governor for the tyme being or his Deputy to bee one to admitt into and to bee of the said Company all such Servantes or ffactors of or for the said Company and all such others as to them or the most part of them present at any court held for the said Company the Governor or his Deputy being one shall be thought fitt and agreeable with the Orders and Ordinances made and to bee made for the Government of the said Company

And Further Our will and pleasure is And by these presentes for us our heires and Successors WEE DOE grant unto the said Governor and Company and to theire Successors That itt shall and may bee lawfull in all Eleccions and Bye-Lawes to bee made by the Generall Court of the Adventurers of the said Company that every person shall have a number of votes according to his Stock that is to say for every hundred poundes by him subscribed or brought into the present Stock one vote and that any of these that have Subscribed lesse then one hundred poundes may ioyne theire respective summes to make upp one hundred poundes and have one vote ioyntly for the same and not otherwise

And Further of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion WEE DOE for us our heires and successors Grant to and with the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Tradeing into Hudsons Bay That all Landes Islandes Territoryes Plantacions Fortes ffortificacions ffactoryes or Colonyes where the said Companyes ffactoryes and Trade are or shall bee within any the Portes and places afore lymitted shall bee ymediately and from henceforth under the power and command of the said Governor and Company theire Successors and Assignes Saving the Faith and Allegiance due to bee performed to us our heires and successors as aforesaid And that the said Governor and Company shall have liberty full power and authority to appoint and establish Governors and all [end of page 4] other Officers to governe them And that the Governor and his Councill of the severall and respective places where the said Company shall have Plantacions ffortes ffactoryes Colonyes or Places of Trade within any the Countryes Landes or Territoryes hereby granted may have power to iudge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company or that shall live under them in all Causes whether Civill or Criminall according to the Lawes of this Kingdome and to execute Justice accordingly

And in case any crime or misdemeanor shall bee committed in any of the said Companyes Plantacions ffortes ffactoryes or Places of Trade within the Lymittes aforesaid where Judicature cannot bee executed for want of a Governor and Councill there then in such case itt shall and may bee lawfull for the Chiefe ffactor of that place and his Councill to transmitt the party together with the Offence to such other Plantacion ffactory or ffort where there shall bee a Governor and Councill where Justice may bee executed or into this Kingdome of England as shall bee thought most convenient there to receive such punishment as the nature of his offence shall deserve

And moreover Our will and pleasure is And by these presentes for us our heires and Successors WEE DOE GIVE and Grant unto the said Governor and Company and theire Successors free Liberty and lycence in case they conceive it necessary to send either Shippes of Warre Men or Amunicion unto any theire Plantacions ffortes ffactoryes or Places of Trade aforesaid for the security and defence of the same and to choose Comanders and Officers over them and to give them power and authority by Commission under theire Common Seale or otherwise to continue or make peace or Warre with any Prince or people whatsoever that are not Christians in any places where the said Company shall have any Plantacions ffortes or ffactoryes or adiacent thereunto as shall bee most for the advantage and benefitt of the said Governor and Company and of theire Trade And alsoe to right and recompence themselves upon the Goodes Estates or people of those partes by whome the said Governor and Company shall susteyne any iniury losse or dammage or upon any other people whatsoever that shall any way contrary to the intent of these presentes interrupt wrong or jniure them in theire said Trade within the said places Territoryes and Lymittes Granted by this Charter and that itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company and theire Successors from tyme to tyme and at all tymes from henceforth to Erect and build such Castles ffortificacions ffortes Garrisons Colonyes or Plantacions Townes or Villages in any partes or places within the Lymittes and Boundes Granted before in these presentes unto the said Governor and Company as they in theire discrecions shall thinke fitt and requisite and for the supply of such as shall bee needefull and convenient to keepe and bee in the same to send out of this Kingdome to the said Castles ffortes ffortificacions Garrisons Colonyes Plantacions Townes or Villages all kindes of Cloathing Provision of Victualls Ammunicion and Implementes necessary for such purpose paying the Dutyes and Customes for the same As alsoe to transport and carry over such number of Men being willing thereunto or not prohibited as they shall thinke fitt and also to governe them in such legall and reasonable manner as the said Governor and Company shall thinke best and to inflict punishment for misdemeanors or impose such Fynes upon them for breach of theire Orders as in these presentes are formerly expressed

And Further Our will and pleasure is And by these presentes for us our heires and Successors WEE DOE grant unto the said Governor and Company and to theire Successors full power and lawfull authority to seize upon the Persons of all such English or any other our Subiectes which shall sayle into Hudsons Bay or Inhabit in any of the Countryes Islandes or Territoryes hereby Granted to the said Governor and Company without their leave and lycence in that behalfe first had and obteyned or that shall contemne or disobey theire Orders and send them to England and that all and every Person and Persons being our Subiectes any wayes imployed by the said Governor and Company within any the partes places and Lymittes aforesaid shall bee lyable unto and suffer such punnishment for any Offences by them committed in the Partes aforesaid as the President and Councill for the said Governor and Company there

shall thinke fitt and the meritt of the offence shall require as aforesaid And in case any Person or Persons being convicted and Sentenced by the President and Councill of the said Governor and Company in the Countryes Landes and Lymittes aforesaid theire ffactors or Agents there for any Offence by them done shall appeale from the same That then and in such Case itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said President and Councill ffactors or Agentes to seize upon him or them and to carry him or them home Prisoners into England to the said Governor and Company there to receive such condigne punnishment as his Cause shall require and the Law of this Nacion allow of and for the better discovery of abuses and iniuryes to bee done unto the said Governor and Company or theire Successors by any Servantes by them to bee imployed in the said Voyages and Plantacions Itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company and theire respective Presidentes Chiefe Agent or Governor in the partes aforesaid to Examine upon Oath all Factors Masters Pursers Supra Cargoes Comanders of Castles ffortes ffortificacions Plantacions or Colonyes or other Persons touching or concerneing any matter or thing in which by Law or Usage an Oath may bee administred soe as the said Oath and the matter therein conteyned bee not repugnant but agreeable to the Lawes of this Realme

And Wee doe hereby streightly charge and Command all and singuler our Admiralls Vice-Admiralls Justices Mayors Sherriffes Constables Bayliffes and all and singuler other our Officers Ministers Liege Men and Subiectes whatsoever to bee aydeing favouring helping and assisting to the said Governor and Company and to theire Successors and to theire Deputyes Officers ffactors Servantes Assignes and Ministers and every of them in executeing and enioying the premisses as well on Land as on Sea from tyme to tyme when any of you shall thereunto bee required ANY STATUTE Act Ordinance Proviso Proclamacion or restraint heretofore had made sett forth ordeyned or provided or any other matter cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding IN WITNES WHEREOF WEE have caused these our Letters to bee made Patentes

Witnes Our Selfe at Westminster the second day of May in the two and twentieth yeare of our Raigne

By Writt of Privy Seale

Pigott

Neither the King (as is commonly supposed) nor the Master of the Patent Office, Sir Richard Pigott, signed the charter with his name. The equivalent of such a signature was the attaching of the Great Seal of England (both sides of which are shown here) to the last page.

European ideas of Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes at the time of the "Nonsuch" voyage are shown in this map by R. Blome after Samson d'Abbeville, printed in 1669 "by His Majesties Especiall Command."

Radisson and Des Groseilliers

by Grace Lee Nute

IT is hard for modern persons to think of North America as Europeans knew it about 1650. A fringe of coastline from Labrador to the tip of South America was known with reasonable intimacy, for New France lay, a thin, double ribbon of farms, with the great St. Lawrence between them, up to the new village of Montreal; England and France were struggling for the few establishments, mostly French, of the present-day Maritime Provinces and parts of Maine; Englishmen were already at home along the seashore in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, and down to the Carolinas; and the old battleground of Frenchmen and Spaniards in Carolina, Georgia, and Florida had practically reverted to Spain, whose sparse settlements began again on the shores of Mexico. There were vague recollections that Englishmen and Danes had been in a great northern bay, where Henry Hudson had lost his life in the opening years of the century, before the Civil War in England. In 1650, however, no one seemed to know how to get there, though a French Canadian, La Tour, in the 1650's did attempt to go there and may have done so.

Even the Great Lakes were only partly known as yet, almost exclusively by Frenchmen. A few adventurous souls had gone through Lakes Huron, Ontario, and Michigan, and had reported Lake Superior. Actually almost nothing was known of them except where missions had been before the Iroquois went on the warpath in the late 1640's.

It was that warfare which accounts for the suddenly greater knowledge of North American geography which came after 1650. The Indians about the Great Lakes had been taking their furs down to the little settlements on the lower St. Lawrence for many years, when suddenly Iroquois blocked the way, determined to stop this traffic. The Iroquois believed they themselves should be the middlemen in that trade to the French, now monopolized by the Hurons and certain Algonquian tribes. So, with their great energy and political unity brought to bear on the immediate objective, they attacked the other Great Lakes tribes, especially those about Lake Huron, driving them hither and yon, but particularly into the region now known as Wisconsin. No furs reached New France. That meant death to the struggling colony unless relief came. Two men brought that relief in 1656.

For many years after 1885 it was believed that the two men were Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, and Pierre Esprit Radisson, the half brother of Chouart's wife. The reason for this belief was the discovery in 1885 of a strange manuscript among the papers of the famous diarist, Samuel Pepys, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. Though the pages of that leatherbound volume were inscribed in English, the words, grammar, and proper names were so strange that most persons believed it was written by someone not at home in the English language. As internal evidence soon revealed that the author was Pierre Esprit Radisson, the conclusion was natural that Radisson himself was responsible for the odd English of the manuscript. The document was printed immediately by the Prince Society of Boston as the *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*.

The "voyages" were all canoe trips—two to the country of the Iroquois in the region now known as New York state; and two on the upper Great Lakes. Everything in the narrative of the first western trip is so vaguely described or so inaccurately stated that a veritable Chinese puzzle was created. It was possible to check a few statements with those of contemporaries, like the Jesuits, whose *Relations* of 1656 and 1660 *did* tell of trips made by two Frenchmen to the upper Great Lakes. Des Groseilliers was definitely stated, in the *Relation* of 1660, to be one of the recently returned travellers. No mention has been found in any account, except the Bodleian MS., of Radisson's participation in either trip. Because Radisson describes the two trips to the West, in which he says he participated, it was felt after 1885 that the enigma of the names of the two returned travellers of 1656 had been cleared up.

However, Radisson's chronology is impossible; his arrangement of narratives is clearly wrong; and certain statements simply do not jibe with historical record. Moreover, it is impossible to tell where the two travellers of the middle fifties wandered beyond Georgian Bay. Many historians and antiquarians conceived schemes for explaining the narrative, none of which satisfied sound historians. It was not till the 1930's that anything like order was made out of the careers of these two men. Then years of research in Canada, England, France and the United States pieced one fact to another and finally presented a reasonably whole fabric.

