THE ARCHIBALD ADMINISTRATION IN MANITOBA - 1870-1872

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Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

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in the

Department of History

by

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Winnipeg, Manitoba

c 1986 N. E. Allen Ronaghan

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NEIL EDGAR ALLEN RONAGHAN

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Abstract

The Red River Insurrection was not a rebellion against Canadian or British authority but rather a reaction against the actions and words of the "Canadian" party and the failure of anyone in authority to consult with the Red River people as to their future. The Insurrection did not represent a victory for those who led it, nor did it secure the position of the Métis people in Manitoba. Rather it merely interrupted a constitutional revolution by which Manitoba entered Confederation with its public lands appropriated "for purposes of the Dominion". The uproar in Ontario concerning the execution of Scott served effectively to divert attention from this revolution.

The Red River Expeditionary Force did not bring law and order to Manitoba. The Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry became an unruly army of occupation, providing protection for the "Canadian" party and a "reign of terror" for the Métis. This army of occupation prevented Lieutenant-Governor Archibald from succeeding in his policy of conciliation and from establishing responsible government in Manitoba.

Archibald managed to hold the allegiance of the Métis during the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois by giving them certain assurances concerning the way they wished to hold the land to be granted them under the terms of the Manitoba Act. The Canadian Cabinet refused to honor these undertakings. The attacks on Archibald begun by the Liberal and repeated in the Ontario press made his position untenable. After the so-called "Fenian Raid" when Archibald accepted the Métis offer of support and shook hands with Riel, the outcry in the Ontario press forced Archibald to submit his resignation.

With the passing of the British North America Act of 1871 by the British Parliament and the Dominion Lands Act of 1872 by the Canadian Parliament the "constitutional revolution" was complete and Manitoba, its people still not amnestied, was effectively a "colony of a colony!

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Foreword[1]

Adams George Archibald stepped ashore at Fort Garry after eight in the evening of September 2, 1870, a little more than six weeks after Manitoba had become a province. The Fort received him in silence. The military welcoming party which had been ordered to be in waiting had dispersed. The guns which should have fired a salute had been taken into the Fort. When Donald A. Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company stated that he yielded up his responsibilities with pleasure, Archibald was reported to have replied, "Yes, I really don't anticipate much pleasure on my own account".

Archibald had had an excellent introduction to the history and folklore of the North-West. For eighteen days his gubernatorial office had been the canoe which bore him and his secretary along the old route of the French-Canadian voyageurs. According to Mr. Pither, one of his companions and an expert on native affairs, every portage had its name and legend evoking incidents from the old French régime. Many a late campfire between Thunder Bay and Lake Winnipeg had been enlivened with Pither's stories. Then abruptly the little party had come into the Hudson's Bay Company's route from York Factory to the Red River Settlement. In his last few hours in the canoe Archibald had come past the neat farms and churches of the Lower Settlement and heard of the Red River valley's one great clash of interests and personalities at Seven Oaks more than fifty-four years before.

If Archibald had come to Fort Garry by way of the United States, as had once been considered, he would have seen at once how little the pres-

sure of American settlement in Minnesota bore upon the situation at Red River. He would have learned that there were hundreds of thousands of acres waiting for settlers between the edge of settlement in Minnesota and the French parishes at the south end of the Settlement. He would have become aware too that the hauling of freight over the long trail between Fort Garry and the railhead not far from St. Paul was one of the industries upon which the Settlement's people depended for a living.

As it was, Archibald was to receive his first information about the situation in the Settlement from men who had had little time to learn and less to reflect upon the factors which had made for an explosive situation in what seemed to be a bucolic little paradise far removed from influences which would lead to conflict. Donald Smith had spent less than four months in the Settlement, and almost none of that time had been spent in the French parishes. Wolseley had arrived at Fort Garry only a few days earlier with the vanguard of the Red River Expeditionary Force, and he had shown his understanding of the Settlement's needs by saying that he had not come to be a policeman and refusing to declare martial law. William McTavish, the last governor of Rupert's Land, had died in Britain in August, and Dr. William Cowan had left during the summer to visit that same country. Men like A. G. B. Bannatyne and H. F. O'Lone, who had worked with the Provisional Government, were temporarily not available for consultation.

