

(No. 9.)

*His Lordship Bishop Taché to the Hon. Mr. Howe.*

(Translation.)

" BISHOP'S PALACE,  
" ST. BONIFACE, 11th March, 1870.

" SIR.—The painful duty devolves upon me of communicating to His Excellency the condition of the country. I am most of all astonished at my own ignorance of the real state of affairs during my stay in Ottawa. The sight of the evils which weigh our people down, and the dread of still greater evils which, it may be, threaten them, cause one's heart to bleed. This colony, formerly so calm and so peaceful is now given over to desolation. With the deepest regret I feel it my duty to state that, with very few exceptions, all who have come from Canada have acted as if their object was, not only to compromise the Dominion Government, but also to open out an unfathomable abyss.

" I should deeply grieve you, and might even appear to you to be exaggerating, if I were to undertake to relate to you all that has been said or done here within the past six months. Making a large allowance for exaggeration, enough remains to give rise to a deep feeling of grief and to explain, in part at least, the agitation which prevails. Let them be appreciated as they may, the following are the facts:—

" A Provisional Government is proclaimed, and is recognized not only by the French section of the population, but even also by the Scotch colony, and by most if not all the parishes where the English language is spoken. The Anglican Bishop and his clergy also recognized that Government, which was for the time a military organization resolved to cause itself to be respected. The idea of annexation, if at any time it existed, appears to have vanished; a large majority wish for union with Canada, but the Council desire to lay down their conditions, which will, perhaps, be different from those which was specified by the convention.

" The threat of sending troops is, without doubt, the greatest obstacle to conciliation. Dissatisfaction with the Hudson's Bay Company is only equalled by that felt against the Hon. Mr. McDougall, and all those who rallied to support him by force of arms. Not only is Fort Garry occupied by the Provisional Government, but all that it contains. Furs and merchandise have been seized by that Government. The Convention had hardly closed (and it had been a very stormy one), when the whole country was on the eve of a general conflagration. Colonel Dennis' old plan was resumed—Captain Boulton, at the head of some hundred men, came down from Portage de la Prairie, and after efforts to increase his party, passed Fort Garry.

" President Riel was informed of this movement. The exasperation was at its height in the garrison at Fort Garry. The men wanted to pursue these new aggressors; happily Mr. Riel and the other leaders succeeded in quieting their men, declaring that they never would be the first to shed blood. This moderation is the more worthy of praise, from the fact that probably not a single man of Captain Boulton's party would have escaped. It was at four in the morning, when the men were benumbed by the intense cold, after a march of several hours; besides they were not prepared to offer immediate resistance, for they thought to pass by unnoticed. On the other hand, Doctor Schultz was coming up the Red River from its mouth, raising the Indian population, the Swampers and English half-breeds. They were asked to come forward not to fight, but to arm themselves in order to rescue the prisoners.

" The junction of these two armed bodies took place near the Scotch Church at Killdonan. The Scotch refused to take part in this movement, which fact at the outset cast a damper on it.

" The plan of the leaders, whose followers mustered some hundred men, was, it is said, to take possession of the Palace of the Bishop (of St. Boniface) and of the Cathedral, and from thence attack Fort Garry. The party also relied on the aid of some French Canadian half-breeds, who were to gather at a certain point and thence proceed to devastate the

" properties (and in fact, it is said, to assault the families of the soldiers of the Provisional Government,) in order to compel them to disband for the protection of their homes. This latter movement did not take place. These events occurred on the days of the 14th, 15th and 16th February, at a time when we in Ottawa believed that everything was settling down. This mad project had the effect of strengthening the Provisional Government. Very nearly all the French hitherto opposed to that Government, and who are here called rebels, rallied to the party. The Scotch and a great number of others did the same. During this time a young French half-breed was made prisoner; he soon fled, seizing a double barreled gun. Owing to sequence of circumstances, the nature of which is unknown, he shot a young Scotchman of the name of Sutherland, and killed him. Pursued by those who had previously captured him, he defended himself with an energy and vigor which exhibited a foretaste of the nature of the struggle impending with hundreds of his fellows.

" An intimation carried to President Riel, elicited from him the answer: 'I want peace, but I am ready for war, and since you will have it we shall begin at once.' This answer, and the efforts of sensible men, created confusion in the camp, most of the men having joined without the intention of fighting; they all dispersed during the evening of the 16th. On the morning of the 17th, some of the Portage men thought they could return. They appeared in sight of Fort Garry, but at a certain distance on the prairie, some thirty horsemen were at once sent out, with orders to make them prisoners. Every one expected resistance; happily it did not occur, all of them laid down their arms and were made prisoners, to the number of forty-eight. Captain Boulton was tried by court-martial and was condemned to death. The solicitations of the Commissioners, the clergy and the Sutherland family (whose son had been killed) secured his pardon. These deplorable events threw back the arrangements in progress. The delegates having been appointed were about to start, and all matters seemed to be on the eve of a settlement. Among the prisoners was one Scott, the very man who, having been brought from Canada by Mr. Snow, all but murdered him at Pointe des Chênes. Passing through Winnipeg on the night of the 13th and 14th, Scott entered the house of one Couter, a relative of Mr. Riel's, and to which the latter often resorted. He inquired whether the President was there, with the intention, as stated by some, of killing him, or of taking him as a hostage according to other accounts. Scott, when taken prisoner, exasperated the authorities, and I am grieved to tell you that the unfortunate man was sentenced to death by a court-martial and shot on the 4th instant.

" An expedition despatched by the Provisional Government started yesterday for the Portage. I do not know its precise object, and still less the result. If this expedition succeeds without bloodshed, I have some hope that we shall have quiet, and that the delegates will start.

" You will easily understand the difficulty of my position under the present circumstances. It would be but too easy to cause a division, but I consider that this would be the greatest misfortunes. I want, on the contrary, to labour for union and the re-establishment of peace, for the Indians would take advantage of such disunions. My action can be but slow, for the Government will easily understand that the utmost prudence is required under the circumstances. I have this day had an interview with the President in order to assure him of the just and generous intentions of the Government; I begged him not to attach any importance to the clamours of certain newspapers, to rest assured that Canada does not wish and cannot wish [the destruction or the enslavement of the people of the North-West. The whole French population (except a small fraction said to have been bought over) are convinced that the greatest misfortune that could have fallen to their lot would have been to fall under the government of Mr. McDougall, and of those who had accompanied or preceded him. People here believe in the existence of an organized plan, prepared without the knowledge of the Government (but which it ought to have foreseen and known), with the object of driving out of the country, or at least of reducing to a species of servitude within it, the French Canadian half-breeds of the Red River and of the whole North-West. It is this idea that exasperates the people.

" Time and kind treatment can alone heal the deep and fearful wound which has just been inflicted. Therefore it is that I take the liberty respectfully to state to the Government that steps must be taken to delay emigration, for, in the present exasperation of the public mind, the new comers would incur great danger.

" His Excellency's proclamation has not been published in the country. The Commissioners deemed it well to abstain, through motives of prudence, and I think they were perfectly right. The matter hinges on the conviction entertained by the people that they cannot be forced to enter into Confederation any more than the other Provinces of the Dominion; that the people believe themselves in no way bound by the arrangements made with the Hon. the Hudson's Bay Company: that as a consequence the words 'Rebels,' 'Insurgents,' 'Traitors,' are so many insults which they repel with indignation. *This is the root of the whole matter*,—all the rest is merely accessory, and there exists no means of conciliation but to act in conformity with that principle. The people cannot tolerate the idea of having been sold, and this is the explanation of their discontent, as well towards Canada for purchasing as towards the Company for their share of the transaction.

" The unfortunate incidents I have above referred to have but served to develope this feeling, and increased the excitement induced by a transaction in which no mention has been made of the parties most deeply interested.

" I take the very great liberty of saying that these reasons are more than plausible, and that I am confident His Excellency's Government will take into favorable consideration the claims of the delegates who are to start on Thursday next, and that, in the meantime, Parliament will refrain from legislating for a country where its authority is rejected by the population.

" I have the honor to be,

" Your very humble servant,

(Signed,) "ALEXANDER,  
" Bishop of St. Boniface, O.M.I."

The Provisional Government put guards at my door. When I arrived in the North-West, I was told that there were about 150 men in the fort thoroughly armed and decided to fight if attacked, and, moreover, determined to carry out any orders of the Provisional Government. Before my arrival, considerable progress had been made in conciliating the people. The Canadian Commissioners had endeavored to make known the intentions of the Government thoroughly, and I think if the aggressive movement had not been undertaken, the minds of the people would have been appeased. The determination was, not to submit to force in any way, but rather to see the country go to ruin first, and they were encouraged in this intention by offers of help from outside, in case an attempt should be made to subdue them.

On my arrival, I thought it necessary to make enquiries before taking any action, and I took two days for that purpose. I had orders from the Government to communicate with the Canadian Commissioners and Governor McTavish, but I was for six days unable to see the Governor. His house was under guard, and I was not permitted to get access to him; I was speedily convinced that the situation was extremely perilous, and that every possible precaution should be taken to conciliate all interests at stake. I noticed specially five interests which were to be reconciled; the interests of the Crowe, which seemed to be threatened by an invasion from outside, in aid of the insurgents; the interests of the whole population, both French and English, in the North-West; the interests of the Dominion Government, because the slightest evidence of a hostile disposition on the part of their officers would have rendered conciliations impossible; the position of the Indians; and the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Indians were in a very restless condition, and I regret very much to have to say that they had been driven to that excitement by Canadian officials. When in Ottawa I was shown a letter of instruction given by Colonel Dennis to an English half-breed, of the name of Joseph Monkman. I found

that letter was exceedingly dangerous; not perhaps according to its very wording, but on account of the spirit and disposition of the Indians.

I took the liberty of observing to the Government that there was real danger for the whole North-West in the transaction entrusted to the care of Mr. Monkman.

So much weight did the Government at Ottawa seem to attach to my observations, that they abstained from publishing that letter in the Blue Book with the other documents which were furnished to Parliament.

I received instructions from Sir John A. Macdonald, in a letter produced yesterday, to find out Mr. Monkman, and to try and get back the instructions given him by Colonel Dennis, and to induce him if possible to abstain from taking any action in the matter, assuring him that he would be rewarded, and his trouble paid for.

He had been promised ten shillings sterling a day by Colonel Dennis, if he should work among the Indians and excite them. Such were not the words of the instruction, but such was the result which necessarily would have taken place.

I had to consider all these circumstances, and I had been told previous to my departure from Ottawa to act according to the best of my judgment, and as the circumstances might call for, which it was known were changing every day; in fact, I had the same instructions which had been given to Mr. Smith when he was appointed Canadian Commissioner.

On the day of my arrival I immediately consulted with Mr. Thibault and Mr. De Salaberry, who were both in my house.

I had but very little chance of seeing Mr. Smith, who was in the fort, because I did not like to go there often, and it was six days before I was allowed to see Mr. McTavish who was also in the fort.

