RIEL AND THE REBELLION.

FULL REPORT OF MR. M'CARTHY'S SPEECH AT BARRIE.

An Able Exposition of the North-West Troubles-Blake's Suppression of Imperiant Facts—Who was Responsible for the Outbreak ?- The Missing Chanters of Mr. Blake's Story Supplied From the Official Document.

Special to THE STANDARD. BARRIE, Feb. 4 .- At the meeting held

in the Town Hall here to-night, Mr. McCarthy, who was received by the large audience with the greatest enthusiasm, referred briefly to the debt, the annual expenditure of the country, and other topics. He then proceeded to deal

as follows with

THE NORTH-WEST QUESTION. I shall now proceed to deal at some considerable length with what is known as the North-West question, and I shall do so from the standpoint which Mr. Blake has adopted in discussing that question. Perhaps you may ask me how I know what Mr. Blake has said on that subject, as I was unable to be present when he made his speech in this hall a short time ago. Let me say here that I regret very much that I had not the opportunity of appearing on this platform with my opponent in this contest, Mr. Anglin, and still more do I regret my inability to be present, when the great leader of the Opposition thought proper to come into this constituency. For some reason or another, it is not Mr. Blake's practice to meet his opponents on the public platform. (Hear, hear.) Great as are sarcasm: mighty powers of is as a debater, and great as he appears to be esteemed by some people in this country as an orator, he apparently is not possessed of that kind of courage which defies his foes-that kind of courage which prompts a desire to meet his opponents face. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Far rather would he tell his story behind their backs; far rather would he, with his mar-velous string of words, endeavor to paint them in the darkest colors, and represent his own case in the brightest hues, when no one is present to oppose him. If an opportunity had been afforded me I should have been glad to attend his meeting, but at that time I was engaged in Mr. Blake's own constituency of West Durham in en-deavoring to induce a friend of mine to oppose him in that riding, and had I not succeeded in that endeavor l would have had to take the field against him myself. (Loud I had promised our friends in West Durham who-kindly, perhaps, in one sense, though one contest at a time is enough for any man-waited on me and offered me the nomination for that riding. I had told them in response to that invitation that if I did not succeed in finding them a candidate after their own hearts. I would take the field against Mr. Blake (cheers); and I was then putting forward my friend Mr. Blackstock, who as you are aware was cordially accepted as our candidate in that riding, and who I have little doubt will be the representative of West Durham in the next Parliament. (Loud cheers) In confirmation of that opinion I will merely point you to the fact that Mr. Blake knowing that his record is not cuch as commends him to the majority of the people of that riding, has been nomi-mated in that Grit hive, that solid Reform

been rather unfortunate in that respect. DRIVEN OUT OF SOUTH BRUCE n a former occasion he sought refuge in West Durham—a constituency that as far as I can remember never returned a Conpervative to Parliament, and he has so conducted himself as a public man that he now fears to trust his chances even in that strong Reform constituency, and so casts an anchor to the windward in the Grithive of West Bruce. I think it is pretty safe to say that if the electors of West Durham are not willing to accept him, it is hardly likely that he will he able to force upon the peo-Ontario the for whom he is speaking in this campaign in different parts of this Province. (Hear, hear and cheers). To return from this brief digression, I would say that I only know what Mr. Blake said from this platform on the North-West question, on the assumption that he reneated here, in substance at least, the speech which he has made elsewhere, and which has been freely reported, after having been carefully written out and conned over and committed to memory by that gentleman. He has spoken on this subject at Lindsay and I shall base my answer to the charge he has made on the printed report of that speech. His indictment sgainst the Government is a formidable one, and it winds up with titis specimen of his terse and vigorous English, which stares us in the face every day from the columns of that news paper, The Globe, which I so much love to read. (Laughter).

constituency, West Bruce. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Blake's career as a public man has

(Laughter). "Let me recail to you a sequence of events. Had there been no neglect, there would have been no rebellion; if no rebel lion, no arrest; if no arrest, no trial; if no trial, no condemnation; if no condemnation, no execution."

He might have started carlier in his mequence of events it seems to me: he might have said, if there had been no North-West, there would have been no North-West trouble (laughter and cheers), and I think that part would be just as reasonable and as sensible as the rest. will give you another piece of Mr. Blake's for to me it is such an amazing specimen of English that I think our boys should at once discard Macaulay and adopt it as a model upon which to form then

style. (Laughter).
"I think it is impossible to conceive—I am certain it is impossible to point to a adition of things elsewhere involving on the part of those entrusted to the Government a responsibility so heavy, a duty so imperative, a necessity so absolute, for the exhibition of the great virtues of statesmanship, foresight, breadth of view, tact, justice, generosity, faithfulmess, wisdom, prudence, energy, liberality, promptitude and activity as existed at this enoch in respect to the administration of North-West affairs." (Hear, hear and

really think that all the virtues are summed up in that sentence; I really don't think that the most fertile im agination could conceive of any other qualities that could be added to those which, according to Mr. Blake, the men at Ottawa were bound to possess in order to be capable of dealing with this question. It must have taken at the very least three or four long sittings and the resort to I don't know how many dictionaries and en-cyclopedias to onable Mr. Blake to string out and care ully commit to paper that long and

FORMIDABLE ARRAY OF WORDS.