Once word of his arrival got around Archibald became uncomfortably aware of a group of "loyal" men who seemed to be from Winnipeg and the Lower Settlement. These men, in pressing their views on Archibald, suggested that there were really only two issues of importance in the pro-

vince: the immediate arrest of Riel, Lépine and O'Donoghue and the formation of a government from among the "loyal" men. The violence of the feelings expressed by these men caused Archibald to pause in his search for a potential "premier" and to set aside any plan of action he may have formulated in his quiet hours in the canoe. The arrival of J. C. Schultz and the subsequent crippling of the New Nation press on the same day as the first levee meant that Archibald did not even have the support of a friendly press which could be used to publish government proclamations and serve as a medium of expression for the ideas and concerns of the Settlement's people. The death of Elzéar Goulet on September 13th taught him that what the "loyal" men had said was true: he could not guarantee the safety of any person of whom the Volunteers at the Fort were told not to approve. Clearly the "military force" mentioned in the sixteenth of his instructions was not compatible with the first, which directed him to be "guided by the Constitutional principles and precedents which obtain in the older Provinces . . . ." Accordingly he must act as his own premier, at least for the foreseeable future. Surely the provincial elections which would follow the division of the province into twenty-four "Electoral Divisions" would bring to the fore a man whom he could ask to form a provincial government of the kind to be found in the "older Provinces". However, if he was to be his own premier he would need advice of a more moderate kind than that which the "loyal" men were offering. Such advice, it appeared, was available from Bishop Taché.

Archibald had been in constant contact with Taché, beginning with the prelate's first visit the day after Archibald's arrival. Archibald had met Taché at Niagara Falls in July, when Archibald had been sworn in

as Lieutenant-Governor before Sir John Young, but had had little opportunity to exchange views with him. Now the two men found that they had a great deal in common, not the least of which was a shared attitude toward the potential of the Confederation they were now part of. Like Taché, and unlike the men who were pressing their views on him daily, Archibald did not find it reprehensible that people of English and French language should be working together in a common country. The Taché family, it developed, had had much to do with development of the country which was now their mutual concern. Archibald had made the acquaintance of Taché's uncle, the late Sir Etienne Paschal Taché, at the Quebec Conference in 1864. He was now to learn of the Bishop's pride in being a descendant of Louis Joliet, the discoverer of the Mississippi. Taché's own experience in the North-West covered a period of twenty-six years, seventeen of them as Bishop. He knew of the great 1851 battle against the Sioux on the Grand Coteau, and of the growth of Métis national consciousness which that successful exercise in self-defense had greatly assisted. He knew of the "convention" by which the English occupied the lower parishes of the Red River while the French occupied the parishes upstream from the Fort.[2] He knew, too, that settlement along the Assiniboine had repeatedly caused problems, and that settlement near Portage la Prairie had caused difficulties both for the Colonial Office and for the Provisional Government.

Inevitably the conversations turned to Taché's protégé, Louis Riel, and to the part, if any, which he could play in the affairs of the new province. Taché insisted that the behavior of the Red River Expeditionary Force and the presence of the unseasoned Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry

were proof that the Canadian government had acted in bad faith with the Provisional Government and with the Settlement generally. If it had not been for his prompt and decisive promise of an amnesty, he argued, the Red River force would have been annihilated along the Winnipeg River. The Canadian government should keep its promise to Ritchot and to him and declare a general amnesty. After all, there were many acts to forgive on the part of many on both sides in the last winter's troubles. Archibald would have to ask others for particulars, however, since he, Taché, had been out of the Settlement and on his way to Rome in late 1869 and early 1870. Archibald argued that even if an amnesty was declared it would not be safe for Riel, Lépine and O'Donoghue to come into the Settlement, and that these gentlemen would be doing a valuable service to everyone by leaving Canadian territory. Taché objected by saying that no one else in the Settlement had the confidence of a majority of the Red River people, and that, accordingly, to keep Riel in hiding or in exile was to deprive the people of leadership. Nevertheless, he expressed his willingness to assist, insofar as he now had influence with them, in persuading them to leave the Settlement. He could promise nothing, of course, but he was reasonably sure that the Métis would eventually give their support to any administration except one including or led by John Christian Schultz. Thus it was that a unique kind of provincial administration began on September 16, 1870, with the appointment of Alfred Boyd as provincial secretary and of Marc-Amable Girard as provincial treasurer, while Archibald acted as his own premier.