Two full days after my arrival I went to the fort, and I saw the President of the Provisional Government, Riel, Lepine, and perhaps O'Donohue and some of the leaders, and I endeavoured to explain to them the liberal disposition of the Government towards the country, not only the necessity for them to be loyal to the Crown, but also the good result which would arise from receiving the Canadian authorities with pleasure and satisfaction.

I think that the first interview produced a good result. I told them I had in my hand a proclamation from His Excellency the Governor General. Their answer was this, as far as I can recollect: "We have had too many of these already, but unfortunately they were not genuine." I answered them: "For this I give my guarantee, for the very copy I have in my possession was given to me by the authorities;" and I showed them the signature of Sir John Young, the Governor General of Canada, and I assured them that there was not the slightest doubt that his intention was to bring about its fulfilment.

I think this caused pleasure to the leaders of the Provisional Government, and they then told me repeatedly that they never intended to rise against the Crown, that their sole intention was to come to an understanding with the Canadian authorities previous to joining Confederation.

They were not a herd of buffaloes they said, as they were called in the newspapers, but they were men and British subjects, and as such were entitled to consideration. The little consideration given to them both in England and Canada, they said, had been the cause of the rising. I at once spoke about the prisoners, and I was told, at a subsequent interview, I think on the following day, that the half of them would be delivered at once, and the rest in the course of a few days.

The Rev. Mr. Black, Presbyterian minister in Red River, paid me a visit after my arrival, that is, as soon as the guard which was put at my door was taken away, and people were allowed to come freely in to me.

I may here state that the guard was taken away after I went to Fort Garry and saw Mr. Riel.

This was in consequence of my announcement that the Government had no hostile intentions towards them.

Mr. Black, as I have said, called on me and gave me an account of what had taken place at his own parsonage.

The people gathered in the church, and in Mr Black's parsonage, and in the neighborhood, and a consultation was held in his own room, at which it was proposed to go and seize my palace and my cathedral, fortify them, and have cannons placed there with which to fight the parties across the river. Some of the party, however, objected to that, as the French people generally, being Catholics, considered the palace and the cathedral sacred, and it would only provoke them and cause those not already under arms to rally to the Provisional Government. Finally the idea was abandoned altogether.

This is all I recollect of my conversation with Mr. Black, save that Mr. Black told me he had dissuaded them from coming to the fort, and showed them the folly of their plan; and he added too, there was absolutely no organization amongst them, that in fact, one man had already been killed, and another so seriously injured that he was at the time left for dead, and never recovered. Bishop MacRae and Archdeacon McLean, told me in substance the same thing, and that they also had endeavored to dissuade the people from carrying out their proposition. There were many reports as to the number of men assembled there. I was told by some that there were 500, and by others that there were as many as from 700 to 800.

When I first met the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, which I did on the Monday following my arrival, and after the interviews I have above detailed, with Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue, I promised them merely that they would be well treated in a general way if they would enter into negotiations with the Government, as they were desired to do.

After they came to believe in the sincerity of the Canadian Government, they expressed their satisfaction, especially when I read Mr. Howe's telegram about the "Bill of Rights."

I did not make any further promise at that meeting than to state the general good disposition of the Canadian Government towards them.

When I did make the promise of amnesty, it was not in the name of the Canadian Government, but in the name of His Excellency the Governor General, and in accordance with his own proclamation. When I told the people that the Canadian Government would receive the delegates well; that they would pay their expenses going to Ottawa and coming back, and besides, that if they would go they would get a satisfactory solution of their demands, the disposition of the people was completely changed.

They then told me that they were satisfied; that they would lay down their arms; that they would accept the decision of the Crown, and be willing to enter into Confederation upon a fair footing. I produced no other document at the meeting mentioned with Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue, except the proclamation. They made an observation that the proclamation was dated on the 6th of December, while it was then the 11th of March. I told them in reply to this, and as I believed then, and believe now, that the proclamation having been given to me on the 16th February, to carry to the Red River, it not only covered all offences up to that date, but until I was in a position to hand it to the interested parties.

I added that from the explanations made to me at Ottawa, I was entirely satisfied that the proclamation had full effect up to the time I delivered it there.

They upon that occasion refused to submit to the Canadian authorities unless an amnesty was granted which would cover all transactions prior and up to the time of meeting, but they did not refuse to submit to the Imperial authorities. I am satisfied that unless such an amnesty had been offered, they would have resisted the Canadian party. It was after this when I had ascertained that the country would certainly be ruined if the promise were not made, that I stated that the proclamation covered all deeds committed up to that date.

I told the members of the Provisional Government that the probability of something happening during the interval of my journey from Ottawa to the North-West, had been discussed between myself and the Government at Ottawa, and that my conviction, based upon these discussions and the instructions I had received, was very strongly in favour of the idea that the proclamation was meant to cover all such contingencies.

They did not lay down their arms immediately, because they said such a proceeding would be the cause of much mischief, as there was then in the country a certain party which would take advantage of their position and go and kill them.

I am myself satisfied that it would have been so. They therefore remained in arms until the troops arrived.

I was informed by the members of the Provisional Government that they had framed a "Bill of Rights," different from that of the Assembly, which they intended to send by the delegates to Ottawa.

The Provisional Government had been acknowledged by all parties, so far as I could ascertain on my arrival. They had been recognized by the authorities of the Hudson's Bay Company, by the English population, and in fact when I arrived they were the sole government of the country. [See letter No. 11 for proof of this.]

(No. 11.)

*Letter of the Right Reverend R. Macrae, the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, to H. G. Archbishop Taché.*

"(St. JOHN), BISHOP'S COURT,  
"April 5th, 1870.

"MY LORD,—Application has been made to me on behalf of Messrs. Hart, Webb and Durie, three Canadian gentlemen who are staying somewhere below, to ask for them from the President of the Provisional Government a pass, to enable them to proceed to Canada.

"I do not know whether such a pass is still required, but in case it is, I have thought it well to forward their application to your Lordship, as I think you may be better able to obtain satisfactorily what they wish.

"I am, my Lord,  
"Your Obedient Servant,  
(Signed,) "R.,  
"Rupert's Land.

"The Right Reverend,  
"The Bishop of St. Boniface."

I thought myself that in the meantime it would not be well to displace that Government, as that would have left the country without any ruling authority, and would have led to a renewal of the former disturbances. I did not endeavour to make them abdicate their functions as a Government immediately. My endeavour was to show them that if they laid down their arms when the Canadian authorities came, they would have an amnesty up to the time of my interview with them, and in the meantime I insisted upon the delegation starting for Ottawa at once. I understood at that time that the Provisional Government had taken the place of the Hudson's Bay Company as governors of the country, because Mr. McTavish, Governor of that Company, had, previous to my arrival, advised them to do so, and the Canadian Commissioner had counselled the people to submit to them as they were only a Provisional Government.

I had information to this effect, not only from the members of the Provisional Government themselves, but also from Governor McTavish, and I have here a letter from that gentleman, dated 18th March, 1870, which I produce.

[No. 10.]

"FORT GARRY,  
"18th March, 1870.

"MY LORD,—I have not seen President Riel yet, and am anxious to know whether he is keeping off till I write him, or is just waiting till he has time to see me. Should I write to him and beg him to come and see me, as I have long made up my mind, on the point he and I last spoke. I know I have before given him offence by asking him to

"come to me, and I don't want to do that. At the same time no feeling of ill-timed vanity  
 " has interfered with my asking him now. A mere hint for me to open communication  
 " with him or not will suffice. But I would prefer agreeing to the loan personally, as  
 " thought in the first instance, and I would like at the same time to speak to him about his  
 " communications for Fort Ellice and other posts. I am afraid you will have difficulty in  
 " reading this scrawl.

" Hoping you will excuse my troubling you to-day and all days, believe me, with very  
 " sincere feelings of gratitude,

" Yours very faithfully,  
 (Signed,) " W. McTAVISH.

" The Right Reverend,  
 " The Lord Bishop of St. Boniface,  
 " St. Boniface."

Previous to that letter, I had two or three interviews with Mr. McTavish, at one of  
 which I asked him if he had been surprised at the course I had taken. He answered  
 me: "No; I was sure you would have done exactly what you have done. Previous to  
 your arrival I was told Bishop Taché would do this and Bishop Taché would do that;  
 but I answered 'No! Bishop Taché knows the country too well, and has its good too  
 much at heart ever to take rash measures.' I think that what you have done was  
 the only means of avoiding more difficulty and increased danger." Mr. McTavish was  
 then ill, though not confined to bed, but although he never recovered from that illness,  
 he was then in perfectly sound mind.

The first letter (of which I produce copy) I received from Ottawa after my arrival in  
 the North-West was dated 27th May, 1870, and signed by the Hon. Joseph Howe. It  
 was in answer to several letters I had sent to Ottawa, of which I also produce copies,  
 dated 3rd and 7th May, 1870.

(No. 12.)

*Letter of H. G. Archbishop Taché to the Hon. Joseph Howe.*

" RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,  
 " 3rd May, 1870.

" Hon. Joseph Howe,  
 " Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
 " Ottawa, Canada.

" HONORABLE SIR,—After several weeks' expectation, the mail has at last arrived. I  
 " am sorry at not having received a word directly from Government, as it would have been  
 " of great use to counterbalance the sad impression experienced on the perusal of most of  
 " the articles of English press in Canada on Red River affairs.

" The savage scheme planned by the *Evening Mail*, and some other sheets, are sufficient  
 " to bring new complications, of which it is impossible to foresee the consequences, except  
 " the destruction of the settlement.

" No doubt faults have been committed, the lamentable event of the death of Scott is  
 " painful to any sensible man; but, in the mean time, the mass meetings to congratulate  
 " Schultz, Mair and others of the same character, will shew to every one what was the fate  
 " prepared to the poor half-breeds had those men succeeded in their ambitious views.

" To complete my anxiety, the *St. Paul Press* announces the arrest of Father  
 " Ritchot. It is true that, for my part, I believe it to be a falsehood. Surely Canadian  
 " Government would not violate the promise given; but in the mean time all this news  
 " received by the same mail excite here a strong feeling of uneasiness.

" I regret the occurrence so much the more, that the situation was assuming altogether  
 " a better aspect.

" The British flag was hoisted two weeks ago, and is since floating; trade is freely  
 " carried on; preparations are made to convey the usual supplies to the interior, messen-

"gers have been sent to prevent any assault against the Company's establishments inland, peace and quietness prevail, and throughout the whole settlement prisons are long ago empty, the regular administration of justice has taken its course; with the sole exception of fear of the Indians, the settlement was recovering from the danger incurred during the whole winter, and anticipating a fair and advantageous agreement with Canada. What the result of the news received to-day will be I cannot ascertain at this moment, but shall not fail to inform you at the earliest opportunity.

"We do not care for the scandalous accusations of Mair, nor the gross injuries addressed by the *Globe* to the Commissioners, and to myself in particular. They are of the same value as those directed to the honorable body of which you are so distinguished a member. Still, the old proverb "Lie, lie, something will always come of it," will find a new illustration in this affair.

