

to come over and hear his fellow-countrymen on the banks of the Saskatchewan. But I think there is evidence to show that there were others than the halfbreeds mixed up with the matter. (Hear, hear.) Men who have escaped far too easily—men who were willing to go just so far as they dare go, but who remained in the background, and pushed on these unfortunate and untutored halfbreeds, hoping to make them the cats-paws, who were to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I find here evidence to prove that at that very date correspondence was going on between the organization, known as the Farmer's Union, and some of the whites in Prince Albert, which I think seems to indicate that they had some hand or part in this matter; and for my part I am prepared to believe—

I don't know how it occurs to you—that the money which went to pay the expenses of these halfbreeds going to Montana came out of the pockets of some of the white rebels who were then living in Prince Albert. (Loud cheers.) On the 18th of June, 1884, about the time these men had gone to Montana—Riel came over on the 8th of July—a letter was written to a man named Howard George Purvis, secretary of the Farmers' Union, from which I will read you some extracts:

"Dear Sir,—I think there has not been since the commencement of the agitation a better time to strike than the present. Everything seems ripe for it. I am certain seven-eighths of the people of Winnipeg are in favor of the movement. There are five hundred good men will accomplish our object without any difficulty whatever. The fact of the matter is this, we have nothing to resist us, the military here is nothing more than a pack of boys, and we have easy access to the store rooms. We had a small meeting to-night, and the parties present were unanimous in favor of making a strike at once. I think that if we delay we will not only be losing ground, but the thing will never be accomplished. I would like to know the possible number of men who can be got from the country to assist the scheme. I hope you will come to some definite conclusion at your own meeting to-night. I give you that as one piece of evidence in support of my view that behind the halfbreeds, egging them on and furnishing them with money, were some of

THE WHITE PEOPLE OF PRINCE ALBERT. (Hear, hear.) Why were they doing this, you may ask? Times were hard; it was one of the worst years that the traders and others in that locality had experienced, and they were anxious that the Government should give this scrip to the people. (Loud cheers.) Where would this scrip have gone? Who would have reaped a profit out of it? Who else but the traders and speculators of Prince Albert, and those were the men who were stirring up this demand for scrip so that they would make some money out of it, while the demand was being satisfactorily met. (Hear, hear and loud cheers.)

But I will give you some more evidence. Jackson, the man who afterwards became the secretary, wrote a letter to Riel on the 24th of July, and you will remember that Riel came into the country on the 8th of July, so this letter was hardly possible to have been written before his arrival in the North-West. Here is an extract from this letter:

"Also he wrote privately to Blake asking him not to stop at J. Clarke's, and Blake wrote back that his health would not permit him to visit the North-West this summer. You may see by this that Riel was in Prince Albert, and he was in correspondence with him since 1882. Fisher is my lieutenant among the young men of the place, and keeps me posted as to the enemy's movements in that quarter. I think Jackson, who is a Methodist, has some of the same views as I have, and is inclined in principle to be lost to us. Mr. Williams, the Presbyterian minister, who has hitherto been a Liberal, stated last night at supper table, that he has yet to learn what our grievances are."

I wish Mr. Blake would only read this opinion by a Presbyterian clergyman, who saw what was going on, who belonged to Mr. Blake's own political persuasion, and who says "he has yet to learn what our grievances are." (Hear, hear.)

"It is the mistaken notion of clergy that they see only one side of a man's case. Mr. Parker, the prominent minister of the Presbyterian church in Prince Albert, is a good man, and I think, to be blamed for any length of time. I will leave him to form his opinion on events, and our petition may enlighten him as to our grievances."

And so on. This long letter was written on the 24th of July, five days after Riel came into the country—written by this man Jackson, who afterwards became Riel's secretary, plainly showing that at all events at that date, no matter what Riel's pretences were, no matter how fairly and plausibly he spoke, no matter that he assumed to be heading a constitutional movement, and that he was not actually determined upon rebellion. (Hear, hear.) Now let me show you how the Government were misled with regard to the aspect of affairs at that time. They had communications from: true friends of the half-breeds in the North-West, Father Andre, who was there on the spot; he informed the Government that he was to be true on the nature and extent of the agitation, and I will read to you what Father Andre said with regard to Riel, and the manner in which he was conducting this agitation, when we now know that he was imposing on the good father, openly pretending to be a peaceable and patriotic citizen, and that he was actually plotting treason not merely against the crown, but what perhaps was in some respects worse—plotting treason against the unfortunate half-breeds, who were trusting him to the fullest extent. On the 7th of July