Archibald must have thought that the type of government he set in place on September 16th would be temporary. He was to learn, however, that his administrative hands were effectively tied by the factors inherent in the situation as he found it at Fort Garry on September 2nd and as it remained while he was in Manitoba. He governed Manitoba from September, 1870, to October of 1872. He then departed for quieter times in Nova Scotia.

It is now nearly one hundred fifteen years since Archibald left Manitoba. Time has not dealt kindly with his reputation, although there are signs that improvement may be on the way. He wrote in 1872 that he was "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".[3] At this writing, however, there are no memorials to him anywhere in the West, although a street in St. Boniface bears his name. Louis Riel, who should have been Archibald's premier, was executed for treason in 1885, after a rebellion that could have been predicted at the time of Archibald's departure from the province. The pattern of Canadian government response to Metis demands had been set during Archibald's time, and nothing was to change it. Statues of Riel have been erected on the legislative grounds, both in Regina and Winnipeg, one sculptor seeing him as a desert prophet, the other more accurately as a soul in torment. His picture has appeared on a Canadian postage stamp, his trial is reenacted each summer in Regina, and the idea of a retroactive pardon has been expressed. As for J. C. Schultz, leader of the so-called "loyalist" forces, his rewards came early and in full. Member of the House of Commons from 1871-1882, senator from 1882-

1888 and lieutenant-governor from 1888-1895, he was never far from the seat of power. Upon his retirement as lieutenant-governor he was knighted on May 24, 1895. Surely it is time to give Archibald the recognition due to him.

The period under study is one of the most famous in Canadian history, and one of the most imperfectly known. There are good reasons for this. One involves that prolific writer of letters and poems, Charles Mair. Immediately after the passing of the Manitoba Act in May of 1870, he and others of the "Canadian" party began to deal "in self-defense"[4] with their parts in the affairs of 1869-1870, and by late 1872 a "Canadian" version of what had happened was being widely accepted as gospel. Their work may be found in both the Manitoba News-Letter and the Manitoba Liberal.[5] Dr. Lynch would spread the message farther abroad in 1874 by means of the Montreal newspapers the Gazette and the Herald.[6] Human mortality assisted too. The deaths of William McTavish and Elzear Goulet in 1870, those of H. F. "Bob" O'Lone and James Ross in 1871 and of Alfred Scott in 1872 meant fewer sources of information and reminiscences on the Hudson's Bay Company and "Provisional" parts, while the death of James Farquharson in 1874 meant that there would be no indiscretions on the part of that gentleman who had "suffered" and agitated on Schultz's behalf. That same year Robert Cunningham, correspondent for the Globe in 1869, for the Telegraph in 1870, and, with William Coldwell, publisher of the Manitoban, died in St. Paul.[7] Elected M. P. for Marquette not long before his death he came to know and appreciate the Metis position in the Insurrection, but he never publicized his revised views.[8]

Another reason for the victory of a partial version is the work of

Alexander Begg, a man who witnessed and took part in many of the events of the Insurrection. His "Justitia" letters to the Globe, written during the Insurrection,[9] and his Journal, begun during the Insurrection and kept through most of the Provisional Government, are basic sources on Red River people and events before July 23rd, when the Journal terminates. His Creation of Manitoba[10] is a quite complete account of the causes and events of the Insurrection based on those sources. Unfortunately it stops abruptly at the beginning of the Archibald administration, and the last pages of his narrative arouse the suspicion of the reader that he is covering something up--which, of course, he is![11] His History of the North-West, published in 1894,[12] devoted eleven chapters to the Insurrection, incorporating much of what had previously been published in his "Justitia" letters and the Creation of Manitoba. His coverage of the Insurrection did not improve in this three-volume work. He laid great stress on the "murder" of Thomas Scott, dedicating several pages to it, while condensing several episodes that reflected badly on his interpretation, including the Schultz houses incident and a rising at Portage, almost to the point of suppression. On the Archibald administration Begg's work is inadequate, ignoring almost completely the violence of those years.