"I have mentioned fear relative to the Indians, and I am sorry to say that such danger is really very great. Dennis, Mair, Schultz and Monckman have been amongst them. Some others are still busy exciting them, so it is possible that the wishes expressed by the *Evening Mail* may be realized, and then, most likely, mass meetings would be held to congratulate the first authors of all our troubles, on the mass massacres they would have caused.

"Please excuse haste, the mail is just leaving.

"I remain, Honorable Sir, "

(Signed,) "ALEX., Bishop of St Boniface.  
"O.M.S."

(No. 13.)

"RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,

"May 7th, 1870.

"Hon. Joseph Howe,  
"Secretary for the Provinces,  
"Ottawa, Canada.

"HONORABLE SIR,—I take the liberty to address to you a few remarks to-day, to be communicated to His Excellency in Council. I am really overwhelmed on the reception of newspapers by the mail of yesterday. The news of the arrest of two of the delegates is confirmed. Though I am sure it is not the act of the Government, still it seems a direct violation of the promise made in their behalf "that they would be well treated." I brought that promise myself, and gave full assurance to every one here that there was not the slightest danger, and now the whole population here see clearly that those delegated, asked by you and sent by them, would very likely have been the victims of the blind fury of excited mobs, if they had passed by the usual road, the road that the Canadians would naturally follow. This danger avoided, the delegates have been arrested in the Capital of the Dominion!

"Although our poor people are supposed to be savages, they can and do feel very much astonished and grieved at such an occurrence. Along with that isolated fact, what clamors and what tone in most of the English press of Canada! I cannot but repeat how deeply I deplore the execution of the unfortunate Scott, but he is not the first British subject killed in this country. Many and many half-breeds have been killed by the Indians. They, British subjects, called for protection, but the voice of the unknown people was never strong enough to cause the slightest echo in Great Britain, nor in Canada. The half-breeds, when murdered by the Indians, never succeeded to move a feeling of sympathy in their behalf, and to-day the loud cries of indignation that call for blood and vengeance are rolling through the deserts which still separate us from the rest of the world, and their echoes bring astonishment and sorrow to our midst, without even considering what might be the disastrous consequences of such proceedings. Is it fair, after entering into negotiations with a people on a principle of peaceable agreement (and that the same was coming rapidly), is it fair to think of taking such action! Here, again, I

"willingly acknowledge that it is not the action of the Government; we are not ignorant of the wise answer given by Sir John A. Macdonald and some other members of the Cabinet, to violent interpellations on the subject; and I am happy to say, as far as I can ascertain, that such answers with the certitude that the Privy Council will stick to its promise, have offered a pleasant compensation to the painful impression caused by the reception of the last news.

"All the threats made against the half-breeds, all the efforts to bring bloody collisions between different sections of our people, all this is sufficient proof that human blood, that the blood of British subjects is not so sacred as pretended in the estimation of those who shew clearly that they are really in earnest in their desire to spill our blood here. There can be no mistake, it is obvious to every one that the pretended loyalty of those who speak the loudest is entirely due to the deception they experienced on not having succeeded, as quickly as they desired, in assuming for themselves all power in the North-West, making it, as they now so openly avow, "Another Ontario in creed and politics." To attain that object, they wished to destroy or to remove from their native land, the "serfs," the dusky *protégés* of Bishop Taché, the poor French Canadian half-breeds of the North-West. No! England will not endorse such unjust and sectarian views, but hasten those expressed by His Excellency the Governor of Canada and his Privy Council. These views of conciliation, peace and forgiveness, I miss no opportunity to express them both privately and publicly, and undoubtedly they have produced a far better effect than all the threats and rash expressions. I still continue to assure the people that the intentions of the Government are not changed, and that all the noise is caused chiefly by political parties and opponents to Government.

"Shall I now come to something more personal? I see to-day how my efforts to bring conciliation are appreciated by some organs of public opinion. I so sincerely despise those who give such information to the *Globe* and *Daily Telegraph*, that I really feel honored at not being considered "loyal and trustworthy," in a sense that would suit their views. Yes, I am a "traitor," and all they may please to call me, provided I am not able to tell such scandalous falsities as those which fill up the columns of the newspapers alluded to. If the consciences of the revilers were as clear as mine of the cause of the troubles in Red River, if their hearts were as grieved as mine is about the whole, they would appreciate more wisely the course I have been obliged to pursue. It would not have been difficult to excite people and cause bloodshed to a large extent, it would not have been difficult at my arrival to precipitate the destruction of the country, to induce the half-breeds to fight one against the other; that I have avoided carefully, and I am sure that such was the desire of the Canadian Government, as well as mine. I have accepted, and I hope I have conscientiously fulfilled, a mission of peace; but a mission of trouble, of blood, or of destruction, I would never have accepted. And I am quite sure you would never have offered it to me. At such a distance it is very difficult to judge events, and complete ignorance of the disposition of the people cannot be the surest guide how to treat with them. Facts will surely prove more than all clamours. I have by no means the pretension of attributing, solely to my efforts the changes which have taken place in the country since my arrival. Other commissioners and circumstances have contributed to a better turn of the events; meanwhile, I flatter myself with the idea that I have not been entirely a stranger to it. Allow me to point out some of the changes, that you may judge how far I have forfeited the confidence with which you have honored me. The first week after my arrival, half of the prisoners were liberated, and to this was added the promise that the rest would soon follow. An expedition, the object of which was to generalize the insurrectional movement in the interior, was stopped. The *New Nation* was suspended on account of its expressing the desire of annexation with the United States.

"The second week no more prisoners were in gaol, and the delegation started for Canada. Moreover, a man was prevented from going to the States, as it was suspected that his intention was to ask the aid of Fenians.

"The third week, the trading post of Manitoba which had been seized, was restored to its first owners. The *New Nation*, the organ and property of the Provisional Government,

" began to proclaim openly the necessity of loyalty to the Crown, and the advantage of an honorable settlement with the Dominion of Canada. The last obtrusion in the road was removed, and dangerous gathering of the Indians began to disperse.

" The fourth week (on certain conditions, it is true,) the furs and balance of goods at Fort Garry were restored to the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and business resumed.

" The fifth week, the post of White Horse Plains, the only one remaining in the possession of the Provisional Government, was given back to the Company.

" The sixth week, the "party flag" (which was never the Fenian flag) was replaced by the old "Union Jack," not without some little difficulties, but the noble British standard has floated since. Peace and confidence are prevailing, and without any exception, the whole community is joyfully anticipating the speedy settlement of our past difficulties by our complete and peaceable union with Canada.

" The result, however incomplete it may seem to be, is nevertheless owing to circumstances and excitement, even more than I expected when I arrived here, as you might have observed by the tenor of my first letter, dated the 11th of March.

" Excuse the liberty I have taken in speaking of myself. I would have omitted to mention the result attained were I not persuaded that it will show how easy it is to avoid extreme and rash measures when softer means are sure to be efficacious. About all we have to deplore is previous to my arrival, and unfortunately, perhaps, a great deal worse might have occurred had the benevolent intention of both Imperial and Canadian Governments not been relied upon. Fully convinced that such were the dispositions of the authorities, I have always made them the starting point of my explanations. I need not say how painful it would be to me to think that I have been deceived, or that I would be suspected to have tried to deceive others. Such will not occur; our delegates will come back with a liberal grant of what is just and fair to the people of the country, and in a few weeks more we shall be relieved from all anxiety.

" I remain with much respect,

" Your humble servant,

(Signed),

" ALEXANDER,

" Bishop of St. Boniface, O.M.I."

" P.S.—I will add information which I wish to remain strictly confidential with the members of the Cabinet. I know that offers of large supplies of men and money to help in case of troops coming to attack the half-breeds have been offered them. I hope, but I cannot certify, that they have been refused. I perfectly understand that it would be folly to the extreme even to think of resisting the power of England, whatsoever help people here may receive from abroad. But what would be the consequences? Ruin, disasters, and destruction of a population heretofore loyal and honest.

(Signed),

" ALEXANDER,

" Bishop of St. Boniface."

(No. 14.)

" OTTAWA, 27th May, 1870.

" MY LORD,—I have had the honor to receive your Lordship's letters of the 3rd and 7th of May, and am commanded by His Excellency the Governor General to express his sympathy in your anxieties and his warm acknowledgements of your exertions in the cause of peace and moderation.

" I did not write to your Lordship, because until the close of the Session, and until the final passage of the Manitoba Bill, I had nothing certain to communicate.

" The manifestations of strong feelings in the Province of Ontario, grew naturally out of the shooting of Scott, but on the first intimation of possible attempts to molest the delegates on their way to Ottawa, peace officers were despatched from hence to Prescott to protect them to the Capital.

" The arrest of the Reverend Mr. Ritchot and Mr. Alfred Scott, was made on the

"affidavit of the brother of the man who was slain, in conformity with the ordinary procedure of the law of the Province of Ontario, with which the executive of the Dominion had nothing to do; and your Lordship knows that under our free constitutional system of government, the Privy Council have no power to interfere with the action of the ordinary tribunals.

"The law necessarily took its course, and after a full investigation, the delegates, who were represented by the Honorable J. H. Cameron, M.P., as their Counsel, were released.

"The Government, after free communication with the delegates, and with other persons who professed to represent the views of different settlements and sections of the country, framed a measure designed to give constitutional government to the people of Red River, and submitted the same to Parliament. This measure, after full discussion, was carried by large majorities, and received the sanction of the Queen's Representative on the 12th instant. Copies of the Act go with this despatch, and His Excellency trusts that Her Majesty's subjects will find in its fair and liberal provisions a full assurance of the honorable position which the new Province is to occupy hereafter as a portion of this Dominion.

"Your Lordship will also perceive, in the selection of the Honorable Adams G. Archibald, M.P., to organize and administer the Government of Manitoba, a further proof of the anxiety of Canada to secure the liberties and promote the improvement of the North-West.

"The force now on its way to Manitoba by the Thunder Bay route, is commanded by an Imperial officer, under the direct control of General Lindsay, and embraces a considerable number of the troops of Her Majesty. It goes as an expedition of peace, to establish on a secure basis the authority of the Queen, and to restore confidence amongst all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, whose minds must have been much disturbed by recent events.

"I enclose you a copy of His Excellency's speech at the close of the Session of Parliament, which I have no doubt you will peruse with pleasure and satisfaction.

"I have the honor to be, My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

(Signed,)

"JOSEPH HOWE,

"Secretary of State for the Provinces."

"The Right Reverend

"The Bishop of St. Boniface."

There was no British flag used in the country for some time previous to the movement.

