

## FIRST RETURN SCHEDULE.

- No.
133. Proclamation dated 6th December, 1869.
134. Letter from Sir John Young to Bishop Taché, 16th February, 1870.
135. Despatch, Sir John Young to Earl Granville (No. 118), 30th May, 1870.
139. " " " (No. 149), 6th July, 1870.
141. " Lord Kimberly to Sir John Young (No. 205), 3rd August, 1870.
146. " Lord Lisgar to the Earl of Kimberly (No. 110), 24th April, 1872.
- 63a. " " " (No. 111), 25th April, 1872.
151. " Earl of Dufferin to Lord Kimberly (No. 144), 6th June, 1873.
152. " Earl of Kimberly to the Earl of Dufferin (No. 226), 24th July, 1873.
- Printed Parliamentary Paper "Correspondence relative to the recent disturbances in the Red River Settlement" (1870.)
- 14a. Letter from Bishop Taché to Hon. J. Howe, 9th June, 1870.
- 14b. Letter from Hon. J. Howe to Bishop Taché, 4th July, 1870.
130. Minute of Council, 4th June, 1873.

## SUPPLEMENTARY RETURNS SCHEDULE.

132. Hon. J. Howe to Reverend Mr. Thibault, 4th December, 1869.
135. Sir Clinton Murdoch to Sir Frederick Rogers, 28th April, 1870.
137. Reverend N. J. Ritchot to the Governor General's Secretary, 20th May, 1870.
138. Lieutenant Colonel McNiel to Reverend N. J. Ritchot, 28th May, 1870.
149. James Lynch, M.D. to the Governor General, 1st July, 1870.
142. Lieutenant Governor Archibald to Secretary of State, 6th September, 1871.
143. Secretary of State to Governor Archibald, 22nd September, 1871.
144. Beauchemin, Bruce and Lepine to Governor Archibald, 25th July, 1871.
145. Petition of Beauchemin, Bruce and Lepine to Governor Archibald, 1st July, 1871.
147. Legislative Council and Assembly of Manitoba to the Queen, 5th February, 1872.
148. Lieutenant Governor Morris to Secretary of State, 16th January, 1873.
149. Messrs. Riel and Lepine to Lieutenant Governor Morris, 3rd January, 1873.
150. Hon. J. Howe to Lieutenant Governor Morris, 12th February, 1873.
12. Archbishop Taché to Hon. Joseph Howe, 3rd May, 1870.
13. " " " 7th May, 1870.
14. Hon. Joseph Howe to Archbishop Taché, 27th May, 1870.
- 61a. Reverend N. J. Ritchot and Mr. Scott to Her Majesty the Queen, 8th February, 1872.

*NOTE.*—The following documents enumerated in the foregoing Schedule, are not printed in the Appendix, but will be found in the body of the Evidence, under the Nos. and on the pages as hereinafter given.

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No. 132.

*Hon. Joseph Howe to Reverend Mr. Thibault.*OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,  
December 4th, 1869.

SIR,—Referring to the conversation held with a Committee of the Privy Council yesterday, and to your kind consent to undertake the delicate task of representing, in conjunction with Colonel de Salaberry, the views and policy of this Government to the people of the Hudson's Bay Territory, I am commanded by His Excellency the Governor General, to convey to you, in the form of instructions for your guidance, the grounds of the hope entertained here that your mission of peace and conciliation will be entirely successful.

You will not fail to direct the attention of the mixed society inhabiting the cultivated borders of the Red River and Assiniboine to the fact which comes within your daily knowledge and observation, and is patent to all the world, that in the four Provinces of this Dominion, men of all origins, creeds and complexions, stand upon one broad footing of perfect equality in the eye of the Government and the law, and that no Administration could confront the enlightened public sentiment of this country which attempted to act in the North-West upon principles more restricted and less liberal than those which are firmly established here.

So far as you may have intercourse with the Indian Chiefs and people, you will be good enough to remind them that while bloody and costly Indian wars have raged, often for long periods, in different sections of the United States, there has been no war with the Indians in any of the Provinces of British America since the conquest. For more than a century the Micmacs of Nova Scotia have lived in peace, while the rights of the Millicotes of New Brunswick have been respected. Everywhere within the Canadas the progress of settlement, while it furnished new employments to the Indians, was rendered practicable by treaties and arrangements mutually satisfactory, that have formed the secure basis of the sympathy and co-operation which have distinguished the Canadians and Indians not only since the Treaty of Paris but from the earliest exploration of the country.

It may fairly be assumed that the just and judicious treatment of the Indian tribes forms the brightest page in the history of British America. Canadians cannot afford to sully it by any ungenerous treatment of the Indians in the North-West.

That the disturbances which have taken place at and around Winnipeg and Fort Garry have grown out of vague apprehensions of danger incident to the transition state of things which the action of the Imperial Government and Parliament rendered inevitable, there is no reason to doubt.

But it is quite apparent that, underlying what is natural and pardonable in this movement, there have been agencies at work which loyal subjects cannot countenance; and that artful attempts have been made to mislead the people by the most flagrant and absurd misrepresentations. Had the Queen's Government or the Government of the Dominion imitated the rash and reckless conduct of some of those who have taken part in this disturbance there would ere this have been bloodshed and civil war in Rupert's Land, with the prospect of the flame spreading along the frontier as the fire spreads upon the prairie. Fortunately, calmer councils have prevailed both in England and at Ottawa. The Proclamation of the Queen's Representative, with copies of which you will be furnished in French and English, will convey to Her people the solemn words of their Sovereign, who, possessed of ample power to enforce Her authority, yet confides in their loyalty and affectionate attachment to Her Throne.

The instructions issued to Mr. McDougall on the 28th of September, long before there was any reason to apprehend serious opposition on the Red River, will show how utterly groundless were the suspicions and apprehensions of unfair treatment which have been widely circulated in the North-West, and to which, unfortunately, some of the Canadian newspapers, for party purposes, at times gave the mischievous colour of their

authority. You will perceive that at no time was the absurd idea entertained of ignoring the municipal and political rights of the people of the North-West. That the only two persons that Mr. McDougall was formally instructed to call to his aid were Governor McTavish and Judge Black, who were known to be universally respected, and that any subsequent selections were to be first reported here with the grounds of his belief that they stood equally high in the confidence and affections of the people.

All the Provinces of the British Empire which now enjoy representative institutions and responsible government have passed through a probationary period, till the growth of population and some political training prepared them for self-government. In the United States the territories are ruled from Washington till the time arrives when they can prove their fitness to be included in the family of States, and in the walls of Congress challenge the full measure of power and free development which American citizenship includes.

It is fair to assume that some such training as human society requires in all free countries may be useful, if not indispensable, at Red River, but of this you may be assured that the Governor General and his Council will gladly welcome the period when the Queen can confer with their entire approbation the largest measure of self-government on Her subjects in that region, compatible with the presentation of British interests on this continent, and the integrity of the empire.

I think it unnecessary to make more than a passing reference to the acts of folly and indiscretion attributed to persons who have assumed to represent the Dominion and to speak of its name, but who have acted on their own responsibility, and without the knowledge or the sanction of this Government.