(Hear, hear.) Then he goes on to tell us the history of the halfbreeds. He speaks about the troubles among them at the time when Mr. Macdongali was sent up there as Governor by the administration of Sir John Macdonald; and by the way the mention of Mr. Macdougail's name reminds me that "the abandoned man" has again been received back to the bosom of the virtuous Blake. (Hear, hear and laughter.) He was the man whom, as you remember, Mr. Blake danounced as an abandoned reprobate, but to-day we find Mr. Blake opening his expansive arms and pre sing to his affectionate bosom the

and wayward prodidal-(laughter) retolen of paternar fore veness. A favored laughter. Owing to the timeshies which arese at that period, culminating in the first Riel robellion, compromise was made with the half-breed. They claimed that that the proof. breeds. They claimed that they were in a certain sense aborigines, and though the North-West had been bought from the Hudson's Bay Company, and although the Imperial Government had transferred it to Canada on payment of £300,000 sterling, they claimed that their particular rights ought to be respected and specially dealt with by the people of Canada notwithstanding that purchase. Well, we conceded that right for the sake of neace. We had said to the halfbreeds of the North-West, whatever lands you have that you have settled upon; whatever lands Gabriel Dumont or ary other halfbreed has settled upon and made his home upon, shall be their own private and paricular property; and as to that question there never was any claim or any dispute. Their claim was made with regard to what they called their territorial rights—rights not as to this lot or

that, but rights which they claimed as the earlier inhabitants of the North-West; and we dealt with them in that spirit, and set apart 1,400,000 sores of land for the half-breeds in the Province of Manitoba. Shortly afterwards this land was thus disposed of to them. They got what is called scrip, which entitled the holder or transferee of it to go to the Government land office and say, we have selected this particular lot of land—the price of which is so much, be it one dollar an acre or more—and we pay you that price by de-livering up this scrip. The halfbreeds of Manitoba got this scrip, but it did them but very little good. The Sir Richard Cartwrights, the M. C. Camerons, and the other land speculators of the North-West bought the scrip from the balfbreeds for a mere song, and turned it into the Government in payment of lands which they had selected. The people of Canada had to acknowledge the amount of the scrip, but the halfbreed, half savage as he was, for whose benefit it was intended, sacrificed it for a mere triflesometimes it went into the hands of the trader in payment for a dress or necklace for the halfbreed's wife, or rings for his

about this question of scrip, it is admitted that it was A GREAT MISTAKE

own fingers-or bells for his toes-for

anything I know. But by the common

agreement of all who know anything

on the part of the Government of the country thus to deal with the halfbreeds. While we were all willing to give them land upon which they would settle, or give them snything which would be of think when I have explained the matter you will agree with me were right—that it was an unwise thing to do, and an experiment that ought not to be repeated. But naturally enough, the halfbreeds of the North-West, those who were not in Manitoba, and were not thus settled with, felt that if the halfbreeds of Manitoba were to get this scrip, or get any other acknowledgment of their titles, then under the common principles of justice, they should be treated with like consideration. That, at all events, was the way they presented their case. I hope Mr. Blake does not mean all he says, but I see that he endorses their case in the fullest possible nanner. Now, these demands, Mr. Blake says, commenced some time in 1878, because up to that time the halfbreeds had not been interfered with to any great extent; he says that am settlement began to force its way up beyond Mani-toba they began to demand that they began to demand that they should be dealt with on terms equally favorable with those which their brethren in Manitoba had received from the Government. Now my irst quarrel with Mr. Blake's statement is at this point. And I think a public man of Mr. Blake's standing—one who prides himself upon his honor, his great candor, truthfulness-such a man, speaking behind the backs of his political opponents, crarging them, as charged the Government with treason in this matter, beasting that he told them on the floor of Parliament that they ought to stand as criminals at the bar, and that in former times public me much less serious offences men for much less serious than they were guilty of would be brought to the bar of the House of Lords as criminals, and prevented from ever afterwards serving the Crown. I say that making such charges as these h should be honest with the audiences he addresses (hear, hear); he should not tell them half the story : he should have told them the whole story, leaving his hearers to draw their own conclusions from the facts fully presented before them. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Mind you, I do not say that he has misstated anything that he has said, but there is another way than that of conveying a false impression. The