FATHER ANDRE WROTE TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS:—

"YOUR HONOR.—Your telegram affords me an opportunity to write you about an event of which you are sure to receive ample information. The views which will be colored according to the views and interests of the persons writing to you. I assure you I have no other design in writing to you than to keep you informed about the true state of things. Riel and delegates have arrived from across the line. The news may surprise and alarm you about the tranquillity of the country, but you can set your mind quiet about that, and have no fear of any disturbance in the country. You know I am known to be a friend of Mr. Riel, and I look to the event of his arrival among us as a danger to the peace of our community, but I do not entertain the least suspicion about Riel causing any trouble. He acts quietly and speaks wisely. From all the reports I heard about him, he blamed Charles Nolin for having refused to present your Honor with an address I enclose here the report of the delegates sent to Mr. Riel, and too, the answer of Mr. Riel for his reasons accepting this report. He said that he would not come to see and see them in order to help them to obtain their rights from the Government. You will see that answer is suitable, and smells not of treason. These documents, of which I send you true copies, were handed to Louis Schmidt, as secretary of the committee appointed to organize a petition to the Government. Mr. Riel. L. Schmidt has been kind enough to provide me with a copy of these documents, which are to be made known at the meeting to be held next Tuesday at the South Branch, among English half-breeds. Mr. Riel is to come there. I think it is important that you should know these

documents, which will show you Riel means no mischief. You will receive alarming reports about the danger in which the country is, in consequence of Riel's arrival. Do not believe a word. Those persons who were very glad that you should commit some rash act. They will send and advise you for Riel arrested. For God's sake, never commit such an act, before you have good motives to justify such an act. A good many persons will urge you to send here 200 or 300 policemen. They will be glad to see the Government in a position, because that will be so much money put in their pockets. Nothing, so far, requires to send one man to keep the peace of the country. The halfbreeds, English, as well as French, understand too well the foolishness, and the consequences of rising in a rebellion against the Government, and Riel seems ready to act by good motives, and to have no bad design. A man will not bring his wife and children along with him, if he intended to raise a rebellion, and Mr. Riel has brought his wife and his little children with him, and that is the best proof that he has no bad intentions. I write you in earnest and tell you my sanguine conviction that there is no danger of any trouble if you but quiet Mr. Riel, but if you or any official interferes with him or try to have him arrested, there is almost a certainty of trouble, and halfbreeds and Indians will join together, so, as long as Mr. Riel conducts himself quietly, why trouble him and raise the agitation? The same worthy priest, later on, on the 21st of July wrote another communication couched in still stronger terms. I will read some portions of it to show what Riel was doing and pretending to the people on the Saskatchewan and more especially to this priest of his own Church. It is a remarkable letter, since my last letter to your honor nothing has happened to disturb my belief that Riel, in coming to this country, has not any bad design in view. He has acted and spoken in a quiet and sensible way every time he has had an opportunity of appearing before the public, and no one can point out any act or word of his which is liable to create any disturbance in the country. All his endeavors, so far as I know, are to make the people understand that in answering to their call he has no other object than to help them by legitimate and peaceful means. Riel, he says himself, of 1869 and 1874 are quite two different men. We have no quarrel with Riel, but we have a quarrel which exists by authority of Her Majesty the Queen; in 1869 he made a stand against Canada, which wanted to take possession of the country without any previous agreement to secure the rights of the people of Manitoba and the North-West part of Canada, which had the right of almost nine years spent in the States, he is able to assure his countrymen, the halfbreeds, they are better off on this side of the line, and does not wish them to become Americans. He has passed through a hard school in which he has learned a good many useful lessons, and the one he would not forget is to respect the rights of his fellow-countrymen by open and fair ways. Everywhere Riel goes he is creating the most favorable impressions in his favor, and with the exception of ten or twelve prejudiced persons, he seems to be very popular, not only among the English population, but also amongst the English population, and also amongst the English population.

Then Father Andre says in another part of his long letter:—

"To-day these men have failed, and have seen their expectation to see a riot fall down, and they are greatly disappointed, and will try to represent things as they are, and according to actual facts, but according to their imagination they will try to distort the simplest things, and will represent Riel as bound to disturb the peace of the country; but, Governor, as an honest man, I tell you Riel has no other purpose than to help the people in their difficulties. He strongly wishes the people of Prince Albert and all the several sections of the country, have not heard a hard word fall from his mouth. What are his purposes? They are a good many and require a long time if he was led to see them carried out. He wants the half-breeds to have a free grant to the land they occupy; he wants the people of Prince Albert and districts of Saskatchewan, Alberta, Assiniboia erected into provinces, or at least to have each district represented in Parliament; he wants to have the land laws amended to suit more the rapid settlement of the country. These, as far as I remember, were the leading points to which he was alluding, and before the 10th of Saturday. I went to hear him and I may say that he speaks well and eloquently; he speaks fluently English, and his expressions are just and correct. He created a great sensation and was immensely applauded all through his long speech, and his opinions are so good, and credit him with his talents and a clever way to bring the people over to him. I could not help admiring him to see how situated as he was, he overcomes all the difficulties which surround him, and draws the sympathies of the assembly towards him. What would be the end of all this? The end will be that we will have plenty of talk, plenty meeting, plenty of pleasure, and after a time the excitement will get over and we will becomical as usual, and Riel who is our wonder-to-day, will become a common mortal for us, and we will be as much advanced as we are to-day, and these great reforms will become stale things, and the big talk will be over. This is my impression of the present state of things. We wanted some. What will be the result of all this? The thing to occupy us for awhile talking about him, and put an end to the talk about the drops, and the poor prospects before us to have a good one."