When the Hudson's Bay Company did use a flag, it was not the British flag proper, it was a "Union Jack," with the letters "H. B. C." For two years, probably, previous to the movement, there was no British flag hoisted in the country, except the flag of Dr. Schultz, a "Union Jack," which had the word "Canada" upon it, and it was considered a party flag. Mr. Riel considered that if one man in the country had a right to raise a flag of his own, the same right extended to other men. The flag used by the Provisional Government was the French flag with the "Fleur de lis," to which was afterwards added the shamrock, so there was never any such thing as taking down the British flag at all, about which so much has been said.

On account of the letters "H. B. C." on the flag, it was considered the flag of the Company. It used to be the practice to fly this flag on Sundays, but for some months before the troubles this practice had ceased, and as far as I know this flag was not hoisted at all for some months. Schultz's flag was, as I understand, hoisted in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company. I remained in the country until the 27th June following, and during that time I had frequent communication with the leaders of the movement, as already appears from the papers published. I had an important communication with them not long before that; on the 9th June.

There was some other correspondence, which, however, was not material to the question before the Committee, with the exception of a slight allusion to my conversation with the Government.

This letter of the 9th June was the next communication which is material to the question. I refer to the letter of the 9th June, from myself to Mr. Howe, which is as follows :—

(No. 14a.)

*Letter from Archbishop Taché to the Honorable Joseph Howe.*

“ ST. BONIFACE,  
“ RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,  
“ June 9th, 1870.

“ Hon. Joseph Howe,  
“ Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
“ Ottawa, Canada.

“ HONORABLE SIR,—I hasten to communicate to you, for the information of His  
“ Excellency in Council, a very important promise I have just made in the name of the  
“ Canadian Government. I feel all the responsibility I have incurred in taking such a  
“ step, while on another hand I am confident that His Excellency the Governor General  
“ and his Privy Council will not judge with too much severity an act accomplished in  
“ order to avoid great misfortunes and secure the welfare of the country.

“ In my last despatch, dated on the 28th May, I mentioned the satisfaction caused  
“ by the Liberal Bill erecting the Province of Manitoba. I also stated the uneasiness  
“ occasioned by the ignorance whether or not a general and complete amnesty had been  
“ granted. The two last mails having brought no information on this subject, that feel-  
“ ing of uneasiness has increased to such a degree that it gives apprehension about the  
“ maintenance of peace in the country.

“ Some speak of raising a large force to meet and molest the coming troops at some  
“ difficult point on their way hither; and other plans, perhaps still more dangerous, are  
“ also afloat.

“ Fortunately the Provisional Government has so far refused such resources, deter-  
“ mined to await the arrival of the delegates. Owing to the good disposition of the  
“ Provisional Government, and in order to remove the dangers to which we are exposed,  
“ and which it would be too tedious to enumerate, I solemnly gave my word of honor,  
“ and promised even in the name of the Canadian Government that the troops are sent  
“ on a mission of peace; that all the irregularities of the past will be totally overlooked  
“ or forgiven; that nobody will be annoyed for having been either leader or member of  
“ the Provisional Government, or for having acted under its guidance. In a word, that  
“ a complete and entire amnesty (if not already bestowed) will surely be granted before  
“ the arrival of the troops, so that every one may remain quiet, and induce others to do  
“ the same.

“ Personally I felt no hesitation in giving such an assurance, because what I heard  
“ myself from the different members of the Cabinet at Ottawa, and what has been said by  
“ them in Parliament, has entirely convinced me that this promise of mine had been  
“ already issued, and that the delegates now on their way back will convey the most  
“ satisfactory information on that subject.

“ Should my views, unfortunately, have deviated from the real tendency of the Gov-  
“ ernment, I humbly beg that my promise will be considered as sacred.

“ It is the privilege of His Excellency to forgive, and if forgiveness be considered  
“ necessary, I earnestly pray for it.

“ I dare flatter myself with the idea that I have done something in favor of the  
“ Canadian cause in this country; and I can assure the Government of my willingness to  
“ contribute, as far as in my power, to its prosperity; but, should I have promised in  
“ vain, besides the heartrending feeling I would personally experience, I would be pub-

"lily reputed a deceiver, or as having been wilfully deceived by the Canadian Government. An awful re-action would ensue, and who knows what would be the result.

"If necessary, I therefore humbly lay my request before His Excellency. It would be very easy to have it largely subscribed to by respectable names, but such an undertaking would have given rise to excitement, and it is my constant endeavor to quell such a feeling rather than nourish it, as it is the greatest danger to be apprehended.

"I am confident that although this is a personal act, it will be considered as the wish of the community at large and favorably granted.

"It is rumored that Dr. Schultz is coming with a large party of supporters. I am sure that if such be the case the Government has taken the necessary steps to prevent the coalition (!) which would be the consequence of his return perhaps with a desire to revenge the past, and renew the cause of by-gone troubles.

"We are perfectly aware of his former conduct, and it is not difficult to foresee what he may be in future, if not checked by proper authority.

"I easily understand that at a distance my ideas may appear rather pressing, but allow me to say that here on the spot we are in a measure to ascertain the dangers and difficulties which may naturally seem chimerical when viewed from abroad.

"Experience has already proved that, unfortunately, our apprehensions are not always entirely groundless nor an effort of our imagination. So far it is universally considered as a wonder that nothing worse has happened. May the wisdom and liberality of the Government remove what seems to be the last difficulty.

"I consider this document of such importance that I am forwarding it by a special messenger to Pembina to secure its prompt delivery into your hands. No doubt you will be kind enough to answer me by the first mail.

"I remain, with much respect, honorable sir,

"Your humble servant,

"(Signed,) ALEX.,

"Bishop of St. Boniface."

I had the communication described in this letter on the day I wrote the letter, and if you will allow me I will explain to you the reason. Parties arrived from the United States, who had interviews with the leaders of the Provisional Government, and these parties told them that they could not rely upon what had been promised; that the assurances given would not be carried into execution; and that in some way or another the politicians of Canada, when they took possession of the country, would refuse to be guided by that promise. They told the leaders that the troops were on their way, and if they allowed them to enter the country, they would control the position, bring the leaders before the tribunals, try them and hang them. These representations created a very strong feeling among the leaders, and one or two of them came to my place and reported what they had heard. I repeated the assurances I had given in the name of His Excellency the Governor General.

They answered that this was of itself all right, but it was not from the Canadians. Now the Canadian troops are on their way, they said, and they are under the control of Canada, and as we have given them cause for provocation, if we have not similar assurances from the Canadian Government, they may act in the manner represented to us. My statement before was, that I made the promise in the name of His Excellency the Governor General, as representative of the Queen, but I also added that such were the intentions of the members of the Canadian Cabinet. They had so little faith in the Canadian authorities, that I thought they would prefer to negotiate directly with the representative of the Sovereign. Indeed, I had this authority from the terms of the proclamation, as well as from the letter addressed to me by His Excellency, in which he told me that he was directed by the Imperial Government to issue the proclamation,—and from the conversations I had, both with His Excellency and his Ministers, in which he and they told me that he was not acting in the name of the Canadian Government, but as special Commissioner from the Imperial authorities, I was also furnished with a

copy of the telegraphic message from England upon which that proclamation was based. The promise made in the name of the Canadian Government on the 9th of June differed in this respect, that it was made in the name of that Government from the former promise which was made in the name of His Excellency, and in my action I was guided by Sir John's letter of 16th February, but with the exception of its being made in the name of the Canadian Government, the promise was itself exactly the same as I had made before. I thought it necessary to make it in the name of the Government of Canada, if the fears to which I have referred were to be dissipated; and I determined so to make it, because I had received information from Father Ritchot that the negotiations at Ottawa had been closed satisfactorily. As one portion of the negotiation was to get an entire and complete amnesty, I thought the Canadian Government would not object to the promise being made in their name. The promise which I made on my arrival in the name of the Governor General was equally extensive with that which I describe in this letter of 9th June. All the difference is that the one was made in the name of the Government of Canada, whereas the other was made in the name of the Governor General as the representative of the Queen. The answer of the Hon. Mr. Howe which has just been read, dated 27th May, to my letters of the 3rd and 7th of the same month, in which I also saw plainly the promise of forgiveness, determined me that there was no risk in making the promise in the name of the authorities of Canada. I had also shown that answer to some of the leaders, and I relied upon it as affording me the basis for giving the promise named in my letter; for you will observe that Mr. Howe tendered me in the name of His Excellency, not only his sympathy, but his warm acknowledgement, of my exertions in the cause of peace and moderation. I received a reply to that letter of the 9th June, but not until the 23rd of August.

This is accounted for by my leaving St. Boniface for Canada on the 27th June, and thus missing the letter, which was dated the 4th July, and arrived at my place after I had left, and which letter is as follows:—

(No. 14B.)

*Honorable Joseph Howe to Archbishop Taché.*

“OTTAWA, 4th July, 1870.

“MY LORD,—Your letter of the 9th of June, which reached me yesterday, has been laid before the Privy Council, and has received their consideration.

“Your Lordship states that personally you felt no hesitation in giving, in the name of the Canadian Government, an assurance of a complete amnesty.

“Your Lordship has no doubt read the debate and explanations which took place in Parliament during the discussion of the Manitoba Bill. The question of amnesty was brought forward, and the answers and explanations given by the Ministers in the House of Commons were that the Canadian Government had no power to grant such an amnesty, and that the exercise of the prerogative of mercy rested solely with Her Majesty the Queen.

“The Rev. Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott must, on their arrival, have informed your Lordship that, in the repeated interviews which they had with Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier, they were distinctly informed that the Government of the Dominion had no power as a Government to grant an amnesty; and I would add that this Government is not in a position to interfere with the free action of Her Majesty in the exercise of the Royal clemency.

“Her Majesty's Imperial Ministers can alone advise the Queen on such an important matter, when called upon to do so. No doubt can be entertained that Her Majesty, advised by Her Ministers, will on a calm review of all the circumstances discharge the duty of this high responsibility in a temperate and judicial spirit.

“The foregoing explanations are given to Your Lordship in order that it may be well understood that the responsibility of the assurance given by Your Lordship of a complete amnesty, cannot in any way attach itself to the Canadian Government.

" The conversations to which Your Lordship alludes as having taken place between  
 " Your Lordship and some Members of the Canadian Cabinet, when Your Lordship was  
 " in Ottawa about the middle of the month of February last, must necessarily have taken  
 " place with reference to the proclamation issued by His Excellency the Governor  
 " General, on the 6th December last, by command of Her Majesty, in which His  
 " Excellency announced that in case of their immediate and peaceable dispersion, he  
 " would order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these  
 " unfortunate breaches of the law at Red River.

" Though I have felt it my duty to be thus explicit in dealing with the principal  
 " subject of your letter, I trust I need not assure you that your zealous and valuable  
 " exertions to calm the public mind in the North-West are duly appreciated here, and I  
 " am confident that when you regard the obstructions which have been interposed to the  
 " adoption of a liberal and enlightened policy for Manitoba, you will not be disposed to  
 " relax your exertions until that policy is formally established.

" I have, &c.,

" (Signed),

JOSEPH HOWE,

" Right Reverend,

" The Bishop of St. Boniface,  
 " Red River."