In undertaking, at this inclement season of the year, so long a journey in the public service, you display, Venerable Sir, a spirit of patriotism which I am commanded to assure you is fully appreciated by the Queen's Representative and by the Privy Council.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

JOSEPH HOWE,

Secretary of State for the Provinces.

To the Very Reverend Mr. Thibault,  
Grand Vicar, Ottawa.

No. 133.

(Copy.)

## PROCLAMATION.

CANADA.

By His Excellency The Right Honorable Sir John Young, Baronet, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor General of Canada.

To all and every the Loyal Subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, and to all to whom these presents shall come,—Greeting:—

The Queen has charged me, as Her Representative, to inform you that she has heard with surprise and regret that certain misguided persons in Her settlements on the Red River have banded themselves together to oppose, by force, the entry into Her North-Western Territories of the Officer selected to administer, in Her name, the Government when the Territories are united to the Dominion of Canada, under the authority of the late Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and that those parties have also forcibly and with violence prevented others of Her loyal subjects from ingress into the country.

Her Majesty feels assured that she may rely upon the loyalty of Her subjects in the North-West, and believes that those men who have thus illegally joined together, have done so from some misunderstanding or misrepresentation.

The Queen is convinced that in sanctioning the union of the North-West Territories

with Canada, she is promoting the best interests of the residents, and at the same time, strengthening and consolidating Her North American possessions as part of the British Empire. You may judge then of the sorrow and displeasure with which the Queen views the unreasonable and lawless proceedings which have occurred.

Her Majesty commands me to state to you that she will always be ready, through me as Her Representative, to redress all well founded grievances; and that she has instructed me to hear and consider any complaints that may be made or desires that may be expressed to me as Governor General.

At the same time she has charged me to exercise all the power and authority with which she has entrusted me, in the support of order and the suppression of unlawful disturbance.

By Her Majesty's authority I do therefore assure you, that on the union with Canada, all your civil and religious rights and privileges will be respected; your properties secured to you, and your country will be governed as in the past under British Laws and in the spirit of British Justice.

I do further, under Her authority, entreat and command those of you who are still assembled and banded together in defiance of Law, peaceably to disperse and return to your homes under the penalties of the Law in case of disobedience.

And I do lastly inform you that in case of your immediate and peaceable obedience and dispersion I shall order that no legal proceedings be taken against any parties implicated in these unfortunate breaches of the law.

Given under my hand and seal at Arms, at Ottawa, this sixth day of December, in the Year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the Thirty-third year of Her Majesty's Reign.

JOHN YOUNG.

No. 134.

*Governor General Sir John Young to Bishop Taché.*

OTTAWA, Feb. 16th, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP.—I am anxious to express to you before you set out, the deep sense of obligation which I feel is due to you for giving up your residence at Rome, leaving the great and interesting affairs in which you were engaged there, and undertaking at this inclement season the long voyage across the Atlantic, and long journey across this continent, for the purpose of rendering service to Her Majesty's Government, and engaging in a mission in the cause of peace and civilization. Lord Granville was anxious to avail himself of your valuable assistance from the outset, and I am heartily glad that you have proved willing to afford it so promptly and generously. You are fully in possession of the views of my Government, and the Imperial Government, as I informed you, is earnest in the desire to see the North-West Territory united to the Dominion on equitable conditions. I need not attempt to furnish you with any instructions for your guidance, beyond those contained in the telegraphic message sent me by Lord Granville on the part of the British Cabinet, in the Proclamation which I drew up in accordance with that message, and in the letters which I addressed to Governor McTavish, your Vicar-General, and Mr. Smith. In this last letter I wrote: "All who have complaints to make or wishes to express, to address themselves to me as Her Majesty's Representative, and you may state with the utmost confidence, that the Imperial Government has no intention of acting otherwise or permitting others to act otherwise than in perfect good faith towards the inhabitants of the Red River District and of the North-West.

"The people may rely that respect and attention will be extended to the different religious persuasions, that title to every description of property will be carefully guarded, and that all the franchises which have subsisted, or which the people may prove themselves qualified to exercise, shall be duly continued or liberally conferred.

"In declaring the desire and determination of Her Majesty's Cabinet, you may safely use the terms of the ancient formula, that right shall be done in all cases."

I wish you, my dear Lord Bishop, a safe journey, and success in your benevolent mission.

Believe me, with all respect,  
Faithfully yours,  
(Signed,)

JOHN YOUNG.

Right Rev. Bishop Taché.

(Copy.)

No. 135.

*Sir Clinton Murdoch to Sir Frederick Rogers.*

OTTAWA, 28th April, 1870.

Sir,—Since my letter of 21st inst., the negotiations in connection with the Red River Territory have made considerable progress. At that date Messrs. Ritchot and Scott, two of the delegates were still in custody, but they were discharged on Monday, the 25th inst., there being in fact no legal evidence to convict them with the execution of Scott by order of Riel. Since their discharge the ministers have been in constant communication with them on the subject of the transfer of the Territory, and it is hoped that satisfactory arrangements for that purpose will be completed by the end of the week.

By the present mail the Governor General will, I believe, transmit to Earl Granville a copy of the terms proposed by the Red River delegates as the conditions of annexation to Canada. In my letter of 21st instant I referred to these terms as comprising conditions that were inadmissible. At that time I was but imperfectly acquainted with them, having only heard them read over. A subsequent examination of them has however confirmed the opinion I then expressed.

Without entering on the points that might admit of discussion, it is sufficient to notice those that are clearly inadmissible.

These are principally the 1st and 11th which would place the whole land in the Territory at the disposal of the present inhabitants, thus enabling them to prevent the construction of a Pacific Railway, and to impede the ingress of immigrants, should they desire, as is not unlikely to do so.

The 10th and 11th conditions are also inconsistent with the arrangements entered into between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, and sanctioned by Parliament. The 19th condition would secure an indemnity to Riel and his abettors for the execution of Scott, and to all others for the plunder of the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, and for other damages committed during the disturbances; concessions which this Government could not venture even if it had the power to grant; while the condition which though not contained in the terms, was conveyed to Judge Black and the other delegates in writing, that whatever was agreed to here must be subject to confirmation by "the Provisional Government," would have involved a recognition of the authority of Riel and his associates, and would have enabled him to postpone indefinitely the transfer of the Territory.

Under the circumstances there was no choice but to reject these terms, and to endeavor to arrange others that would not be open to objection.

In this task the Ministers have been engaged ever since the discharge of Messrs. Ritchot and Scott from custody, and there is every reason to believe that they will be able at once to settle conditions which the delegates, who may fairly be considered to represent the wishes and interests of the people of Red River, will be prepared to accept and which will not be inconsistent with the interests of the Dominion. If this can be effected, it will, I trust, be considered that the instructions of Her Majesty's Government conveyed to me in your letter of the 22nd ultimo, that "Troops should not be employed in forcing the Sovereignty of Canada on the population, should they refuse to admit it," have been carried out not in spirit only but in fact.

In the meantime the military arrangements have continued to advance.