Urged on by Catholic priests, so the legend developed, the Metis "rebelled" for no good reason. "Poor Scott" whose only crime was that he had obeyed his Queen's proclamation, was "murdered" for no known reason. The Red River Expeditionary Force brought "law and order" and all would have gone well if Archibald had not come under Catholic influence and taken the "bloody hand" of Riel. Unfortunately for Canada

these events "aroused" religious and racial feelings which had lain dormant since the successful completion of Confederation. By the 1920's textbooks widely authorized in Canadian schools taught that Riel had "condemned and shot young Scott, a man whom, for some reason, he hated,"[13] and students could make the inference that he had done so with his own hands. If Archibald was mentioned at all it was because of his part in the first two Indian treaties. By the 1920's, too, in most parts of western Canada if French was studied at all it was as a "foreign" language, and the opportunity for students to read French-language sources became more and more rare. It was possible in the 1920's and 1930's to receive an education to the high school level and never be told that "the destinies of Canada are peculiarly and absolutely in the hands of both English-speaking and French-speaking people . . . ."[14]

It is difficult to say when the change of emphasis began. It may be that a number of people here and there were saying to themselves that what they had heard about the "Riel Rebellion" just didn't "add up". No account of the Red River Insurrection and Archibald period makes sense which does not stress the fact that nearly every household in the Settlement was involved and had good reason to hope for an amnesty, just as no account makes sense which does not show the success of the Metis forces and Provisional Government in keeping the peace and in administering the Settlement's affairs over a ten-month period. Where the Archibald administration is concerned no history is adequate which does not show how Archibald's hands were tied by the presence of an army of occupation more or less constantly under the influence of J. C. Schultz and his agents.

An interesting work that could have contributed to the change of emphasis is A. G. Morice's Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien,[15] published in 1922. This three-volume work devoted about seventy-five pages to the Insurrection, beginning with the causes of it and discussing thoroughly the legitimacy of the Metis movement. In his footnotes Morice took some pains to comment on points of error or bias in works by Begg, Bryce, O'Donnell and others. This work's greatest value, however, lies in its documentation of the part played by the Catholic church in the development of the Canadian West.

Another example of work that was being done in the 1920's was W. M. Davidson's Louis Riel: 1844-1885.[16] A graduate of the University of Toronto, Davidson worked at journalism in Ontario for a number of years before coming to the West in 1900. He founded the Morning Albertan as a daily newspaper and edited it until 1926. Davidson had met many people who had taken part in the Insurrection and in the North-West Rebellion and had taken notes of conversations with these people. Upon his retirement he began to do research in the primary sources in the Canadian and American archives. Some of these sources in the Canadian archives had never been catalogued or opened since being deposited there. Davidson wrote his book in 1928, describing it as "not merely a revaluation of Riel but an extension of Canadian history of that period".[17] Davidson made one of the first dispassionate assessments of the execution of Scott, but laid very little emphasis upon Manitoba's entry into Confederation without control of its own lands. As for Archibald, Davidson dealt with him chiefly in connection with the events of the so-called "Fenian Raid". It is most unfortunate that Davidson's book did not appear until 1955,

for the development of public awareness on the subject had to wait until the work of G. F. G. Stanley and others was known.

Stanley's The Birth of Western Canada was first published in 1936.[18] It has been described as a "scholarly and objective study of two controversial events in Canada's political history". Unfortunately a German air raid on London in 1940 destroyed much of the original edition of this book, and for many years it was nearly unknown outside of academic circles, a copy of it being almost a collector's item. Stanley's thesis was that "both the Manitoba insurrection and the Saskatchewan rebellion were the manifestation in Western Canada of the problem of the frontier, namely the clash between primitive and civilized peoples".[19] This thesis gained immediate acceptance in academic circles and a demand developed for a new edition to serve a much wider market. The book was reprinted in 1961. It is strongest in its objectivity with regard to Riel and the Insurrection, weakest in its treatment of the Archibald administration and of the problem of the Manitoba Act grant of 1,400,000 acres to the Metis, although Stanley was one of the first to deal with the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois in its proper context. At this writing Stanley's work is still required reading for any study of the history of western Canada. Stanley would give more study to Riel in later publications.