Father Ritchot arrived at Fort Garry on the 17th of June, and immediately after  
 wards I had a long interview with him, when he reported to me all the circumstance<sup>s</sup>  
 connected with the visit of the delegation, and especially about the amnesty. In th<sup>e</sup>  
 latter respect he corroborated fully the statements I had made to the leaders, and he  
 assured me further that there was a promise of full and complete amnesty given by the  
 Governor General and Sir Clinton Murdoch, in the name of Her Majesty the Queen.  
 The Canadian authorities, he said, had done all in their power to secure the amnesty, and  
 they were in a position to assure the delegates, not only that it would be granted, but  
 that it would arrive probably before they had returned home, certainly before the arrival  
 of the Lieutenant Governor. These terms were communicated officially to the leaders of  
 the Provisional Government, and also to the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of  
 Assiniboia. The report was accepted, and a resolution was passed agreeing to enter Con-  
 federation upon those conditions. In the communication made to the Assembly of the  
 transactions at Ottawa, there was included a representation such as I have already stated  
 regarding the complete amnesty being promised in the name of the Queen, and so on.  
 I suppose the Executive Council of the Provisional Government, kept a record of the  
 deliberations of the Assembly upon this question, but I do not know, as I was not  
 present. Some account of it will be found in the *New Nation* and other newspapers  
 published at the time.

The members of the Assembly were elected by both the English and French popu-  
 lation of the Colony of Assiniboia.

The result of affairs as they appeared to me before I started for Ottawa, consequent  
 upon my assurances that an amnesty would be given, and Father Ritchot's corroborative  
 statement was, that the fears of the leaders had been calmed, and they were willing to  
 accept the offers of Canada to go into Confederation. Father Ritchot in his report told  
 them that before leaving Ottawa he had inquired of Sir George Cartier, who was one of  
 the negotiators, what was to be the position of the Provisional Government, and that Sir  
 George had answered, "They are not to be discharged; let them keep peace and  
 " quietness in the country until the Governor has arrived." This was what Father Ritchot  
 told the people, and it agreed perfectly with what Sir George Cartier afterwards stated  
 to me that he had told him.

The communication of the delegates was not to the effect that arms were to be laid  
 down at once. There really was no person to rule at that time but these people. None  
 of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company were there to do so, except a clerk, Governor  
 McTavish having ere that time left the Province.

I produced an extract from a letter of Mr. J. H. McTavish to me, dated 31st July, 1870. (Mr. McTavish is the clerk of whom I have just spoken.)

## No. 28.

*Extract of a letter from J. H. McTavish, Esq., to His Grace Archbishop Taché.*

" FORT GARRY, R.E.S.,  
" 31st July, 1870.

" MY LORD,—

" They entertain the hope that as soon as the troops arrive, martial law will be proclaimed, to be followed by the hanging of a few of the French party; such is their kind expectations. Knowing what I do of the intentions of the Canadian Government, and fully understanding those of the Provisional Government, I consider it highly advisable that Mr. Archibald should be on the spot, at least as soon as the troops.

" Whatever you may hear from others to the contrary, I feel confident that the Provisional Government are determined *coute que coute* to hand everything over quietly to the proper authorities, and in no case do I apprehend any rising on the part of the English or Indians.

" Wishing you a pleasant trip in, and trusting we may have a happy issue out of all our troubles,

" Believe me, my Lord,

" Most sincerely yours,

" (Signed), J. H. MCTAVISH.

" The Right Reverend,

" The Lord Bishop

" Of St. Boniface.

" (*En route.*)"

The Council of Assiniboia acknowledged that the proclamation of Hon. Wm. McDougall destroyed their power in the country. I departed for Ottawa. I wished to make certain, to my own satisfaction, the promise made to the delegates, and report at Ottawa the satisfaction of the people. This was one of my objects in coming to Ottawa. The Council of Assiniboia was never, in terms, consulted as to whether they had given up their authority. Some of the members of that Council became members of the Provisional Government. For instance, the Secretary of State in the Provisional Government was clerk to, and member of, the Council. This man's name was Thomas Bunn. I arrived in Ottawa, as far as I can remember, about the 11th or 12th July. I then saw some of the members of the Government; only two I think. I remember Mr. Mitchell told me he had nothing to do with the negotiations with the delegates. Sir George Cartier was in Montreal, and Sir John A. Macdonald was sick and could not attend to business. So next morning I started for Montreal, where I saw Sir Geo. E. Cartier; I had many interviews with him, and I asked him if the report of Father Ritchot was correct, and he said it was. My letter, 9th June, had been received, and Sir Geo. Cartier said an official letter had been written to me in answer to it, and that he had written me a confidential letter on the subject. Sir George Cartier was aware of the contents of my letter of the 9th June. I was furnished with a copy of the letter Mr. Howe had addressed to me in reply on the 4th July. Sir George spoke to me of having a letter. It was strictly confidential. I beg to be allowed not to communicate its contents to the Committee; there is not much beyond the question of the North-West in the letter. It was marked strictly confidential, principally, I think, on account of the allusions it contained to the amnesty. I will leave it to the Committee as to whether I should produce the letter or not. In this letter Sir George

Cartier maintained the opinion of Mr. Howe, that the Canadian Government, as a Government, had no power to grant the amnesty. The conversations I had, in my former visit to Ottawa with members of the Government, and of which I have spoken, were not private. I was directed to communicate them to the people. The confidential letter contains references to the amnesty, and it contains a reference to my own promise made to the people of the North West. I do not recollect clearly enough to say as to whether allusion was made to the intention of the Government. I communicated, by letter, the result of this visit to Ottawa to the Chiefs of the Provisional Government. I made no positive assurance to them. I do not think I entered into details. I endeavored to leave on their minds the same impressions they entertained at the time of my departure. I produce a letter from Riel, dated 24th July, 1870, which was in reply to my earlier letters from Canada. I have not copies of my own letters; some of them have been published somewhere, but not the two to which Riel's is a reply.

(No. 29.)

*Letter from Mr. Riel to Bishop Taché.*

(Translation.)

" FORT GARRY,

" GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 24th July, 1870.

" To His Lordship Monseigneur Taché.

" My Lord,—I have had the honor of receiving two letters which your Lordship has written me; and I wish you to pardon me if I only answer them by Elzéar.

" At this moment everything is quiet enough here. May God make peace to continue. The Indians I have visited us in great numbers; they are as hungry as grasshoppers. The treaties engage their attention. What prudence must be employed when dealing with these people!

" I send to Mr. Howe a telegram with express reference to their case, by the hands of Mr. Bannatyne, who leaves to-day for Scotland. If your Lordship should see Mr. Bannatyne, you might receive a few more particulars, even up to the time of his leaving St. Paul. We are making preparations for the arrival of the Governor. We shall endeavor to show him as many horsemen as possible.

" How severe a task have you not imposed upon yourself in going to that wicked Ottawa. We have friends there, good! but who can reckon the number of our enemies there! The only consolation to be found is to be a Christian, and to believe that no real harm can happen us so long as God is on our side. Whatever may happen, the soldiers and the Governor shall be received with enthusiasm! If we could be notified a little in advance of your arrival, a good number of men on horseback would set out to meet you farther out.

" Believe me to be, my lord,

" Your ever grateful child and servant,

" LOUIS RIEL,

" President.

" My profoundest respects to Mr. Archibald; we much desire his coming."

I got Sir George's letter, when I arrived at Fort Garry on 24th August, I found it at my place when I arrived. It was dispatched at the same time and reached my place at the same time as the official letter of 4th July. Sir Geo. Cartier had informed me of its contents. The tone of his conversation was in accordance with the contents of the letter, but he informed me had written something else.

MEMO.—It was decided by the Committee that the letter of Sir George E. Cartier, above referred to, should be produced, which letter is as follows:—

(No. 16.)

*Sir George E. Cartier to Archbishop Taché.*

“(Private and strictly confidential.)

“OTTAWA, 5th July, 1870.

“MY LORD,—I must state to you at the outset that I owe your Lordship an apology for not having written to you sooner. The two letters your Lordship did me the honor of writing to me during *last Session* reached me in time, while Father Ritchot and the other *delegates* were in conference with me and my colleagues. If I did not answer you then, do not think, my Lord, that it was through a lack of deference and respect for your Lordship. I feared lest my letters should be intercepted, and I trusted to good Father Ritchot telling you in person after his return what I would not have liked to put on paper. I do not doubt but our friend Father Ritchot must have made to your Lordship a full and detailed report of all the difficulties which accompanied the mission of the *delegates* and the passing of the Bill for Manitoba. Happily all ended well in spite of the incessant action of prejudices and of all evil passions.

“I received your Lordship's letter of the 10th June last, and I have just received your last of the 18th of the same month, accompanied by a letter of good Father Ritchot of the same day. I am grateful to you, my Lord, for all your letters, and say to good Father Ritchot that I thank him for his last, as well as for his two preceding letters, he did me the pleasure of writing to me on his way to Fort Garry.

“In one of your letters to Mr. Howe, you stated that you had written to him more than six times and that you had received no answer. Mr. Howe is under the impression that several of your letters must have been intercepted, and that he did not receive so many letters from your Lordship. In one of your letters to Mr. Howe you stated also that I had said in the House that the Government had not had any report from you, although you had written several times to Mr. Howe and to myself. I did not wish to produce and lay before the House your correspondence, consisting only of letters disconnected the one from the other, and which if produced could not constitute a report made in the ordinary form to the Government. Hence it was that I said the Government had received no formal report from your Lordship, and at the time and in the state of minds then, it was better in order to ensure the success of the measure for Manitoba, to lay before the House as few documents as possible.

“This letter is written to you, my Lord, with the intention that it is to be strictly confidential, as I have to speak with you of the delicate question of the amnesty. You must be convinced from what you have seen in the newspapers, that Ontario and part of the Province of Quebec and of the Maritime Provinces are keenly opposed to an amnesty. But happily for the people of Red River the question of the amnesty rests with Her Majesty the Queen, and not with the Canadian Government. Father Ritchot must have explained to your Lordship all that relates to this matter, the petition he addressed to the Queen and the interviews he had with Sir John Young. If the amnesty rested with and were the province of the Canadian Government, composed with heterogeneous elements, it would be in great danger. But it is, I repeat, fortunate that it is Her Majesty, aided by the advice of Her Ministers, who will have to decide this question. Her Majesty has already, by the proclamation of the 6th December last, which She caused to be issued by Sir John Young, so to speak, promised an amnesty. This fact was mentioned in Father Ritchot's petition to the Queen. I must now intimate to you that the surest way of securing this amnesty is that the whole population of Red River should accept the new order of things. It would be well that your Lordship, the Anglican Bishop, all those who figured in the Provisional Government, and all the notables of Red River, should offer a hearty welcome to Mr. Archibald, your new Governor, and to the military expedition.

