

COMMITTEE ROOM,
13th May, 1874.

Thomas Spence, Clerk of the Legislative Council of Manitoba, examined:—

I have lived in the North-west territory for eight years. In 1868 Mr. Snow was sent from Canada to construct roads, and the half-breeds at Point du Chêne were very much dissatisfied at his purchase of a block of land, some five miles square, from the Indians, the half-breeds considering that they were themselves entitled to the land as a settlement.

Mr. Snow, finding that difficulty would arise out of this, agreed not to insist upon the purchase, and matters were quieted for the time, Mr. Snow having paid the Indians £50 for the land.

Mr. Mair, who was paymaster under Mr. Snow, was ordered to leave the territory in consequence of some letters he had written to the *Toronto Globe*, which had created great excitement and indignation all over the territory; but he was afterwards allowed to return and remain, through the intervention of Governor McTavish, after apologizing to the leading half-breeds and promising that he would write no more letters of such a nature.

Difficulties began to accumulate. Surveyors who had come from Canada went on the lands of the settlers to survey, and the people, who considered they had no right to do this, were dissatisfied, as they thought that this was taking possession of the country by Canada. I explained the true condition of the matter to some of the most intelligent, but they were not pacified, and began to hold meetings themselves, with a view of putting a stop to the surveys.

The appointment of Mr. McDougall as Governor added to the excitement, and as no official explanation could be given of these proceedings by Governor McTavish, this added to their suspicions, and they finally determined to keep Mr. McDougall out of the territory.

There may have been other causes in other parts of the territory, but these are the principal causes in my belief of the disturbances.

I had organized a Provisional Government in 1867 over a part of the territory which was occupied by about four hundred people. I had communicated this organization to the Imperial Government, and upon hearing from the Imperial authorities that our proceedings were illegal, the organization was broken up. This matter had nothing whatever to do with the outbreak or disturbances in 1869 or 1870. This organization was made simply as a matter of protection for ourselves, as we were outside the Government of the Council of Assiniboia, as Governor McTavish informed me himself.

I do not know of any of the causes that retarded the issue of the amnesty promised in the proclamation of Sir John Young, on 6th December, 1869.

I have had no communication, either verbal or written, with any member of the Canadian Government on the subject of an amnesty. I have no knowledge myself of any public promise of an amnesty by Archbishop Taché, but in general conversations he told me that there would be an immediate amnesty. This was soon after he came from Rome. I cannot remember any distinct words of Governor Archibald on the subject, but the general impression in the territory was that he had said that there would be an amnesty, but he never said anything to me personally on the subject. The impression to which I refer was among the French half-breeds. I suppose it was also among the English, from a newspaper, the *News Letter*, published at the time of the Fenian raid.

I was one of a deputation that waited on Governor Morris on the subject of the amnesty, when he denied any knowledge of an amnesty.

THOMAS SPENCE.

COMMITTEE ROOM,
May 13th, 1874.

The Honorable John Sutherland examined:—

I was born and brought up near Fort Garry, and have lived there all my life. I do not know of any one special cause for the disturbances in 1869-70; but I know what parties have described as grievances, and as being the reasons for the disturbances. One special reason was, that the people were being disposed of without being consulted, and did not know what was going to be done with them. Another was, that surveyors were said to have gone through the old settlers' lands, and to have drawn lines upon them. By the old settlers' lands, I mean those lands that were then occupied by the old settlers, and which they claimed as their own. I do not know this fact personally, but I have been credibly informed of it. The surveys took place in what is now called the County of Provencher, which was principally occupied by French half-breeds. I do not know of any other causes worth mentioning. There were some other minor complaints, but I always considered those the principal causes.

I know nothing at all of the causes which delayed the amnesty referred to in the proclamation of the Governor General of Canada in December, 1869. Nor do I know anything about any promise of amnesty.

JOHN SUTHERLAND.

COMMITTEE ROOM,
May 15th, 1874.

Honorable Adams George Archibald, Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, being examined, deposed as follows:—

I was not in the North-West Territory until after the disturbances of 1869 and 1870 had ceased, and therefore cannot testify as to the causes of those troubles.

I left Ottawa on the 8th August, 1870, to assume the position of Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, and arrived at Fort Garry on the 2nd Sept. of same year.

I had no communication with the Government of Canada as to the amnesty referred to in the proclamation of December 6th, 1869, and knew nothing of it except from its own terms. I therefore knew nothing of the causes which retarded the granting of that amnesty.

My intercourse with the Canadian Government respecting Manitoba commenced about the 20th May, 1870, when Sir George Cartier asked me if I would go there. About that time Sir John A. Macdonald was ill, and my communications were with Sir George Cartier until long after I had gone up to Manitoba. Some months after going there Sir John wrote me for the first time, and from then I corresponded mainly with him.

I do not think that I could say that I had received any instructions about the amnesty. Sir George Cartier said to me in effect: "Now you are going up to the country while its affairs are very unsettled; you must exercise your best judgment, and do what you can to preserve the public peace; we have implicit faith in your discretion and good sense." I think the subject of the amnesty was mentioned, but as far as my recollection goes it was always assumed to be a matter for the Imperial Government.

That was the line Sir George Cartier took in his conversation. I do not think the proclamation of the 6th December was mentioned to me. I do not think I knew of this proclamation when I went up. The position of the so-called Provisional Government was not discussed.

I do not think the murder of Scott was mentioned. I think the whole matter of the disturbances was spoken of as a very important affair; but no reference was made to particulars. Probably it was assumed that I was aware of them. I do not remember anything being said of the nature of Colonel Welsley's expedition except what was said

in the House of Commons during the debate on the subject. If anything was said to me privately it was in a similar sense.

I saw Archbishop Taché before I left, at Montreal, about the 16th July, 1870, by appointment. I travelled with him part of the way to Niagara, and met him again there.

I think Bishop Taché told me at Montreal that an amnesty had been promised. He always took that line. We discussed very fully all North-West matters. The Bishop's statement that an amnesty had been promised rendered it apparently unnecessary for me to apply for any specific instructions in the matter.

There was some public excitement at Toronto, I think on account of Bishop Taché and Sir George travelling together, and Bishop Taché therefore left us at Toronto and met us again at Niagara. There was no discussion at Niagara on the subject of the amnesty in which I took part or at which I was present, but I understood from Sir John Young that the Archbishop had spoken to him on that subject.

I do not personally know that Sir George and the Archbishop had any conferences about the amnesty; but I have no doubt that they had, as that was the purpose of Archbishop Taché's visit there.

I myself had no discussion with the Government about it, nor do I know what their line of action was from anything I heard from them, except that they considered it a matter for the Imperial Government.

I did not enquire or hear anything from them as to the accuracy of Bishop Taché's statement about the amnesty.

Sir George told me he thought I had better not arrive before the troops, but that I had better be on hand immediately afterwards. There was a good deal of discussion as to my route. The Bishop asked me to go by the Lake of the Woods. I said I was willing provided I was met at the North-West Angle by a deputation from all classes of the people.

The Bishop's proposition was that the French Metis should meet me there and escort me, but I desired that both classes of Metis should meet me, that I might not enter the territory with one class or party only. Upon that, the Bishop said, "That should be done."

When I went up I therefore made for the North-West Angle, and went a day out of my way, but my guides under the charge of Mr. Pettier, were unable to find it, though we sailed a day on the lake in quest of it; landed on the shore; failed to find any trace of the expected escort; and thereupon we went on by Rat Portage and the Winnipeg.

We afterwards found that no escort had been sent.

We arrived about the 2nd September, perhaps a week after the troops.

On the following day I saw a number of leading people, including, I think, the Bishop, who told me of the amnesty, and that it was expected to precede or accompany me. I told him I knew nothing about it, and had no instructions on the subject. There is no question but that, whether rightfully or wrongfully, the people believed that there was to be an amnesty, and I was afterwards spoken to on the subject. I always told them that I had no instructions on the subject, but that whatever had been promised on the subject would undoubtedly be carried out. I understood that the knowledge of the people as to an amnesty came to them through the Archbishop, or through Father Ritchot, one of the delegates who returned.

The people were undoubtedly convinced that there was to be an amnesty. I was satisfied that the amnesty was a matter for the Imperial Government, and although, as I have said, I told the people and the Bishop that I had no instructions; I also stated to the Bishop my own impression that under all the circumstances of the case the logical conclusion seemed to be that there must be an amnesty. I could not form any conclusion as to whether or not the people would have taken a different line if they had not been satisfied that there was to be an amnesty. I always assured the people that any promise made by the Government of Canada would be performed, and I was cautious never to promise anything that I was not certain would be carried out.

I produce extracts from an address presented to me at St. Norbert, and from my answer to it, from which the point of view from which the amnesty was discussed, both by myself and the people, will be shewn.

(Translation.)

(No. 87.)

"To His Excellency the Honorable A. G. Archibald, Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba,
" &c., &c., &c.

"May it please Your Excellency to grant to us, inhabitants of the parish of St. Norbert, permission to offer you an expression of our respect and congratulations upon the occasion of your happy arrival in our midst. Most agreeable it would have been to us to have performed this duty at an earlier date, and also to have assured the Representative of Her Majesty of our loyalty and devotion towards our Gracious Sovereign. At the time when we expected to experience that pleasure, events deeply to be deplored took place which postponed for a season the accomplishment of what we rightfully looked for, and which exposed to serious danger the interests and well-being of our country; but your wise and enlightened conduct has at last established among us peace, unity and happiness.

"The responsibility resting upon you is great, the situation a critical one; still, we trust that the wisdom of Your Excellency, aided by the co-operation of influential inhabitants of the Red River country, will direct public affairs in a manner satisfactory to all well disposed persons.

"We congratulate ourselves upon the good fortune which has procured for us this visit from you, and the honor which it brings to us. You have come, Your Excellency, to take up the reins of your new Government with a reputation fully established of being an honest and upright man.

"Your appearance here, if we may be permitted to say as much to Your Excellency, augurs well for the future. We are convinced that it is your heartfelt desire to reconcile those of varying opinions, to unite all citizens destined to form one and the same body politic, and of them to make a people worthy of occupying an honorable place in the family of nations. Your design is too noble, too praiseworthy, not to be assisted by the efforts of all who wish to secure the advancement, the prosperity, and the well-being of our new Province. There is nothing easier than for people, accustomed to be friendly towards one another, to forget and obliterate from memory the differences which may have given rise to the events which have just taken place in the country.