A. H. de Tremaudan's Histoire de la Nation Metisse also appeared in 1936.[20] The work was really that of two authors, de Tremaudan and the Union Nationale Metisse, the members of which prepared the appendix. The lack of footnoting and the inadequate proofreading left this book open to severe criticisms, both in the anglophone and francophone

periodicals. M. H. Long's article in the Canadian Historical Review that same year was probably the most widely read.[21] The controversy that followed the book's publication unfortunately obscured the fact that de Tremaudan had used as sources Metis who had been soldiers and supporters of the Provisional Government in 1869 and 1870. When it is remembered that a number of diaries provide documentation and insights from various points of view--those of the Hudson's Bay Company, the immigrants, the workers on the Snow road, the Volunteers and regular soldiers of the Red River Expeditionary Force--it is regrettable that de Tremaudan's efforts to get personal reminiscences illustrative of the Metis point of view should have created a controversy that kept his work in a shadow. He touched upon the violence of the Archibald regime and linked it with the so-called Fenian Raid. He did not, however, deal with the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois, nor did he show that important decisions concerning land and the 1,400,000 acres were taken during the Archibald regime.

When A. S. Morton's "encyclopedic"[22] History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 was published in 1939 it reached the market for such books with several strikes against it, strikes that would delay its impact on the Canadian history scene.[23] It appeared at the end of a depression and at the beginning of a war which would absorb the energies of Canadians for nearly six years. It reached its market in a relatively limited edition, and it reached its most knowledgeable readers without footnotes. The result was that this work had a limited impact outside the academic community until a second edition was published in 1973.[24] Even then frustrated students of the "disturbances on the Red River" wondered

where Morton found his information. In one short philosophical aside Morton dismissed the use of the word "rebellion",[25] pointing out that the only charge McDougall could have entered against Riel and Lepine was one of obstructing the highway. In the next paragraph Morton asserted that Riel's occupation of Fort Garry was a clever strategic move, "forestalling similar action on the part of Dennis and the Canadian faction". Morton's account of the Red River "disturbances" occupies only fifty pages near the end of his great work, but in it he forced his readers to look at the period in a different light. He was one of the first to show that the Manitoba Act "made a definite breach in the symmetry of the federal system as found in the British North America Act . . . ."[26] He indicated that the Red River Expeditionary Force had not brought "law and order" but had brought lawlessness instead.[27] He emphasized that O'Donoghue had good reason to expect the Metis to join him in 1871.[28] In closing with the entry of British Columbia into Confederation Morton made no real effort to deal with the Archibald administration, so it is chiefly regarding the Insurrection that Morton's work has value, and one still regrets that he left no footnotes.

Marcel Giraud's monumental work, Le Metis Canadien,[29] written during the German occupation of France and published in 1945, was regarded by historians and anthropologists alike when it appeared as an important work on the development of the mixed-blood people native to western Canada. Unfortunately the book's appearance in French meant that its impact in western Canada was less than it might otherwise have been. Also its critical and condescending attitude toward the Metis people assured it a less than warm reception among French-speaking readers, especially

French-speaking Metis. Only now, the work having been translated into English by George Woodcock, is it receiving general attention.[30]

The work is comprised of six parts, of which the fifth part on the "Maturity of the Metis people from 1818 to 1869" forms a good-sized book itself. Giraud identified two separate cultural antecedents of the Metis people, the St. Lawrence tradition and the Hudson's Bay tradition, despite the Metis' common maternal ancestry and dependance on the fur trade. He also traced the social structure within Metis society and demonstrated how the blend of agriculture and buffalo-hunting represented a compromise between "civilization" and "barbarism". One reviewer has said that the work is flawed, beginning as a work of miscegenation and shifting quickly toward a study of historical and cultural evolution.[31] This may well be, but it is also an important collection of material on the Metis.

For purposes of this study that section of Giraud's work in his sixth part, "The Disintegration of the Metis People", is of greatest interest. And here Giraud's work leaves a great deal to be desired, probably due as much to his wish to write a compressed account for a book which was already running to eleven hundred pages as to the fact that in the 1940's scholarship still had much to discover. Giraud described how Riel acted with decisiveness in stopping the surveyors, in preventing McDougall from entering the Settlement, and in occupying Fort Garry. Using his personal prestige and inspiring confidence in his followers, wrote Giraud, Riel was able to impose sufficient discipline on them to permit his Committee to control the Settlement while a Provisional Government was organized. However, the fears and hesitations of the English-speaking element of the population prevented the prompt realization of the programme Riel had

planned, and caused him and his associates great frustration.