In the first place it was revealed almost to a certainty that Radisson's so-called manuscript is only a translation, and a very faulty one. That revelation cleared the way for a complete reconstruction of events in the two explorers' lives. Des Groseilliers was found to have been a much older man in 1656 than he was formerly believed to be, for a document in Charly-sur-Marne, near Paris, recorded July 31, 1618, as his baptismal day. His early experiences in New France were traced through his years in the Huron missions on Georgian Bay; his two marriages in 1647 and 1653; and his settling in Three Rivers about 1653. He established a home there about the time that he got interested in La Tour, already mentioned as a possible explorer in Hudson Bay. This may well have been the origin of his interest in that bay.

If so, it got an added impetus almost at once, through the fur-trading trip of 1654-56, already mentioned. From documents in Three Rivers and Quebec it is almost certain that Des Groseilliers was one of the men of that expedition, which saved New France from economic ruin by ferreting out the new homes of the frightened Hurons, Ottawa, and other victims of Iroquois raids. Trading was re-established with these tribes in their new homes in Wisconsin and elsewhere. Des Groseilliers returned to the West in 1659, this time probably accompanied by his very youthful brother-in-law, Radisson, who could not have been on the earlier trip because a document signed by him in Quebec in 1655 has turned up. Of this trip of 1659-60 Radisson's manuscript gives a reasonably accurate account, except for one embellishment. He adds a faked journey from Lake Superior to James Bay!

The two men spent the winter of 1659-60 in Chequamegon Bay near the site of Ashland, Wisconsin, and on a little inland lake not far to the southwest. Here they got acquainted with a new tribe, the Sioux, and with the Cree. From the Cree the two Frenchmen learned that the *easy* way to the greatest source of beaver pelts was through Hudson Bay.

The two men returned to New France in 1660, where their great cargoes of prime beaver pelts were confiscated by greedy and unscrupulous officials. Though they tried to interest officialdom in a trip to Hudson Bay, they were not successful. Smarting with injustice and disappointment, they left New

The market place at Charly-sur-Marne, Groseilliers' birthplace.

Return of the "Nonsuch" to London in October 1669. From the painting by Norman Wilkinson, R.O.I., P.R.I., for the Company calendar this year.

France in anger and fled to New England, announcing, however, that they were on their way to the Ottawa via Hudson Bay! Des Groseilliers' connections with La Tour probably prompted him to go to Boston, for La Tour's ventures toward or to Hudson Bay had been backed by New Englanders.

Three years were spent by Radisson and Des Groseilliers in New England, with near success. Boston capital *was* interested in trips to Hudson Bay just as Des Groseilliers had hoped; trips were attempted; but failure crowned these efforts. Then came the King's commissioners to Boston in 1664. They talked with the renegade Frenchmen—and were impressed with their tales of beaver west of Hudson Bay. Nothing would do but they must talk to the newly restored King, Charles II. So, on August 1, 1665, in the midst of the Dutch War, they set sail from Nantucket for England. They and their little vessel were captured en route and taken to Spain; they arrived in London in the midst of the Plague; later they witnessed the Great Fire and saw old London vanish in flames—and a new city rise quickly. They were interviewed by the King and his cousin, Prince Rupert, and even got into print in the earliest English newspaper, which had just begun to appear.

English capital was spoiling for new enterprises. The two Frenchmen's tales of North America evidently impressed many who listened to their yarns, both capitalists and men of scientific bent. The newly established Royal Society was then composed of many men who combined funds and enthusiasm for this new thing, Science. It was a group of them who kept the two explorers from returning to a French allegiance when their story reached the ears of the French court and promptly inspired excellent offers to them; and who prevented Dutch spies from winning them to Holland's plans for commercial expansion and a Dutch discovery of a Northwest Passage.

After repeated failure in making a successful start toward Hudson Bay, the two men actually sailed across the North Atlantic in two tiny vessels in the spring of 1668. Radisson's vessel, the *Eaglet*, nearly foundered in a great storm, however, and returned to England; Des Groseilliers' even smaller vessel, the *Nonsuch*, guided by a member of a veteran family of New England explorers, Zechariah Gillam (who may well have been in the Bay earlier), found the long-sought entrance strait, and sailing through it arrived late in the navigation period at a wintering spot, almost at the tip of James Bay. Here a fort was built and contacts were made with the Indians. The winter passed, summer came, and after some difficulties the little *Nonsuch* got clear of ice and returned to England with a fine cargo of furs.

Meantime, the Hudson's Bay Company was forming, composed of goldsmiths, bankers, merchants, courtiers, and other prominent men of London and its vicinity. Radisson wrote his narrative for these men and the King and finished it just before he sailed again for the Bay in 1669. Its translation, according to the records of the new group of adventurers, was paid for on June 23, 1669. On the same day, a charter

was drawn up granting them the sole trade of the northern part of North America. On October 21, 1669, the grant was annulled and another was drawn to the same personnel, but now with statements indicating that the *Nonsuch* had returned and that success had come with her. On April 18, 1670, another draft was made. Finally, on May 2, 1670, the final and permanent charter to the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudsons Bay" passed the great seal, incorporating eighteen men into "one Body Corporate and Politique." Thus came into being the corporation now generally known as the Hudson's Bay Company.

Two accounts of the earliest trips of Company men to the Bay have turned up in recent years. One is a sort of log kept by Captain Gillam on the *Nonsuch's* first successful journey into the Bay in 1668-9. It was printed in a now rare navigation journal of 1689, the *English Pilot*. The other is a manuscript narrative of both vessels, the *Prince Rupert* and the *Wivenhoe*, on the second trip to the Bay—that is, on the journey of 1670-71 when the first governor of the new colony, Charles Bayly, a Quaker, went out to the Bay. These two accounts enable us to relive with the pioneers of the Company the exciting days of finding a way into Hudson Bay, making a landfall, building Charles Fort on the southeastern tip of James Bay, meeting strange natives and watching their habits and manners, exploring around James Bay, and even attempting to establish another settlement at Port Nelson in the year of the Company's incorporation.

Out of all the available records it is easy to see that the Frenchmen understood, as the Englishmen of their parties did not, the natives' psychology and how to live off the country, get fine furs from the Indians, and find new sources of wealth. Years among Huron, Iroquois, Ottawa, and other native tribes imbued the thinking of the two Frenchmen with a clarity and a resourcefulness that, of course, could not be expected of others. As one might prophesy, personal rivalries developed. The Frenchmen thought that their counsel was little heeded. Hence it is not surprising to find them lured back to France late in 1675 through the clever strategy of a Jesuit of New France who had gone overland to the Bay to seduce the two men.

Though great promises were made by France, Radisson and Des Groseilliers were completely disillusioned after a trip to Canada in 1676. They perceived that trade and other jealousies in New France, as well as in Old France, were preventing them from getting back to the Bay to carry on their explorations back of Port Nelson and far to the north, where they fully believed they would find a Northwest Passage. Des Groseilliers therefore returned to his long-suffering wife and family in Three Rivers; and Radisson went on an exciting naval campaign of the French fleet to capture Dutch West Indian islands and cities on the mainland of South America. The campaign ended in shipwreck and Radisson returned to France in 1678. He then explored the possibility of returning to the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, which now included his father-in-law; for the explorer had married Sir John Kirke's daughter in the early seventies. Nothing developed from this trip to London in 1681 except, perhaps, the acquiring of knowledge that the Company was planning a new fort at Port Nelson. So Radisson, at loose ends, went back to Canada, is noted there in the census of Quebec in 1681, and soon is found planning another venture to Hudson Bay.

This queer old sketch of Three Rivers, home of Radisson and Groseilliers, appeared in the "Universal Magazine" of 1760.

Numb. 186.

The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Monday, August 10. to Thursday, August 13. 1668.

Edenburg, Aug. 6.

THis day several reports were brought to Town that some insurrection was intended about *Borrowstone*, which occasion'd the meeting of the Council, and several Companies to draw into Arms; but upon a strict enquiry, the report was found to have been raised only on a misapprehension of some persons, upon the sight of several Gentlemen and other persons which were passing to a Wedding, the Countrey every where remaining quiet and peaceable

Plymouth, Aug. 7. On Wednesday last came in the *Eagle*-Ketch, having in her way for *Newfound-land* been severely handled by storm, in which she spent her main Mast, and with some difficulty put back again to refit.

Rome, July 28. On Sunday Morning last Cardinal *Pio* had an Extraordinary Audience from the Pope, whom he acquainted with the News of the Marriage agreed on and concluded between the Prince *Gilberto Pio* his Brother, and a Daughter of the Marquis *de Caftel Rodrigo*, Governour of the Spanish *Netherlands*.

The premature return of the "Eaglet," with Radisson aboard, is noted in the despatch from Plymouth dated August 7, 1668. Harvard College Library.

In 1682 and 1683 the two men were back at Port Nelson, but this time as Frenchmen. Whether or not there was collusion between them, Gillam, and the latter's son, Benjamin Gillam of Boston, has never been proved. Suspicion points in that direction. All four men, in their several vessels, arrived almost simultaneously at Port Nelson. Long accounts are available telling how Radisson and Des Groseilliers, after pitting the interloper against his own father, the captain of the Company's ship, by great strategy finally got control of the whole area. Somehow the strategy was too neat. It suggests a complete understanding. At all events, the Company lost its new establishment. But Radisson and Des Groseilliers lost, too, for when they returned to Quebec, leaving young Jean Baptiste des Groseilliers in charge at Port Nelson, they found to their consternation that they had once more run afoul of powerful trading interests in France.

Though the governor of New France supported them completely, and sent them to France with his endorsement, they arrived at a bad time. The great minister Colbert, who had probably supported their venture, had just died; the King was coming more and more under the influence of the Jesuits, which meant a *rapprochement* with England and the Hudson's Bay Company, whose governor (soon to be the King) was the Catholic Duke of York. Instead of supporting Radisson and Des Groseilliers and their seizure of Hudson Bay, therefore, the French court, eager to see England Catholic once more, yielded to the powerful pressure exerted by the Company through a resourceful minister extraordinary sent to France at this time, Lord Preston. By the use of a French Huguenot spy who was anxious to get his family away from the growing persecution of his sect in France, Preston lured Radisson back to London—and to marriage with the spy's daughter, Radisson's first wife apparently having died shortly before this time.

Radisson had hardly reached London when he was shoved aboard the Company's vessel just leaving for the Bay. It was a ticklish errand on which he was now sent—to regain Port Nelson for the English. His cleverness—and probably unscrupulousness—are evidenced by the ease with which he won over his nephew and the seven or eight other Frenchmen, along with their great store of furs, and took them all back to London. Most of the Frenchmen even became Company employes and returned to serve in the Bay.