"Your Excellency may reckon on our sympathy. May you, in our new country, pass happy and peaceful days, enjoy good health, and see the Province entrusted to your care prosperous and flourishing.

"Your Excellency will, nevertheless, allow us to say that we must not conceal from you that an essential feature is still wanting; we, nevertheless, expect it with confidence, seeing that it has been promised us by men whose words were never spoken in vain. Your Excellency, in person, has assured us that all that has been guaranteed by treaty cannot but be granted."

Reply.

"To the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Norbert :—

"GENTLEMEN,—I need hardly say to you that your kind address gives me the most lively satisfaction. You speak of the delay in presenting it, but I have reason to be glad of a delay which assures me I have conquered your good will. The address, delivered on my arrival, would have been but a compliment—it is now a certificate, I am pleased, indeed, that my conduct under circumstances of much difficulty, has been such as to command your approval, and, Gentlemen, I am happy to be able to say to you, that assurances of similar approval are daily reaching me from quarters where I least expected it—the approval of a policy which I propounded the first day of my entrance into the Province,—a policy from which I have not swerved for an instant from that day to this; a policy of good-will, of fair play, of justice to all. It has been

" my study in the past, it will be my study in the future, so far as I can, to put down the
 " spirit of faction, to heal the wounds of the past, to treat you all as one people, estranged
 " it is true, by the unhappy events of the past year, but yearning to resume the affectionate
 " relations which become you as men, having in your veins the same blood, kindred by
 " the ties of nature; relations which have hitherto been of the most close and intimate
 " character, and which difference of language and creed have been powerless to sunder.

" With this policy inscribed on my banner, and with the assurance you give me of
 " support from all who wish the good of this Province, I have not a doubt, that ere long,
 " with the blessing of Providence, we shall all be willing to exchange the painful recollec-
 " tions of the past for the happier feelings which grow out of peace, progress, and pros-
 " perity.

" When that time comes, and I feel that it is not far off, it will be the desire of
 " everybody, from the Queen on Her Throne to the humblest of Her subjects, to bury in
 " oblivion much that is painful in the history of the past year. What shape this desire
 " may assume, it is not for me to say—that belongs to Her Majesty's Imperial Servants,
 " not to this Province or to Canada; but I cannot doubt that Her Majesty's policy will be
 " one in accord with the honor of Her Crown, and the good of Her people."

I do not remember to have heard of any arrests by Colonel Wolsley's advanced
 guard. Warrants were issued and in the hands of constables before my arrival for the
 arrest of Riel, Lepine and O'Donoghue. I do not remember of anything being done
 after my arrival to execute these warrants or take any further proceedings.

I produce an extract from a letter from myself to Sir George Cartier, dated 3rd
 September, 1870, which shews my impressions at the time of my arrival.

(Extract.)

(No. 88.)

" 3rd September, 1870.

" It is perhaps the best solution of the question that these men have taken to flight.
 " Their presence here in the meantime would have been a source of incessant trouble.
 " Warrants for the apprehension of the three men who have fled were applied for and
 " obtained, and have been placed in the hands of constables. Of course, while feeling
 " runs so high as it does at present, an attempt at arrest (if they had remained) would have
 " been met by resistance, and in the end we would perhaps have had to call in the
 " military, and we would have had a world of trouble, which the absence of these people
 " enable us to escape. I do not know whether Bishop Taché will take the same view,
 " but I hope he will. Nothing could be more adverse to the interests of even his own
 " people than to create at this moment an excitement which would exasperate the feelings
 " of last winter, and render a *rapprochement* of the two parties difficult, if not imprac-
 " ticable."

" Since I commenced this note I have seen separately two or three persons repre-
 " senting the English section of feeling here, and who I was led to believe were very violent.
 " I am happy to say that after talking the matter over with them calmly, they left me in
 " good temper, giving me their assurance that I should have their aid in endeavouring to
 " suppress violence of any kind, and looking rather to the future than the past."

" If Bishop Taché will come out in the same line—and I learn by a note received
 " from him since beginning this letter that he will call on me at 2 o'clock,—we should at
 " all events begin auspiciously."

" P.S. Since writing this I have had a visit from Bishop Taché, who agrees with
 " my views and I have great hopes that we shall be able to get fairly started soon."

I also produce an extract from my letter to the same, of the 10th of the same
 September:—

(No. 89.)

Extract from letter to Sir George Cartier, dated September 10th, 1870.

" I am very glad that I came in here by the lakes. If it had been otherwise it

" would have injured me very much with that part of the settlement, whose violence it is at this moment of vast importance to be able to restrain."

" As it is I am happy to say that all the leaders of the English party, except Dr. Schultz and a few more of the most violent of them, are entirely of one mind with myself about the necessity of dealing with the question before us in a spirit of great forbearance, rather looking to the future than to the past, and as regards Schultz I sent for him, and put it to him, how much of the future prosperity of the country depended on the spirit in which the new institutions should be commenced, and since then I have not found any reason to complain that he has gone back on the assurances he gave me in the presence of Colonel Wolsley and others, to second my efforts to put down the rancorous feeling originating in the events of last winter."

" I have seen a good deal of Bishop Taché who assures me of his support in the views I am acting on: but he is very nervous about the amnesty, and he is evidently fretting at the delay in what he thinks is sure to come. He says there is great uneasiness in the French population, and fears the consequences of any attempt to arrest the trio (Riel, O'Donoghue and Lepine), against whom warrants were procured before I arrived. I thought it right to press on him that the surest way to avoid any such collision, is that the parties should not be found within the jurisdiction. I have no doubt that any attempt to arrest would be met with a desperate resistance, which might involve a great many of the population, while so far as I can learn there is no disposition to proceed against any person but the three men who were considered in a peculiar manner to be chargeable with the death of Scott. I have explained to the Bishop that even if there were an amnesty to-morrow, it would not save these parties from possible attempts on their lives which might be attended with consequences as fatal as the attempt to arrest, and therefore under the present circumstances, in the interests of the community, in the interests of the French half-breeds, and in the interests of the parties themselves it would be better that they should not be found within the boundary."

The Bishop quite coincided with my view as mentioned in the latter extract, that it would be better that the chiefly implicated parties should remain out of the country, as in attempting to arrest them we should rekindle the flames of civil war. There were no means either of retaining them or trying them.

I think the Bishop expressed his willingness to assist in procuring their absence, and I think the great bulk of the people then, on every side, agreed that the best thing to be done would be for them to leave the country. There were constant addresses to me, on one side urging active steps, and on the other respecting the amnesty, and my efforts were always directed towards moderating the views of both parties.

I may mention that in consequence of the state of feeling, the difference of nationality and the exclusiveness as to places of residence, the English and French-speaking settlers had very little intercourse with each other. Things might be perfectly well known by one party of which the other might be entirely ignorant.

In writing as I did to Sir George, I desired to get a response from him respecting an amnesty, but I do not think I ever received a definite answer respecting it. I will produce what I received on that subject from Sir George, and also my correspondence with the Government or its members on the subject.

The proclamation of the 6th December was not, as I understood the matter, the basis of the expected amnesty. As the events complained of occurred after that date, I regarded the promises of which I heard from Bishop Taché and Father Ritchot as being that basis.

Father Ritchot said he had a written promise of amnesty, and at my request gave me, some months later, a copy of what he understood to be a promise, namely, Sir George Cartier's letter, which is before the Committee.

There was a great subsiding of feeling among the people within a few weeks after my arrival, in consequence of my reasoning with them, and assuring them that they should be justly and fairly dealt with. My appointing of magistrates from both parties also produced

a calming effect; so much so that magistrates who had suffered from the disturbances and had been active in urging severe measures themselves, afterwards refused to issue warrants.

The first difficulty that occurred in the Province after my arrival was in July, 1871, between the French half-breeds and the new immigrants on the subject of the allocation and appropriation of the lands. At one time this threatened to result in violence, but I ultimately succeeded in preventing it. At that time, so far as I could judge, Riel was not in the country. This matter, however, had no relation to the question of amnesty.

The next important event was the O'Donoghue Fenian raid.

In the interval the subject of amnesty was occasionally broached to myself, and some meetings were held expressing dissatisfaction that the amnesty was not granted.

During this interval also a feeling of sullenness and discontent prevailed among the French half-breeds, caused or stimulated by the difficulties about the lands at "La Rivière Aux Islets de Bois," and at "Point aux Chêne," at both of which places the lands which they desired to retain were encroached upon, and their feelings were wounded by the conduct of the immigrants.

I produce a memorandum prepared at the time shewing details of the occurrences at this time. This memorandum was made about the 5th to the 10th November, 1871:—

(No. 90.)

Memorandum connected with Fenian Invasion of Manitoba in October, 1871.

"To estimate fairly the facts connected with the invasion, it is necessary to form in the first instance a clear conception of the geographical position of the Province, and of the distribution of its population.

"The Assiniboine, as will be seen by the map, meets the Red River at right angles near Fort Garry. The fort is at the junction, on the north bank of the Assiniboine, and on the west of Red River. On Red River all the population south of the fort, and between it and the frontier, is French. All north of the fort is English. On the Assiniboine the population is English in the uppermost and in the lowermost parishes, but between the English above and the English below, the river is settled for twenty miles by French; they divide the English population into two unconnected sections. Due south from the French parishes on the Assiniboine, and just beyond the United States frontier, is the French settlement of St. Joseph, about thirty miles up the Pembina River. Between St. Joseph and the French settlement on the Assiniboine there is a direct road, so that the French half-breeds on the Assiniboine may communicate with the half-breeds beyond the frontier at St. Joseph, and through them with the United States, while our English population of 5,000, all told, are divided into two sections, and have no back-ground except the North Pole, and are flanked on one side by the western prairies, on the other by the lakes and morasses between Fort Garry and Collingwood.

"With this geographical position clearly understood, it is easy to conceive the condition of the Province, if, at the approach of winter, an enemy could make a lodgment on its soil, and draw to his standard half its population. On the two railroads building in 1871 across Minnesota, some thousands of laborers were employed. With the close of the season these men would be thrown out of work, and if the chance of plundering Fort Garry and Winnipeg were opened to them, the temptation would be irresistible.