Earl Granville will, of course, receive from the Secretary of State for War full information on that subject. It is, I believe, the intention of General Lindsay to apply for

permission to increase the number of regular troops in the expedition, making a corresponding reduction in the local forces. No additional expense will be entailed either on the Home Government or the Dominion. On the contrary the expense may probably be reduced, while the efficiency of the expedition will be improved.

It is so important to avoid the possibility of a check that I presume the Home Government will accede to General Lindsay's proposition.

At the same time the information received from various quarters confirms the intelligence which had previously reached the Government that the disaffected party in the territory is small in numbers, and powerful only by the possession of arms and the habit of using them, that a considerable proportion, even of the French, and all the English and Scotch settlers are anxious for the union with Canada; and that no armed resistance on the part of Riel and his adherents need be apprehended. It is considered certain that Riel, on the advance of the expedition, will leave the territory and seek refuge beyond the British Dominion.

I have remained here at the desire of the Governor General, and shall continue to do so as long as His Excellency wishes it. When he thinks my presence no longer necessary I shall proceed to Toronto, Montreal and Quebec, to enquire into the arrangements for emigrants, and subsequently to New York and Washington.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) J. W. C. MURDOCH.

Sir F. Rogers, Bart., K.C.M.G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

No. 136.

*Sir John Young to Earl Granville.*

OTTAWA, 30th May, 1870.

MY LORD,—I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter from the Revd. Father Ritchot, one of the delegates from the Red River settlement, forwarding a Petition to the Queen with a request that I would transmit to Your Lordship for presentation to Her Most Gracious Majesty, and also a copy of the reply which I caused to be sent to Father Ritchot's request.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) JOHN YOUNG.

The Right Honorable  
Earl Granville, K. G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

No. 137.

*Enclosure in Sir John Young's Despatch of 30th May, 1870.*

OTTAWA, 26th May, 1870.

SIR,—I have the honor herewith to forward to you a petition to Her Most Gracious Majesty, with a request that His Excellency the Governor General may be pleased to transmit to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a view to its being laid at the foot of the Throne for the favorable consideration of Her Majesty.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) N. J. RITCHOT.

The Governor's Secretary.

[For Father Ritchot's Petition, dated 26th May, 1870, see page 75.]

No. 138.

(Copy.)

*Lieut.-Col. McNeil to Rev. Father Ritchot.*

OTTAWA, 28th May, 1870.

SIR,—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, addressed to Mr. Turville, who is absent, conveying the request that the petition to the

Queen, which it accompanied, may be laid at the foot of the Throne for the favorable consideration of Her Majesty; and in reply, I am directed by the Governor General to inform you that he will not fail to transmit the petition in due course to Earl Granville for presentation to Her Most Gracious Majesty.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed,)

J. C. McNEIL,  
Lieutenant-Colonel,  
Military Secretary.

The Rev. Father Ritchot.

No. 139.

*Sir John Young to Earl Granville.*

NIAGARA, July 6th, 1870.

July 1st, 1870. MY LORD,—I have the honor to forward herewith a copy of a communication which I have received from Dr. James Lynch, stating certain reasons which make it, in his opinion, inexpedient to proclaim a general amnesty in favor of all connected with the recent disturbances at Red River.

I have &c.,  
(Signed,) JOHN YOUNG.

The Right Honorable,  
The Earl Granville, K. G.,  
&c., &c., &c.

No. 140.

*Dr. Lynch to the Governor General.*

QUEEN'S HOTEL,  
TORONTO, July 1, 1870.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I have on several occasions had the honor of addressing Your Excellency on behalf of the loyal portion of the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement and having heard that there is a possibility of the Government favoring the granting of an amnesty for all offences, to the rebels of Red River, including Louis Riel, O'Donoghue, Lepine and others of their leaders, I feel it to be my duty on behalf of the loyal people of the Territory, to protest most strongly against an act that would be unjust to them and at the same time to place on record the reasons which we consider render such clemency not only unfair and cruel but also injudicious, impolitic and dangerous. I therefore beg most humbly and respectfully to lay before Your Excellency on behalf of those whom I represent, the reasons which lead us to protest against the leaders of the rebellion being included in an amnesty, and for which we claim they should be excluded from its effects.

1. A general amnesty would be a serious reflection on the loyal people of Red River Settlement who, throughout this whole affair, have shown a true spirit of loyalty and devotion to their Sovereign and to British institutions. Months before Mr. McDougall left Canada it was announced that he had been appointed Governor. He had resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and had addressed his constituents prior to his departure. The people of the Settlement had read these announcements, and on the publication of his Proclamation in the Queen's name, with the Royal Arms at its head, they had every reason to consider that the Queen herself called for their services.

These services were given cheerfully, they were enrolled in the Queen's name to put down a rising that was trampling under foot all law and order and preventing British subjects from entering or passing through British territory. For this they were imprisoned for months, for this they were robbed of all they possessed, and for this—the crime of obeying the call of his Sovereign—one true-hearted loyal Canadian was cruelly and foully murdered. An amnesty to the perpetrators of these outrages by our Government we hold to be a serious reflection on the conduct of the loyal inhabitants and a condemnation of their loyalty.

2. It is an encouragement of rebellion; Riel was guilty of treason when he refused permission to Mr. McDougall, a British subject, to enter British territory, and drove him away by force of arms; he set law at defiance, and committed an open act of rebellion. He also knew that Mr. McDougall had been nominated Governor, knew that he had resigned his seat in the Cabinet, knew that he had bid farewell to his constituents, yet he drove him out by force of arms; and when the Queen's proclamation was issued—for all he knew by the Queen's authority—he tore it up, scattered the type used in printing it, defied it, and imprisoned, robbed and murdered those whose only crime in his eyes was that they had obeyed it.

It may be said that Riel knew that Mr. McDougall had no authority to issue a proclamation in the Queen's name; a statement of this kind would lead to the inference that it was the result of secret information, and of a conspiracy among some in high positions. This had sometimes been suspected by many, but hitherto has never been believed. An amnesty to Riel and other leaders would be an endorsement of their acts of treason, robbery, and murder, and therefore an encouragement to rebellion.

3. An amnesty is injudicious, impolitic and dangerous if it includes the leaders—some of these who have been robbed and imprisoned—who have seen their comrade and fellow prisoner led out and butchered in cold-blood, seeing the law powerless to protect the innocent and punish the guilty, might in that wild spirit of justice called vengeance, take the life of Riel or some other of the leaders. Should this unfortunately happen, the attempt by means of law to punish the avenger would be attended with serious difficulty, and would not receive the support of the loyal people of the Territory, of the Canadian emigrants who will be pouring in, or of the people of the older Provinces—trouble would arise and further disturbances break out in the settlement. It would be argued with much force that Riel had murdered a loyal man for no crime but his loyalty, and that he was pardoned, and that when a loyal man taking the law into his own hands executed a rebel and a murderer in vengeance for a murder, he would be still more entitled to a pardon, and the result would be that the law could not be carried out when the enforcement of the law would be an outrage to the sense of justice to the community the law would be treated with contempt. A full amnesty will produce this result, and bitter feuds and a legacy of internal discussion entailed upon the country for years to come.