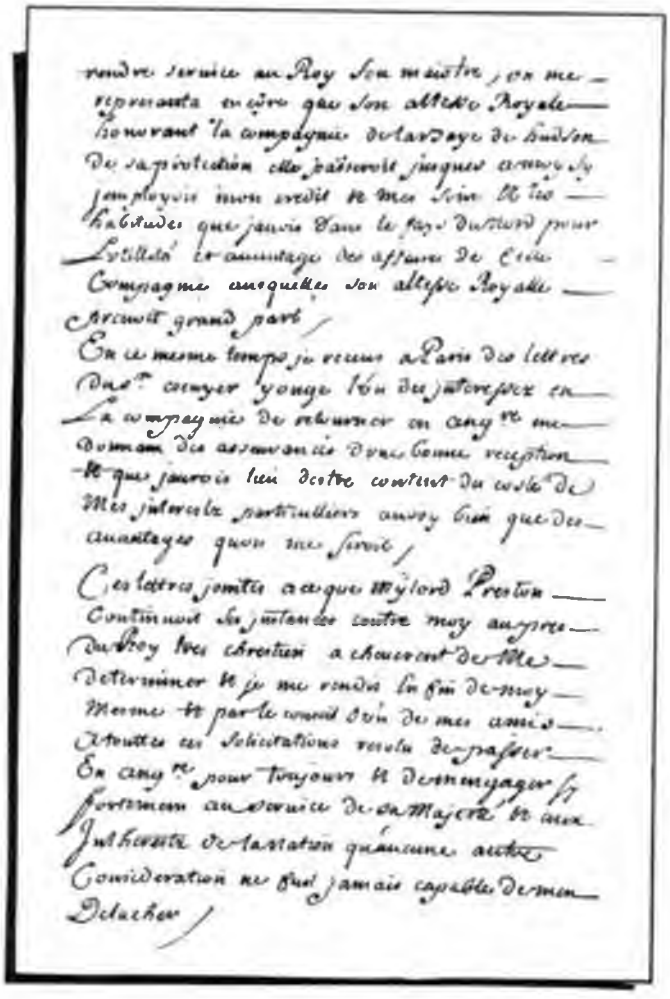
France put a price on Radisson's head and made it unwise for him to return to that country, though a little later overtures were made once more. However, Radisson had now definitely decided on an English allegiance. He remained in the Bay until 1687, once narrowly escaping capture by a French vessel as his frigate passed into the Bay. Then he settled down in Westminster under the patronage of John, Lord Churchill, governor of the Company, and reared a family of at least three daughters by Elizabeth, his third wife. Part of his income, and seemingly most of it, was the stipend granted him at regular intervals by a Company grateful to him for having saved the Port Nelson region for them in the middle 1680's. The Glorious Revolution and war with France wrought great changes, however, in the personnel of the Company's steering committee and the effectiveness of the patronage of Churchill. The latter, soon to be the famous Marlborough, was temporarily under a cloud. The Company lost most of its Bay forts, one after another, in the war with France, and in 1690 part of Radisson's stipend was cancelled. He was not the man to stand for loss of revenue, however, and after many petitions and much intercession by Marlborough and other powerful patrons, Radisson instituted a case in Chancery Court—and won. It took five years to attain victory, but the voluminous records of the case show that in 1697 Radisson was reinstated on the payroll of the Company as recipient of all that had been promised him. He continued to receive his pension until his death, but got no reimbursement for the furs for which he claimed the Company had owed him since he regained Port Nelson in 1684. Radisson died in 1710 complaining in his will that he had never received for them what was due him. The records of the court case also indicate that Radisson was living in penury, though it is more than likely that he built up this side of his case to impress the court with his need of the stipend.

In the darkest years of the Company's history, when France got hold of much of the Bay region and kept the Company from many of its own forts, Radisson served the committee by relating the early history of Company activity in the Bay. He seems to have been the only one left in the late 1690's who

knew that story. At that time it was necessary to prove to a French and British commission charged with settling the Bay dispute between the two countries that the Company had been first in establishing forts in the Bay. The Company was grateful to Radisson for his aid and repaid him. It also gave him a chance to become its warehouse keeper. However, lots for the job were drawn as between three contestants and Radisson was not successful. Even yet, however, Radisson felt the Company owed him something, for about the same time, when the Company's charter renewal was in jeopardy before Parliament, he sent a petition to that body. He asked to have inserted in any renewal of the charter a proviso that he should get his payments of one part of his stipend quarterly instead of annually. The Company was successful in getting the charter renewal, but Radisson's proviso was not included.

On June 17, 1710, Radisson made his will. He died sometime before July 2 of the same year. His widow Elizabeth survived him many years. In 1729 she received charity from the Company, which reported her "very ill and in great want." Her burial is doubtless the one reported for January 2, 1732, as that of "Elizabeth Radiston" in the churchyard of St. Bennet Sherehog in London. Radisson's resting place is not known. Nor is Des Groseilliers'; he vanishes from the records in 1684 except for two or three confusing references. Radisson in the course of his chancery lawsuit mentions that Des Groseilliers had died "in the bay" before 1683. This is known to be incorrect. A document of 1695, no longer available, is quoted by a Canadian scholar as showing that Des Groseilliers was still living in Sorel, Canada, in that year. This seems plausible, because other evidence points to Sorel as his residence late in life. A family of Des Groseilliers were still living in Minnesota in 1885, and members of the family in Montreal and Minnesota wrote to the author as recently as 1937. It is not known, however, when or where the great explorer died.

Lord Preston, minister extraordinary to the court of Louis XIV, who persuaded Radisson to return to the service of the Company in 1684. Radisson tells of his decision to do so in the extract from his "Relation" (shown at lower left) in the Company's archives. A translation appears below. The painting hangs in Netherby Hall, Cumberland, and is reproduced by courtesy of Sir Fergus Graham, M.P.



rendre service au Roy Son maistre, on me
representa en outre que Son altesse Royale
honorant la compagnie de la Baye de Hudson
de sa protection elle pretendoit jouyr avec
plus grand credit de mes soins et
habitudes que javois dans le pays durant pour
l'utilité et avantage des affaires de cette
Compagnie auxquelles Son altesse Royalle
prenoit grand part.
En ce mesme temps je receus a Paris des lettres
de Mr. Esquyer Yonge l'un des interessez en
la compagnie de retourner en Angre me
donnant des asseurances d'une bonne reception
et que j'aurois lieu d'estre content du costé de
mes interests particuliers aussy bien que des
advantages qu'on me feroit.
Ces lettres jointes a celles que Mylord Preston
continuoit de m'escrire contre mon dessein
du Roy tres chrestien a chevincent de me
determiner et je me rendis enfin de-may
Mesme a parte conseil d'un de mes amis.
Toutes ces Solicitations resolu de passer
En Angre pour toujours et de m'engager
fortement au service de Sa Majesté et aux
Interests de la nation quaucune autre
Consideration ne fut jamais capable de me
detacher.

Lord Preston, ministre extraordinaire à la cour de Louis XIV, qui persuada Radisson de retourner au service de la Compagnie en 1684. Radisson raconte sa décision de le faire dans l'extrait de sa "Relation" (montré ci-dessus à gauche) aux archives de la Compagnie. Une traduction en apparaît ci-dessous. Le tableau est accroché à Netherby Hall, Cumberland, et est reproduit avec la permission de Sir Fergus Graham, M.P.

to render service to the King his master, it was also represented to me that His Royal Highness honouring the Hudson's Bay Company with his protection would extend it to me if I would employ my credit and my care and the knowledge I had acquired in the north country for the utility and advantage of the affairs of this Company in which His Royal Highness took great interest.

At the same time I received in Paris letters from Esquire Yonge, one of those interested in the company asking me to return to England giving me assurances of a good reception and that I would have reason to be satisfied as to my private interests as well as the advantages given me.

These letters added to the fact that Lord Preston continued his representations against me with the Most Christian King ended by my coming to a decision and I yielded at last on my own and by the advice of one of my friends to all these solicitations, resolved to go to England for ever and to bind myself so strongly to His Majesty's service and to that of those interested in the nation that no other consideration could ever detach me from it.

The Coat of Arms

Grant of arms and supporters issued to the Company by the College of Arms in 1921. No previous grant has come to light.

by Ramsay Traquair

WHEN, in 1670, a charter was granted to the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay," the Company was constituted a sovereign power, subject only to the King. This sovereignty was to be exercised over a great and almost indefinite territory extending eastwards and westwards from Hudson Bay; here the Company held full royal power as the representative of His Majesty, and in recognition of this it was granted arms suited to its dignity.

Every grant of arms issued by the College of Heralds contains a "blazon," that is, a full description of the arms in the technical language of heraldry. The blazon is usually accompanied by a drawing in colour, but this drawing is simply an illustration of the blazon; the first authority is always the written blazon. This is a very important point, and for the decorator a *very* important one. It means that in designing a version of the arms for use in some particular position the artist is free to use his own discretion in any point not covered by the blazon, provided always that he keeps within the general traditions of heraldic usage. The shape of the shield, for instance, is not specified in the blazon and the artist is therefore free to make it of any shape, provided that he makes it a recognizable heraldic shield. So he may vary the drawing and attitude of the supporters or the position and lettering of the motto so as to produce a design suited to his purpose whether that be a great carving for a public building, the design of a banner or a tiny engraving on a piece of silver plate.

This is the blazon of the Hudson's Bay Company's arms:

Argent a cross gules between four beavers sable.
Crest upon a cap of maintenance gules turned up ermine, a fox sejant proper.
Supporters on either side, an elk proper.
Motto, *Pro pelle cutem.*

Translated into ordinary language, this means that upon the white (silver) shield is a red cross with four black beavers in the four corners. Above the shield is a red cap, of a peculiar shape with a turned up rim which shows the ermine lining. On it is sitting a fox, coloured as in nature. Holding up the shield at each side are two "elks," also naturally coloured. The motto is usually put on a ribbon under the shield and is, in English, "For a skin a skin." This whole assemblage, shield, crest, supporters and motto, forms what is technically called an achievement.

The red cross on the white ground is, of course, the national badge of England, the cross of St. George. As such it is still flown by the navy with the addition of a union jack in the top corner. The four beavers indicate the original purpose of the Company and the most important Canadian animal for that purpose.

Above the shield is the crest. Originally the crest was a personal badge worn by the knight on his helmet, in battle or in tournament. In personal arms it is accordingly usual to show it upon a helmet. As a rule the arms of corporations, cities, women and bishops have no crests because the bearers of such arms cannot wear helmets on which to place a crest. Here, however, we have a corporation granted a crest, but not accompanied by a helmet. In place of the helmet the crest is placed upon a "cap of maintenance."