"Let the invader once establish himself on our side; let him be joined by a few hundreds of our population, so as to give the raid an air of civil war, and with the multitudes of Fenians among the Irish operatives on the railroads, and with recruits from the dregs of the large American cities, it is obvious we would have had no trifling matter to deal with. It became, therefore, my main object to present, if possible, a united front to the enemy. There were, of course, great difficulties in accomplishing that, as the events of the last two years had created great bitterness on both sides. The English recollected their sufferings and imprisonment, and loss of property, and wanted to punish their oppressors.

" With some (I cannot say how many) of the volunteers who went up, a desire to avenge the murder of Scott was one of the inducements to enlist. Some of them openly stated that they had taken a vow before leaving home to pay off all scores by shooting down any Frenchman that was in any way connected with that event. The great bulk of the French population having been, one way or other, concerned in the troubles, the feeling gradually grew to be one of intense dislike towards the whole race, which was heartily reciprocated by the French.

" When the volunteers came to be disbanded, and were thus freed from all restraint, the hatred of the two classes exhibited itself more and more. Some of the immigrants from Ontario shared the feelings of the disbanded volunteers, and acted in concert with them. A body of French half-breeds had made a selection of a tract of land at *Riviers aux Isles de Bois*; some of them had made farms, or at all events enclosures, at that place. There was abundance of land elsewhere equally good, but the new-comers preferred this spot. They entered on the ground and staked it off; put up huts, and declared they would hold it against all comers. To give character to their occupation, they discarded the name by which the river had been known, and called it the *Boyne*. Of course the half-breeds were enraged, they thought it had enough to lose land they believed to be theirs, but in the new name they saw something worse—an insult to their religion. They seemed to think that property, race, and creed were all to be trodden under foot, unless they took care of themselves. They met in their parishes on the Assiniboine and Red River, and determined to march to the settlement and drive off the intruders. Fortunately I heard of their intentions.

" I sent for some leading men among them, and warned them that if they lifted a hand or struck a blow it was all over with them.

" The collision was arrested, but not without great risk. Had blood been shed on that occasion we should have had a civil war in which every French half-breed would have been an active participator; while from the English half-breeds, in accord on the question of property with the French, neutrality was the utmost that could have been counted on, and at this moment we had a garrison of only 80 men to defend all our military stores at Fort Garry, and to preserve the peace of half a continent besides.

" The danger was over for the moment, but the feelings of sullen discontent remained. This was in July. In October came the raid. It was predicated on the discontents known to prevail among the French half-breeds.

" The leader of the raid had been a member of the Provisional Government; the other members of that Government were in the Province, outlawed for their offences, abused by one press and thrown over by the other, and yet exercising a large influence among the population of their own race and creed. Under these circumstances the chances were that the French would join the enemy. I had a tough battle to fight.

" For a fortnight I laboured unremittingly with the French clergy and with the representatives of the French parishes in the Assembly. I pointed out, as well as I could, the advantages in one line, the danger and ruin in the other.

" At last my remonstrances and persuasion began to take effect. The clergy assisted me in the movement. The colleagues of O'Donoghue in the Provisional Government, on whom he had counted, began to come out against him. Riel went into the French settlements and used his influence against O'Donoghue. These two men are said never to have been very friendly.

" O'Donoghue was always a Fenian, an annexationist; Riel was neither, his feelings were those of a Frenchman and a Catholic. He could see a chance for his race and creed in the Dominion where a large part of the population is French. The clergy, who were of the same race, naturally shared his feelings in this respect; and they felt more inclined to side with Riel, one of themselves, than with O'Donoghue, who differed from them in race, and, as a Fenian, was not necessarily a good Catholic.

" With these influences operating on the French side, their sullenness and resentment were gradually overcome, and they were brought to take a stand in favor of the Crown. My letter of the 13th October at the close of the raid, addressed to the people of Manitoba,

" details the progress of events. There are many things stated above which, of course, I
 " could not say in that document.

" The chiefs of the raiders were captured on Thursday the 5th October. On Friday
 " evening intelligence of this reached me. With the news of the capture came a report
 " from the front that the attack on the Hudson's Bay Company's post was only a feint.

" The Pembina people alleged that the real attack was to be from St. Joseph, and the
 " body of the Fenians were said to be massed there. Our troops left Fort Garry for the
 " front on Friday. On Saturday they encamped nine miles out at " Rivière Sale " in the
 " Village of St. Norbert. This is Father Ritchot's parish.

" Here, after pitching their tents, Major Irvine found out that he could not safely
 " remain as he was afraid of his own men committing an outrage for which he thought he
 " saw them making preparation. The moment he was aware of the danger he ordered his
 " men to strike their tents and march three miles further on. There, on the night of
 " Saturday, he received letters from the front which convinced him there was to be a renewal
 " of the raid on the next day. At 3-30 on Sunday morning he wrote me to that effect, and
 " urged me to send, without delay, an additional force of 150 men, and provisions.

" He enclosed me letters from the front, one of which was from our Deputy Collector
 " of Customs, at the frontier, and another from the Hudson's Bay officer in charge of the
 " Pembina Post. These men were in the best position to know the truth, and they seemed
 " to have no doubt that a raid was coming off at once.

" Irvine's letter assured me that the French half-breeds in the neighbourhood of his
 " camp were under the same impression. Meanwhile to supply the place of the Service
 " Militia sent to the front, the fort was garrisoned by raw recruits drawn from the neigh-
 " bourhood. Within 24 hours from the time they entered the fort, some one among them,
 " in sympathy with the Fenians, had spiked one of the best of our guns.

" The people of Winnipeg were in great alarm.

" When the news from the front arrived on Sunday and became known in town, the
 " alarm was increased.

" A number of Irishmen living in the villages around, suspected of Fenianism were
 " arrested by self-constituted policemen without complaints or warrants. The neigh-
 " bourhood was in a state of consternation. I did not consider the affair quite so
 " serious. Major Irvine's letter reached me before daybreak. I sent him immediately a
 " reply pointing out the improbabilities in the reports; the almost impossibility of any re-
 " newal of the raid under the circumstances, and the slenderness of the foundations upon
 " which our men at the front had based their reports. I mention the state of feeling only
 " to shew what was the belief on Sunday among the English as well as the French. It is said
 " that the French did not declare themselves until they knew that all danger was over. It
 " was over undoubtedly on Sunday, but the English who had the best means of learning the
 " facts did not think so. Our scouts were on the road bringing news every six hours. I
 " have detailed the news as it came. Can it be supposed that the French half-breeds
 " scattered over their villages all along the Red River, and up the Assiniboine were in a
 " better position to know the truth than we were? It was in this state of public feeling
 " that the Speaker and the Hon. Mr. Girard came across the river to tell me that there
 " were 200 French half-breeds at St. Boniface ready to offer their services and to ask where
 " I would receive them.

" I would of course have preferred their coming to the fort, but, with the feverish
 " excitement then existing, it was a risk to allow them to come over among the men that
 " were there.

" A stray bullet would have undone the work which I had been laboring at for weeks,
 " and which was now culminating in a united front presented to the enemy. I therefore
 " went over and took with me Captain Macdonald, then in command of the fort in
 " Irvine's absence.

" I found the half-breeds drawn up in line. After a tender of their services, through
 " Mr. Girard, and my acceptance of the same, Mr. Girard came up to me with a person by
 " his side, saying, ' This is the captain the French half-breeds have chosen to lead them,

" He presented in the same way some four or five others. I shook hands with them all. " I did not at the moment suppose either of them to be Riel. Captain Macdonald did not " at the time believe Riel was there. But I lay no stress on this. It did not seem to me " that it was quite the time, when the country was in danger, to inquire into the antecedents or spurn the offer of any man willing to fight against the Fenians. The whole " thing was over in fifteen minutes. On looking back I see nothing in the course I took " that gives me any doubt as to its correctness. I would take it again under the like circumstances. If the Dominion have at this moment the Province to defend, and not one " to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French half-breeds into the hands of the enemy ; if I had shut the door to repentance and prevented " them returning to a loyal submission to the Sovereign, O'Donoghue would have been " joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier ; Fort Garry would " have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers to the north of the " Assiniboine would have suffered horrors it makes me shudder to contemplate.

" As things turned out, we presented externally a good aspect, better indeed than " when the curtain is drawn aside and the whole truth displayed. The demonstration outwardly was, so far as Fenianism or annexation was concerned, that of a united people. " O'Donoghue, looking at the past, and at his reception by the French, had little encouragement to plan another raid.

" Meanwhile the trial of a few of the men he had led, and the conviction and sentence " of one of them, did good service by showing the half-breeds that playing at treason was a " dangerous game. They were taught that for things that might have been overlooked in " times of trouble and danger, there was no excuse under a settled and established government. A year or two of quiet, with such immigration as we were likely to have was " then all that was required to place the Province beyond the reach of danger.

" The English element is inevitably destined to prevail in Manitoba.

" Immigration will fill it with an English-speaking people ; but for this, peace and " good order are to be first requisites : with these the future of the country is assured."

When conducting the negotiations with Father Ritchot in connection with the Fenian raid, I received the letter from Father Ritchot, dated 4th October, 1871. (See page 90.)

This came about thus. Father Ritchot said it was impossible for the Metis to take the line I wished, because many of them were connected with the troubles ; no amnesty had been granted, and they could not come out without danger of being arrested. After this the letter was written, and I answered it by my letter of 5th October. (See page 91.)

(No. 92.)

" PROCLAMATION.

" To Our loving subjects of the Province of Manitoba, — *Greeting* :

" Whereas, intelligence has just been received from trustworthy sources, that a band " of lawless men, calling themselves Fenians, have assembled on the Frontier Line of the " United States, at or near Pembina, and that they intend to make a raid into this " Province from a country with which We are at peace, and to commit acts of depredation, " pillage and robbery and other outrages upon the persons and property of Our loving " subjects, the inhabitants of this Province. While not unprepared to meet the emergency " with Our regular forces, We do hereby warn all Our said loving subjects to put themselves in readiness at once to assist in repelling this outrage upon their hearths and " homes. We enjoin them immediately to assemble in their respective parishes and enroll " themselves for this purpose. We call upon all Our said loving subjects, irrespective of " race or religion, or of past local differences, to rally round the flag of Our common " country. We enjoin them to select the best men of each locality to be officers, whom " We shall duly authorize and commission, and We enjoin the officers so selected, to put " themselves in immediate communication with the Lieutenant-Governor of Our said " Province. We shall take care that persons possessed of military skill and experience

" shall be detailed to teach the necessary drill and discipline. All officers and men
 " when called into service shall receive the pay and allowances given to the Regular
 " Militia. The country need feel no alarm. We are quite able to repel these outlaws, if
 " they were numerous. The handful of them who threaten Us, can give no serious
 " difficulty to brave men who have their homes and families to defend. Rally, then, at
 " once ! We rely upon the prompt response of all Our people of every origin, to this,
 " Our call.