4. It will destroy all confidence in the administration of law and maintenance of order; there could be no feeling of security for life, liberty or property, in a country where treason, murder, robbery, and other crimes had been openly perpetrated, and afterwards condoned and pardoned sweepingly by the highest authorities.

5. The proceedings of the insurgent leaders, previous to the attempt of Mr. McDougall to enter the Territory as well as afterwards, led many to expect that Riel and his associates were in collusion with certain persons holding high official positions, although suspected it could not be believed. An amnesty granted now including every one would confirm these suspicions, preclude the possibility of dissipating them, and leave a lasting distrust in the honor and good faith of the Canadian Government.

In respectfully submitting these arguments for Your Excellency's most favorable consideration, I wish Your Excellency to understand that it is not the object of this protest to stand in the way of an amnesty to the great mass of the rebels, but to provide against the pardon of the ringleaders those designing men who have inaugurated and kept alive the difficulties and disturbances in the Red River settlement, and who have led on their innocent dupes from one step to another in the commission of crime by false statements and by appealing to their prejudices and passions.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,) JAMES LYNCH.

To His Excellency  
Sir John Young, G. C. B., G. C. M. G.,  
&c., &c., &c.



No. 141.

*Lord Kimberley to Sir John Young.*

DOWNING STREET, 3rd August, 1870.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 149, of the 6th July, enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to you by Dr. James Lynch, in which he states the reasons which in his opinion make it inexpedient that a general amnesty should be proclaimed in favor of all those who were concerned in the recent disturbances at Red River.

I have, &amp;c.,

(Signed)

KIMBERLEY.

Governor-General

The Right Honorable

Sir John Young, Bart., G.C.B.

No. 142.

*Lieut-Governor Archibald to the Secretary of State for the Provinces.*

(Copy.)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

SILVER HEIGHTS, September 6th, 1871.

SIR,—I have the honor to enclose you a memorial signed by some five hundred of the French half-breed inhabitants of Manitoba, in which the petitioners allege, among other things, that at the time of the arrangements made in the spring of 1870, for the settlement of the troubles then existing in this Province, the delegates from Red River were formally promised that no half-breed or other inhabitant of the Province should be molested in respect of any part he had taken in the movement here—a promise, they say, confirmed by the Government of Canada and reiterated on the part of the British Government by Sir Clinton Murdoch, and praying that I should take such action in respect of the memorial, either by acting myself or transmitting it to the proper authorities, as would put an end to the apprehension and uneasiness occasioned by the failure of the Government of Canada to fulfill the promises alleged to have been made.

The memorial was presented to me by Mr. Beauchemin, Member of the Provincial Parliament for St. Vital, on behalf of himself and the other Members of a Committee named to deliver it to me. Enclosed you will find a copy of the paper accompanying the memorial.

I have explained to Mr. Beauchemin that I have no personal knowledge of any such promises having been made, but that I should transmit the memorial to Ottawa to be brought before His Excellency, the Governor General, at as early a day as possible.

I have therefore to request you to submit the same to His Excellency, and to be favored with as little delay as possible with the answer which I am to give to the petitioners, and with instructions to govern my action in the other matters referred to in the memorial.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,)

ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

For the Provinces.

No. 143.

*Secretary of State for the Provinces to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald.*

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,

OTTAWA, 22nd September, 1871.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 266, of the 6th instant, enclosing a memorial presented to you by certain of the French half-breeds of the Province of Manitoba, praying that the necessary measures may be taken to relieve

them from the consequences of any part they may have taken in the disturbances at Red River in the winter of 1869-70.

The memorial will be submitted for the early consideration of the Government.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) GRANT POWELL,

For the Under Secretary of State

For the Provinces.

The Honorable A. G. Archibald,  
Lieut.-Governor,  
Fort Garry.

No. 144.

*Beauchemin, Bruce and Lepine to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald.*

(Translation.)

ST. NORBERT, 25th July, 1871.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We have the honor to inform you that we have been instructed by the persons who have signed the Petition, herewith enclosed, to forward the said Petition to you, and we request that permission be granted us to present it to Your Excellency, in the confidence and hope that Your Excellency will do justice in the premises.

We have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most humble

And obedient servants,

(Signed,)

ANDRÉ BEAUCHEMIN,

"

HERMINIGILDE BRUCE,

"

MAXIME LEPINE.

To His Excellency

The Honorable A. G. Archibald,  
Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba.

No. 145.

To His Excellency

The Honorable Adams G. Archibald,  
Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba.

The Petition of the undersigned, Metis and others, inhabitants of Manitoba, respectfully sheweth:—

That at the time when the arrangements were concluded at Ottawa in the spring of 1870, between the Government of Canada and the delegates from the North-West, with reference to the entry into the Canadian Confederation of the colony of the Red River and the North-West Territory, it was expressly understood and concluded, and formally promised on the part of the Government of Canada, represented in the said arrangements by Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of Justice, and Sir George E. Cartier, Minister of Militia, that no Metis or other inhabitant of the Red River country should be in any way troubled or annoyed for having taken part in any way in the movement and political difficulties which had taken place several months previously between certain contending parties in the said colony of Red River.

That that promise was explicit on the part of the Ministers above mentioned, specially authorized by the Ottawa Cabinet to treat with the delegates from the North-West,—that it was ratified and declared anew by the Government of Canada as a body, and by Sir Clinton Murchison, then appointed by England, and sent to Ottawa in order to settle the aforesaid difficulties, in the name of the Imperial Government, in case the Dominion Government and the delegates from the North-West might not be able to come to an understanding.

That further, the right of the Metis not to be molested in consequence of that movement was undeniably established by the very fact that the Dominion Government,

authorized and directed to that end by the Imperial Government, negotiated with the delegates.

The result of those negotiations and agreements was the Manitoba Act, which is based upon the demands of the Metis and inhabitants of the North-West, presented to the Government of Canada by the above-mentioned delegates.

That your petitioners wish to point out that the people of the Red River country, who also negotiated with the Canadian Government by means of their delegates, have conformed exactly and in every respect to the conditions contained in the arrangements concluded at that time; and in consequence, they have a right to claim the fulfilment of the promises which were then made to them.

That your petitioners have been credibly informed that warrants of arrest have issued against some of the persons who took part in the above mentioned movement, and that for acts committed during the movement by reason of the movement, and in connection with the movement itself.

That your petitioners consider that these warrants of arrest are irregular and unjust, inasmuch as they are contrary to the stipulations contained in the arrangements and in violation of the promises made on this head.

That the issuing of these warrants of arrest, although they have not yet been executed, creates much uneasiness among the people, threatens the security of the citizens, and, consequently, public order in general.

That the primary cause of these difficulties arises from doubts existing in various quarters concerning this question; certain persons believing that they have the right to issue warrants of this nature, and your petitioners being well convinced that their issue is unjust and irregular for the reasons above mentioned.

That this uneasiness and these apprehensions, as well as the mistrust which results from them, may lead to deplorable consequences. That your petitioners think that it would be desirable to bring to an end as soon possible this doubt and these fears which cause a want of confidence to exist between the various parties of the people.