This form of cap was worn in the fourteenth century by persons of importance and in heraldry came to be used as a symbol of authority. In this it differs from the various coronets or helmets which are symbols of rank, but not of authority. The cap of maintenance could be worn by anyone who exercised authority. The Black Prince, for instance, wore a cap of maintenance on his helmet, on which was set his crest, as may be seen to this day on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. It was therefore a suitable crest-support for the crest of a sovereign company.

The sitting fox, of course, refers to the fur trade. He is "proper," that is of the natural colours for an ordinary red fox. It may perhaps be noted here that the term "crest" is often used by ignorant persons for the entire achievement. This is quite incorrect. You can have a coat-of-arms without a crest, but a crest without a coat-of-arms is impossible.

The supporters stand on each side of the shield and, as their name indicates, hold it up. They are not usually granted to anyone under the rank of a peer but were used by great cities such as London or Edinburgh. Here the two "elks" mark the distinguished

The tourney helm and crest of the Black Prince, suspended over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. The crest is of moulded boiled leather, set upon a cap of maintenance.
R.T.

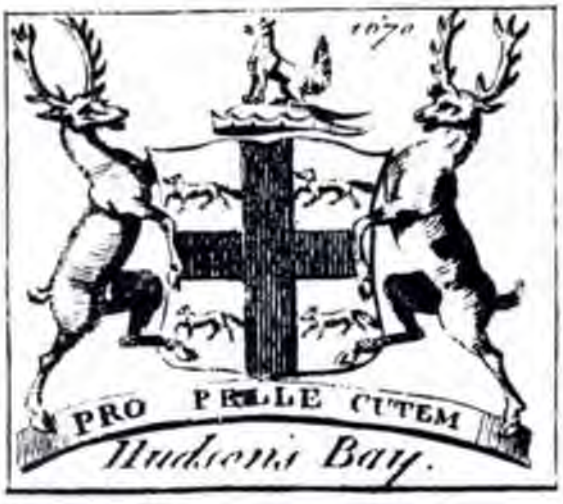
Above: Impression of early steel seal. This may have been the "Little Seale" ordered by the Committee on May 27, 1680, "for ye sealing of our letters." Left: Silver seal with ivory "knocker," referred to in the minutes for July 25, 1683. Actual size of both seals, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter.

Below: The coat-of-arms imprinted in gold on the cover of the Company's ledger for 1697-1713. This is evidently the design copied by the College of Arms for their drawing on the opposite page, which is now used as a Company trade mark. The diagonal hatching on the cross represents green, while that on the cap denotes blue.

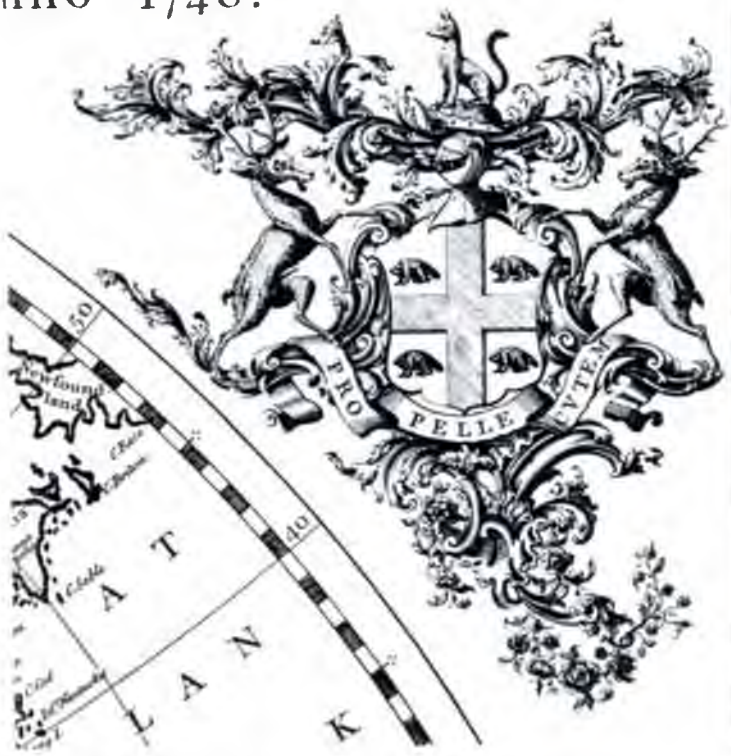
rank of the Company and also the country where it exercised power. The European elk is, zoologically, the same animal as the Canadian moose. The name "moose" is Indian and cannot have been known to the English heralds so, quite correctly, they called it by its European name, an elk. But this name is given, in America, to the wapiti, an animal which is not found in Europe, and so it has been supposed that the supporters were intended to be wapiti. Yet there can be little doubt that the English heralds of the seventeenth century, when they said elk, meant the European elk, that is the Canadian moose. Unfortunately the heralds did not know what the "moose-elk" looked like, and, as it is quite impossible for anyone who has never seen a moose to guess what it looks like, they drew two deer with somewhat Roman noses and very nondescript antlers looking more like dead branches than the antlers of any known deer. But, as has been said, the blazon rules the drawing: the blazon says "elk"; the elk of Europe is the same animal as the moose of Canada. So the supporters should be drawn as moose, quite regardless of even the official drawing. They are "proper," that is of the natural colour and shape.

It is generally considered that the motto, "Pro pelle cutem," is derived from the Book of Job, chapter II, verse 4, where Satan says, "skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will he give for his life." In the Vulgate this reads, "Pellem pro pelle." This reference is quite possibly correct since in the seventeenth century such phrases from Holy Writ were often used without much consideration of their context, and we are not required to consider that Satan is speaking here. There can be little doubt as to the meaning of the motto in its present context. The Latin *pellis* means the skin of an animal, a pelt; *cutis* means the skin of a man, a cuticle; and so the motto means,

Left: The coat-of-arms as represented in Wm. Maitland's "History and Survey of London," 1756. Below: This design, in which the beaver are shown as foxes, is found in Noorthouck's "New History of London," 1773.



BAY and STRAIGHTS, anno 1748.



This highly decorative version comes from "A Map of North America with Hudson's Bay and Straights Anno 1748," by R. W. Seale. See below.

"for the pelts which we collect we risk our skins"—a very suitable motto for a fur-trading company.

We have considered the entire heraldic achievement and must turn to the correct use of the arms. To-day the commonest use of the H B C arms is as a trade-mark, and the Company regulations state that when so used, in advertisements, on clothing tags and the like, the arms must be an exact copy of the drawing provided by the College of Heralds. This regulation is, of course, necessary. A trade-mark is in some ways the modern equivalent of a mediaeval coat of arms; but a trade-mark cannot vary, it is a mark, or design governed by a registered drawing, not by a written blazon.

But when the arms are used in decoration they are governed by the blazon and therefore can be varied, as has already been explained. As a matter of fact we find that the Company's arms were varied in use. A map of North America, drawn in 1748, has a very decorative, if not very correct, version. In it the crest, including the cap of maintenance, is placed upon an esquire's helmet; that is, a visored helmet in side view. This is provided with a great flourish of acanthus mantling. It is all quite incorrect. If the Company were entitled to a helmet it would hardly be that of a simple esquire. But no corporation is entitled to bear a helmet, and if the king or his heralds had wished to grant such an exceptional thing to the Company, they would have put it into the blazon. The "elks" in this coat are nondescript deer with antlers quite unlike those of any deer in nature; the beaver are rather like hedgehogs, but in spite of all defects it is a spirited design and fills its place well.

A Company note of 1821 shows the arms on a pointed shield with the crest on a helmet, but without the mantling; the deer have very vague antlers; it is curious that not one design shows any brow tine

or indeed any real appreciation of the structure of natural antlers. Yet this again is quite a spirited drawing.

Another note of 1840 has an oval shield and again the helmet. The beaver in this example are facing to the wrong side, sinister instead of dexter. This is of course just an engraver's error. He probably transferred the design and forgot to reverse this part of it.

The seals used by the Company were formed of the arms set in a circle or an oval and surrounded by an inscription specifying the official for whose use the seal was intended. So we have seals for the Governor in Chief, the Governor of the Southern Factory and the Governor of the Northern Factory, as well as simple seals containing the arms alone. The arms on the seals are strictly in accordance with the grant and are without helmet or mantling. The stamps, coins and letterheads in general use seem to have been taken from these seals; indeed this was the obvious and correct thing to do.

A stamp on a ledger of 1831, made in London, has a shaped and scrolled shield with stag supporters and no helmet. It is perfectly evident that the artist has been referred to the official drawing to which this adheres fairly closely. One trifling error may be noted: the hatching on the cross is diagonal from upper left to lower right. The same hatching is shown on the map of 1748. This in heraldry indicates green, not red. It should be vertical.

A "made beaver" coin of about 1855 has the foliated shield; the antlers of the supporters are bent forward in a very clumsy manner so as to get them inside the circle of the coin. The beavers are rudimentary. Two letter heads of 1921 and 1922 show the worst drawing of any, particularly that of 1922. These would seem to be the work of some stationer's or engraver's apprentice who knew nothing about heraldry, beaver, moose or foxes. From such artistic horrors as this the herald's drawing is a welcome change, even if its moose are capable of some improvement.

The arms as carved on Beaver House in London show a real effort to use the arms properly. The achievement follows exactly the blazon and closely the herald's drawing. The shield is a little more floriated, to suit the increased size. The supporters are clearly moose, as they were always meant to be, and the beavers are quite beaver-like. It is a fine carving and worthy of its place. Heraldically it is actually a more correct statement of the arms than is the herald's drawing of 1921. Even Homer sometimes nods.

Top row, left to right: The reverse of a bronze King George III medal, actual size, designed by Conrad Kuchler about 1801, for presentation to the Indians. Wax impressions of the seals of the Governor of the Northern Factory (c. 1810 or 1821) and of the Governor in Chief (c.1837) of Rupert's Land. The hatching on the cross denotes gold.

Right, above: This version, on a promissory note of 1821, was evidently copied from the medal above.

Right: The reverse of a brass "made-beaver" token of 1854, used in trading.

Below: Coat-of-arms imprinted on a ledger of 1831. Here again the cross is shown green, though the cap of maintenance is red.

Top, left and right: Two "artistic horrors" from letterhead paper used in Winnipeg, 1921-2. Right: Metal coat-of-arms over one of the entrance canopies of the Company's Vancouver store.

Below: Stone carving over the entrance to Beaver House, London, 1927. Here for the first time the supporters were properly represented, not as stags, but as bull-moose.