“The Queen will perhaps await this result before making known her clemency. The expedition is an expedition of peace, and the Quebec battalion comprises a large number

" of your friends, amongst others Father Royer. The soldiers will not be instruments of Dr. Schultz or any one else, to arrest or drag to prison any person whomsoever. Remember that your laws and your procedure are not changed, and that it is only in virtue of your laws and of your procedure that any person can be disturbed or interfered with.

" I am very glad to see, by your last letter and by Father Ritchot's, that the population seem inclined to receive the Governor well. It would be a great mistake, and show a lack of wisdom if the Canadian half-breeds on the arrival of the Governor and the troops, were to leave all the demonstrations of loyalty to be made by the English and Scotch half-breeds. This would place the Canadian half-breeds in the same false position as the Lower Canadians were formerly placed in after the political troubles.

" The Canadian half-breeds must shew themselves more loyal than any. I shall most anxiously await your next letter and that of Father Ritchot, as to the steps you shall have decided to take, in order to give a good reception to your new Governor.

" Note the fact that copies of all your letters received here have been sent by Sir John Young to Lord Granville, in order to shew the position of the amnesty question, if it should happen, which I do not apprehend, that opposition were offered on the arrival of the troops and of the new Governor, those who took part in it would incur the risk of finding themselves excluded from the amnesty Her Majesty may have in view, and which She will sooner or later make known. I must state to you that your letter of 9th June last to Mr. Howe, relative to the amnesty, caused a little fear and dismay amongst several of my colleagues, who stand in fear and dread of public opinion in Ontario and other parts of the Dominion on this question.

" To dispel these fears, Mr. Howe, yesterday, addressed you an official reply, with a view to set them at rest. This reply explains that the question of amnesty does not rest with the Canadian Government, but with the Queen, and that the responsibility for the assurance you have given must rest on Your Lordship. In order to shew you the excitement of certain minds (and the number of such is very great) on the question of amnesty, I enclose you an extract from the *Globe* and from the *Daily News* of Montreal. You will see that it is fortunate that the exercise of clemency is in the hands of our Gracious Sovereign. Unfortunately, the violent Protestant newspapers renders Your Lordship responsible for every thing that appears or is announced in the *Nouveau Monde*. It would have been better that the amnesty question should not have been discussed, but that it should have been left to be settled between the Queen and the people of Red River.

" Excuse this long and hastily written letter. Remember me to good Father Ritchot and Mr. Scott, the delegate, and believe me

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble,

" Obedient servant and friend,

(Signed,) " GEO. ET. CARTIER."

In my conversation with him I questioned Sir George Cartier about Father Ritchot's report. I stated as fully as possible what Father Ritchot had told me, and Sir George Cartier said that is exactly what has taken place. Directly afterwards I said to Sir George Cartier, that Father Ritchot had stated to me that when he was with the delegates of the Government, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, who had been appointed to negotiate with the delegates of the North-West, he brought forward the 19th clause of the Bill of Rights, and stated it was the *sine qua non* of an agreement between them and the Canadian Government. The delegates of the Government answered the North-West delegates, that the thing would be settled afterwards, and that it was the privilege of Her Majesty the Queen, and not for the Canadian Government to grant an amnesty. The delegates of the Provisional Government replied, " We are come to treat with you, and are to decide with you what course is to be taken." Then Sir George Cartier or Sir John A. Macdonald said: " We will show you how to proceed to obtain what you require." " No," replied Mr. Ritchot, " I am to deal with nobody but

"you. If you are not in a position to decide the whole matter, I will go home. I came to settle the difficulty with the Government, and having received my instructions, I cannot proceed except the proposals are in accordance with the instructions I have received." Then the delegates of the Government answered Mr. Ritchot and the other delegates of the North-West, that they were in a position to guarantee the granting of an amnesty, and to assure them that the amnesty would be proclaimed, and would reach the country before they did. They further said that they would wait till the passing of the bill they were going to prepare, before they made the proclamation.

The delegates from the North-West considered there was nothing further to be done upon this point. That is what I reported to Sir George as having been the statement of Father Ritchot to the people of Manitoba. Sir George said: "That is true; the thing has not been changed. We are waiting for the proclamation every day, and if you remain for a few weeks, it will arrive before you leave." Then Sir George Cartier insisted on my going to Niagara, where he told me the Governor General was. He said: "You will see the Governor General, and he will give you the same assurance." I said, "I cannot go to Niagara. I have only two or three weeks to remain in Canada, and I have business to attend to for my diocese. Besides I will take your word. I do not want any more negotiations." He insisted on my going to Niagara to see the Governor General. As far as I can recollect it was on the 15th July this happened in Montreal. Sir George Cartier told me to be in Ottawa the next Monday, and that on the Tuesday we would proceed to Niagara along with Mr. Archibald, who had been appointed Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba. I came to Ottawa, and Sir George told me he was not ready to leave that day, and that we would leave on Wednesday. On Wednesday morning we started from Ottawa. Sir John A. Macdonald was sick, and I did not meet him while in Ottawa. We took the boat at Prescott, and when we arrived at Kingston telegrams were handed to Sir George Cartier stating that there was great excitement in Toronto, and that the people were preparing to insult him because he was travelling with the traitor Bishop Taché.

I saw there was difficulty in the way, and I offered to go back. I did not fear being insulted myself, but I did not like to be the cause of his being insulted. I said, "If you have no objection, I will go back to Montreal; I did not desire to go to Niagara." Sir George replied: "I am ready to face them, and will proceed." After leaving Kingston some little deliberation took place, and Sir George came to me and said: "Perhaps it would be better not to appear together in Toronto." I said: "I am ready to land in some port in the United States if you think proper." This proposition was agreed to, and I landed at Oswego. I then went to Buffalo, and agreed to meet Sir George Cartier at Niagara on Saturday. On Saturday morning I left Buffalo and went to Niagara. When I arrived there Sir George looked very uneasy. He told me indignation meetings had taken place in Toronto, and had given His Excellency a good deal of uneasiness. Sir George further stated that His Excellency seemed to be reluctant to speak upon these matters. I said: "I may go back now; you know I had no desire to come here." Sir George, however, said: "You must see the Governor." After waiting a little Sir George came back and said the Governor was ready to receive me. On going to His Excellency's room I found him standing near the door. He shewed great reluctance to speak about these matters. Before I opened my mouth he said: "I suppose you did not come here to talk about politics?" I said: "I am satisfied that you are aware of the nature of my journey. I started from Montreal, not according to my own wishes, but at the request of your own Minister. I suppose Sir George told you what I came about?" He replied: "There is a good deal of trouble connected with these matters, and I do not like to speak about them." I said: "Your Excellency, if you are not ready to speak upon the subject, I am willing to withdraw." He then shewed me a chair, and began to talk about the Red River affairs. Naturally I drew His Excellency's attention to the question of the amnesty. After again expressing his reluctance to speak upon this question, he pointed to his proclamation of 6th Dec., which was lying open on the table, and said: "Here is my proclamation; it covers the whole case." He also

said, " See Sir George Cartier ; he knows my views upon the subject, and he will tell you " all." I then left His Excellency. Sir George saw him, and I then had an interview with Sir George. He told me he was sorry he could give me no further explanation than that he had already given me. I took it for granted that what Sir George Cartier had told me in Montreal was the exact truth. I then spoke to Sir George of the necessity of sending some information to the Red River, because the newspapers were denying that an amnesty would be granted. I knew perfectly well this would cause uneasiness and anxiety at Fort Garry, and provoke some bad result. So together we framed a telegram, expecting it would quiet the minds of the people in case uneasiness existed. The telegram was despatched. I do not remember the wording of it, but it led them to understand that the promise that had been made had not been changed. That telegram was addressed to Father Lestanc by myself. I visited Niagara on 23rd July. Before leaving His Excellency he asked me to let him have in writing some of the remarks I had made to him. I left Niagara the same day and stayed at Hamilton. The same day I wrote a letter to His Excellency, which has since been published, and of which I produce a copy dated 23rd July 1870.

(No. 15.)

*Letter from His Grace Archbishop Taché to His Excellency the Governor General of Canada.*

" To His Excellency Sir John Young,  
" Governor General of Canada :

" HAMILTON, 23rd July, 1870.

" May it please Your Excellency to allow me to communicate the following observations relative to the Red River difficulties.

" 1st. I desire to resent the odious calumnies lavished on me in certain newspapers. I protest before God and before men against those accusations. The part I took in the Red River troubles consists merely in the pain they cause me ; in the efforts made, to the best of my judgment, to quell them ; and, in the desire to see the whole concur to consolidate the noble institutions by which we are governed, by forming a closer and indissoluble union between Canada—the land of my birth—and the North-West—that of my adoption.

" 2nd. I regret as much as any one the deplorable deeds perpetrated ; nevertheless, I dare affirm that it is impossible to form an impartial judgment of the same without being acquainted with all the circumstances that have given rise to them, and such information it is very difficult for outsiders to obtain. Three men lost their lives during the troubles,—the first I may say accidentally, since Parisien, who shot him, was not sound in mind. Parisien himself, arrested before the sad event by the so-called "Loyal Party," was afterwards killed by them, or rather left for dead, and in fact died in consequence of the horrible treatment they had inflicted on him. No mention is made of the death of these two men, but instead, some of those who most largely contributed to the death of the latter, thinking thereby to display their loyalty, loudly called to revenge the last victim, the unfortunate Thomas Scott. Any one acquainted with the events is less astonished at the death of Scott than at the fact of there being but one victim in insurgent quarters. This fact clearly proves that the armed party was neither blood-thirsty nor actuated by a revengeful spirit.

" 3rd. I have no desire to accuse any one, but if punishment is to be inflicted on the most guilty and rebellious, it might be deserved by some of those who are exalted as the champions of loyalty, duty, and honor.

" 4th. If deplorable acts can have an atonement, I find it in the very conduct of the leaders of the insurrectional movement of Red River. The movement was never intended to be against allegiance to Great Britain. The British flag was never taken down, and the Fenian banner was never hoisted, notwithstanding the assertion of the contrary in newspapers.

" The Fenians, as a body, only met refusal or silence when they offered their co-opera-

"tion. Outside of the Fenian associations, the Provisional Government of Red River has repudiated offers that might have seduced its members had the sentiment of allegiance not prevailed; sums of money amounting to more than four millions of dollars (\$4,000,000), men and arms, had been offered, and the whole was refused by these 'rebels,' whom it is proposed to get hanged by the expedition, after they had refused the help offered to determine them to attack it.

"5th. The last and most important of the observations I take the liberty to lay before Your Excellency is relative to the amnesty in favor of those who have taken a part in the illegal and criminal acts which, in one way or another were committed during the painful period of the Red River disturbances. Notwithstanding the accusations thrown against me, I venture to say that I have largely contributed to the pacification of Red River, and I have thereby averted complications that would have entailed the most deplorable results. In this I have only accomplished my duty as a citizen and pastor; and I would leave the fact unmentioned were it not to throw more light on what I have to add.