For these reasons your petitioners address themselves to Your Excellency, and beg that you will take what you may deem the most urgent measures, either by your own immediate action or by committing the matter to whose charge it rightly belongs, in order to bring to an end as soon possible this uneasiness and these apprehensions, and prevent the consequences which may arise therefrom; and your petitioners furthermore apply to Your Excellency to know whether the promises which were made to them in this matter will be carried out; and in order that Your Excellency may state whether warrants of arrest, of the nature above mentioned, are authorized and whether they can be executed, seeing that they are in direct violation of the arrangements concluded and promises made at Ottawa as above mentioned; your petitioners take the further liberty of asking Your Excellency whether the Government of Manitoba has received any instructions on this subject from the Government at Ottawa?

And your petitioners beg for justice, and will ever pray.

(Signed,)

PIERRE FALCON, D.

And five hundred and forty (540) others.

St. FRANÇOIS XAVIER,

1st July, 1871.

No. 146.

*Lord Lisgar to the Earl of Kimberley.*

April 24th, 1872.

MY LORD,—I have the honor to forward herewith an Address to Her Majesty the Queen from the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba.

The Address adverts to the serious troubles which took place at the Red River, and prays that the Legislature of Manitoba may be made acquainted with the action

already taken or which it may be Her Majesty's pleasure to take, with the view of satisfying justice and the best interests of the country.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) LISGAR.

The Earl of Kimberley,  
&c., &c.

No. 147.

*To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba in Legislative Session assembled, desire to approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing,—

That during the period intervening between the passing of the Dominion Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories when the same should be united to Canada, and the date when the union actually took place, very serious troubles occurred in the country now known as the Province of Manitoba.

That Your Majesty's Imperial Government is the only authority competent to deal with this grave question, and that, in the interests of peace and good order, it is not only desirable but requisite that steps should be taken to settle, and set at rest all questions connected with such troubles.

We, therefore, humbly pray Your Majesty to be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of Your Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, to command that this Legislature be made acquainted with the action already taken, or which it may be Your Majesty's Royal pleasure to take, with the view of satisfying justice and the best interests of this country.

We take this opportunity of assuring Your Majesty of our devotion and attachment to Your Majesty's Person and Throne.

(Signed,)

JAS. W. MCKAY,

Speaker of the Legislative Council.

(Signed,)

J. ROYAL,

Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

Legislative Buildings,

Winnipeg, February 5, 1872.

No. 148.

*Lieut.-Governor Morris to the Secretary of State for the Provinces.*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

FORT GARRY, January 16th, 1873.

SIR,—I have the honor to enclose you a copy of a document which was handed to me under cover, addressed to Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, by A. Beauchemin, Esq., M.P.P., on the 10th instant.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) ALEX. MORRIS.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State for the Provinces,  
Ottawa.

No. 149.

*Messrs. Riel and Lepins to Lieut.-Governor Morris.*

(Translation.)

To His Excellency

The Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The Government at Ottawa, from the course it has pursued in a matter affecting us, seems disposed to throw upon us the entire responsibility of the

troubles which took place here in 1869-70. The truth, nevertheless, is that during the whole of that unhappy period, we have been compelled to defend ourselves, against continual aggressions.

The persons sent from Ottawa in the winter of 1868-69, to survey the road from the Lake of the Woods, manifested during their residence at Point de Chene a strong hostility to the old inhabitants of Assiniboia. They even went so far as to endeavor to obtain possession of the best portions of the property of the establishment of St. Abe, by including them in a block of land which they pretended they had purchased from the Indians. In order the better to secure the goodwill of the Indians, in the commencement of their struggle with us, they pandered to their worst vice by selling them intoxicating liquors in defiance of the law.

The following summer Mr Stoughton Dennis presented himself among us as surveyor of the lands of the settlement, and actually commenced his survey. The Company itself protested against these surveys; and when Mr. Dennis commenced his operations on the lands of private persons, they, relying on their common law rights, remonstrated against such illegal trespass and forbad his coming upon their lands.

Meantime, it had become known that an unknown person was coming as our Governor with a Council made up entirely of persons as unknown as himself; and that he was taking steps to bring in with him, as part of his ordinary baggage, a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

Several hundred men recently arrived in the country, partisans of Snow and Dennis, by whom most of them were employed, boasted that they had come in advance of Mr. McDougall, as his soldiers, and that they were ready to support him by force of arms.

These things caused considerable alarm in the settlement. A large portion of the settlers having organized themselves as a "National Committee," went to meet Mr. McDougall, and sent by two messengers a despatch in which they told him not to enter the settlement until he had come to an understanding with them. On receiving the despatch the future Lieutenant-Governor addressed the messengers in contemptuous and insulting language, and without making any effort to inquire into the grounds of dissatisfaction of so large a portion of the inhabitants of the settlement which he was coming to govern. On the following day he entered the Province, and proceeded towards Fort Garry, with a view of taking up his residence at the seat of Government. The self-styled (*soi-disant*) soldiers then took up a very threatening attitude amongst us. They talked of taking Fort Garry. The knowledge of this scheme, which we were afraid would be carried out, suggested to us the idea of seizing the Fort; and we endeavoured to keep Mr. McDougall at a distance, in order that his party, which were so hostile to our interest, might not, under such circumstances, get possession of the Government of our native country.

On the 16th November twenty-four deputies from the whole settlement met in the Court House for the purpose of taking counsel together, and adopting means to improve the state of affairs, which every day became more complicated. During the 17th November the Convention adjourned to evening in order to allow the Courts to hold the usual Assizes. The opposite party were, in the meantime, making every effort with Mr. McDougall to persuade him to use his authority to proclaim the subversion of the Government of the Company. Mr. McDougall assumed the responsibility on the 1st December, and on that same day on which he threw the settlement into anarchy, he took upon himself also the responsibility of openly declaring war against us.

You perceive we were defending ourselves against the servants of the Canadian Government. But inasmuch as they attacked us illegally, our defence was not a rebellion. Sir John A. Macdonald, in a report of the Privy Council of the 16th December, 1869, tells the Governor General that the resistance we made was not directed against Her Majesty, nor against the Hudson's Bay Company.

The moment, however, that the existing Government was abolished by Mr. McDougall's proclamation, the urgent law of necessity compelling us to look to our own security, we proclaimed on the 8th December the formation of a Provisional Government,

with the object simply of protecting our lives and property. On the 24th December, 1869, the Secretary of State for the Provinces stated officially to Mr. McDougall that our Government (the proclamation having set aside Governor McTavish) were in effect the only Government in the settlement. The Government, were it not then legal? Sir John, in his report already referred to, says that the Government, considering the circumstances which gave it birth, had a legal existence. Most certainly, for we had the law of nations on our side.

The Canadian Commissioners, the Rev. Mr. Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry, who came into the settlement towards the end of December, did not hesitate to recognize the Provisional Government. In the month of January, 1870, a large meeting of the inhabitants of the settlement was held at Fort Garry, to ascertain the character of the mission of Mr. Donald A. Smith, a Commissioner specially sent out by the Government at Ottawa. This large meeting ordered a Convention of forty delegates to examine more in detail Mr. Smith's commission, and to decide as to what should be done in the interests of the country. The Convention discussed what should be the terms of our union with Canada.