The Hudson's Bay Company

By Ruth Walker Harvey

Reprinted by permission from the National Home Monthly

Fine cavaliers, with lace at cuff and collar,
Their wide hats plumed and their ringlets sleekly curled.
Are smoking and sipping in a coffee house in London
While they chat of adventure in a far new world:
"Egad, it must be cold there! But what a lark to barter
For ermine, beaver, sable—our ladies will be gay!
The King has consented and Prince Rupert has the charter:
'Adventurers of England to trade in Hudson's Bay!'"

Weather-beaten skippers from Cornwall and Devon,
Breed of men who sailed the seas with Frobisher and Drake,
Peer through frosted lashes at sullen rocks and ice floes
And the grey-green ice chunks bobbing in their wake.
The rigging groans and creaks, and a clanking of metals
Answers from the hold at every lurch and sway:
Hatchets and fowling pieces, knives and iron kettles,
Bound for the trading posts set around the bay.

Stern Scottish factors, men of Highland granite,
Work until the sluggard sun has drawn its feeble arc,
A wan, low path on the northern horizon,
And the hush of the snows is deepened with the dark.
Then they close the timbered gates and set the bolts and locks there,
They bank up the fires, and by candle-light they stay
Reading Calvin and Buchanan and the sermons of John Knox there
At forts in the wilderness about the ice-locked bay.

Indian trappers, lean from winter fasting,
Are taking out their birch canoes, patching them with care,
And loading them with all the harvest of their hunting,
Pelts of fox and muskrat, beaver, lynx and bear.
The great thaw comes. The ice cracks and shivers,
The spring-freed waters carry it away,
And all through the northland the canoes and the rivers
Are flowing to the trading posts that circle Hudson Bay.

Fine cavaliers in a coffee house in London
Draw closer to the hearth, and their ringlets, sleekly curled,
Shine like their silver and their satins in the firelight,
While they chat of adventure in a far, new world.

Sketches by
Pauline Boutal

Adventurers of 1670

A reprint of part of an article in the March 1938 "Beaver," entitled "Hudson's Bay Company Started as a Syndicate," written and lately revised,

by Fulmer Mood

Sir George Carteret, of Jersey and New Jersey, who introduced Radisson and Groseilliers to the King. His son Philip was one of the original shareholders of 1670. From a reproduction of a portrait by Sir Peter Lely in "Jersey in the 17th Century."

THE Hudson's Bay Company was formally instituted in May, 1670, when the investors received a royal charter of incorporation. From the start, the Crown had viewed the syndicate's objects and ambitions with a benevolent eye, and it may well be that in the persons of Ashley and Arlington, particularly the latter, the Crown itself had an interest in the enterprise. These two peers were members of the Cabal Ministry, and Arlington, at this period, was indeed an intimate of the king's, for Charles II had honoured him by confiding to his keeping the fatal secret of the Treaty of Madame, otherwise known as the Treaty of Dover of June, 1670. The king was ever desirous of building up for himself a revenue beyond the control of Parliament. He had contrived to extract a four and one-half per cent. duty from the reluctant planters of certain West Indian islands not many years before, and now he may have calculated that, with good fortune in the trade, he could derive a profit from the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company. Arlington was the logical man to serve Charles in this peculiarly personal relation.

Six of the investors of the syndicate were sworn of the Privy Council. These were Rupert, Ashley, Craven, Arlington, Albemarle and Carteret. Merchants were included, as has been pointed out, but courtiers nourished this project from the first, directed its early management, and sought to keep control of the affair in their own hands.

In what follows brief accounts of the original investors are given. These biographies are based upon facts compiled from a variety of approved sources.

Sir Philip Carteret

SIR PHILIP CARTERET (died 1672), was the son of Sir George Carteret (ca. 1617-1680), who had introduced Radisson and Groseilliers to the king when they came to Oxford. He held many offices of profit and of honour after the Restoration, being a privy councillor, treasurer of the navy, vice-chamberlain of the royal household, vice-treasurer, and commissioner of the board of trade. He had an interest in the Royal African Company, was a Lord Proprietor of Carolina, and a co-proprietor, along with Lord Berkeley, of the province of New Jersey. Sir George Carteret put up some of the money that financed the syndicate, but, oddly enough it is his son's name that appears in the instrument of incorporation. A little before this time Sir George had been under fire in Parliament over a matter of accounts. An investigation cleared his name, leaving no doubt of his immense wealth, nor of his favoured position. To some of his contemporaries he may have seemed uncomfortably like a greedy monopolist, and thus for Sir George to transfer his equity in the new corporation to his son may have appealed to him as a prudent action; this mild subterfuge, if subterfuge it was, did not last long.

Sir Philip Carteret, who is cited in the Company's Charter as one of the eighteen original "Adventurers," lost his life in a sea fight off Solebay on May 28, 1672, when his stock passed into the possession of his father,

Sir George Carteret, Bart. In fact it is probable that Sir Philip made over his stock to his father before his death, for we have proof in the First Minute Book of Sir George Carteret's attendance at a General Court of the Company as early as October 24th, 1671, and, in addition, the stock account in the First Ledger—which was apparently written up at about the end of 1671—is in the name of Sir George Carteret.

Sir George Carteret's initial cash payment was made on December 10, 1667; at incorporation his son Philip was credited with £270 of stock.

Sir James Hayes

Sir James Hayes seems to have been a native of Beckington in Somersetshire. Hayes married Sir Edward Hungerford's sister Rachel, the relict of Henry Carey (1634-1663), fourth Viscount Falkland. After the peer's death Hayes sought Rachel's hand. It was about 1665 that Henry Oldenburg of the Royal Society, writing from London to Robert Boyle in Oxford, conveyed the not uninteresting news that their fellow member in that Society, Hayes, had married a rich widow. The news was all too true—he had. Then the guiding spirits of the Royal Society put their heads together. There was nothing for it but that James Hayes must consent to be elected to the Council of the Royal Society. Elected he was, in November, 1667. Did the Council cherish the hope that the rich widow's new husband would give substantial proof of his interest in "Natural Philosophy"? And did he realize or disappoint these hopes? Certain it is, however, that he enjoyed the companionship of learned and ingenious men. Robert Hooke, the great experimenter, a leading member of the Royal Society, and the familiar of Robert Boyle, more than once refers to him in his Diary, lately published.

Hayes was knighted by the King on June 28, 1670. He had served Rupert as secretary for many years. Hayes served for a period of years as Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, under his friend Rupert as Governor. His holdings of shares were large. Not till near the end of his life did he dispose of his interest. Where many of his associates soon sold out, Hayes bought more stock in the corporation. It is clear that he believed in the business soundness of the venture. Dying in 1692 93, he was buried in London. When this friend of Radisson retired from active business, he set up as a country gentleman, perhaps with the fortune accumulated in part from his profits in Hudson's Bay shares and dividends. He erected a stately mansion, Bedgebury House, at Bedgebury in Kent. Rachel, dowager Viscountess of Falkland (born 1637) died in March, 1717 18. Sir James's widow ended her days at Bedgebury.

Sir John Kirke

Sir John Kirke, the son of Gervais Kirke, a Huguenot merchant of London, who had been responsible for the capture of Canada by the English in 1628, and who in 1633 had been one of four men to whom a charter for the fur trade of Canada had been granted, was knighted in June, 1674. His daughter was Radisson's first wife. He assigned £300 stock, the total of his holding, to William Walker on 18th February, 1677 8. His will, dated 12th June, 1685, was proved on 24th June following, and in this he described himself as of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, and referred to property he possessed in East Ham, Essex; "Leister fields," Middlesex; Midlam, Lincolnshire; and in the parish of Mary le Savoy, Middlesex.

On Feb. 10, 1668, Kirke made his first cash payment; at incorporation he held £270 of stock.

Earl of Arlington

Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington (ca. 1620-1685). A leading politician of the day, one of the Cabal ministry, and till almost the close of his career a firm and faithful liege of the house of Stuart. Secretary to the Duke of York, 1649-58; M.P., 1661-65; Keeper of the Privy Purse, 1661; Secretary of State, 1662 74. His adherence to Roman Catholicism has not been established, but he has been regarded severally as a crypto-Catholic, and as an Anglican with strong sympathies for the old faith. He was created Baron Arlington in March, 1664 65, and was Postmaster General from 1665 till his death. In 1670, at the time when Charles II was negotiating the Secret Treaty of Dover, he informed Arlington of what was in the wind—a signal indication of his trust and intimacy with that peer; four others, including the future Lord Clifford, a Roman Catholic, were similarly favoured. In 1672 Bennet was promoted in the peerage to the degree of Earl of Arlington, and created K.G. Two years later he became Lord Chamberlain of the Household. Lord Arlington's first cash payment is recorded as of July 9, 1668; at incorporation he held £200 of stock.

Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington. Painting from the studio of Sir Peter Lely, by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery. The mark across his nose is a patch covering a wound.

Earl of Shaftesbury

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley and afterwards first Earl of Shaftesbury (1621-1683), was the most notable English expansionist of the second half of the seventeenth century. He was to the age of Charles II what the Earl of Warwick was in the reigns of James I and Charles I. A native of Dorset, he inherited great wealth, owning extensive estates in Hampshire, Dorset, Wiltshire and Somerset. As a young man he held plantations in Barbados and had an interest in the Guinea trade. He also invested in mining properties. His political career showed how shrewd calculation can inspire flexibility in political allegiance; in spite of much research, the man's character still eludes confident pronouncement. Cromwell had caressed him, but Cooper, sensing the coming of other winds of doctrine, early made his peace with the new king, very probably through the mediation of George Monk, his sponsor to Charles II. Cooper's talents of administration were extraordinary, and his acute intelligence attracted to him men of the quality of John Locke. He held many subordinate offices and some posts of prime importance under Charles; it would be tedious to list them all. Let it suffice that he served as Lord President of the Council from 1660 till 1679, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and as a Commissioner of the Treasury from 1663; of chief importance are his membership in the Cabal Ministry, and his tenure of the Lord Chancellorship, from November, 1672, to November, 1673. In April, 1661, he was elevated to the rank of Baron Ashley of Wimborne St. Giles. He was of the Council of the Royal Society (1667), a Lord Proprietor of Carolina of the Bahamas, and a member of the Royal Fisheries Company. Throughout a busy political life he always found time to spare for overseas interests. The importance of the English frontier in America during the Restoration era is indicated in the career of this enthusiastic expansionist and promoter of expansion, whose investments extended from the tropic heats of the West Indies, through Carolina, with its promise of mines and Indian traffic, northward to the frigid wastes of "Rupert's Land," in which he was an early believer.

Sir Robert Vyner, from a reproduction in "Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company" of the painting by John Ryley. Courtesy of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths.