SUPPRESSION OF PART OF A STORY gives quite a different color to the portion that is told, and may lead to entirely different conclusions from those which would be arrived at it the whole facts were disclosed. I will prove to you to night from the pub lic records that when Mr. Blake stated at Lindsay—and I suppose he made the same statement here—that the Government of Sir John Macdonald was the only Government which was responsible in this matter he did not tell you the whole truth as he ought to have done. I say that when he ommences his indictment after charge of Government which took place in October 1878; when he says that the Government which assumed the reins of power at that date are the parties who are wholly and solely responsible in connection with this question, he suppresses a material portion of the true story of the half-breed claims, (hear, hear and oheers); and I shall be able to prove to you beyond fear of contradiction that during 1874, and more particularly in the early part of 1878, this same question of the half-breed claims was presented to the late Admin istration, was dealt with by the late Administration, and was decided by the late Administration, who formed a clear and distinctive policy with regard to that question. And the very policy which Mr. Blake is now denouncing as having been cruel and unjust to those unfortunate halfbreeds was the identical policy which Mr. Mills, the Minister of the Interior in Mr. Mackenzie's Government and speaking for that Government, deliberately laid down at the very time that Mr. Blake was supporting that Government in the House of Commons. (Loud cheers). Now if I prove that to this udience I think I shall have established that Mr. Blake has not dealt fairly by the people of this country, when he made these statements without making any reference whatever to the earlier his tory of these transactions. If you or the people of Canada generally are to be asked to say by your voice or by your ballots that Sir John's Administration is guilty of neglect in this matter, it is only fair play that you should know in what condi tion they found this question when they came is to office. The Government of this country does not and should not unset and overturn all that the preceding Government has done. Under our system an administration by one party may succeed an administration by the other party, but no matter what party may be in power they are bound so far as acts of administration are concerned, to continue the Acts which they find in existence until they are quite satisfied that a change is demanded in the public interest. Now, coming to the year 1874, in which year, as I said, this question first pre-sented itself, I shall have to trouble you

with A FEW EXTRACTS, because it is important, not morely in the

interests of my contest in this constituency, but important in the interests of truth and justice—important to the inrests of this Dominion that these changes Tshould be fairly and fully dealt with ; and Y ask you to follow me step by step through the various stages of this question, while I endeavor to show you who was responsi-ble, and to what extent each party was responsible in connection with it. Now, on 11th September, 1874, the balfbreede of Lake Qu'Appelle petitioned the Gov ernment, and among other things they

" 1st. That the Government allow to the halfbreeds the right of keeping the lands which they have taken, or which they may take along the River Qu'Ap-

pelle "2nd. That the Roman Catholic mission may have the free and tranquit en-joyment of its possessions, and participate n all the privileges and rights of the half-breeds," Mr. Morris, who was then Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories forwarded the petition to Ottawa, with the following recommenda-

"The requests of the Metis with regard to the lands occupied by them, and as to the Catholic mission, who have a church and residence there, seemed reasonable, and I felt at liberty to reply in a manner to relieve their minds of anxiety as to their holdings, having been authorised by a despatch from the Minister of the Interior, to communicate similar information to Bishop Grandin with regard to the Metis in the Saskatchewan district. I trust that the tenor of my reply with regard to this and other questions, treated of in the address in question, will receive approval.' So we find the matter dealt with by Governor Morris. I do not find whether Mr. Morris could so approve or not, and in fact, this question, although arising in 1874 was not settled until Sir John Macdonald came into power again. (Cheers.) I pass on, meanwhile, to another petition presented on the 19th September, 1877, and I will show you what request was then made, asking you at the same time to bear in mind that that was just about a year before the Mackenzie Government met its downfall at the polls. On that date at Blackfoot Crossing Governor Laird received the following petition from a number of halfbreeds, headed by John Munroe. After speaking of their condition he says :-

"HONORABLE SIR,-It is with sentiments of intermingled hope and fear that we, the undersigned, your petitioners, ap-proach you to-day. It is to claim your kind sympathy and help in our present deplorable circumstances that we under take to present you this paper, and to that end we will briefly state our reasons, to which we humbly pray your Excellency would give the kindest consideration. Before the year of the smallpox, 1870, memorable for its disastrous effects on the native population of this country we, your petitioners, although not rich, were, however, in comfortable circumstances We had small homes of our own near Edmonton, and cultivated the soil more or less. Hunting was plentiful, and we were encouraged by the Hudson Bay Company to follow it as much as possible, because their only interest in the country was the fur trade. They were the only merchants amongst us, and this unique intere t prevented them from giving any encouragement to the husbandmen, and consequently from bringing farming implements for sale, except very few, which were sold at such an enormous price that the poor man could not think of buying them. Thus, honorable sir, the encouragement to farming was given by the ministers of the different denomi nations in our country, and their means also were limited. It was by their advice and assistance that we took to farming as much as our poverty would allow us. Our little gardens, our few cattle, and the produce of our hunt supplied us with pleuty, and we were happy. But the year 1870 came—that year so terrible to remember, in which the dire malady decimated the whole population, and following in its wake was famine. This combination of evils ruined us driving us from tion of evils ruined us, driving us from our homes, and compelling us to lead an entirely nomadic life, as the Indians on the plains. Since that time we have had nothing to depend upon, but our guns. The game we kill feeds ourselves, and our families, and the fur we gather are our only money wherewith to buy clothing, and God knows, we do not see how we are to rise above our present condition. It is on this account, hon. sir, that we now appeal to the charity you bear towards all your subjects. We hail your arrival as the opening of a new and better era for us all. We humbly approach you to-day, and beg you to help us. The help we implore is farming implements, and seed to begin with. We want to settle and till the land, but we have no capital -nothing at all to start with.'