"The promise of an amnesty has largely contributed to obtain the result secured: had I had not been convinced myself that an amnesty would be granted; had I not brought the people to partake of my conviction, the mission entrusted to me by the Government of Your Excellency would certainly not be crowned with the success obtained. Guided by what I had heard at Ottawa; by this Proclamation of Your Excellency of the 6th of December; by the letter of Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 16th February; alarmed by the danger of desperate resistance and of foreign intervention, persuaded that Our Gracious Sovereign would easily pardon Her subjects that had erred because too highly provoked; seeing 'irregularities on all sides,'—I thought myself justifiable in giving a positive and solemn assurance that a complete pardon would be granted. I then promised it. I may have done wrong, but I cannot believe it; my opinion being that of all those I have heard speaking coolly on this irritating question.

"It seems to me that an act of clemency is not too much when the peace of a country is at stake. At present this act becomes necessary to restore confidence, without which it is almost impossible to govern the immense territory of the North-West. Without this act of mercy, the country may be exposed to renewed and disastrous commotions. If amnesty is not granted I will be considered by some as having imposed upon the people, and will perhaps only have prepared a fearful reaction; others, who will never suspect my sincerity, will easily believe that I have been deceived by the Canadian Government. I will go so far as to say that really I would have been deceived, for it is impossible to understand otherwise what was told me at Ottawa.

"If an 'indignation meeting' called by the 'loyal inhabitants' of Toronto is sufficient to give a direction to the settlement of affairs at Red River, every one will easily admit that it is impossible for us to expect liberal measures, or even the most elementary justice. I easily understand the pressure brought upon the authorities at Ottawa by such demonstrations, inspired by party spirit, rather than by 'horror of crime,' but I appeal to the tribunal of Our Gracious Sovereign; may the feeble voice of an humble but submissive and devoted subject reach Her Throne. I feel satisfied that the Royal clemency will be guided by generosity. I therefore rely on the amnesty; of course the Canadian Government cannot proclaim it, but if Our Gracious Sovereign be pleased to grant it, Your Excellency may rest assured that it will be a guarantee of success for the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, and that it will command the respectful sympathy of an entire people.

"Deign Your Excellency to make an allowance for the precipitation with which I had to write, and believe in the complete and entire devotedness of one who is, with profound respect,

"Your Excellency's

"Most humble and obedient Servant,

"(Signed,)

ALEXANDER,

"Bishop of St. Boniface."

I will take the liberty of observing that the letter referred merely to the more explicit expression as to the granting of the amnesty.

On the Monday following, 26th July, I wrote another letter to His Excellency on Red River affairs, of which I produce a copy. Of neither letter did I receive an acknowledgment, although I observe part of them are published in a pamphlet by Mr. Sulte, Sir George's Secretary, as I recollect :

(No. 15A.)

*Bishop Taché to Sir John Young.*

(Translation.)

" HAMILTON, 25th July, 1870.

" To His Excellency Sir John Young,  
" Governor General of the Dominion of Canada.

" Permit me to submit to Your Excellency the views of the inhabitants of the Province of Manitoba on the subject of a protective force regularly organized, and under the control of the local authorities.

" I feel that I can state with perfect certainty that all the inhabitants of the Province of Manitoba, without distinction of origin or belief, are most anxious that a garrison of a couple of hundred men at the least should be sent to and left to the Province, not merely for a few weeks only, but for a more considerable period of time. The want of this protection has long been felt. Without this help the new Government will be as powerless as the old in carrying out the law, which has no other support but the moral sentiment of the people. After the withdrawal of the Royal Canadian Rifles, which corps left Fort Garry in 1861, the Government and Council of Assinibois never ceased to ask from the mother country a protection absolutely necessary under the circumstances. That protection has always been refused, and to this refusal, are, in a great part, owing the events which have occurred within the past few months. To-day the want of a military garrison is more urgent than ever, for the following reasons :—

" 1st. Dissensions, which it is hard to describe, have wrought the Indian tribes up to a state of excitement such, that the massacre of the white population would be, so to speak, but a natural result. The treaties to be made with the Indians necessitate the presence of troops ; otherwise, the Government would be liable to be made the sport of these Indians who will necessarily lose their friendly dispositions when dealing with settlers, according as they see their lands taken up. The 'loyalty' of the Indians is a word void of sense, except for those who do not know them, and there is no reasonable ground for relying on that noble sentiment.

" 2nd. The political troubles have sown in the North-West the seeds of dissension. Without the presence of troops there is every reason to fear acts of personal vengeance, followed by terrible reprisals, with the risk of precipitating the new Province into a fresh disaster greater still than that it has just undergone. This feeling, which may appear groundless to outsiders, is so strong in the Province that great uneasiness has arisen at the mere thought that Canadian volunteers were to form part of the expedition ; so much so, that there would be real grounds for alarm if it were known that the regular troops were soon to be recalled. Far from dreading the presence of the regular troops, every one is anxious for it, but every thinking man in the Province is convinced that the departure of the troops, more particularly in view of the presence of the volunteers, is fraught with future danger.

" 3rd. The insurgent party have become habituated to success ; they have learned that boldness forms an element in political affairs, and if at any subsequent time they feel themselves aggrieved, fresh attempts may very possibly be made, as it is possible that the new-comers, or the parties humiliated, may attempt to assume an attitude of superiority, and thus, by wounding susceptibility, produce the most deplorable results. The presence of a couple of companies of regular troops will suffice, but seems necessary for the mainte-

" nance of law and order ; so that general tranquillity may be restored, that confidence may again prevail, that true harmony may once more exist amongst all classes of citizens, and that the new elements may mingle with our present population without trouble and without commotion.

" These remarks I take the liberty of respectfully submitting to Your Excellency, assuring you that no man of sense in Red River thinks otherwise.

" With sentiments of profound respect,

" Your Excellency's

" Most obedient humble servant,

" (Signed,)

ALEXANDER,

" Bishop of St. Boniface, O.M.I."

A little while after the interview with the Governor, while conversing with several gentlemen, the private secretary of His Excellency, Mr. Turville, gave a hint that I heard for the first time, which, was that very likely a distinction must be made between some of those concerned in the Red River difficulties. I drew the attention of Sir George Cartier to this observation of Mr. Turville's. I took him aside, and said : " What is the meaning of this ?" Sir George Cartier replied, " Mr. Turville is a nice man, but he knows nothing about these matters, so you need not be uneasy about what he says." That satisfied me that the amnesty had not been withdrawn, but the statement gave me a little uneasiness on that point. So afterwards, when I again met Sir George, I again spoke about Mr. Turville's observation, when he gave me about the same answer, and assured me there was no danger to be apprehended for any one of those concerned in the troubles. He also assured me that the amnesty would come soon, and that it would be of an absolute and general character. I stopped at Hamilton on the Sunday, and on Monday about noon the train arrived. Sir George Cartier, it was understood, was on the train. We went to Toronto together. Sir George remained in Toronto. I proceeded to Montreal. From Hamilton to Toronto we talked all the time about the Red River difficulties, and he in no way contradicted what had been before said. I do not remember having any further conversation with any members of the Government. I wrote to Sir George from Montreal. There was nothing material in the letter. I heard several parties in Montreal state that I could not rely on the promise that had been made, so I wrote to Sir George and informed him of what I had heard. He replied telling me to be quiet, and saying that there was no difficulty about this. I have not a copy of this last letter. Before I left Montreal I telegraphed to Sir George Cartier, saying I feared I was deceived in the matter from what I had heard from other parties, who warned me that I had better not trust to the assurances of politicians, and one of them suggested that I should see General Lindsay, whom he said I might trust. I had heard nothing from the other members of the Government upon this. I had a conversation with General Lindsay during which he stated that the expedition sent to Red River was not only an expedition of peace but that it had nothing to do at all with the movement which had taken place the winter before. He said it was merely the movement of troops from one place to another, as from Quebec to Montreal, and so forth. Two days after that interview with General Lindsay I was with Mr. Archibald at the St. Lawrence Hall. General Lindsay came there, and I offered to retire when he came to the room. " No," said he, " remain, because I am going to speak about the affairs of your country, and I would like you to hear what I am going to say to Lieut.-Governor Archibald." General Lindsay said the expedition was proceeding a little quicker than they had lately expected, and would reach Fort Garry sooner than anticipated. General Lindsay said : " You must hurry your departure in order to arrive before the troops, because Wolseley will be embarrassed, as no provision has been made for the government of the territory in case he arrives before you." It was Mr. Hopkins who stated he had received despatches from the officer in charge of Fort William, that everything was ready, and he had to start at once. General Lindsay offered Mr. Archibald two officers of the staff of General Wolseley. He said : " If you have no objection, I will write to General

"Wolseley to detail two of the officers of his staff to accompany you." I answered that there was no fear, and that it was understood that Governor Archibald would arrive at Fort Garry previous to the troops. I also said, either before or after General Lindsay withdrew, that there was no fear of any resistance, as the whole matter had been settled. General Lindsay retired, and Mr. Archibald asked me to help him to arrive as soon as possible at Fort Garry. I received instructions to send men and horses ahead to meet the Governor at the North-West Angle, so as to avoid a long journey going down the River Winnipeg. I did so, but it was too late. Mr. Archibald was unable to find the place where he was to have met the men. This was the last information I received about Red River before I left Montreal for Red River. I communicated with the people in Red River, but there was no new communication on the subject of the amnesty. It was always a repetition of the same thing. I wrote a letter from Hamilton to Riel, which was found in Fort Garry on the arrival of the troops, and which has been published as I have before mentioned. As far as I can recollect, there was no direct allusion to the amnesty in this letter. Sir George Cartier knew I was to write to Riel. He led me to understand that nothing new had transpired, and that I might rely on the promise which had been made. I left for Red River I think on August 8th, and arrived on August 23rd. On my arrival I enquired about that letter of Sir George Cartier's of 5th July which I have spoken of, and found Father Lestanc, who had received the letter during my absence, had opened it and communicated its contents to Mr. Riel.

I cannot say when Father Lestanc received it. I may have heard, but I have forgotten. I did not learn that this letter had been communicated to any other person up there save Riel. I think I have said to some persons that I was advised by Sir George Cartier to induce the members of the Provisional Government to go and meet the troops of the Canadian Government, and that that was a proof that he knew that the amnesty had been at least promised. I arrived at Fort Garry on August 23rd. Soon after my arrival some members of the Provisional Government crossed over to my place at St. Boniface. They began to talk about the difficulties in which the country was involved; and I represented to them that there was not the slightest danger for them, that my conversations with the civil and military authorities had convinced me that there was not the slightest danger, in fact that the 19th clause of the articles submitted by Father Ritchot and the other delegates had been accepted. I think they were still in my house when some one came and reported that the troops had arrived at the mouth of the Red River. At first I hardly believed this, because it was so soon, from what I heard in Canada, for the arrival of the troops. The report which was spread over the country proved to be true. The next report was that they had not only arrived at the mouth of the river, but that they had also passed Lower Fort Garry. I may perhaps observe that the British flag was floating over Fort Garry. I heard that some one had been dispatched to ascertain if it was a fact that the troops had arrived, and that the Provisional Government had since sent a man to see if they were coming up, and it was reported that the troops had arrived. It proved true. Part of the expedition, the Canadian Militia were behind, and it was only the regulars that had come up. In the course of the night Riel himself went to ascertain where they were. He found that they were camped within a few miles of Fort Garry. It has been reported that there was an intention to resist. I may contradict that statement, because there was only ten or twelve men in the Fort the day I arrived, and three or four of them were invalided and old and unable to make any resistance. I am satisfied that there was not the slightest intention to resist. Some persons came to the Fort that evening, but they were chiefly persons who came to see me at my place on my arrival, and for purposes of conversation, without the least notion of resistance. Mr. Royal and Mr. Girard were among the visitors.