Sir Paul Neile

Sir Paul Neile assigned his share of stock to William Wootton in 1674. He again acquired stock in 1676, but disposed of it about one month later.

According to Richard Surtees' *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, Vol I, p. lxxxix, (London: 1816), Paul Neile was the only child of Richard Neile, who was created Archbishop of York in 1631 and who died in 1640. On 27th May, 1633, Paul Neile was created a Knight Bachelor at Bishopsthorpe and he is said to have dissipated a large fortune. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Gabriel Clarke, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, and in 1640 he was styled as of Hutton Bonvile, Yorkshire. After the Restoration Sir Paul Neile was made one of the Ushers of the Privy Chamber, and he was also one of the original members of the Royal Society. He was afterwards resident at Codnover Castle, Derbyshire. By a codicil dated 24th March, 1683/4, to his will (dated 18th December, 1682) he directed that if he should die in London he wished to be buried near the tomb of his mother Dorothy, in the church in Threadneedle Street. His will was proved in London in 1685.

Neile's first cash payment was made on April 4, 1670; at incorporation he held £150 of stock.

Sir Robert Vyner

Sir Robert Vyner, Goldsmith, Sheriff of London, 1666-67; mayor, 1674-75; alderman, 1669-86. Knighted in 1665, created baronet in 1666; Goldsmith to the King, 1661, in which capacity he acted as the King's banker on more than one occasion. He was one of the two leading goldsmiths of the reign and lost more than £400,000 by the closing of the Exchequer in January, 1672. Samuel Pepys often mentions him in his *Diary*. Sir Richard Steele is authority for a delightful and characteristic anecdote concerning the convival Vyner and his tactful sovereign. At Vyner's mayoral feast the king found his host's attentions becoming somewhat too pressing. At a suitably late hour the king quietly stole out of the banquet hall, avoiding ceremony lest the atmosphere of sociability be disturbed. Vyner looked up to see that Charles had gone, and quickly followed after, crying out with an oath, "Sir, you shall stay and take t'other bottle." The king, looking kindly on him, quoted a line of an old song, "He that's drunk is as great as a king," and the two of them went back to the company. Perhaps Charles recalled that the royal order for the "Stop of the Exchequer" a few years before had cost Vyner much gold. That financial loss may have grieved Sir Robert as banker, but as Sir Robert, Lord Mayor and boon companion of the king, it is apparent he cared not a bit for it. Vyner's name was down for an initial cash payment on October 31, 1667; at incorporation he was credited with £300 of stock.

Sir John Robinson

Deputy-Governor 1670-75

Sir John Robinson. Closely related to Archbishop Laud; in religious sympathies an Anglican, and a stern opponent of the Quakers of his day. Pepys, who met him often, had little respect for him. The diarist himself had a sharp eye for a pretty woman, but when he took note that Lady Robinson looked too intently at a handsome man servant, he recorded the distressing fact for posterity's thoughtful contemplation. Alderman in 1655; knighted on May 26, 1660; created baronet June, 1660; M.P. for London, 1660; M.P. for Rye, 1661-1679. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, a highly responsible post at that season, 1660-1680. He was free of the Company of Clothworkers, was one of the Court of Assistants of the Levant Company, 1651-53, 1655-56; master, 1656. Member of the East India Company's Committee for 1666-67, 1668-74, and 1675-77. He died in 1680.

Robinson's first cash payment was made, according to the ledger, on April 8, 1668; he possessed stock worth £400 at incorporation.

Sir John Robinson. By courtesy of the Resident Governor and Major of the Tower of London. (See the article by Dr. Nute in this issue.)

William Pretyman

William Pretyman assigned the whole of his stock in the Hudson's Bay Company to Nicholas Hayward on 6th March, 1676 7. The history of his family is dealt with at great length in Joseph James Muskett's *Suffolk Manorial Families* Vol. II (Exeter: 1908), and from this we find that he was of Bloomfield Mansion, Deptford, Kent, and of Hatton Gardens, Holborn, London. He was the second son of Sir John Pretyman, who sold his estate at Bacton, Suffolk, and later purchased one at Driffield, Gloucestershire. When William Pretyman's elder brother Sir John died, somewhere between 1663 and 1669, the authorities of the Exchequer according to custom held an inquisition on the accounts of the deceased Receiver of the First Fruits. The findings disclosed that Sir John Pretyman was in the Crown's debt to the sum of more than sixteen thousand pounds. So tangled were his affairs that a public act of parliament was required to make disposition of the business: 22 Charles II, cap. 10. James Hayes, Esquire, was mentioned in the statute though he, at last, seems to have been farsighted enough not to have made loans to the dead man. The role of Hayes was limited to that of a friendly, prudential arbiter. In the present connection it is interesting to note that parliament was dealing with this matter during the spring of 1670, at the very time when the syndicate was being transformed into the Hudson's Bay Company. William Pretyman was strongly attached to the Royalist cause and carried letters between King Charles I and his Queen. He acted as Royalist agent in London during the Commonwealth and in 1655 was a merchant adventurer to India. He was married to Elizabeth King, daughter of the Bishop Elect of Ely, at Charlton, Kent, in October, 1652. After the Restoration he was made King's Remembrancer of the First Fruits by Charles II in September, 1669. He was buried in March 1687 8, at Greenwich, Kent. He is frequently mentioned in John Evelyn's *Diary* as "uncle," Evelyn's wife, Mary, being the daughter of William Pretyman's sister Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Richard Browne. Pretyman's sister, Susan, married Edward Hungerford of Cadenham and Calne, Wiltshire, who was a member of another branch of that family to which Sir Edward Hungerford, K.B., one of the orginal adventurers, belonged.

Pretyman made his initial cash payment on February 10, 1668, and at incorporation he had £300 of stock.

John Portman

John Portman was acting as treasurer to the Company in October, 1667, but his own first payment into the venture was not made until 10th February, 1667 8. He was still acting as treasurer in November, 1671, but by 18th May, 1672, Sir John Robinson held that position. Portman assigned his total amount of £300 stock to Richard Kent on 19th February, 1674 5. In the Hudson's Bay Company's charter Portman is described as a citizen and goldsmith of London and from Sir Ambrose Heal's *The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800 . . .*" (Cambridge: University Press, 1935) we find him listed as a goldsmith and banker of the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, in the year 1641. From 1644-1663 his address is given as the Unicorn, Lombard Street, and merely as London from 1670-1683. His burial is recorded in the register of St. Mary Woolnoth Church under date 2nd December, 1683, when he was described as from the parish of St. Bride, London. When the Bank Station on the underground was built in 1900, in and around the crypt of that church, the bodies interred there were removed to the cemetery at Ilford, Essex.

At incorporation Portman held stock to the amount of £270.

Signatures of the Governor and some of the Committee of the Company on a letter of 1674 —Rupert, Arlington, G. Carteret, and Seymour.

Duke of Albemarle

GEORGE MONK (1608 Jan. 1669 70), FIRST DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, a native of Potheridge, Devon. The "great Restorer," who with Clarendon, contrived to put Charles II back on the throne of his ancestors. His role as a Cromwellian general, as supporter of the young king at the opening of his reign, and as commander of the English naval forces in the second war against the Dutch is well known. He was Master of the Horse, and a Commissioner of the Treasury, 1660-1669. Dying not long before the Company was incorporated, his equity in it was inherited by his son Christopher, the second duke (fl. 1653-1688), who was M.P. for Devon, 1667-70, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, 1670, and K.G. the same year. He served as governor of Jamaica from November, 1686, till October, 1688, dying on the island the besotted son of a worthy father. The first duke was a member of the Royal Society (1664), a patentee of the Royal Fisheries Company (1661), and one of the eight Lords Proprietors of Carolina.

Christopher Monk made his first cash payment to the syndicate in March 30, 1670, and at incorporation held £300 of stock.

Francis Millington

FRANCIS MILLINGTON, ESQ. Millington was one of the Company of Drapers. Politically he was associated with Dannet Forth, a brewer, nominating him in July, 1669, to be an alderman of the City of London. Forth was Puritan in religious sympathies; it is not unlikely that Millington, too, was a Dissenter. His name is found in a little book of 1677, *The List of the Merchants of London*. Millington had his residence in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney. His first payment, as the ledger shows, was made on October 31, 1667; at incorporation he had £300 of stock.

Sir Edward Hungerford

SIR EDWARD HUNGERFORD (1632-1717). His father was Anthony Hungerford of Farleigh Castle, Somerset. Famous in the annals of the ancient family of that name for his unbridled extravagance. Created a Knight of the Bath, 23 April, 1661 at the Coronation of Charles II. M.P., 1660, 1661, 1678, 1679, 1681. This dashing rakehell was not without political influence. When his financial affairs grew involved, he contrived to summon Parliamentary assistance which, in the effective form of a private act of the national legislature, enabled him to sell certain of his landed property, perhaps entailed, which was situated in Devonshire. What the Parliamentary session of 1664-1665 began that of 1677 completed, for in the latter year, and once more by private act, the legislature enabled this Knight of the Bath "to make Leases for yeares of Hungerford House in the Strand in the Parish of Saint Martins in the Fields in the County of Midlesex and of certaine Houses and Tenements thereunto adjoyning." Approximately where in our day the impressive Victorian Gothic of the Charing Cross railway station gives the pedestrian pause, there stood, in Sir Edward's day, the great bulk of Hungerford House. This the spendthrift converted into stalls and so, by virtue of the private act, Hungerford Market came into being. The Market has been razed but the pedestrian with time on his hands may still cross over the Thames on Hungerford Bridge, a narrow footway paralleling the railway viaduct, and bringing Charing Cross close to Lambeth.

The eighteenth century was out of its cradle before Sir Edward died, an extremely "ancient knight" and one deplorably poor. His was a tale of magnificence at last sinking into the mire. At first a courtier, he later changed sides, and voted with the Whigs in the great political controversies which rocked all England toward the end of Charles' reign. In 1681 he settled at Spring Gardens.

Hungerford's first cash payment was credited in the ledger on December 24, 1667; at incorporation he held £270 of stock.

Earl of Craven

WILLIAM, LORD CRAVEN (1608-1697), a Londoner born, was immensely rich, and generous to a degree. To the house of Stuart he was pre-eminently loyal, being a firm friend to Rupert's mother, Elizabeth, the widowed ex-Queen of Bohemia. Craven, who was the son of a Lord Mayor of London, sprang from a stock of undistinguished origin but Charles II, adding to his title of baron (1627), created him Viscount Craven of Uffington in 1664-65 and Earl of Craven in 1666. It was thought that he desired at one time to marry the Princes Elizabeth, Rupert's sister. He was Master of Trinity House, 1670-71; a Tangier Commissioner, 1673; one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, and a patentee of the Royal Fisheries Company.