" In testimony whereof, We have caused these Our letters to be made patent, and the
 " Great Seal of Manitoba to be hereunto affixed.

" Witness Our trusty and well-beloved, the Honorable Adams George Archibald,
 " Lieutenant-Governor of Our Province of Manitoba, Member of Our Privy Council for
 " Canada, &c., &c., at Our Government House at Fort Garry, this 3rd day of October, in
 " the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and in the thirty-
 " fifth year of Our Reign.

" By Command.

" THOS. HOWARD,
 " Provincial Secretary."

I produce copy of letter from Major Irvine, dated October 5th.

(No. 93.)

(Copy.)

" CAMP ST. NORBERT,
 " October 5th, 1871.

" SIR,—I have the honor to report that having proceeded some four miles on the
 " Pembina road, I encamped for the night near the residence of the Honorable J.
 " Hamelin. Little further news than what we had heard before leaving the fort, was to
 " be gained. The French half-breeds held a meeting in favour of aiding the Government,
 " which I am told was most enthusiastic. We started for this place at eight o'clock this
 " morning, reaching here a little before eleven, and as I have no report from the front,
 " since last evening, I shall remain here until information arrives upon which I can rely.

" I may add that in reference to military arrangements at Fort Garry, that I
 " consider that the two companies under Captain Smith and Captain Pettier will be a
 " sufficient guard for the fort at present; the companies at Poplar Point and at St.
 " Andrew's remaining at their head-quarters.

" I cannot say what my next move will be, till I hear from the front.

" On receiving any intelligence I shall communicate with Your Excellency immedi-
 " ately.

" I have, &c.,
 " (Signed,) A. G. IRVINE,
 " Major.

" P. S.—I desire to mention that all the inhabitants on the road have been most
 " ready in rendering us all the aid and assistance we have required of them, especially
 " Mr. Hamelin, who put his house and stables at our disposal last night.

" ST. NORBERT, 3.30 P.M.

" 2nd P.S.—Mr. Bradley, who has just arrived from Pembina, informs me that Col.
 " Whenton holds O'Donoghue and the other Fenian leaders prisoners at Fort Pembina,
 " and that all their followers have crossed over to the American side.

" I shall remain here till I hear from Your Excellency, whether I had not better
 " return to Fort Garry, as it is now reported that there are no longer any Fenians in the
 " Province.

" (Signed,) A. G. IRVINE,
 " Major."

As to the impression prevailing among the people that there was to be a renewed raid, I produce Irvine's letter of 8th October, 1871, which is as follows :—

(Copy.)

(No. 94.)

" CAMP ST. NORBERT,
" 3.30 A.M., Sunday Morning,
" 8th October, 1871.

" SIR,—I enclose reports just arrived from the front. There is no doubt the Fenians intend making a raid between this and to-morrow night. I will move on in the morning. I shall require reinforcement *at once*; 150 men; as many drilled men as possible under command of Mr. Bedron, of the jail, he being the most competent man to command that I know of.

" Captain Macdonald will have to remain at Fort Garry. No time to be lost in sending the reinforcements forward with provisions.

" I have, &c.,
" (Signed,) A. G. IRVINE,
" Major."

I also produce copies of the enclosures in Major Irvine's letter of October 8th, 1871 :—

(Copy.)

(No. 95.)

" PEMBINA,
" 5th October, 1871.

" Hon. D. A. Smith,
" Fort Garry.

" DEAR SIR,—This place was this morning, at 7.30, taken possession of by O'Donoghue, O'Neil, Donnelly and Curley, who had thirty-five men along as followers. They were driven out by Colonel Wheaton of the U.S. Army. He captured O'Neil, Donnelly and Curley with ten of their men, also all their ammunition and arms; at least what they did not carry off with them. O'Donoghue left his cloak and overcoat, and since his flight from the fort has been captured by some of the half-breeds on this side of the line. He has not been taken here, but one of them has gone to Colonel Wheaton to see if he will take him for security. If he does not take him I will try and get the half-breeds to take him to Fort Garry. The French half-breeds of Pembina deserve credit for their prompt action in the affair. Send us help and we will get enough together here to make a good fight.

" My life is said to be in danger because I tried to lock the door on O'Donoghue when I saw the troops close.

" Yours truly,
" (Signed,) W. H. WATT."

(Copy.)

(No. 96.)

" NORTH PEMBINA,
" 7th October, 1871.

" SIR,—Bands of men and numbers of strangers from St. Paul and elsewhere are passing and repassing this place and all over; very suspicious looking characters; they are very inquisitive as to essentials. The baker's boy has just brought me some bread, and says that the four officers dined at Robinson's Hotel to-day, after which they returned to Court, where they are being tried by the civil authorities. They had no military escort, but were with the Deputy Marshal. This boy says that there are several hundred Fenians around here. Fulthorpe Hill, Griggs & Co's. clerk at Pembina says, that the trial may be continued during to-morrow, and after that the probability is that the four officers will be liberated on giving *cash bonds* for their future

"behaviour, which will not deter them from making another raid. I believe a strong raid is imminent very very soon, as they are in anticipation that troops will be forwarded at once from Canada to meet them, so that time is everything. Mr. Hill is of opinion that a strong guard had better be forwarded and stationed here at once. There appears unusual commotion all over.

"Hurry! hurry!! an attempt will be made on Fort Garry, and especially if successful here.

"The half-breeds and Indians here appear to be loyal, and only want strong support to make them active and efficient soldiers.

"(Signed,)

P. B. DOUGLAS,

"(Customs) Pembina.

"P. S.—I have just forwarded a letter to Col. Wheaton informing him of the extreme activity at St. Matt's, and requesting his protection to our people if in his power until the arrival of our troops, as we disbanded our's at his wish at the Hudson's Bay post here.

"(Signed,)

P. B. DOUGLAS."

I wrote an answer to Major Irvine, dated 8th October, as follows:—

(No. 97.)

(Copy.)

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"8th October, 1871.

"MY DEAR IRVINE,—I have just received your note of 3.30 this morning with the accompanying letters, containing reports as to Fenian excitement on the border. The letters of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Watt are evidently written under great excitement; one part of the letter of each contradicts another part of the same letter; and no authority is given for what seems an absurd statement of 500 Fenians being on the border, except the declaration of a baker's boy to Mr. Douglas; while Watt thinks if he had six or seven disciplined men he could take care of himself.

"The proceedings at Pembina with the captives are evidently examinations before justices of the peace to get them out on bail. This is just the kind of thing which always follows the capture of Fenian Generals in a sympathizing town. But it is hardly possible to suppose that a raid, commencing with the capture of all the leaders and their stores, should be considered encouraging to further raids, or as an auspicious beginning.

"The United States troops have possession of the arms and ammunition which will not be bailed if the prisoners are, and we can hardly suppose that without these a raid is likely to be renewed with better chances of success.

"The report from Villiers and Hamilton will be here in a few days. Do you not think you ought to await this, before taking very decided action upon rumours which seem to be so unreliable, or at all events have so little of authority to oppose to their improbability?

"Bedron has been sent for and will be here shortly. Macdonald will make every preparation to await next report from the front.

"I have &c.,

"(Signed,)

A. G. ARCHIBALD."

I also produce a copy of my letter to Major Irvine, of date October 9th, 1871:—

(No. 98.)

(Copy.)

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"FORT GARRY,

"9th October, 1871.

"MY DEAR MAJOR IRVINE,—Captain Villiers is here with your letter of last evening. His report of the state of things at Pembina accords exactly with what I expected to find. The proceedings before the judge are for a violation of the Neutrality Act.

"They are the same class of proceedings which followed the surrender of the Fenian prisoners at Malone, when O'Neil was one of the number.

"I quite agree with you, that if any further raid takes place it will probably be on the side of St. Joseph and the Portage. With your scouts and mounted men you can watch that line, so as to be able to throw a body of men to the support of any point attacked.

"I quite approve of your view of retiring to Fort Garry with your men.

"In reference to the idea of sending forward a body of men to garrison the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Pembina, as urged by Mr. Hamilton, we could not well do that after Colonel Wheaton desiring Mr. Bradley to disband the men he was engaging for its defence, unless we are prepared to quarrel with the United States authorities. It seems to me that this act on the part of Colonel Wheaton is equivalent to making the United States responsible for the protection of the post.

"With that state of facts, it does not seem to me there would be any improvement in taking upon ourselves a responsibility for which we would have to contend, and which Colonel Wheaton is willing to assume.

"Retiring on Fort Garry, you will be in a position to watch the points of attack.

"The French half-breeds met to the number of 300 able-bodied men (50 mounted), to-day, at St. Boniface, and tendered their services.

"We shall take twenty-five of them as mounted men to add to another twenty-five from White Horse Plains, the whole to be under the command of Paschal Brelan as captain, and Charles Nolin as lieutenant, to act as scouts, which you can direct from the centre.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed),

A. G. ARCHIBALD."

I am perfectly satisfied that the prevailing impression, as well among the French as among the English, was, that there was to be a fresh raid, and that the action of the French was not based on the idea that the affair was over, but on the idea that the difficulty still continued.

I took great pains to ascertain whether Riel was sincerely acting in the interest of the Government, or was really siding with the invaders.

The enquiry was as well before as after the invasion. Father Ritchot had informed me that everything was going on satisfactorily, but I desired to inform my mind from different and independent sources. There were a number of French who never sided with, and were never personal friends of Riel, and I got information from these to the effect that Riel attended a meeting at White Horse Plains, about a week before the invasion, and did his best to induce the people to turn out and join the Government; that nothing was decided at that meeting, but that two or three days afterwards a meeting was held at the same place, at which Riel took the same view; that then there was an arrangement that all should meet at St. Vital on the next day, 4th October; that they did then meet, and then Riel took the same line, and it was finally decided by all but two of the meeting that they would join the Government and come out.