No answer was vouchsafed to that humble petition, couched, as you perwas, in the most respectful and feeling terms. The Government of Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Mills being Minister of the Interior,

DID NOT THINK IT WAS WORTH WHILE to reply to that petition, although Gov. Laird had recommended it to the consideration of the Government In very strong terms. Mr. Laird's representation

on that petition is in the following words: "This petition sets forth the destitute condition of these halfbreeds, and prays that they may receive some assistance from the Government in procuring agricultural implements and seed to enable them to commence farming. Their case is deserving of favorable consideration, inasmuch as though they have a large admixture of Indian blood, and hav living in a great measure like Indians. yet they have not been admitted into the Indian treaties. I at least deem it my duty to bring their petition under the notice of the honorable the Privy Council, as It appears to me that if any help is afford ed them, it can only come through the

Dominion Parliament."

The petition was forwarded with that ecommendation, but no reply was vouchsafed to it. I come now to the earlier part of the following year, and strangely enough the next petition presented was o in which Gabriel Dumont, who was Riel's first lieutenant in the rebellion which subsequently took place, was the leading

petitioner. It says :"That there be granted to each halfbreed head of a family, and to their children who have not participated in the distribution of scrip and lands in the Pro vince of Manitoba, a like amount of scrip

and like land grants as in Manitoba;
"That the sudden transition from prairle to agricultural life, necessitated by the rapid disappearance of the buffalo, and the ordinance respecting hunting, of the North-West Council, have brought your petitioners to their last resources, and force them to apply to the Federal Goveroment for assistance in agricultural implements and seed grain, like assistance having been granted to certain foreign immigrants in the Province of Manitoba Those instruments, besides being excessively scarce, are only sold here at prices so exorbitant that it is impossible for your patitioners to procure them; if, therefore, the Government were unable to grant this help, many of your petitioners, however willing they might be to devote themselves to farming, would be compelled to betake themselves to the prairies, at the risk of infringing the ordinance providing for the protection of the buffale, however just it may be, since the time during which hunting is permitted is too short and the buffalo now too scarce to enable them to lay in a sufficient supply and provide for their own needs and these of their families during

the rest of the year." Pretty plain language, but Mr. Blake did not tell you about that petition; he

has not spoken of it in any of the many meetings he has held Do you believe for one moment thre stodying this question with the care which, as it well beown, he devotes to all these questions, this particu lar and very important and significant item escaped his attention? Did he pais it over? And if you believe he read it I ask you what do you think of the public man, who, standing ou a platform without his opponents being afforded an opportunity of confronting him, and correcting these little omissions, neglects to read or refer to so important a document as that? Still more. What do you think of a public man who omitted to say how the Government, of which he was sometimes a mem ber, and sometimes a sulky supporter, but always a supporter, doubt with this important question, raised by the halfbreeds early in 1878. (Cheers.) I will toll you before I am through how they dealt with it. There could not have been a petition presented to any Government couched in clearer or more unmistakable terms that that was. The question could have been brought up in a fairer way. And mark you, I am not now finding fault; I will deal with that question by and by ; I am not saying

WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT DID RIGHT OR DID WRONG, but I am endeavoring to show you that Mr. Blake came on this platform—assuming as I am, that he made the same speech here on this question as he did elsewhere -and made no reference to the fact that the Government, of which he was sometimes a member, and always a friend, had dealt with this matter, exactly as Sir John Macdonald dealt with it in subsequent years. Let me prove my statement. On the 18th of March, Mr. Mills thus disposed of the petition, from which I have just quoted. His despatch is directed to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, and in it he ваув :-

6. The application of the petitioners to be aided by the Government with seeds and agricultural implements in their farming operations I confess I am not disposed to view favorably. I do not see upon what grounds the halfbreeds can claim to be treated in this pacticular differently from the white settlers in the territories. "7. The half-breeds, who have in some respects the advantage over new settlers in the territories, should be impressed with the necessity of settling down in fixed localities, and directing their energies towards pastoral or agricultural pursuits, in which case lands would no doubt be assigned to them in the same way as to white settlers. But beyond this they must not look to the Govern ment for any especial assistance in their

farming operation." Meaning thereby that " we won't assist you with agricultural implements; we won't assist you with grain for seed ; we won't give you scrip for land such as the halfbreeds in Manitoba received; but we recommend you to do just as the white settlers are doing, who are coming into the country-go and settle on the lands of the North-West; you will meet with the same consideration at the hands of the Government with respect to these lands that the people receive who come from the older provinces of Canada, or the immigrants who come from other lands to settle in that country." Now, that may have been good policy or it may have been bad, but be it good or bad, you ought to know when you are asked to vote condemnation of the Government of Sir John Madonald, for his treatment of Sir John Macdonald for his treatment of the halfbreeds, when you are called upon to say that that Government was guilty of treason for its treatment of the halfbreeds, that they did exactly the same as the Government of Mr. Mackenzie, as I will show you before I have done. That was the last executive act of the Mackenzie Government so far as this matter is concerned. They were turned out of office by the people of Canada in Septem-ber, 1878. Sir John Macdonald came into power, and knowing the importance of the North-West, he assumed the management of that great country himself, by becoming Minister of the Interior. He knew of this correspondence; he knew how Mr. Milis had dealt with it; he recognised the policy of his predecessors so far, but he said I am not quite satisfied that that is the proper way of dealing with these people, but before disturbing that policy as I rather feel inclined to do, I will make further enquiry. He did so by