Lord Caven's name is found on the ledger book under date of May 15, 1669; at incorporation he had £150 of stock.

William, Earl of Craven, by Gerrard Honthorst. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Sir John Griffith

SIR JOHN GRIFFITH retained his stock in the Hudson's Bay Company until his death. His executors described him as late of Erith, Kent, and assigned his total of £300 to Sir James Hayes on 28th March, 1678. The only information we have been able to collect concerning this man is to the effect that he was created a Knight Bachelor by Charles II at Whitehall on 2nd January, 1664 5. He was then described as Captain of the Fort at Gravesend, Kent. (*The Knights of England* . . . by William A. Shaw. 2 vols. London: 1906.) He died shortly after 13th September, 1677, and his will was proved on 9th October following.

His first cash payment was listed on April 8, 1668; at incorporation he possessed £270 of stock.

John Fenn

JOHN FENN assigned the whole of his stock in the Company to Sir James Hayes at a very early date. He first made a cash contribution on December 10, 1667, and at incorporation held £250 of stock.

Sir Peter Colleton

SIR PETER COLLETON (1635-1694), of Exmouth, Devon, London and Barbados. He was the son of Sir John Colleton (ca. 1608-1666), first baronet, created in 1661. He succeeded to the title and to many of his father's interests in 1666. A friend of Locke, and a proprietary of Carolina, of the Bahamas, and governor of Barbados, 1673-74. He is said to have introduced the magnolia tree into England. M.P. for Boissney, 1681 and in 1689. For many years he was a Commissioner for Accounts. In or before 1669 he married Elizabeth [Leslie], widow of William Johnston, sister of Col. John Leslie of Barbados. The Colletons owned extensive sugar plantations in the West Indies, and had immense wealth. Sir Peter was eventually elected a member of the Royal Society. He was a high-minded man, and very intelligent.

On the Company's 275th anniversary the Governor sent greetings to the staff, incorporating the following prophetic verses:

War, like the Arctic night, has passed.
We greet you, friends, and greet the day
When, over peaceful seas at last,
New ships, red ensign at the mast,
Go trading into Hudson's Bay.

Never the weight of centuries
Bent our broad backs, nor does today,
Nor ever shall while men like these
The forelock of adventure seize
And, be it foul or favouring breeze,
Go trading into Hudson's Bay.

Many have died that this may be—
Adventurers whose hearts were gay—
Men of our ancient Company.
Our thoughts will be of them when we
Go once more trading to the Bay.

Part of the mural by A. Sherriff Scott and E. T. Adney, in the Company's Winnipeg store, showing the building of Charles Fort. When the painting was made, no evidence had come to light showing that the house was built of vertical logs, or that the roof was thatched.

Life at Charles Fort

by C. Parnell

WHEN the first fur traders sailed into the mouth of the Rupert's River in 1668, they came prepared to spend at least one winter there. The only person on board the *Nonsuch*—as far as we know—who had had any taste of life in the Canadian wilds was Des Groseilliers. The rest were all "greenhorns," who had to rely on the Frenchman's experience to get them through the long cold months of a winter on the shores of the Bay.

Unfortunately we know little of their life that winter; but when some of them returned to Charles Fort two years later, they brought with them certain articles from England which even we today would consider rather "civilized" for a log cabin in the woods of Canada. We know this because a few documents have survived which tell in detail something of the white man's life there in the earliest period of the Company's trading operations. There is a list of Captain Gillam's replies to questions put to him by the Royal Society, preserved in the *Classified Papers* of that institution. There is a journal kept by Thomas Gorst in 1670-1, which Grace Lee Nute found in the Guildhall Library and reprinted in her *Caesars of the Wilderness*. And there is John Oldmixon's version of Gorst's journals from 1670-5, printed in his *British Empire in North America, 1708*. From these we can form an idea of the living conditions at Charles Fort.

Houses

From Captain Gillam's replies to the questions put to him after his return on the *Nonsuch*, we know that, on reaching Rupert's River in 1668, the fur traders built themselves a house with a cellar twelve feet deep. This house, it appears, was not the conventional log cabin that we know today, constructed of rounded logs placed horizontally; nor was it of the later, square-log type. It was built of *upright* logs, caulked with moss—a type that is virtually unknown in Canada today but which nevertheless has its advantages. Small and short trees can be used, and rain and snow cannot collect in between the logs, as they do in the modern type of cabin, so that there is less expansion of the wet wood and subsequent shrinking. The old Saxon church at Greensted, Essex, which is built of vertical logs, shows how enduring this type of construction can be.

The roof of Charles Fort was covered, not with shingles or shakes, as one might imagine, but with thatch. Thomas Gorst says it was made with "a rank sort of grass growing in the marshes, much like the flags which are everywhere in our English brooks." (To-day at Rupert's House it is known as "marsh hay," as it is used for feeding the cattle.)

For the first winter of 1668-9, we have no record of how the house was heated. But in 1670 the fur traders brought bricks with them on the *Prince Rupert* and built a large chimney with mortar made from the local clay. They also probably brought from England glass for the windows.

When Gorst arrived in 1670, he found the original house standing just as he had left it the previous summer. The crew of the *Prince Rupert* then went to work and built another house for Captain Gillam. The carpenter went into the woods and selected trees—probably spruce—and when the house was ready for a roof, the captain showed his dexterity in the art of thatching.

Each house consisted of a cellar and two rooms—one to each storey. The cellar was used for cold storage, the top floor for dry storage and the ground floor for "kitchin, Dyining roome, and Lodgings." For illumination they used lamps burning seal oil, as they had no candles.

By the time the *Prince Rupert's* companion ship, the *Wivenhoe*, arrived in October 1670, the season was considered too far advanced to put up another house for the crew. The only alternative was to build a large wigwam and cover it with old sails instead of with skins, and in this makeshift tent the poor wretches spent the winter. Four years later, when Governor Lydall arrived with the *Prince Rupert* and *Shaftesbury*, the crews were set to work building a bakery and a brewery.

Food and Drink

The fact that these men, living under such primitive conditions, thought it necessary to build a brewery, shows that they regarded beer as a form of nourishment, rather than a luxury. They drank it as we would drink tea and coffee, for in those days, tea and

coffee were in the class of luxury drinks, and beer was not. References to beer and ale in the early records of the Bay are frequent. When Gillam was questioned by the Royal Society after his return in 1669, he reported that after they had dug the cellar of their house at Charles Fort, they put into it some barrels of good beer, which they did not remove until they left eight or nine months later. And at that time it "prov'd very excellent liquor." During the winter, they satisfied their thirst by brewing new beer with malt brought from England.

In the State Papers of Charles II there is an item about the return of the *Nonsuch* which states that the crew "were environed with ice about 6 monethes first haleing their ketch on shore, and building them a house. They carryed provisions on shore and brewd Ale and beere . . ."

The same thing was done the second winter (1670-1) at Charles Fort; but at Christmas time they evidently tapped the supplies in the cellar. Gorst reports that on this festive occasion they toasted their friends in England with strong beer, and also with brandy. For several years, the Hudson's Bay Company has advertised that it has been an importer of spirits since 1692. But this reference of Gorst's shows that it began importing them in 1670.

The food they got from the woods and waters was supplemented by what they brought from England. It is not surprising to read that they carried provisions with them across the Atlantic—flour, dried peas, and oatmeal; beef, pork, and butter. But the modern reader is amazed to learn that they also brought hens and hogs "which lived and did well enough." These enterprising Englishmen also went to the extent of sowing peas and mustard seed as early as April 10 (March 31, their style) which Gorst reports "came up well enough for ye time wee stayed there."

The Indians with whom they traded brought them deer and wild fowl and snowshoe rabbits; sturgeon, whitefish, and salmon trout. The white men had built themselves a good oven, where they baked their bread and venison pie. When the wild geese and ducks arrived in the spring and fall, they killed them off in great numbers, and pickled some of the geese in brine.

A French house built of upright logs at Placentia, Newfoundland. From La Potherie's "History" of 1753. A sheep grazes on the roof.

Relations with Natives

The welcome given by the Indians of James Bay to these fur traders was a good omen of the cordial relationships that were to exist between Company men and natives from that time forward. The Englishmen came not as conquerors, but as providers. (The Ojibway word for the Hudson's Bay Company is still *Mamo-oo-che-kayan*—The Provider). They brought from their strange land far across the sea, goods that the red men gazed upon in wonder and welcomed with open arms—steel knives to take the place of stone ones, iron axes with which to fell and split trees, and metal pots that would withstand the heat of the fiercest fire.

The report of the *Nonsuch's* return, alluded to above, recorded that "They report the natives to be civill and say Beaver is Very plenty." There could be only one cause for conflict between the red men and the white; and that was the seizing of the entire cargo of trade goods. For that very reason, the instructions to the captains of the *Eaglet* and the *Nonsuch* signed by Rupert and five other Adventurers specified "you are to deliver unto them the goods you carry by small parcells with this Caution that there be no more than fifty pounds worth at a time out of each shipp and that when they returne on board with such goods as they shall have in Exchange from the Natives you stowe the same on board the Vessells before you deliver out any more. This being according to the perticuler advice wee have received of Mr. Gooseberry and Mr. Raddison themselves. . . ."

Groseilliers was still apprehensive that such an attack might be made in April 1674. He cautioned against going to Moose River and leaving Charles Fort unprotected, until the Indians had gone away hunting and there was no fear of the fort being surprised. And when one of the Indians found his wife inside the fort, and wounded her in a fit of jealousy, Governor Bayly had to issue an order admitting no one but "King Cuscidah and his courtiers" within the gates.

The English on their side realized that the supply of the furs they had come so far to find depended on treating the Indians well, and acted accordingly. This tradition of maintaining good relations with the natives, which was probably instigated by Groseilliers, has been kept up ever since. Over two hundred years later, the Lieut. Governor of Manitoba was able to report: "The Indians of Canada have, owing to the manner in which they were dealt with for generations by the Hudson's Bay Company, an abiding confidence in the government of the Queen."

To-day, the descendants of those primitive Crees who came to barter their furs for Company goods at Charles Fort, still come to trade with Company men at Rupert's House, at the mouth of Rupert's River. The two-storey thatched log house has given place to white clapboarded buildings with red roofs. Electric light, instead of oil lamps, illuminates the cosy interior of the post manager's home during the long winter evenings; and far from being cut off from the outside world for months at a time, through the miracle of radio the manager can talk at will with "Outside" and with eight other posts of the Hudson's Bay Company around "The Bottome of the Bay."