Now, let me show you how the Government were misled with regard to the aspect of affairs at that time. They had communications from: true friends of the half-breeds in the North-West, Father Andre, who was there on the spot; he informed the Government that he was to be true on the nature and extent of the agitation, and I will read to you what Father Andre said with regard to Riel, and the manner in which he was conducting this agitation, when we now know that he was imposing on the good father, openly pretending to be a peaceable and patriotic citizen, and that he was actually plotting treason not merely against the crown, but what perhaps was in some respects worse—plotting treason against the unfortunate half-breeds, who were trusting him to the fullest extent. On the 7th of July

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West Council, returned yesterday from St. Laurent, to which place he went, accompanied by Pere Andre, at the request of Louis Riel, who wished to hold a conversation with him as member for the district.

"Riel stated that he was thinking shortly of returning to Montana if the Government would only give him the means to do so; he further stated that he wished representation made to the Government that if a certain sum was paid to him in cash (Mr. McDowell seems to think he would accept \$5,000) he would leave the country. He says he has such influence with the half-breeds that any rights they think they have or claims upon the Government would be at once dropped by them if he advised them to do so.

"He says he is very poor and has actually nothing to live upon, and if he cannot procure means to leave the country as well as something to settle upon his wife and family, he will starve, which might make him desperate.

"As soon as the Government gives him what he asks for, he will, he says, give up all connection with the other half-breeds, in that connection all rights, and pledge himself to return to this country.

"His influence among the halfbreeds is very great he says, and that they will obey him most implicitly in whatever policy he may assume, politically or otherwise. He says he should like to see Sir John, but cannot procure the means to go to Ottawa.

Now let us look at the character of the man—a man who in public was all for peace—wise, prudent, a leader of the people, disinterested, anxious to direct them, but who secretly was hatching treason against the Government, secretly was willing to betray the halfbreeds for a sum of money, to abandon their cause and throw them over for ever. Riel himself was the halfbreed grievance. (Hear, hear.) The claim to be settled was his claim; settle with Riel and the whole grievance was disposed of. (Hear, hear and cheers.) Now, was that man a lunatic? On the contrary he was not very shrewd and wise? Perhaps not a very noble character, perhaps not a man to be admired, were we see through and through his character, but looking at him as we now see him and know him, will any man pretend to say that Riel was a lunatic, or that he was not just as responsible for his acts as any man who is listening to me. (Hear, hear.) We have seen in the interview with Nolin, a halfbreed like himself, but who declines, however, to go into open rebellion as Riel desired, or to abandon the safe ground of constitutional agitation; and to Nolin and Father Andre he made another proposition. First he would have wanted \$100,000; afterwards he would have wanted \$500,000. He says that so many words were said that if he had this money he would throw over the halfbreeds altogether. (Hear, hear.) Now I ask you if it is fair to charge on the Government the responsibility for the rebellion? Ought the Government, in the face of the language they had from Father Andre, to have arrested Riel, and to have kept him in prison, and to have known more than almost any man about his movements, who reported from time to time that

RIEL WAS ALL FOR PEACE, who wrote on a subsequent occasion that at a banquet which was held he proposed the health of Her Majesty the Queen, and who told the Government that if he were interfered with it would only lead to disturbance. The so-called halfbreed grievance was Riel himself, and I ask you what the Government be blamed under the circumstances? Riel says that he had money and I will go to the United States, or to Quebec or any place else you please, and never came back again; he would advise his deluded followers to go to their homes and there would be no disturbance. I say that no reasonable man can entertain a proposition which Mr. Blake endorsed to go down as to Riel's not having been the cause of the outbreak, and that the Government were themselves responsible for it. Things went on from day to day, and at last we are told that Nolin, anxious to prevent any disturbance, suggested to Riel in council that before they broke out they should have a *novena* or nine days prayer. Riel objected very strongly to that, because he was afraid that the halfbreeds would again come under the influence of their priests whom they respected and honored as their spiritual guides and directors. He suggested that they should get away from the *novena*, and before the rebellion had expired he had commenced the outbreak, and that the Government were themselves responsible for it. Things went on from day to day, and at last we are told that Nolin, anxious to prevent any disturbance, suggested to Riel in council that before they broke out they should have a *novena* or nine days prayer. 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