During the night the rain poured very heavily, and they took down the British flag on that account that morning. I had myself seen it flying the previous evening. I was in my house in the morning when I saw horsemen coming at full speed, and I saw it was Mr. Riel, O'Donohoe, and two others, who were not members of the Provisional Government. They came to my house, and I asked them what news they had. They said the

troops were just approaching the fort. I opened the door, and saw that the troops were approaching the fort. I said "You have left the fort." Riel replied: "Yes, we have fled for life, because it appears we have been deceived." "Why," said I. He replied: "Because no later than last evening we were told by Your Lordship that there was no fear, and this morning a gentleman arrived at Fort Garry, who told us we had to leave at the risk of our lives." He said: "If you do not leave the fort it is an actual fact that you will be killed." They at once left the fort, leaving some of their things behind them. They said: "Rather than run the risk of being killed or murdered, we prefer to leave the fort previous to the arrival of the troops." Two or three members of the Provisional Government who left by another door, were arrested by some members of the expedition, but were released as soon as Colonel Wolseley was made aware of the facts, as the Colonel himself told me.

James G. Stewart (called Colonel), is the person who advised the members of the Provisional Government to leave Fort Garry, and he was supposed by those in Fort Garry to be an officer, but it was afterwards found that he was not.

I had other communications with members of the Canadian Government on the subject, after the troops arrived. I was surprised at the course that was taken. I found it entirely contrary to what I was told to expect. I wrote several letters to the Government on the subject. I wrote to Sir George Cartier especially. He was one of the members of the Government who had to negotiate with the delegates of the Provisional Government, and was the member of the Canadian Government with whom I was most acquainted. I received an answer on November 2nd, marked "Confidential." Of this letter I produce a copy, which is as follows:—

(No. 17.)

(Translation.)

" [Confidential.]

" MONTREAL, 2nd November, 1870.

" MY LORD,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's last letter, and of those preceding it. It is evident to me, from the tone, more particularly of your last letter, that your good heart has bled with grief since the arrival of the military expedition. Wolseley's stupid proclamation, the murder of Goulet, and other facts and circumstances were more than sufficient to fill your heart with sadness. You must have seen, by the Montreal papers and others here, how much this proclamation of Wolseley's has been censured. The estimate formed here of that proclamation, as well as of those who contributed to the violent death of poor Goulet, has been made known in England.

" As to the question of amnesty, I regret with you that the Queen should delay the expression of her will in the matter. I hope, nevertheless, that sooner or later the amnesty will be proclaimed. It is quite probable that in England they wish to await the effect of the new political regime of your Province before considering the question of amnesty. I have no doubt whatever but that in England they will appreciate the peaceful conduct of Riel and of his fellow exiles in a foreign country, and that that conduct will greatly help to set the amnesty question in a favorable light in England. The peaceable conduct of Riel and of his friends greatly disappoint the violent in Ontario. The latter would have liked that Riel and his friends should have been guilty of excess in order to justify their violence. But their violence will soon die out for want of food. A little patience, my Lord, and moderation on the part of the leaders of the French half-breeds will re-establish order in all things before very long. Tell your people to be at their post in order to make good elections for your local House and the House of Commons. I am writing a line to friend Girard in relation to the choice of two Senators for Manitoba. We shall soon have to deal with this choice here. I should like to know your views, my Lord, in this matter, if you would be so good as to make them known to me. Be so good as to confer with your Governor and Girard about it. I am glad to inform you that friend Cyril Graham is to sail for Canada to-morrow, and that he goes to spend

"the winter with you at Fort Garry, in some capacity under the Hudson's Bay Company. Archibald, Graham, Johnson, and you, my Lord, should, it seems to me, complete the work of pacification in your Province. God grant it may be so.

"Permit me, my Lord, while thanking you for your good letters, to subscribe myself

"Your Lordship's

"Humble and obedient servant,

"(Signed,) GEO. ET. CARTIER."

There were further communications between myself and Sir George. I wrote many letters, all private, but seldom got an answer about the amnesty. I produce an extract of the material part of a letter of Sir George, of date December 7th, 1870, as follows:—

(No. 18.)

(Translation.)

"OTTAWA, December 7th, 1870.

"To His Lordship Bishop Taché,

"Bishop of St. Boniface,

"Fort Garry, Manitoba.

"MY LORD,—I write with much pleasure these few lines, which will be delivered to you by our friend, Mr. Cyril Graham, with whom you are well acquainted, and who is going to pass the winter at Fort Garry, entrusted by the Hudson's Bay Company with some special duty. It is a fortunate coincidence that under the special circumstances of your new political regime, Mr. Graham returns to you at Red River. I think that his presence there during the coming winter will greatly contribute to model the new order of things in accordance with your wishes. Your Lordship may in perfect confidence communicate to him your ideas and your wishes, and will find that it has not been misplaced. I hope that our friend, Governor Archibald, has given your Lordship the necessary explanations with regard to the appointment of St. John, of which you speak in the letter dated 29th October, which your Lordship did me the honor to address to me. I write a few lines on this subject to the Governor. The amnesty question is still under consideration in England, and I am in hopes that sooner or later it will be granted. I am glad that Riel and his fellow exiles are conducting themselves in an irreproachable manner in the United States. I leave to-morrow for Quebec, to attend the Quebec Parliament. I hope that your elections will be good. Please remember me to Father Ritchot, and present Mr. Graham to him; the latter is very anxious to make his acquaintance. Father Ritchot's reception of the Governor, gave me, and all friends here, great pleasure.

"Believe me, my Lord,

"Your humble servant and faithful friend,

"(Signed,) GEORGE ET. CARTIER."

On 6th May, 1871, I addressed a letter to Sir George, of which I produce an extract of the material part. It was never answered, although I know that it was received, from subsequent conversations with Sir George.

(No. 19.)

*Bishop Taché to Sir G. E. Cartier.*

(Translation.)

"ST. BONIFACE, 6th May, 1871.

"Sir G. E. Cartier,

"HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR,—I have not written to you for a long time, in daily expectation of having such news to send you as would enable me to write in an agreeable strain, if not as to the manner, at least as to the matter. I regret being this day under the

"necessity of taking up my pen to give pain. The promise of amnesty had been formal  
 "and positive, and yet a whole year has not sufficed for the execution of that promise.  
 "This fact appears to me inexplicable, I had almost said indescribable. And this is aggra-  
 "vated by the fact that patience and good faith have been exhibited to the very utmost  
 "extent possible by the poor half-breeds. You do not know all the affronts, privations  
 "and even bad treatment we have endured. Amidst all this, we have kept the profoundest  
 "silence, and we have refrained from making known, *even to our friends*, what was taking  
 "place here, in order not to create difficulties for the Ottawa Government. We have  
 "restrained our people and accepted many humiliations, rather than embarrass the Govern-  
 "ment of Manitoba. And what happens to us after all this, in the matter now in  
 "question? Permit me to state frankly, I have read with pain in the debates in Parlia-  
 "ment that you yourself made use of expressions far more severe than those used last  
 "year. Moreover, you attribute to the Courts of Manitoba a jurisdiction you assured  
 "me was far beyond them. There is found in your words all that is needed to excite the  
 "scoundrels we have here to attempt prosecutions which are truly calculated to plunge  
 "the country again into the difficulties from which we have not yet escaped. Why not  
 "state squarely and frankly that the past, that which does not fall within the jurisdiction  
 "of Ottawa, is still less within the powers of Manitoba created by Ottawa? How can  
 "the authorities here be invested with a power which you have not? For my part I  
 "assure you that I am deeply afflicted. I have spared neither pains, nor fatigue, nor  
 "expense, nor humiliation to re-establish order and peace, and it has come to this, that I  
 "am to receive from my people the cruel reproach that I have shamefully deceived them.  
 "Every week the newspapers of Ontario, and the "Montreal Witness," drag my name  
 "through the mire, while the organs of the Government have taken care to offer in my  
 "behalf but a most superficial defence. For my part I have kept silence the more  
 "scrupulously in order not to cause difficulty; but I must say that if the amnesty is not  
 "forthcoming very soon—if, above all, the Manitoba Government permit certain arrests  
 "to be made (as they seem disposed to do), then I shall speak out before the public; I shall  
 "say what I know, what was said to me, and what was written to me. It is bad enough  
 "to be reviled by one's enemies; I cannot suffer that my people should suspect me of  
 "having betrayed them. If we must be unhappy we shall be unhappy together. I can  
 "suffer with those who are confided to me, provided I enjoy their confidence; under their  
 "contempt I cannot live, because I can no longer serve them. After a painful illness  
 "consequent on his sufferings and privations, Riel returned to his home, three days ago.  
 "He is still suffering, ill and exhausted. His friends and even his former political  
 "adversaries, are calling to see him in crowds. So soon as this news is known amongst  
 "the Ontario people they will commence the excitement again. You say (N. N.) and  
 "others, who were the only real authors of our troubles, who killed three citizens of Red  
 "River, Parisien, Goulet and Farmer, and you treat as murderers those who, in order  
 "to protect themselves, had the misfortune to make one victim, the unfortunate Scott.  
 "You know to a certainty that two soldiers took part in the drowning of poor Goulet.  
 "These men are in the ranks; they are known, and yet there is nothing, absolutely  
 "nothing, about this crime committed after the transfer! The list would be long were  
 "I to enumerate everything *reprehensible*, done with *impunity*, since. And now in the  
 "face of the most solemn promise, one of the unfortunate matters which preceded the  
 "transfer, is raked up, whilst others, quite as much to be regretted, are left in oblivion.  
 "Why have two weights and two measures in the matter? Because the fanatics make a  
 "great out-cry, while we have had the discretion to hold our peace. Think of the  
 "excitement we might have created in Lower Canada, if we had stated all we knew; if  
 "we had made known all that has been done. You have influence enough to secure the  
 "fulfilment of the promise made; compel those who made that promise to keep it, and  
 "we shall have peace. I am aware of the pain my words are calculated to give you;  
 "but on the other hand, I know that it is better to prevent evils than to have to remedy  
 "them. You must excuse me, my heart is too full to write properly. The truth is I  
 "shall not be satisfied or even relieved until I have written the history of the transfer of