Summer Packet

Celebrations

The completion of two and three quarter centuries of trading by the Hudson's Bay Company was marked very modestly. Coming as it did when Germany was on the point of surrender, the anniversary did not receive the attention it would otherwise have deserved. In London, where the enterprise was founded, a private luncheon was held, attended by cabinet ministers, and Canadian and American representatives; and the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill sent a message of congratulations to the Company through the Governor. This message will be found on page four of this issue, and the principal speeches given at the luncheon on pages six and seven.

In Canada, in all the cities and towns where Company stores are found, staff dinners were held to celebrate the occasion; and each of the fur trade posts marked the anniversary in its own way.

Editorials in the British, Canadian, and American Press congratulated the Company on its attainment of so many years and honours. *The Times*, of London, in a long review of its history and achievements, paid tribute to "this ancient company of merchant adventurers" as a symbol of British enterprise and endurance, and pointed out that it will play a considerable part in post-war Empire commerce. Here are some extracts from other editorials:

New York Times: "The company did much to explore, to settle and to develop the coastline and the commerce of Canada. Today it is a well-managed business enterprise . . . The Adventurers' venture of 275 years ago turned out well."

N. Y. Herald-Tribune: "After almost three centuries the Hudson's Bay Company is able to look back upon a sturdy, a profitable and honorable career."

Vancouver Province: "They came 275 years ago and are still with us, growing in strength and perspective as the years roll on. They deserve the country's thanks."

Edmonton Journal: "The record of how it preserved for the British Crown this part of the future Dominion and laid the foundations of the enormous development of recent times is one with which all who have their homes here now should be thoroughly familiar."

Moose Jaw Times-Herald: "The company which has written a proud record into the history of Canada remains for all time a company of adventurers. Congratulations are due a great organization that has maintained the finest traditions of youth, progress, adaptability, courage, initiative, and absolute reliability."

Winnipeg Tribune: "It is counsellor, doctor, provider, and link with the outside world to many hundreds of natives and white men throughout the North. It is a symbol of orderly progress, vision, and livelihood, a great institution."

Winnipeg Free Press: "All down the years, the times and the company together have brought forth the men who were needed. . . . From the directing centre right down to the young apprentice in the Arctic, to the sales girl behind a city counter, there is maintained the *esprit de corps* that flows from the tremendous history that sweeps from 1670 down to the present day."

Maclean's, in its issue of May 1st, carried an excellent article on the Company by Charles Nichols, and *New World* of Toronto displayed a dozen Company pictures, old and new. The feature article for the American illustrated magazine, mentioned in the last *Beaver*, was crowded out by the news from Europe. But no one can complain about that.

Cover Design

As pointed out by Professor Ramsay Traquair in his article, the original grant of arms to the Hudson's Bay Company appears to have been lost, and was replaced in 1921. The "blazon" or technical description in this grant was presumably derived from old documents, but the drawing attached is, strange to say, a mere copy of the design on a ledger of 1697-1713. At the time that the Company was founded, heraldic design was in a very debased condition, and it was not till a hundred and fifty years later that heraldic drawing began to recover some of the qualities it had possessed before the Tudor period.

Moreover, right down to 1930 the supporters are shown as deer, whereas elk ("moose" in America and "elch" in Northern Europe) are the animals prescribed. The earlier representations of the beavers had none of the characteristics of this creature, but about 1930 they began to have flat dragging tails. All along the supporters have been shown precariously balanced on the slack edge of the motto, or on gas-brackets; and all along the shield has assumed strange impractical forms.

So in the design for the cover of this issue of the *Beaver*, the shield is simple; the supporters have something to stand on, and all the animals involved have some of their natural charms. In such matters as the ground and the background and the tree on which to hang the shield and pose the cap and crest, the designer has felt himself at liberty to use his taste and imagination, for the "blazon" describes only what is on the shield, the crest above the shield, the supporters flanking the shield and the motto below the shield. As the sub-title of *The Beaver* is "A Magazine of the North" he has been impelled to symbolize that by a snow-covered plain and northern lights in the sky.—*P.E.N.*

Village Smithy

At Moose Factory there is a small blacksmith's shop which is widely known as the oldest wooden building in Ontario. Visitors are definitely impressed when they are told that it was built in 1740; but not content with this, a newspaperman recently stated in black and white that the little shack was 250 years old, and that the post has records to prove it.

Now, a joke's a joke, but this has gone far enough! If you want the real historical low-down on how the age of that little old building was determined, here it is. We have it straight from the mouth of the fur trader who was an accomplice in the crime.

It seems that, years ago, a Toronto newspaper reporter visited Moose Factory, and wandering around the old buildings, he was struck by the apparent age of the smithy. He accosted a passing Scotchman (our informant) and a conversation took place of which the following is a reasonable facsimile:

Newspaper Reporter: "How old would you say this building is?"

Fur Trader: "Haven't any idea."

N. R.: "Hundreds of years, maybe?"

F. T.: "Maybe."

N. R.: "Eighteenth century?"

F. T.: "Perhaps."

N. R.: "What do you say to 1740?"

F. T.: "We-e-ell . . ."

So 1740 it has been ever since.

Ho-hum!

Husky Squadron

When a squadron of troop-carrying Dakotas was formed by the R.C.A.F. in England last fall, the name "Husky" was chosen—and very suitably so. For the husky is a courageous dog who tows heavy loads over great distances, and works hard and well in a team. Almost as soon as it was formed, the squadron distinguished itself by carrying paratroops and supplies to the now-historic battle of Arnhem; and in March they took part in "the greatest airborne invasion of all time" over the Rhine near Wesel.

At their request, the Huskies have been "adopted" by the Hudson's Bay Company—a choice which was as suitable as the selection of their name—and each aircraft is named after a Company fort. The Company, it goes without saying, is proud to be connected with such a fine group of Canadians. Wing Commander J. A. Sproule, D.F.C., is their commanding officer.

Contributors

It is a distinguished list of contributors that *The Beaver* presents in this special anniversary issue. PERCY E. NOBBS, F.R.I.B.A., partner in the architectural firm of Nobbs & Hyde, Montreal, was for several years professor of design in the McGill School of Architecture, and is an experienced outdoorsman. . . . RAYMOND P. STEARNS, Ph.D., is associate professor of history at the University of Illinois. He has made a special study of the Royal Society . . . DOUGLAS LEECHMAN, Ph.D., is an anthropologist at the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa. . . . R. O. MACFARLANE, Ph.D. is associate professor of history at the University of Manitoba, to which he has recently returned after serving in the Canadian Army. . . . Miss ALICE M. JOHNSON is on the staff of the Company archives in London. . . . CHESTER MARTIN, LL.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.C., head of the department of history at the University of Toronto, is noted for his knowledge of the early West. . . . GRACE LEE NUTE, Ph.D., is curator of manuscripts at the Minnesota Historical Society, and the leading authority on Radisson and Groseilliers. . . . RAMSAY TRAQUAIR, F.R.I.B.A., professor emeritus of architecture at McGill, is an authority on the history of heraldry. . . . FULMER MOOD, Ph.D., is special assistant to the president of the University of California. He made a study of the subject on which he writes here when he was in London on a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Whooping Crane

Anyone seen a whooping crane around? If you have, you've seen the tallest bird in America, and one that may soon join the ranks of the dodo and the passenger pigeon. Only seventeen specimens are known to exist at the present time, and probably only a small proportion of these are females. Not more than five young ones could be found last winter. The whooping crane situation has become so acute, in fact, that the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, together with the National Audubon Society, are willing to spend many thousands of dollars in an effort to find and protect their breeding grounds.

They have delegated C. L. Broley, a retired Winnipeg bank manager, known in Florida as "The Eagle Man" from his success in banding eagles, to direct the search in Canada, and now he's busy making contacts and distributing descriptions of this *rara avis*.

The bird stands about four feet high, and is pure white except for dull red crown and cheek patches, yellow beak, and black legs and wingtips. Plumes of white feathers cascade over the tail. When flying, the long legs are stretched out far behind—a characteristic of cranes—and the neck is held straight out, not folded back like the heron's. Its call is variously described as "deep sonorous trumpetings," "intermittent croakings like hounds on a cold scent," and *kewr kewr kerook*. You can take your choice.

The better to acquaint the citizens of Winnipeg and district with its appearance, a mounted specimen was borrowed from the Manitoba Museum last month and exhibited with explanatory cards in a window of the Company's retail store, where it attracted a great deal of attention.

The nest of this crane will be found on an open marsh or prairie, and consists of a platform of rushes, flags, or weeds, on the ground or in water. The eggs are oval and brownish, thickly spotted with brown, buff, and purple, and their surface is warty. Their length varies from three and three-quarters to four inches, with a width of about two-and-a-half inches.

The bird is often confused with the sandhill crane, and people who have seen the latter often report it as the whooping crane. The sandhill, however, is slate coloured, and considerably smaller than its pure white cousin. Its call is described by Taverner as a "rattling, tinny trumpet note."

Should any reader of this magazine be lucky enough to discover a pair of whooping cranes—or better still, a nest—they are requested to get in touch at once with *The Beaver* and we will wire the authorities. To quote Taverner again: "The last chance of preserving this, probably the most spectacular bird of the prairies, depends entirely on the people of the prairies. Laws can do little for a case like this. An aroused public opinion is much more efficient."

Progress

The two Company sternwheelers *Distributor* and *McKenzie River*, that operate between Fort Smith and Aklavik have been converted from wood burners to oil burners. Up to the end of last season they had to pull in to the bank every so often to take on a load of firewood which had been cut and stacked the previous winter. But now, with oil from the Norman Wells to burn, they'll keep on rolling along without a stop between posts of call.

NO TIME TO GROW OLD

WINNIPEG

EDMONTON

CALGARY

ON May the second the Hudson's Bay Company celebrated its birthday . . . and if you should ask us, "How long have you been in business?" we should probably look up our charter and say, "275 years."

Yes, on the second of May we were 275 years young . . . for we've been so busy keeping a step ahead of the times that we've had no time to grow old!

We've kept young and forward-looking through sharing in the building and development of this progressive Dominion. That is what you will think, too, when you visit the Bay stores in Canada. Modern to the minute in equipment . . . confident in values that are right . . . leaders in displays of quality merchandise . . . and with well-trained personnel to give you courteous, efficient service.

As we begin our twelfth quarter-century, we claim no merit for age—but rather pride ourselves on our close association with Canada's past progress . . . and re-affirm our faith in her future.

We confidently turn our eyes to a brighter tomorrow, and pledge our hearts to greater loyalty, our hands to greater service . . . to our customers, our community, and our country.

VICTORIA

Hudson's Bay Company.

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

RETAIL STORES THROUGHOUT THE WEST

SASKATOON

VANCOUVER

HUDSON'S BAY
Point
BLANKETS
Standard for the World