The two refusing had been assaulted at Winnipeg, and it was with them a personal matter.

My informant stated that Riel's representations had great influence in producing this result.

After the affair was over, I took pains to ascertain from every quarter the real truth in the matter. I wanted to satisfy myself whether they had acted sincerely or not.

I came to the conclusion, as I am convinced, that they believed the raid was not over, and did act sincerely, taking their share of the risk of the invasion; though I told them that, as I thought, they had made a great mistake in hesitating so long, as the delay had deprived the affair of its gracefulness.

I received a letter from Riel, Lepine and Parenteau, dated 7th October, 1871, which I produce, as follows:—

(No. 99.)

(Translation.)

" St. VITAL, 7th October, 1871.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We have the honor of informing you that we highly appreciate what Your Excellency has been pleased to communicate to the Reverend Mr. Ritchot, in order that we might be better able to assist the people, in the exceptional position they have been placed in, to answer your appeal. As several trustworthy persons have been requested to inform you, the answer of the Metis has been that of faithful subjects. Several companies have already been organized, and others are in process of formation.

" Your Excellency may rest assured that, without being enthusiastic, we have been devoted.

" So long as our services continue to be required, you may rely on us.

" We have the honor,

" &c., &c., &c.,

" (Signed),

LOUIS RIEL.

"

" A. D. LEPINE.

"

" PIERRE ^{his} × PARENTEAU.
mark.

" To the Hon.

" Adams G. Archibald,

" Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba."

COMMITTEE ROOM,
16th May, 1874.

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald's evidence continued:—

This letter was answered by my secretary in a letter bearing date the 8th October, but which I think should have been dated the 7th, as I believe that was the day on which it was written. (See letter No. 70, page 91.)

I also produce proclamation dated 13th October, 1871:—

(No. 99a.)

" PROCLAMATION.

" To the people of the Province of Manitoba:—

" In the name of the Queen, I thank you, one and all, for the promptitude and spirit with which you have rushed to the defence of the country, when called by Her Majesty's Proclamation.

" From the moment when the rumors of a Fenian raid assumed a character to be relied upon, my great anxiety was, that our people, irrespectively of past differences, should present a united front to the band of miscreants—the scum of the cities of the United States—who were collecting on our border for purposes of plunder, robbery and murder.

" I had the best reason to know that the plans of the marauders were based on the belief that there were divisions in your ranks which would drive a part of the population into their arms.

" O'Donoghue, one of the leaders of the gang, assured his companions that, on their arrival at the frontier, they would be joined by a party of our people disaffected to the Crown, and ready to aid any invasion.

" The events of the last few days have repelled this slander. At this moment, our whole population has assumed an attitude which affords no encouragement to these dastardly marauders.

" On Tuesday, the 3rd inst., information reached me, that left no doubt of a raid being at hand.

" On Wednesday, I issued a proclamation, calling upon you to assemble and enroll in your various parishes. Copies were distributed all over the Province, and by the evening of Thursday, the people of every English parish had met, had made up, and sent to me lists shewing 1,000 men ready at a moment's warning to shoulder their muskets and march to the front.

" In the French parishes meetings were also held, and by the same evening I was assured, upon unquestionable authority, that my proclamation would meet with loyal response. I suggested that it should be such as to admit of no misinterpretation, and received the assurance that it would assume a shape entirely satisfactory.

" The reports from the front on Thursday left no doubt that the raid was to commence at once, and next day orders were given to advance a body of troops towards the frontier.

" Major Irvine detailed, with that view, the bulk of the Service Companies in the Fort, two of those organized at Winnipeg under Captains Mulvey and Kennedy, and a Company of Canadians and half-breed French under Captain de Plainval.

" In two hours from the issue of the order, two hundred men, with their accoutrements, camp equipage and munitions of war, were across the Assiniboine *en route* for the frontier. The movement was executed in a manner that reflects the highest credit on Major Irvine, the officers of the different corps, and the men.

" The march was continued till events occurred to render further advance unnecessary.

" On Thursday, about noon, Colonel Wheaton, of the U. S. forces, stationed at Pembina, with a loyal discharge of international duties, honorable alike to himself and to his country, attacked and dispersed the raiders as they were crossing the frontier, making prisoners of their self-styled generals, and a number of the privates.

" O'Donoghue escaped to this side of the line, but was arrested in the course of the evening by some French half-breeds. During the night, under a mistaken view of what was best to be done, he was taken to the frontier and placed in the same custody as the other prisoners, by parties who acted very naturally under the circumstances, but still, in a way to be regretted.

" Meanwhile, the French parishes were completing the arrangements which I had been assured were in contemplation. On the afternoon of the 8th inst., about 4 o'clock, Mr. Royal, the Speaker of the Assembly; Mr. Girard, the Provincial Treasurer, and several other of the Representatives of the French parishes, waited on me to say that a body of French half-breeds were assembled on the east bank of the Red River, and wished to be permitted to assure me personally of their loyalty, and to proffer their services as soldiers. I went over immediately, in company with Capt. McDonald, the commander at Fort Garry in Major Irvine's absence. I found assembled on the bank 200 able-bodied French Metis; of these 50 were mounted, and a considerable part of the whole body had fire-arms.

" They received me with a *feu de joie*.

" Mr. Girard then, in the name of the men assembled—in the name of the French Metis of all the parishes—expressed, amid loud cheers and much enthusiasm, the loyalty and devotion of the Metis of every origin; and assured me they had rallied to the support of the Crown, and were prepared to do their duty as loyal subjects in repelling any raid that might now, or hereafter, be made on the country.

" I thanked the people very cordially for the assurances given in their name, and told them I should take care to make this demonstration of their feelings known to His Excellency the Governor General.

" If among these people there were—and I believe there were—some persons whose exceptional position might have led O'Donoghue to look for their support, it only adds to the value of the demonstration, and removes the last hope of the miscreants who have invaded your soil, that they would receive sympathy or aid from any class of the population.

" On Monday the troops returned to the Fort, and the volunteers from Winnipeg were allowed to go to their homes and resume their occupations.

" I regret to have to inform you that on the same day, the United States civil authorities at Pembina, to whom Colonel Wheaton was obliged to hand over his prisoners, discharged these marauders, for reasons which I am unable to comprehend, and that one of them, O'Donoghue, still remains in the neighborhood of Pembina, awaiting an opportunity of renewing the attack. Nevertheless, the raid for the moment is over. If renewed it will not be immediately. If the Fenians were men actuated by ordinary reason it would never be renewed; but they are not—they will trade, while they can, upon the simplicity of their dupes, and hope by excitement to replenish their exhausted exchequer. There is nothing in the wickedness or folly of any scheme to prevent their attempting it.

" Rest assured I shall watch over your safety. Should danger come, you will be appealed to again, and you will respond like men of courage—of loyalty—of patriotism.

" The Queen relies upon the fidelity of Her people of this Province, of every origin.

" ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.

" Lieutenant-Governor."

I produce copies of correspondence with Sir George Cartier, consisting of a letter from myself to Sir George, dated the 14th October, 1870, as follows:—

(No. 100.)

Extract from letter of Governor Archibald to Sir George Cartier.

" 14th October, 1870.

" As regards the amnesty, Bishop Taché seems to attach great importance to it; but after all I am inclined to think he feels it more as a personal than as a public affair. He has made promises which are not fulfilled, and he feels that his personal honor is to some extent involved.

" Practically, it is of little consequence. Nobody seems disposed to trouble any man except Riel, O'Donoghue and Lepine, all three of whom have left the settlement and are practically amnestied, except so far as the liberty of coming into the settlement is concerned; and that is a liberty which, in the public interests, it would be injurious for them to have at this moment. Even if they were amnestied they ought not to come in for some considerable time, till the feeling about them blows over. Their presence here would be a continuous temptation to outrage, and nobody could say when a thing of the kind would quit if once begun. Their own interests therefore, and the interests of the whole Province alike, concur in keeping them away in the meantime, and for that reason I have declared in such a way as that no secret will be made of it, that my police will execute any warrant that is placed in my hands, perfectly regardless of who may be the party named in it.

" I am inclined to think that this announcement has had something to do with the departure of these people.

" Whether or not, I learn as a fact that O'Donoghue has gone on to St. Paul's and probably to New York, and that Riel has, with his mother, moved away to some place several days journey south of the United States Boundary Line."

I also produce one from Sir George to me, dated 2nd Nov., 1870, which is the only one I can find, and which I think is the only letter I received from him on the subject. At all events it goes as far as any I have received from him on the subject. I think this letter closed my correspondence with the Government of Canada about the amnesty, though it is probable that I alluded in other letters to the anxiety which was felt in the Province on the subject of the amnesty.

(No. 101.)

Extract from Sir George Cartier's letter to Lieut. Governor Archibald, of date 2nd November, 1870.

" 2nd November, 1870.

" I need not tell you that everything you have done meets entirely my views and those of my colleagues.

" I have but little time to write you to-day, so you will excuse the haste and shortness of this letter. Mr. Royal will be the bearer of it. I have written to Bishop Taché on the delicate subject of the amnesty. I tell him that with patience and moderation in the leaders of the French half-breeds, everything is sure to turn out " right in the end."

I also produce an extract from a letter from Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 1st November, 1870.

(No. 102.)

Sir John A. Macdonald to Governor Archibald.

" 1st Nov., 1870.

" Your course up to this time, marked as it has been with prudence and discretion, " has made a very pleasing impression on the minds of the people here generally, and I " have no doubt that as you acquire experience in the ways of the wayward people " surrounding you, you will find your position both an easy and a pleasant one. We do " not know here exactly the state of feeling that exists at Fort Garry as to the amnesty. " In Canada proper the public mind is very sensitive about it. The French Canadians " have identified themselves a good deal in sentiment, with their compatriots, and the " Protestants, on the other hand, would view with intense dislike any amnesty which " would shelter or protect those connected with the murder of Scott.

" Were it not for that unhappy event all parties would, I think, acquiesce in the " propriety of letting by-gones be by-gones, and an amnesty for the political offences " would not be seriously objected to.