SENDING UP COLONEL PENNIS. the deputy head of his department, who had not merely a theoretical but had a practical knowledge of the subject, and I will read a portion of the report which Colonel Dennis made on the 20th of December, 1878, a month or two after the Among the proposals which Colonel Dennis made works Dennis made, were these:

"It is therefore evident that one or other of three courses must be pursued with respect to them : "1. To treat them as wards of the Government in effect, make a treaty with

them, as with the Indians, and look forward to their remaining for many years in their present semi barbarous state. "2 To give an absolute issue of scrip, to a reasonable extent, to each individual, and then let them take their chances of

living or starving in the future, or . To offer them certain inducements to settle on land and learn to farm-

especially to raise cattle.
"The course first suggested would, in the opinion of the undersigned, be in the interest neither of the Government nor the half-breed; indeed, it is very doubtful if the latter would consent to it if it were proposed, The second alternative, if followed, would re-sult in the last stage of the recipients of the scrip being worse than the first, for the reason that the halfbreeds having no idea whatever of thrift, or of the necessity of making provision for the future, hy locating his serip and securing land for the benefit of his family, would, as our experience in Manitoba proves beyond all doubt, sell the sprip for whatever he could get for it, which in most cases would be a mere trifle. The result, therefore, would be that on the extinction of the buffalo, an occurrence, unfortunately but a few years in the future-we would find our selves face to face with a formidable nomadic semi-savage clement in the popu lation, which, from the fact of being deprived of its natural means of subsistence would prove a standing menace to the peace and prosperity of the territories." He discusses there three propositions

cally as aborigines because the halfbreeds were not willing to be treated as Indians—as a savage and barbarous people. They had aspirations beyond that, as I could show you if I had time to read to you from the report of the Archbishop of St. Boni face. He regards the second as impracticable—that is, to give them scrip and leave them to starve and die after having spent the money they would get for their crip; and he said that the third proposi tion should be adopted, or at all events he so reported to his chief, the head of the Department of the Interior, Sir John Macdonald. Now, what did Sir John do with that recommendation. He directed that a copy of the report should be sent to Arch-bishop Tache, the great director and of the halfbreeds in the North-West another gopy to the Governor of the North West Territories, Mr. Laird; another to the North-West Council, who have certain legislative powers and functions in that country, and a copy to each of the two Church of England bishops who were there-one to the Bishop of Saskatchewan and the other to the Bishop of Rupert's Land-and that the opinion of each of these individuals or bodies should be ob tained with respect to the suggestions contained in the report. The caples were

sent accordingly. Now, what were the

He rejects the first to treat them practi-

replies sent to them? Gentlemen, they agree in one thing and one thing only. They agree that acrip ought not to be given to the halfbreeds. They say that the example they had had of giving scrip to these people in Manitoba had not been such as to induce a repetition of the system in the North-West; one and all agreed on that point, and that alone. I think you will probably say that in that matter the unanimous opinions, of Archbishop Tache, of the Bishops of the Church of England, of Lieutenant-Governor Laird and of the North-West Council were right, but what other pro-posals did they make? The Archbishop perhaps had a better right than any other to speak on behalf of the halfbreeds, being a Frenchman himself, and the corre spondence with the halfbreeds was main-ly with the French halfbreeds, though there were a considerable number of Scotch halfbreeds who joined in the representa tions which were made.

WHAT DID THE ARCHEISHOP SAV?

He said: I suggest that the halfbreed

should have reserves; that twelve reserves of the best lands in the North-West

should be set apart for them; that upon

these reserves the halfbreeds should be per-

misted to take up lands; that as to these lands there should be no taxation;

that for three generations at least there

should be no power of alienation; that in

point of fact twelve little communities of

these halfbreeds should be established in

the North West—blocking, and stopping, as it were, the advancing tide of settle-ment and civilization from the older provinces and the old world-these commu nities to be governed by different laws from the rest of this country; and that for these halfbreeds a peculiar system of jurisprudence should be enacted. His Grace the Archbishop was alone in that suggestion. Lieut. Governor Laird disapproved of it. Col. Richardson, a gentle-man who had had a great deal of experience in the country as a magistrate, approved of it. The Bishop of Saskatchewan, who had been there for many years, disapproved of it. Each had his own nostrum, but no two agreed. Now let us come to the time when Sir John Macdonald's responsibility begins. found that the matter had been dealt with by the Mackenzie Government. As he was not satisfied that theirs was the proper way of dealing with it, he had caused these way or dealing with it, he had caused these enquiries to be made, and I have told you the result. What would you have done in his place? You who are being called upon to say that he is guilty of treason to his country, that, as Mr. Blake says, he is chargeable with shameful and scandalous and sallous pages of the winds. and callous neglect of the rights and grievances of these halfbreeds. What would you have done under those circumstances? Would you have created up in that country twelve little Quebecs, with different laws, different languages, different institutions, from those which prevail in the rest of this Dominion? How would such a policy as that have answered, when our great North-West came to be settled up? How would it answer to set apart in this country four large townships to be inhabited only by one particular class of people; the land not to be taxed, or bought or sold, but to remain in the hands of the original population in perpetuity—for practically it would be so in the case of the halfbreeds? Would you approve of such a policy? Would you deem it a wise or prudent policy, having agard, as the Government of this country are bound to have regard to the welfare, of not merely one particular class, but the whole community? I don't think there is a man in this room who would say, notwithstanding the good intentions of His Grace the Archbishop in making such a suggestion, that such a policy would be one which would be approved by the people of this country. Would you have given them scrip when everybody who knew anything about it—Col. Dennis, the Archbishop, the English Bishops, the N. W. Council, and Lieutenant-Governor Laird—said.