They received an invitation from the three Commissioners (Messrs. Thibault, de Salaberry and Smith), in the name of Canada, to send a deputation to Ottawa. The invitation was accepted. Then the Convention immediately confirmed, by a unanimous vote, in the name of the whole country, the Provisional Government, which up to that time had only been sustained by a portion of the citizens. Many of the British delegates to the Convention were led to vote in this way by the late Mr. McTavish, who, being consulted by them, entreated them for the sake of order and peace to accept the Government. This public determination met with some opponents. They misunderstood the wish of the Convention; and with a view to overthrow it, seven or eight hundred persons met at Kildonan, with arms, in a disorderly assembly, made up of Indians and white men. Schultz was there with all his influence (ascendant). Parisien, one of his partizans whom we had taken prisoner, escaped from us and rejoined his party, who made him prisoner at Kildonan. In attempting to escape Parisien killed a man. His own people beat him unmercifully in turn. The following day, forty-eight men of this murderous gang passed near Winnipeg in military guise. Their march was interrupted by the soldiers of the Provisional Government, to whom they surrendered their arms unconditionally.

The officer in command of the company was condemned to death and was about to be executed, but Mr. Smith interceded for him and obtained his pardon on condition that he himself should visit all the English parishes, and use his influence to re-establish order.

Mr. Smith, having secured for the Provisional Government the good-will and support of all the English population, we thought only of forwarding the important work of the delegation which we had decided to send to Ottawa to agree with the Ministry as to our entering into Confederation, when we found ourselves confronted by a new conspiracy to prevent the delegates from leaving, to excite the masses in Ontario against us and to prevent us from coming to an understanding with the Canadian Government.

Such were the ideas which at this juncture animated the principal agents of all our troubles; they used every effort in their power. The result was that the inhabitants of Portage la Prairie soon wrote to the President of the Provisional Government that they had indeed all consented, at the request of the Canadian Commissioner, Mr. Smith, to recognize the Provisional Government, but that they had so done solely to fulfil the conditions necessary to secure Boulton's life, and that they only waited for an opportunity to withdraw themselves from the authority of the Provisional Government.

The Indians of the entire country—those below Fort de Pierre and those at the Portage, who were apparently the most excited—seemed ready to threaten the country with one of their attacks. Even the prisoners who were kept at Fort Garry, having had wind of these plottings outside and being encouraged by them, were hurried on to acts of extreme violence. Many of them, notably Mr. McLeod and T. Scott, beat their prison

gates and insulted, and went so far as to strike their guards, inviting their fellow-prisoners also to insult them.

Seeing then that a punishment, long deserved and terrible, could alone restrain these excited men, and finding ourselves compelled to avert evils with which we were threatened by the inhabitants of the Portage conspiring with the Indians—in a word to secure the triumph of peace and order which it was our duty to establish throughout the settlement, we had recourse to the full authority of Government.

Consider the circumstances; let the motives be weighed; if there were a single act of severity, one must not lose sight of the long course of moderate conduct which gives us the right to say that, during our troubles of 1869-70, we sought to disarm, rather than fight, the lawless strangers who were making war against us.

We succeeded in establishing quiet. We availed ourselves of it to hurry the departure of our delegates, who repaired at once to Ottawa.

Schultz, Mair, Lynch, Monkman and others made capital no doubt of the affair which took place here on the 4th March, to intensify in Ontario the agitation which it was their object to excite there in their own favor, and against the delegates from the North-West. But they were now powerless to effect their object. In silencing our intestine quarrels, as we had at length succeeded in doing, the Provisional Government had become the master of the position here, and consequently the only one who could send delegates to Ottawa.

Lynch and others endeavored, notwithstanding, to pass themselves off for the true and only delegates of the North-West. Their attempt failed. The Canadian Government received our delegates officially. Sir John and Sir George being named for that purpose by the Dominion Government, treated with Messrs. Black, Rev. Mr. Ritchot, and Alfred Scott, who had received from the President of the Provisional Government their nomination and their commissions as delegates.

The articles of agreement included twenty different clauses, the nineteenth of which is as follows:

"That all the debts contracted by the Provisional Government of the North-West in reference to the illegal and rash measures which the servants of the Dominion Government had taken to throw us into a civil war, should be paid in full by the treasury of the Dominion, and that none of the members of the Provisional Government, or any person acting under their orders, should be in any way molested or have to answer for having taken part in the movement, or for anything which had led to the present negotiations."

This condition our delegates laid down as a *sine qua non*. Sir John and Sir George accepted it, but our delegates asked for guarantees. The two ministers replied that the condition was effectually guaranteed by the very fact that a friendly understanding existed between Canada and the North-West. The delegates replied that they required, notwithstanding undeniable proofs as to this point, to satisfy those whose interests they were protecting; whereupon Sir John and Sir George did not hesitate to say that upon this point they were in a position to satisfy the delegates.

They then proceeded to frame the Manitoba Bill. Before its introduction to the Legislature, our delegates urged the necessity of now having the guarantee for the 19th clause. They referred the matter to the Governor General, who assured them that the delegates would be satisfied in their demands as soon as the two Houses had passed the Manitoba Bill.

Sir Clinton Murdoch, the special delegate of Her Majesty the Queen to watch over our arrangements with the Canadian Government, also assured the delegates that they would be fully satisfied. When the Bill was sanctioned by both Houses, our delegates called the attention of the Government to the fact that the time was now come to put them in possession of the guarantees in reference to the 19th clause. The Governor General, however, understanding the anxiety of the inhabitants of the North-West during all this time, requested the delegates to hurry their return to their own people, in order to explain to them as soon as possible the arrangements they had made with the Canadian Government, at the same time assuring the delegates that the Government would take means

before their arrival in the North-West to send the guarantee that no person should be molested or held responsible for anything relating to the recent troubles.

The delegates, although feeling satisfied from the repeated and positive assurances of such exalted personages, expressed nevertheless their fears that the people of the settlement would not thus be satisfied, and they consulted Sir Clinton Murdoch on the matter. The Commissioner of Her Majesty argued that it ought to be sufficient for the delegates and for the inhabitants of the North-west that the assurance had been given by the highest representative of Her Majesty; that upon this question as upon all the rest of the arrangements they should be satisfied.

In order to complete these arrangements, the delegates asked the Ministers authorized to negotiate with them whether Canada would appoint any one to administer the affairs of the North-West after the transfer and before the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Ministers replied definitely: "No; let Riel and his Council continue to maintain order and peace until the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor."

The delegates returned to Fort Garry on the 17th June, 1870. They made their official report to the representatives of the entire settlement on the 24th June. The latter ratified in the House by a unanimous vote, the work of the delegates and the Provisional Government notified the Honorable the Secretary of State for the Provinces that the people of the country by their representatives had consented to enter into the Canadian Confederation.