" Your plan, it seems to me, is to discourage any pressure for a declaration of a " general amnesty, on the one hand, and at the same time to convey the assurance, " verbally, that those who have only been guilty of taking up arms to keep out Mr. " McDougall, and to obtain a constitution for the country, will not be molested.

" Time, the great curer of evils, will soon calm down the apprehensions of those " engaged in the rising, and all will go well with you, especially if Riel and those directly " implicated in Scott's death submit to a voluntary exile."

I feel quite sure that this is the only letter I ever received from Sir John A. Macdonald respecting the amnesty.

I think this correspondence completes all I can say up to the time of the Fenian raid. Some time before the raid I heard rumours of Riel being in the Province, but on endeavouring to obtain information on the subject, I was unable to discover with certainty whether he was there or not, until shortly before the raid actually took place.

I had interviews besides those with Father Ritchot, with several of the clergy and a number of the loyal French—that is with those who were opposed to Riel—and with others of various parties, as to the feeling of the French half-breeds. I spoke with several as to that, and as to what Riel and Lepine were doing; amongst others with Mr. Paschal Brelan, a very influential half-breed, opposed to Riel; also to Mr. W. McKay, also a very influential man and very moderate, probably not a sympathiser with Riel; also with Mr. Hamelin, father of Riel's late opponent in Provencher, and, as I judged, not in sympathy with Riel; also with Mr. Dugas, Mr. Royal and Mr. Girard; also with Mr. Nolin who had been opposed to Riel.

I also gained information from my police.

The result of my enquiries was, that the French half-breeds were sullen and unwilling to move; and that Riel's disposition was favorable to the preservation of order, and of giving aid to the Government, and that he was exerting himself to that end. I do not remember having obtained any information at that time from any of those who had acted with Riel at the time of the insurrection.

I found from all my sources of information that Riel's influence with the French half-breeds was enormous, and I consider that their attitude and their coming forward in

aid of the Government was largely due to the persuasions and efforts of Riel, and that if he had acted differently they would either have remained neutral or would have been hostile to the Government.

I would remark that it is necessary for a just appreciation of the state of affairs in the Province, and the line of action adopted there, to know what the feelings of the majority of the people were with regard to the mode of dealing with those who had been engaged in the disturbances. In fact, the whole of the French half-breeds, and a majority of the English, regarded the leaders in those disturbances as patriots and heroes; and any Government which should attempt to treat them as criminals would be obliged virtually to disregard the principles of responsible Government. Whatever might be the views of other portions of the Dominion, nineteen out of twenty-four of the representatives of the people were in favor of a policy under which all classes were treated alike, without regard to their conduct at the time of the troubles; and it would have been impossible to retain even a semblance of responsible Government while acting in accordance with the views of a small minority of the representative body.

My views as to the course of conduct I felt it my duty to pursue, are detailed in a letter from myself to the Hon. Joseph Howe, dated 20th January, 1872, an extract of which I produce, as follows:—

(No. 103.)

Lieut.-Governor Archibald to Hon. Joseph Howe.

“ 20th January, 1872.

“ I called the Houses together sooner than I should otherwise have done, because I wished to afford the members an early opportunity of expressing their views on public affairs. You in Ottawa would naturally attach importance to the resolutions passed at the meetings organized by a small but noisy fraction of our people who wished me to dissolve the House.

“ This I refused to do, but yielded to their wishes so far as to undertake to call an early session, and so afford the opportunity they sought to move resolutions of censure, either upon myself or upon my ministers.

“ I took care when the House met that my speech should leave no chance to evade the question which has so exercised the people of Ontario.

“ The paragraph touching the Fenian raid was framed on purpose to challenge criticism and elicit an unmistakable reply.

“ You will see that the answer of each House, unanimously adopted, endorses my policy in emphatic terms.

“ In neither Houses did the answer pass merely as a matter of courtesy. In both Houses the friends of the Government invited the opposition to express their opinion on any paragraph of the address that they might consider open to attack.

“ In the Assembly a resolution was moved in amendment, not finding fault with anything contained in the speech, but censuring the Government for not having in the address referred to lands—matters in fact, with which the Local Legislatures have no right to deal. Even then, on an issue of their own choosing, which they had to go out of the speech to find, the opposition could muster only four votes to seventeen, while the various paragraphs of the speech were re-echoed by a unanimous vote, so that all the clamour of the opposition newspapers—all the violent agitation of discharged voyagers and soldiers have ended in giving in the only way in which the voice of the people can constitutionally be heard—a unanimous affirmation of the policy I have acted on.

“ It seems to me that the people here must be allowed to be judges of how to manage their own affairs.

“ At all events this must be so till they cease to possess representative institutions. If they are to be responsible to the people of other Provinces the members should be elected there. At all events one thing is clear, they should not be elected by the men to whom Parliament has given the franchise.

" If the other doctrine is sound it should be your business, in dealing with these men
 " to erect not hustings but gallows.

" You allow the electors to choose members, you allow the members to make and
 " unmake Ministries, but electors and members are to exercise their functions with ropes
 " around their necks. Was there ever before a responsible Ministry resting on a House, of
 " whose constituents more than half were liable to be hanged or sent to the penitentiary?
 " To hang all, or to hang a few to whom the rest are blindly devoted, is much the same
 " thing so far as a responsible Ministry is concerned.

" If then you cannot punish without recalling constitutional Government, what use
 " is there in keeping up the pretence of calling these people outlaws. In my view you
 " have to choose between revoking responsible Government, and admitting that you can-
 " not go back to inflict punishment for offences in which half the population were implica-
 " ted, committed before responsible Government was conceded.

" Still I may be wrong. I have no wish that my opinions should go for more than
 " they are worth.

" I can give you no better proof of that than I did in offering to remove any obstacle
 " to the adoption of a different view.

" What I said in substance to you in my last, I afterwards put into formal shape and
 " sent to the Premier.

" I did not act under any feeling of irritation, I had no motive other than the desire
 " to have the Government free to take whatever line they thought best.

" If therefore the Government think it wise to adopt another policy, there is nothing
 " to prevent them from entirely repudiating my actions.

" I am quite content to await the time when a healthier public opinion will take the
 " place of the feverish excitement lately prevailing in some parts of the Dominion.

" Meanwhile, let a different experiment be tried. At the end of a year of such a
 " régime, it will be seen whether as proud a chronicle can be given of peace and progress
 " as the one we have just recorded.

" I trust in God it may be so, but it seems to me that unless you expect to 'gather
 " grapes of thorns or figs of thistles' you can hardly hope to carry on responsible Gov-
 " ernment by inflicting death penalties on the leaders of a majority of the electors.

" I have &c.,

" (Signed,)

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

" Hon. J. Howe,
 " &c., &c., &c."

The feeling of the people and of their representatives is exhibited by the addresses
 unanimously voted in both Houses in reply to my speech to the first session of the Legis-
 lature after the Fenian raid.

I produce a copy of the speech and of the address in reply.

(No. 104.)

Extract from Lieut.-Governor Archibald's Speech.

" 16th January, 1872.

" Honorable Gentlemen of the Legislative Council—

" Gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly :

" I have reason to congratulate you on the attitude assumed by all classes of the
 " people on the occasion of the recent Fenian raid.

" Your loyal response, irrespective of race and creed, to the call made upon you to
 " rally round the flag of the Empire is a convincing proof of the soundness of the policy
 " which, notwithstanding the troubles of the past, has aimed to treat you all as one
 " people interested in a common country and sharers of a common destiny.

" That policy, uniting the whole people in support of the Throne, enables me to deal
 " vigorously with offences committed since the official responsibilities of Canada
 " commenced.]

"The Government accept it as their paramount duty to preserve peace and maintain order in the Province."

(No. 105.)

Extract from Address of Legislative Council of Manitoba in reply to Speech.

"17th January, 1872.

"We feel that Your Excellency could have no more signal proof of the soundness of the policy of forbearance and fair play towards all classes of the people, than was afforded by the attitude of the whole population on the occasion of the recent Fenian raid.

"We rejoice to know that irrespective of race and creed they rallied to the flag of the Sovereign, and showed a spirit of patriotism and union becoming the owners of a common country and the sharers of a common destiny."

I believe that the action of the half-breeds at the time of the Fenian raid was attributable to the negotiations with their leaders which I have described, and if the half-breeds had taken a different course, I do not believe the Province would now be in our possession. I think I communicated these circumstances to the Government at Ottawa, and now produce copies of whatever correspondence I had with its members on that subject. But I did not receive any communication from that Government as to the mode of action adopted or to be adopted. I always kept the Government informed of what passed, but I received only occasional answers or comments in reply covering several of my letters in one answer.

After meeting the armed half-breeds I took 25 of them and 25 of those from St. François Xavier and used them as scouts for a short time. I asked Mr. Girard or Mr. Royal to send me them over but I do not know who selected them. So far as I know the main body dispersed after the meeting. I do not remember where next or when I again heard of Riel.

I have no knowledge of the proceedings at St. Norbert except from reports. I have seen the affidavit made by one Charette. I made it my business to ascertain the facts as to the statements contained in that affidavit, and after the most careful enquiry, I was convinced that those statements were untrue. I do not know Charette.

The correspondence with Father Ritchot was after the meeting which was on the 3rd November.

The Legislature met on the 16th of January, 1872, and prorogued on the 21st of February following.

During the session the Ontario Assembly took action on the subject of the death of Scott. This evoked a large amount of feeling, as well among the people as in the Assembly.

I produce an extract from my despatch, dated 24th February, 1872, to Sir George Cartier on this subject.

It represents the state of affairs as I ascertained them at the time.

(No. 106.)

Extract from Letter to Sir George Cartier.

"24th February, 1872.

"I have had a rather anxious time since the intelligence arrived of the reward offered by Middlesex County Council and the Legislature of Ontario. Intense excitement prevailed for a while among the French half-breeds. On the point of blotting out the past, there is little or no division among them. Even those of them who did not side with Riel and the men of the movement, as they are called here, look upon the question of punishment of the offenders as one of race, and would consider an attempt of the kind on any of these people as an attack upon the whole. I had learned privately, through the instrumentality of the police, that immediately after the arrival

" of the telegraphic news, meetings were held in each French parish on the subject, and
 " that there was but one feeling among the people on the subject.