DON'T GIVE THEM SCRIP it will only be wasted; it will go for drink or something else not much more

valuable.
"It makes no difference—give them

My friend says, give them their dues, and he is right, and I will point out to him that they got their dues; that they got all they could reasonably claim and all they ought to have had. I don't by any means say that they would not have been gratified if they had received the scrip. I suppose that if an order went forth that every man in this room would have so much scrip by applying for it, every man the halfbreeds, like every person else, wanted all they could get. But it is not always the case that what a man wants is what is good for him; just as we have to restrain the desires of our children for the sake of their digestion when they want too much jam or too much sweets, and when they grow up they are thankful to the parents who so raise a wise discretion saving them from indulgences from which they are not old enough to restrain themselves. My friend says we should give them their dues. Well, their dues were to get the land, and the proposal to give them scrip was only that it should be used as a means by which the land would be given to them. It was not intended that the scrip should be turned into money to be applied to other purposes and that they should be without the land. The buffule, which had been the main support of these people, disappeared from the prairies almost in the twinkling of an eye; with a rapidity which is something marvelous to con-template they had been swept almost off the face of the earth in the space of a year or two. Buffalo skins to-day are articles than the skins of the polar bear. and most of us remember the time when they were both plentiful and cheap. What were the people to do? There was but one thing they could do, and that was to settle on the land. Either that or they were to be treated as Indians and placed on the reserves, and they were sufficiently civilized to scorn the idea of being treated in that way. Then, if they were to settle on land, the question was, how much land were they to get? Was a free gift of 160 acres sufficient for them or Do you think they could use more not? than that if they had it? I don't think any person will say that 160 acres for each man of them was not all that they would possibly require, and these 160 acres were there for every man of them attaining the age of 18 years. (Cheers.) That was simply endorsing the policy of the Mackenzie Administration who said that the halfbreeds were there with superior advantages to the new immigrants coming into the country, as they knew better the sweet spots of the North-West, and as a natter of fact we know that they have taken possession of the choicest localities in the great country. And although if it could have been properly done I for one would have been willing to see them provided with SEED GRAIN AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLE-

MENTS, we know very well that the white men who went up there, some of them perhaps quite as poor as the half-breeds, ignorant of the country and unaccustomed to its climate would have felt very strange indeed to find that such donations of seed, grain and agricultural implements were made to the halfbreeds, but were refused to them. The halfbreeds finally settled down on lands; they flocked to the best spots in the whole country-along the banks of the Saskatchewan, beautiful river in the Narth-West, as I am told; full of fish, and its fertile banks clothed with verdure-here for many miles downward from Prince Albert and in others of the finest parties of the country the halfbreads gradually settled.

The Government said, we see they let gradually accustoming themselves to agricultural pursuits and labits; they are partly engaged in treighting and marriy engaged in cultivating the all and on have only to road the reports of some of these Covernment culture, showing that on many of these halfbreed locations there were improvements running up all the way from \$300 or \$400 to \$800 and \$900, created by their own industry in the four years previous to the rebellion, to form some idea of the extent to which these people had sattled down to the altered conditions of the country. Will any one of you say that it was not a wise and prudent pelicy to leave these people somewhat to their own resources to make them feel that they were free men, standing on an equality with other settlers in the North-West instead of more dependants on a paternal Government—(hear, hear)—to make these men feel that they had the privilege like others of taking up land in the North-West, settling on it and making homes for themselves and their families. I think the mober common sense of the people of this country will endorse that policy as being after all a wiser and policy considering all the difficulties which surrounded the question, then to have adopted a policy which was unanimously condemned by all those who had the best opportunities for knowing the circumstances. (Hear, hear and cheers.) At any rate, it does not lie in the mouth of Mr. Blake, or Mr. Mills, or of those who supported the Government of which they were members, to say that the policy adopte i was an unwise policy because it was their own policy-(hear, hear)-formed at a much earlier period, formed before the halfbreeds were so well attuned to the methods of sottlement and civiliza-tion as they were at the later date when Sir John was called upon to deal with the question. Now, that was the great grievance of the North-West halfbreed—that he did not get scrip; that he was not treated like his fellows in the Province of Manitoba. But would not be fair to you; I would be imitating Mr. Blake if I did not tell you that there were other grievances, and these other prievances I shall explain to Another grievance was as to the you.