The despatch was placed in the hands of His Lordship the Bishop of St. Boniface, who had worked so diligently to effect a reconciliation between the two countries. His Lordship went himself to place this despatch in the hands of the Canadian Government, and we felt assured that the arrangements would be carried out as concluded. We continued to devote ourselves to the maintenance of peace and order until the 15th July following, after the transfer of this country to the Dominion, until the arrival of the troops on the 24th of August, 1870, in order to prevent confusion and anarchy, and in accordance with the expressed wish of the Ministers at the close of the arrangements with the delegates.

We remained at Fort Garry, exercising the authority which the people had previously entrusted to us, waiting to withdraw only till a competent authority should come amongst us to assume the functions of Government.

In place of treating us as friends as the law of nations entitled us to be, Wolseley entered the Province as an enemy, and as a return for the care which we had taken of the Province and of the Territory of the North-West, from the moment of its transfer, he gave up to pillage everything in the Fort belonging to us.

He hurried away to prison, and allowed to be ill-treated by his soldiers, peaceable and respectable citizens. The commander of this expedition (of peace and civilization) when leaving for Canada, publicly branded as bandits the political friends of the President of the Provisional Government with whom the Canadian Government has been negotiating,—and that Government which had only existed for the maintenance of order and peace in spite of exceptional difficulties.

Wolseley thus revived in our midst the unfortunate animosities which for some months had begun to be allayed, and which our friendly understanding with Canada contributed much to diminish, and which the Canadian Government itself, by its faithful execution of its agreement with us, could not have failed still further to decrease.

The conduct of Wolseley was a real calamity. It produced its victims. One of our co-patriots, a man in much esteem in consequence of his public service during our troubles, and who, on two or three occasions, in moments of great difficulty, had materially contributed to prevent the Indians from commencing their savage hostilities against the whites. Elzéar Goulet, to whom our understanding with Canada gave confidence in spite of the unfortunate arrival of Wolseley, returns to Winnipeg. There in noon-day in the heart of the town four men rushed on him. Goulet seeks protection in vain. The four men pursued and killed him. Of these, two were militia men, and were not in any way interfered with in consequence of what they did. The other two continued to show



themselves in the town, and have lived there since in impunity under the eye of the authorities at Portage.

Tanner also was killed by men sharing Wolseley's feelings. The murder was also left unpunished.

The inhabitants of the settlement generally have been attacked in their persons and their property, by the majority of the emigrants, and by a large number of the men belonging to the militia.

And the Canadian authorities leave us to be crushed.

And it is thus they expect to heal the wounds caused by the troubles of 1869-70, troubles which Lord Granville in his dispatch to the Governor General, of 30th November, 1869, says were brought about by the conduct of the Canadian Government.

Since the 24th August, 1870, we have been cajoled by the Ottawa Government, left without protection, and afterwards robbed of our liberty. Individual domestic happiness was impossible; our lives were in constant danger. What reason has the Canadian Government thus to postpone to the injury of everything that people hold dear—the fulfilment of the same promises they had given us? The Government at Ottawa could not, in the face of the whole world, evade the inauguration of the grand principle of liberty consecrated by their agreement with us and by the Manitoba Act so nobly approved by both Houses; but they took care to neglect everything else, and every day the influence of the General Government was exercised for the purpose of preventing the Local Government from discharging its duty towards us: nay, more, the fundamental principle of our Constitution was violated. The representative of the Electoral Division of St. Vital resigned his seat in the Local House voluntarily; and, in accordance with the necessary legal formalities, his constituents accept and applaud his resignation. What is the conduct of the authorities? They have already declared they refuse to accept Mr. Beauchemin's resignation. And against whom are these arbitrary acts directed? Against those who from 24th August, 1870, have in reality preserved the peace of the country, by their respect for authority, by their moderation and by their patience in submitting to the oppression under which they suffer. For if the half-breeds had used their right to defend themselves when unjustly attacked, and when the law left them unprotected, where would the Province be? Not only has our conduct always been conformable to our arrangements with Canada, but more than this, we are loyal and devoted to the Queen. In the autumn of 1871, on the simple appeal of the Lieutenant Governor, we all were assembled to march against the Fenians at Pembina, at the very time that we were considered in Canada as a population of brigands, so that Governor Archibald knowing the danger in which we lived, was constrained, in order to give us an inducement to assist him in uniting the population, to assure us that he would use his personal authority to protect us so long as the Province was threatened by the Fenians. We united our people with no little difficulty, endeavoring to induce them to forget the ground of their just indignation. We served the public cause—the cause of the Government. Has the Government remembered our services!—on the contrary, we would suppose the Government was angry with us. Has it not been charged as a crime against Mr. Archibald that he gave us his hand? nor did the Government come to his aid to defend his conduct against public opinion. It did not avail itself of the opportunity of doing justice to us, or of causing justice to be done to us; they even have rejected us and abandoned us to the fury of our enemies. On the 8th December following, a band of 15 men go to St. Vital, they enter like brigands at Madame Riel's house, saying that they came in the Queen's name with a warrant against Louis Riel, whom they sought everywhere with arms in their hands, upsetting everything in the house, insulting, outraging and feloniously threatening with their fire-arms the women in the house. Up to this moment these malefactors have been spared and even treated with consideration (*menagés*).

In the beginning of 1872, the Proclamation of the Governor of Ontario, against the pretended murderers of Scott, was exciting trouble in Manitoba. In order not to be the occasion of violent agitation in our young and beloved Province, and for the purpose of screening the Government at Ottawa, who, instead of protecting us against the

Proclamation, complained that our presence in the Province gave the opposition a pretext and power against us, we agreed to leave the country for a time. We then went to reside at St. Paul's. A member of the Federal Parliament, trampling all justice under his feet, came to disturb us in our exile. On the 17th of March, he formed and began to carry out, in the very capital of Minnesota, a conspiracy against us. His plan was to enter clandestinely into the hotel where we were living, break open our trunks, and carry off the official documents which we had respecting the troubles of '69 and '70, and respecting our agreement with the Government at Ottawa. On the 28th April, two men at St. Paul's, believing no witness near, during the night at a fire, discussed measures for taking our lives, and thus securing the \$5,000 which the Proclamation of the Governor of Ontario had offered for the pretended murderers of Scott. On the 30th April, at Breckenridge, four men, supposed to be in the service of this same hon. member, whose iniquitous machinations we had had to resist at St. Paul, watched at the door of the hotel where we were until a late hour of the night, with the intention of assassinating us if we came out. These facts are supported by affidavits of honest witnesses still living. We could cite many similar facts, but these three are sufficient to show how great an injury the policy of the Government of Canada inflicts upon us; for had it been faithful to its agreement with us, should we be thus threatened and persecuted everywhere and relentlessly? When we had sacrificed ourselves; when, through a pure spirit of moderation, in order to facilitate, as the Government hoped, the advancement of the general interests, we suppressed for a time our just demands in the presence of its necessities, should we not be treated otherwise than we now are?

During the last Federal election we think that we acted nobly in electing as we did, the Minister of Militia. Four days afterwards at St. Boniface the electors of Selkirk, in the peaceful exercise of their rights, were attacked in every possible way, even by shots, to recompense us for what we had just done in Provencher in the interest of one of the members of the Canadian Government; means were found to leave us unprotected against our enemies; and our good services, so far from being appreciated, are more than ever turned to account against ourselves.