" They determined that the parties against whom the rewards were directed should
 " remain in the country, and that the people should protect them by an armed force
 " against any attempt to arrest them. I fear very much that had the attempt been made
 " it would have led to serious bloodshed. Happily the feelings of the great body of the
 " English people of this country have so changed that it is difficult to find a magistrate
 " who does not hesitate to issue warrants which may lead to fatal consequences; and
 " several Justices, who were themselves sufferers at the time of the troubles, and who a
 " year ago were urging all kinds of vindictive proceedings, have refused to issue warrants
 " now. I am not aware whether any warrant has actually been issued up to this moment.
 " The difficulty is not among the people of the country, but among the small band of
 " lawless men, idlers and roughs who infest the taverns of Winnipeg. These men have
 " no influence except for mischief, but they might light a flame it would be hard to
 " extinguish. For a few days I felt the danger was extreme. The only possible way to
 " avoid a serious outbreak was to get rid of the two men whose presence in the country
 " formed the pretext for the action of the roughs at Winnipeg.

" These men left the country last fall, and remained absent some time; they ought
 " not to have returned. But what can you do among a people who look upon the leaders
 " of 1869—70 as patriots and leaders! Still I brought influences to bear upon the half-
 " breeds, shewing them the utter folly and ruin which would result from defiance of the
 " law, or any attempt at armed resistance.

" I am glad to learn that these representations have not been without effect; the two
 " men who are the most obnoxious have left the country. So long as they remained,
 " they proved a standing nuisance to order. I could never tell the day or the hour some
 " frightful catastrophe might not occur.

" Mr. Donald Smith, when he goes down, will be able to explain to you the parti-
 " culars of the danger which I think is now averted; all the while, however, everything
 " externally has been going on with the utmost quiet.

" The two populations are so isolated from each other that little is known among the
 " English of what takes place among the French, or if known at all it comes in the
 " shape of rumour, so grossly exaggerated as to bear little resemblance to the truth."

I believe that the civil power could not have arrested Riel or Lepine at this time. By the assistance of the military they could no doubt have been taken at any time, but that would have undoubtedly provoked a civil war.

I cannot say which of us began the discussion, which took place between the Archbishop and myself, on the subject of Riel's withdrawal.

The Archbishop did not mention to me that the Ottawa Government were desirous that Riel and Lepine should withdraw.

I was surprised when I saw the other day in the newspapers that there had been a negotiation between the Archbishop and the Ottawa Government on the subject.

The Archbishop told me that money was necessary in order to their going; that they could not starve; and as the safety of the community required their departure, the community should pay for their subsistence.

He named, in the first instance, \$2,000. I said, "I have no money, and I have no
 " authority from the Government of Canada to take this action. It is in the interests of
 " the country, I think, but I cannot pledge the Government."

There was a long discussion. How Mr. Smith's name or that of the Hudson's Bay Company was introduced, I do not remember; but one or other of us suggested that the Company might advance it, and procure it afterwards from the Canadian Government.

Mr. Smith was sent for. He concurred in the view that it was necessary the men should be got out of the country.

Mr. Smith and I both had doubts whether the Government would ratify the matter, and one or other of us said to the other "If the Government of Canada repudiates our
 " action, each of us can be responsible for half."

My letter to Sir George, in which I refer to Mr. Smith, has regard to this transaction, an account of which I asked Mr. Smith to give to Sir George and Sir John.

There was a discussion between the Archbishop and myself as to the length of time for which Riel and Lepine were to stay away. It was quite understood they were to stay at least a year. I think it likely I named the time; I thought that a year's absence would soothe the feelings of the people, and give them time to devote themselves to their business affairs; while I felt that as long as they remained there was no hope of peace, and that it was perfect madness for Riel to present himself for Parliament.

I do not know that there was then anything said as to Riel standing for Parliament. I have repeatedly told the Archbishop that it was madness for him to stand; that he would be either expelled or shot, and if neither result happened, he would probably sink into insignificance as an ordinary Member.

Speaking from my own memory, I do not remember that anything passed as to excitement at the ensuing general elections, but that is quite likely.

I suggested that Riel should go away for four or five years and complete his education, and fit himself for public life: and that at the end of that time, if an amnesty had been promised (of which I could say nothing) he might return and take part in public affairs; and I suggested France, but Archbishop Taché said the sum was too small: and it was finally arranged that he should go some distance into the United States; not to hover on the frontier, and for this the Archbishop pledged himself as far as he could do so for the conduct of another.

I learned afterwards that he was at St. Joe, just across the frontier, and in effect in the nearest French settlement to the Province.

Afterwards he went to, and stayed some time, at St. Paul's.

He reappeared in the country some months after his departure, perhaps in June, and I heard of his being at St. Vital, his residence.

Some time after it was generally announced that he was to be a candidate for Provencher.

Mr. Clarke, the Attorney General, declared he would oppose him in the election. There were several election meetings in Provencher, at which both the candidates were present and took part in the discussion; and I believe that at one of these meetings Clarke challenged Riel to a duel.

From my enquiries I ascertained that the Attorney General had no chance of success, and that Riel would be almost unanimously elected.

The general feeling of the Province (save in the district of Lisgar) was favorable to Riel.

I was endeavoring to persuade the Archbishop and every one that it was fatal to elect Riel, but their want was a representative man, still I had to some extent succeeded in preparing their minds for this course, when Sir George's defeat was telegraphed.

It struck me at once that this afforded an opportunity of electing Sir George for Provencher.

I think I can produce the Archbishop's letter to me of 10th September, 1872, referred to in mine of the same date. (*See page 58 for Lieutenant-Governor Archibald's letter to Archbishop Taché, of date September 10th, 1874.*)

(No. 107.)

(Translation.)

Archbishop Taché to Lieutenant Governor Archibald.

" ST. BONIFACE,

" 10th September, 1872.

" Your Excellency will allow me to remark that great discontent exists among those who have learnt that the nomination will take place on Saturday of this week,—and that public notice has not yet been given of it. Every one thinks that one Sunday should have intervened between the posting up of the notice and the nomination day;

" otherwise the bulk of the people will have no knowledge of it, and intentions will be imputed which have no real existence.

" I am somewhat surprised at receiving no tidings of the matter which we spoke about the other day.

" With profound respect,
" Your Excellency's most humble servant.

" (Signed,) ALEXANDER,
" Archbishop of St. Boniface."

I now produce copy of letter from me to Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 9th October, 1871. Also copy of letter from him to me, of date 18th of October, 1871, being the correspondence with the Government I have already referred to.

(No. 109.)

" GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MANITOBA,
" 9th October, 1871.

" (Private and Confidential.)

" MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—You cannot conceive the worry and anxiety I have had for the last few days. I have already written you that my great object was to bridge over if possible, the gulf which divides the two large sections of the population—the task has been a hard one—on the one side the feelings of the French half-breeds were so excited not so much I believe by the dread about their land allotment as by the persistent ill-usage of such of them as have ventured from time to time into Winnipeg, from the disbanded volunteers and new comers who fill that town. Many of them actually have been so beaten and outraged that they feel as if they were living in a state of slavery. They say that the bitter hatred of these people is a yoke so intolerable that they would gladly escape it by any sacrifice.

" I have done my best to soothe their feelings, much of which is not justified by anything that has occurred.

" I have urged the utter folly on their part of playing the game of their enemies. I have assured them that all their just rights should be sacredly respected. I have urged the frightful disgrace to themselves of leaving it longer in doubt whether they were to support or oppose the Crown. I have argued that if the English succeed in putting down the troubles without their aid, it will destroy them as a people—that if by any chance, through their indifference the raid succeeded, it would equally be their destruction. At length they were induced to move. It was quite too late to be graceful, but not too late to be useful. The very day of the news of the dispersion of the raiders, but I believe before the news had reached them, they decided by a meeting of delegates from all the parishes to rally to the defence of the country. Their leaders represented to me that nothing could be done without the concurrence of the men who had led them in the troubles of 1869-70. That these men dare not show their faces in public for fear of arrest and imprisonment—that they could hardly be expected to exert themselves to put down the invasion while they did not know at any moment but they might be called upon to meet a criminal charge, and that unless I could say that while rallying the people to the support of the Crown, they should be safe from arrest, I could not expect them to move hand or foot. I was, therefore, obliged to say that '*pour la circonstance actuelle*' they should not be arrested. On this the leaders set to work aided by the clergy and, in a day or two succeeded in getting the people of all the parishes into line. They now profess loyalty and devotion, and are ready to serve whenever they are required.

" The demonstration will be of incalculable service. My dread was of a civil war, that

" was what O'Donoghue hoped and tried to bring about. With assistance enough to gain a lodgment in the Province by a few men from without, the position would have been serious. Numbers of men employed on the Minnesota railroads would have rushed in here for plunder. The position of the country with no population to fall back upon, with little or no military force to oppose to marauders of whom many would be of those who had gone through the American wars, was certainly not very encouraging, particularly when all communication with the outside world would be closed to us for months.

" With the population we have, Fenianism by itself is a matter of small consequence; we could put it down at any time. Nothing could shew better what we could do than the fact that in two days the whole adult English population flew to arms.

" We could suppress such a raid without the aid of the French population, but once let a filibustering expedition secure the sympathies of one or two States, which it would be sure to do if it commenced successfully, and you would find the invasion, contemptible as it might be in itself, a very serious thing in its consequences.

" I think the course of the French half-breeds will put an end to any hopes that the raiders may have entertained. I wish it had been a little earlier.

" Unfortunately there is a frightful spirit of bigotry among a small but noisy section of our people. The main body of the people have no such feeling—they would be only too happy to return to the original state of good neighborhood with each other; but it is otherwise with the people I speak of, who really talk and seem to feel as if the French half-breeds should be wiped off the face of the globe.

" I believe that if we get through this trouble well, it will do great good in bringing about a better state of feeling. There seems to be growing in the different classes of the population a conviction that it is time to let by-gones be by-gones, and to look forward rather than backward.

" I need not add that the necessity for troops remains as before. Do not fail to send them on.

" Write in great haste. Am very uneasy, and am, I fear, not very lucid in my remarks.

" Believe me, &c.,

" (Signed),

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

" Sir John A. Macdonald."

(No. 110.)

Extract from Letter from Sir John A. Macdonald.

" 18th OCTOBER, 1871.