SURVEYING THEIR LANDS. You are aware that in the North-West the

lands are surveyed in square blocks of

manner of

forty chains each way, and that they are sold in quarter sections of 100 acres each. The halfbreeds had been accustomed in Manitoba and the North-West-but chiefly in Manitoba-to settle along the banks of the rivers, on lots with the narrow frontage of ten chains each, and running back from the river fronts for a distance of two miles, just as the people of Quebec have their farms to-day; and they requested the Government to so lay out their lands for them that they would not be forced to take up square sections or quarter sections, but should be permitted to have these long narrow lots stretching back from the river banks, according to the system to which they had been accustomed. Perhans it may be said that that was a small matter after all, but I think we would all have regretted to find the Government of this country refusing a simple request of this In the early days of the North-West surveys the policy of surveying these lots in that way was distinctly laid down and faithfully adhered to. Wherever the halfbreeds had settled before the surveyors had gone in to survey the country the instructions were that they should survey the land and lay out the lots according to the wishes of the halfbreeds, and in the manner that his race had been accustomed to. But if the halfbreeds were not there when the surveyors went in, the general method of survey, and as it would be found in the end, the better way was to be followed—the system which we had imported from the Western States of surveying in miles square. Now I don't think there are many of us who would con sider that that was unkind or cruel However, difficulties occurred. Now let me draw your attention for a moment to the condition of things in the actual seat of the rebellion-because there are halfbreeds scattered over the North-West in many places—at Regina, at Qu'Appelle, at the Touchwood Hills, at the Cypress Hills, at Prince Albert and other places. You must not let any man abuse your ears by summing up to-gether the grievances or complaints of all the halfbreeds of the North West, because we have to deal only with those who broke out ia rebellion, and those were the halfbreeds along the South Branch of the Saskatchewan in the neighborhood of Duck Lake. Now let us refer to the condition of things in that locality. Of the halfbreeds who broke out and took part in the rebellion there were found about 358 heads of families. have told you of two of their grievances: First, as to the scrip; secondly, as to the manner of survey; but there was a third—and that was the small payment which they had to make, in common with the other settlers, for the wood which they took off of lands adjoining their lots lands upon which they did not settle themselves. As I have said

358 HEADS OF FAMILIES BROKE OUT in rebellion and joined Riel; and I propose to deal with the case of those men-as they ought to be dealt with—according to their rights and their position at the time the outbreak occurred. First let me tell you how many of these mee were entitled to scrip, in any view you may take of the policy of giving them scrip at al). It is found on examination that of the 358 men whose grievances, according to Mr. Blake, were were so intolerable that they were compelled to take up arms and invoive this country in the horrors of civil war all but 24 had already got their scrip in Maultoba, and were therefore not entitled in any case to receive scrip as North-West halfb ceds. (Loud cheers.) I think that in any view you may take of this matter, that disposes of the pretext that that particular grievance was the cause of the outbreak. Now as to the surveys, all the property along the banks of most of the rivers where the halfbreeds had settled had been laid out in the manner which they desired; but in one part of the Saskatchewan, running a distance of 70 miles along the river counting both banks-when the surveyor went there he found nine families, and not supposing that, because vine families were scattered along at intervals for that space, he was expected to survey according to the halfbreed method, he laid out the land in the ordinary way-the way which was usual throughout the North-West. Afterwards there were other halfbreeds who came in, and this was one of the difficulties up to the time that Louis Riel was invited into the country. Government said, we have been willing all along to lay out your lands in the North-West, where you have settled in advance of survey, in the manner you desire, but where manner you desire, but where the surveys have been made in advance of your settlement, and those surveys are now on record, we cannot go to all the expense of another survey and wipe out the present survey to satisfy your whims. It had been pointed out by Capt. Deville, the head of the technical branch of the North-West surveys, that in cases where the regular surveys had been made in advance of settlement they could have the fronted lots if they desired by dividing up the regular forty chain lots into ten chain frontag a; and early in 1384, before there was any retailion or any threat of rebellion, a Government officer had gone up and pointed out to the people that while the Government could not re-survey the land, the people could have their lets with the ten-chain frontage by dividing up the existing surveys in the manner I have nentioned, and that thus they would get

mentioned, and that thus they would ge what they wanted. Was there any pard ship in this when they could have staked out the forty chain fronts themselves to considered by any reasonable man a justitigation for