As for these disturbers of public order, they can all, whoever they may be, move about freely and defy the law everywhere in Winnipeg. They can show themselves even in our courts of justice to the grievous scandal and alarm of honest men, merely to laugh at our laws and show clearly in the eyes of the world that we may at any moment find ourselves plunged in the horrors of anarchy. The Minister of Justice, however, at Ottawa

*(Here a page of the original M.S.S. is said to have been lost before reaching the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.)*

In his public speeches and in his political harangues speaks of only one thing, hanging us because we do not devote ourselves to the defence of the interests of our Province. The Government at Ottawa is then hostile to us. We understand it. It simply wishes our ruin. To attain this object it endeavors to isolate gratuitously from the entire political situation an occurrence which forms part of it in every point of view. They desire to judge this occurrence abstractedly from all the circumstances which have brought it about, and although this occurrence was the act of a Government whose legality it had recognized by its official despatches, and by dealing with it officially with the knowledge and in sight of all the world during almost the whole of one Session of Parliament, although the occurrence was the act of a Government in the exercise of its functions endeavoring to prevent a catastrophe, defending as best it could order and peace against madmen, against declarations of war, conspiracies without end, and every kind of felony, they desire to throw the entire responsibility upon private individuals.

It is said this act has not been pardoned by the Proclamation of the Governor General during the winter of 1869 and 70. Let them tell us the day, the month, the year when this Proclamation was published in the country, and let them explain afterwards how it happens that an amnesty is granted to the demagogues who have plotted so actively the troubles of 1869 and 70, who have brought about the assembly of men so illegally sum-

moned together at Kildonan, seeing that two murders were committed, and who to-day are allowed to fill the honorable seat of representatives of the people in the House of Commons.

The Government at Ottawa acts towards us as an enemy, inasmuch as it refuses to put in force the principles of protection which it recognized in treating with our delegates, and which it then bound itself publicly to put in force, even before taking possession of the country. This false policy on its part causes us to suffer frightfully, and has occasioned for more than two years a public strife, dangerous and inimical to the interests of the Province.

In addition to this the Ottawa Government uses such efforts against us and the free management of our local affairs, as to show clearly that its political interests are incompatible with ours. Be that as it may, it is our business to demand, and to find in Canadian Confederation, that personal security and that public liberty which we require and is our undoubted right.

(Signed,)                    LOUIS RIEL,  
"                                    A. L. LEPINE.

St. Vital, Manitoba, 3rd January, 1873.

No. 150.

*Secretary of State to Lieut.-Governor Morris.*

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE PROVINCES,  
12th Feb., 1873.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential despatch, No. 6, of the 16th ultimo, transmitting a copy of a document signed by Louis Riel and A. L. Lepine, and handed to you by A. Beauchemin, Esq., M.P.P., on the subject of the troubles at Red River during the winter of 1869-70.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed,)                    J. HOWE,  
Secretary of State for the Provinces.

The Hon. A. Morris,  
Lieut.-Governor,  
Fort Garry.

No. 181.

*The Earl of Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberley.*

OTTAWA, June 6th, 1873.

MY LORD,—I have the honor to transmit herewith an approved Minute of the Privy Council of the Dominion, relating to the question of an amnesty for acts committed during the disturbances in the Red River Settlement in 1869-70.

My responsible advisers request me to convey to Your Lordship the desire of the Canadian Government that Her Majesty's Imperial Government should take the circumstances of the case into consideration.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed,)                    DUFFERIN.

The Right Honorable  
The Earl of Kimberley.  
&c.,                    &c.,                    &c.

[For Minute of Privy Council above referred to, see page 110.]

No. 152.

(Copy.)                    *The Earl of Kimberley to the Earl of Dufferin.*

DOWNING STREET, 24th July, 1873.

MY LORD,—Her Majesty's Government have given careful consideration to the Minute of the 4th of June, of the Privy Council of the Dominion transmitted in your despatch, No. 144, of the 6th of June, and I have now the honor to acquaint you with their views on the matter submitted to them by the Dominion Government,

In the first place I must briefly refer to that part of the minute in which the Privy Council state their belief that that the power to grant an amnesty rests only with Her Majesty, as Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to assent unreservedly to that opinion.

Two reasons are advanced for this belief.

First, that the occurrences took place before the Hudson's Bay Territory was acquired by the Dominion; and Secondly, that the exercise of the power of pardoning is limited by the Royal instructions to the case of individual criminals after conviction, and that the Governor General does not possess the power of granting a general amnesty before trial.

As to the first point, the facts are, that during the time of the disturbance the territory of Rupert's Land was under the Hudson's Bay Company; that it was under the direct control of the Crown from the 22nd of June, 1870, to the 15th July of the same year, and that since that date it has been under the Dominion Government.

So far then as regards offences committed before the 22nd of June, there is ground for the argument that the offences having been committed before the Canadian Government had control over the Territory, an amnesty should issue directly from Her Majesty.

On the other hand, I am advised that inasmuch as the Canadian Courts had, under the Imperial Act 43, Geo. III, c. 135, as extended by the Act 1 and 2, Geo. IV, c. 66, concurrent jurisdiction with the Courts established by the Hudson's Bay Company, over crimes and offences committed in the territory of the Company, and as the former Courts would have to try Riel or other like offenders if now arrested and brought to Justice, the Governor General could properly issue a Proclamation of amnesty.

And, assuming this to be within the power of the Governor General, no difficulty arises upon the second point referred to by the Privy Council. It is true, that by the Governor General's Commission, the power of pardon vested in him is in terms limited to cases where there has been a conviction, but the question whether a Governor could issue a general amnesty was fully considered in 1871, upon a case raised by the Governor of New Zealand, and in my circular despatch of the 1st of November, 1871, it was stated as the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that if a Governor is authorized by Her Majesty's Government to proclaim a pardon to certain political offenders or rebels, he can do so, and that if he is not instructed from home to grant a pardon, he can issue a Proclamation, as was done in New Zealand in 1865 by Sir George Grey, to the effect that all persons who had borne arms against the Queen should never be prosecuted for past offences, except in certain cases of murder. Such a Proclamation would practically have the same effect as a pardon.

Considering, however, that at the time of the breaking out of these disturbances at the Red River the territory now forming the Province of Manitoba was not under the control of Canada, and that the Dominion Government have formally requested the Imperial Government to deal with the question of the amnesty, Her Majesty's Government are willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of instructing your Lordship as to the terms of the proclamation to be issued; and they are of opinion that the best course would be that, by such proclamation, an amnesty should be granted for all offences committed during the disturbance at Red River in 1869-70, except the murder of Scott.

But as the Dominion Government are now responsible for the affairs of Manitoba—and any decision as to an amnesty must necessarily have an important influence on those affairs—Her Majesty's Government desire, before any instructions are given to your Lordship to this effect, to know whether your Ministers have any objection to the issue of an amnesty limited in the manner proposed.

I have &c.,

(Signed,)

KIMBERLEY.

Governor General

The Right Honorable,

The Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B.,

&c., &c., &c.