" We have received your several letters and telegrams respecting the Fenian invasion. It must be a very exciting time for you. It will, however, I think be productive of good in bringing out a loyal expression of feeling on the part of the inhabitants. The action of Colonel Wheaton seems to have put an end to the raid.

" I hope that the 200 men that we are sending up will get through comfortably; they will be a substantial addition to your garrison.

" Colonel Osborne Smith will arrive too late, I hope, to have anything to do in the warlike way; but, in his capacity, as temporary District Deputy Adjutant General, he can organize your militia companies.

" I must congratulate you on the terms of your proclamation. It is very well drawn and has given much satisfaction here.

" (Signed),

JOHN A. MACDONALD."

After the Fenian raid, at the close of the year 1871, the country was in a most satisfactory position.

I prepared a memorandum, which I published in the organ of the Government at Manitoba, which contains a full statement of matters in Manitoba, from my point of view, and I now produce it.

(No. 111.)

" MANITOBA.

" THE HISTORY OF A YEAR.

" (*From the Manitoban.*)

" The year of 1871 has passed into the domain of history. It has everywhere been an eventful year. What changes has it not wrought on the face of the globe!

" On the continent of Europe, great victories on the one hand, great disasters on the other, have readjusted national boundaries, and redistributed national prestige. This continent has not been without its share of important events. Who would have ventured, last New Year's day, to predict that before another year came round, arrangements would be made for the peaceful solution of questions which have kept the two great branches of the British race for years on the very verge of war?

" The man who shall write the history of 1871 will have the material for a magnificent record. Gladly would we notice the events of the year, if it were only to glance at them—but we are deterred by the multiplicity and variety of the topics which compete for attention. Be ours the task—an humble, but not necessarily useless task, to review the year so far as our little Province is concerned. To the bulk of the outside world our affairs may be of little moment. To us who have made Manitoba our home—to those who purpose to make it their home,—it cannot but be interesting to know what progress a year has made in laying the foundations of Civil Government in the country, and paving the way for the prosperous future that awaits us.

" We shall begin with the time when the Lieutenant Governor landed at Fort Garry. This will comprise rather more than a year, but so little more, that up to the present moment we may assume to be dealing with the first year of Manitoba.

" Let us recall for a moment the excitement which existed at the period when our review commences. It was a time of universal uneasiness. We shall not refer to the events of 1869 and 1870, further than to say that they had left behind them memories of the most painful and irritating character, and that a large portion of the people felt that the time had come to exact a return in kind for the sufferings of which their memories supplied such vivid recollections.

" The excitement was still further increased by the presence of bands of roving Indians scattered up and down through the settlements. These savages drawn to the front by the prospects of war, had been appealed to for support, and from fear or recklessness, had received promises it was impossible to fulfil. They were hovering round the settlements in a state of starvation, living on pillage and making night hideous with their frightful orgies. The antagonism between the English and French races divided the country into two hostile camps—not only arrayed against each other, but subject to the danger of collision with the hungry and disappointed savages who were prowling about the settlements. This was not a state of things to be rashly dealt with. It required great tact, great courtesy, and great firmness to dispel the elements of danger and bring about a better state of affairs. To this task the Lieutenant Governor devoted himself. He sought to sooth the irritated passions of the two white races: he persuaded the Indians to return to their hunting grounds: gave them food to carry them there, and powder and shot to enable them to support themselves by hunting when there. Gradually, the seething excitement began to subside, and in the course of a few months, a feeling of safety and security dawned upon all classes, and our people, in the usual employments of peace, began to forget the troubles and turmoils through which they had passed.

" The establishment of a police force was one of the first requirements for the organization of stable Government. This was done as rapidly as the circumstances of the country permitted, and we may say of the police, which has now been organized for a year, that, first year though it be, and with all its shortcomings, it may fairly challenge comparison with that of older countries. For the last nine months, life and property in this Province has been as secure as in any Province in the Dominion.

" The next thing to be done towards organizing Civil Government was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the number and distribution of the people. Arrangements were made for that purpose. The census had to be taken under circumstances when it was all important not only that it should be done fairly, but that the returns should be above doubt or suspicion. The arrangements made were without precedent, as the result is beyond experience. Every return for every district is certified and attested by men enjoying the confidence of the most opposite sections of the population. An Englishman and a Frenchman, a Protestant and a Catholic, men of the most opposite political and religious sentiments, have united in signing each Census book, and swearing to its correctness. At this moment no man doubts the absolute correctness of the Census Returns; that the Census has been impartially and honestly taken.

" After this came the necessary preparations for the introduction of representative institutions. There was no election law in the country. A law had to be framed by the Lieutenant Governor under the provisions of the Act of Manitoba. The country was divided into twenty-four electoral divisions. The proceedings at the hustings were conducted by men, scarcely one of whom had ever seen an election; yet their duties were discharged in a manner that would have reflected credit on any country.

" When Parliament met, a code of laws was submitted and passed, laying broad the foundations of civil government; a code, which we may venture to say, will challenge comparison with the first year's work of any Legislature in the world.

" Already, we have had the experience of a twelve month under these laws, and it will be found when the Legislature meets again, that amendments, if any are required, will be in the way of extension and development. The simplicity of the original laws was intentional. They were framed to admit additions or enlargements without violence to the original fabric, and to receive such additions and enlargements as the circumstances of the country demanded them. Till this code was passed, crime could not be punished in the Province. Not that the court was without jurisdiction, but there was no power to convene a grand jury, and without a grand jury there could be no indictment. There was no authority to summon a petit jury, and without a petit jury there could be no trial. From the time, therefore, when the Governor arrived, till the third day of April, when this law passed, our tribunals had no power to punish. Offenders, to be sure, might be arrested; but they must have remained in prison or be let loose again on the community without conviction or punishment.

" Under the new law, the machinery of the court has been called into operation. The grand inquest has been convoked; juries summoned and impanelled, offenders indicted, tried, convicted and condemned. The astute lawyers who were engaged in the defence failed to find a single flaw in the machinery constructed to carry out the laws of the land.

" The only gaol existing in the country at the time of the Lieutenant Governor's arrival, he found occupied by the military as an hospital. Beside this, the old gaol had an insuspicious history—its doors had so often yielded to pressure from within, that it could hardly be looked upon as a place of safe custody. It was therefore necessary to provide other prisons.

" A police station was built at Winnipeg and a suitable stone building at the Lower Fort, hired from the Hudson's Bay Company, was repaired and remodelled to adapt it to the purposes of a gaol and Penitentiary.

" At the last meeting of the General Court the Grand Jury visited this prison and pronounced the highest eulogium on its condition and management.

" Next came the question of the Indians. We have seen the state of their feelings when they left the Settlement. The Lieutenant Governor had promised that they should be sent for when the Spring came round, and dealt with for their lands. They were summoned to meet at the Lower Fort. After a fortnight's tedious discussion, after the patience of everybody was exhausted, a solution was at length reached, and a treaty made which, while doing full justice to the Indians, at the same time provides for the cession of their rights upon terms which contrast very favorably with those contained in the treaties the Americans have made with the tribes across the frontier. It is something to

“ have conducted this operation with two thousand savages, encamped for a fortnight in the midst of our population, and all this without disturbance or disorder of any kind, without a blow being struck, or even a glass of intoxicating liquor being consumed by a people whose craving for drink amounts to insanity.

“ It may be possible that the police arrangements which established a cordon on every road, and permitted no intoxicating liquors to pass, were a little beyond the strict letter of the law, but it was worth while to strain a point to be able to place before the world the spectacle of a vast horde of savages, demeaning themselves for a fortnight with a decency and propriety which might well put our civilization to the blush.

“ The Indians returned to their homes without committing the smallest depredation, even to the extent of taking a pole from a farmer's fence, or a potatoe from his field.

“ A similar treaty was negotiated shortly afterwards at Lake Manitoba. Under the arrangements so made, a tract of land equal to four such Provinces as this has been thrown open for occupation and cultivation.

“ When the Lieutenant-Governor came here there was no postal system in operation. Once a week our mails were carried to Pembina. We had to pay a fee on every letter sent there. We had also to frank our letters with American stamps, and to transmit them, subject to inspection at the American border by the people who throng the office at Pembina, many of whom had been connected with our troubles here in a way to make this inspection most undesirable. In a year all this has changed. Our mails are transmitted and received three times a week instead of once. They are carried in closed bags, sealed before they leave the territory of the Dominion, and kept sealed till they reach it again. They are carried, not as formerly, in a Red River cart, but in vehicles drawn by four horses, and driven at the rate of seven miles an hour. All over the country post offices have been established on a simple system, and there is not a cluster of houses in any part of the Province sufficiently compact to be called a settlement, where the mail is not, once a week at least, in many places twice a week, received with its welcome budget of letters and intelligence.

“ A year ago there was neither Custom House nor Customs' officers to be found in the Province. The Act of Manitoba had continued the powers of the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, but the men were either ignorant or failed to discharge their duty. No entries were made—no duties collected. When it became desirable to ascertain, approximately, the extent of our importations, the Lieutenant-Governor was obliged to resort to the offices of a foreign country, and form his estimate from the entries for exportation made in the United States Custom House at Pembina. Mr. Spencer was sent here to organize the department, and under his able and efficient management the Customs have been put in perfect order.

“ When he arrived, the authority of the Dominion officials to collect duties was denied; a leading trader from Montreal, gravely alleging that he had the best advice the bar of that city could furnish, deliberately refused to pay duties, and threatened resistance if any attempt was made to collect them. Mr. Spencer acted with vigor. Supported by the police authorities he seized the goods of the offender, and proceeded to deal with them according to law. One example was sufficient. From that hour to this no man has ventured to refuse, and Mr. Spencer's arrangements leave no chance to evade the payment of duties.

“ Under a tariff of four per cent., \$40,000 have poured during the present year into the treasury of the Dominion. With the tariff what it will be on and after the 12th of May, 1873, the duties of this year would have more than doubled the sum allotted by the Act of Manitoba to the uses of this Province.

“ A year ago there was not a line run or a Crown Land Surveyor to be found in the Province. The maps of the country were made from the crudest information. Its physical features were distorted—the lakes and rivers misplaced. Now the whole Province has been mapped off into blocks containing four townships each; the site of rivers and the lakes ascertained, the errors in the topography adjusted, and arrangements