MISING IN BEETLINGS against the Government of the country to (Hear, hear and cheers.) These, as I will

point out to you, were the pretexte, the

excuses, for the halfbreed rebellion, hat

hey were not its real causes. A very

different reason existed for those men

flying to arms, as I will attempt to ex-

plain to you this evening. Let me point out to you how the matter stood as to the

leaders of the rehellion. Of the 21 leaders, including Dumont, who was as you know the principal leader nuder Riel-of those eaders including the members of the provisional council which was formed—19 had already got their scrip in Manitons, one of them was a native of Quaboc, and therefore not entitled to be reated as a haifbreed, and therefore there was just one man left who had any olaira or any grievance to be taken into account in considering the alleged causes of the chellion. (Loud cheers.) Not only so, but actually Dumont, who had the most comfortable place at Bateche and had the ferry there, had made entry for his quarter section, just the same as the white ettlers had entered for theirs, and it was surveyed in the ordinary way. (Hear, near.) The same remark is true of many others among their number. Going over the list I find that of the 75 who were settled on the west bank of the Saskathewan 55 had made entry in the ordinary way. No question of complaint about surveys, no question of difficulty with regard to patents, occurred in regard to those cases, though of course, like all other settlers, they had to wait three years for their patents. Like the other setters they had made their entries, their claims were there, and wore just as good as if they had had the patents in their hands. The next batch is 139 people, who were to the south of the 75 I have mentioned; they were in the locality known as Duck Lake, but still on the backs of the Saskatchewan, 49 of them being in the parish of St. Laurent. That parish had been surveyed in the French method, and these people therefore had no complaint to make on the score of the surveys. There had been, it is true, some ittle difficulty or delay owing to some trouble-a mero matter of surveying-in the laying off of an Indian reserve in that locality, but as soon as the difficulty with the Indians had been settled, these people were entitled to make their entries and receive their patents. Of the remaining 45, 27, including Dumont's father and brother, and Father Fourmond, their priest, had made entries for the lots as they stood, and they could not reasonably complain about the surveys. The Government said, we cannot possibly for the sake of 27 men, survey a 70 miles. We would not be justified in putting the country to the expense of another survey, when you can have your lots as you want them by dividing up the present lots. Now I have dealt with all their troubles except the one about wood. and as to that, that the sum which all these halfbreeds had paid amongst them, the sum of \$80.25 for wood, or 152 cents apiece per annum. (Hear, hear, and If any one present questions this cheers.) statement I can PROVE IT FROM THE DOCUMENTS.

and the facts being as I have stated, do you believe that those men could reason ably or did actually rise in rebellion, take arms in their hands and shoot down our countrymen in the North-West because of this question of scrip, because of the method of survey which was in a great many instances carried out in accordance with their own wishes, or because of this matter of 152 cents a year which they had o pay for wood taken off other lands. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Could anything but the fertile imagination of Mr. Biake, and drawing very largely upon it also, enable him to come to the conclusion that the Government were responsible for this outbreak, this treason, that the Government were the parties who were wrong, and the halfbreeds the people who were right? No; the cause of the rebellion lay not there. Many years ago—I think it was during the time that Mr. Mackenzie was in office, though I do not lay it to him or his party as a crime—this man Gabriel Dumont had created a Government in the North-West; he was himself the Governor and he had all the people in the parish in which he lived rear allegiance to this new Government. They never believed-and if they were right we are all wrong : Mr. Blake and everybody else-they never believed that we had any right to that country. claimed that they were the owners of the country, that they had the right if they were strong enough, to turn us out of their country; that we were trespassers and introders on their soil and treehold, and that therefore they were justified, whenever they felt themselves strong enough, in rising and attempting to regain their lost independence. I say if this wore right we are all wrong here, and we are not to blame one party more than another. We have taken that country and paid for it; we have gone up there and settled it : we are seeking to make it the home of many happy people who could thrive either from amongst ourselves or from the densely populated natives of the old world; but wedo not acknowledge—we can-not acknowledge in the position we occupy -that in taking possession of that country we have committed any crime against civilization or that higher international law which should govern us. (Rear, hear, and cheers.) The halfbreeds have not been so long there themselves. Who are They are the descendants of the French fur traders belonging to the North-West Company as it was called, who went there in the early part of the century, so that they have not been very long there. Why, the Irishman in Ireland does not acknowledge that the Haglishmen who have been settled in that country since the days of Elizabeth have any right to be there; he thinks that the landlords should be turned out of the country. But these halfbreeds-the product of these fur traders and Indian women-who have for the most part been there since the earlier part of the century, though some of course were there earlier. claim that they are entitled to

KEEP THE NORTH-WEST

and to turn out those who purchased it from the Hudson Bay Company. This may be perfectly right, but the people of Canada cannot acknowledge it, and as I said before, if they are right we are all wrong. Now let us start with that fact, for it is important in order to make a fair investigation and revision of this subject, that we should realize exactly what the feelings and notions of these people were at the time of the outbreak. Riel went to Montana in 1883 and met there his cousin, a halfbreed, living on the banks of the Saskatchewan. halfbreed. This half breed was one of the men who agitated or suggested or counseled that Riel should be brought over to head their agitation against the Covernment, and we know that in consequence of that agitation, these people sent a deputation to Riel, who was then apparently living quietly in Montana teaching school. We know new that a year or two before that, the restless brain of this man had conceived the idea of stirring up an Indian and half-breed war, and if he could only have got one of the large bands there to join him-and wa have all read the story of how he enc deavored to incite them to take up arms-an invasion from Montane, headed by Riel, would have taken place, so that we one easily conceive that he was at the buttom of the invitation which was afterwards sont to him in a furnai manner, asking him