In certain respects Giraud's work is very unsatisfactory. He depended upon the very inadequate discussion of the Schultz houses incident given in Stanley's Birth of Western Canada and, remarkably enough, made no mention at all of Schultz in his own telling of it. And while he again made use of Stanely's work where the Portage party and the gathering at Kildonan were concerned, Giraud made no mention whatever of the part in those events played by Schultz or by Thomas Scott. As in the histories written from the "Canadian" party's point of view, so in the work of Giraud, the reader comes upon the reference to Thomas Scott with surprise, and to Scott's execution with amazement and indignation. Giraud's explanation emphasizes the alleged "excesses"[32] of Riel, and his lack of self-control, his impatience with opposition and expressed hostility. For Giraud, then, if Riel and his Provisional Government enabled the Metis to obtain the necessary guarantees of their basic rights, they also left to them a "particularly onerous" legacy. "Their position [at Red River] was diminished by the excesses which had been committed and about which the newcomers hastened to complain to them."[33] No word here of the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien. These sentences could have been written by "Canadian" party historians.

Where the administration of A. G. Archibald is concerned the picture painted by Giraud is the same. The "excesses" of Riel and the Provisional Government, he implied, have made inevitable the treatment which the Metis received at the hands of the "Canadian" party. Giraud followed the general lines of interpretation laid down by Stanley, and the weaknesses to be found in Stanley's work are reflected in Giraud's.

If we cannot establish when the change of emphasis began we can certainly notice a time when public interest in Riel and the Metis was developing. Strange Empire,[34] by the American historian J. K. Howard, was published in 1952 and quickly became popular. Since it lacked footnotes it did not have the impact in the academic community that it might have had. The extensive bibliography did little to indicate where Howard got the facts that he considered well enough documented to use in his text. However, the book soon became so popular, both in the United States and Canada, that it was issued in paper back editions, and much of the current interest in Riel and the Metis may be attributed to the appeal of this book.

Students of the Red River Insurrection received a rather special treat in 1956, with the publication by the Champlain Society of Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870, already mentioned above.[35] W. L. Morton edited these documents and in his introduction brought forward an interpretation of the Red River affair which was to change significantly the trend of scholarly and academic thinking about it. To begin with, he disagreed with Stanley's thesis concerning the "clash between primitive and civilized peoples". Marcel Giraud's Le Metis Canadien had shown that Red River was far from primitive in 1869, and that, while the Metis were in the transition from hunting, trapping and labor in the fur trade to settlement, that evolution was incomplete. Morice's Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique had made clear that probably a majority of the Metis of the North-West had fixed abodes and were members of parish or missionary churches. As Carl Berger has pointed out, Morton saw the Red River society as a civilized community. It was not, he believed, a frontier in any meaningful sense of the word,

but rather an "island of civilization in the wilderness".[36] The Metis took the initiative in resisting Canadian expansion only because they sought a guarantee for these rights as civilized people. Red River was a dual society, Morton wrote, based on a balance between the French-speaking Catholic Metis and the English-speaking Protestant Metis and whites. The Manitoba Act embodied this principle in its language and educational provisions. Accordingly, Louis Riel was the founder of Manitoba and entitled to recognition on that score. In my opinion Morton made exaggerated claims for Riel and the Provisional Government, but he was persuasive enough to change the trend of thinking about Riel for a time. Morton's TOUR DE FORCE had one chief limitation. At the beginning of his introduction, as though in dedication to him, Morton placed words that Thomas Scott was reported to have spoken at his court martial. The words are in French because the reporter was Louis Riel, writing in Le Metis in 1874.[37] In so dedicating his introduction Morton was giving expression to the fact that, while he had gone very far in understanding the Red River Insurrection, there were limits to that understanding. Although Morton gave seven pages to a discussion of the execution of Scott, he could not bring himself to ponder the true significance of that execution, but rather was content with considerations of the legitimacy and legality of the Provisional Government which carried it out.

Morton's treatment of the Archibald regime found in his Manitoba: A History,[38] was much less satisfactory than that of the preceding months found in his History and in his introduction to Begg's Journal. There is no reference to the role of John C. Schultz and his agents in fomenting disorder. There is little mention of the part played by the Volunteers

in the violence of the fall and winter of 1870-1871, no mention of the Volunteers' election demonstration of December 30th, or of their mutiny of February 18, 1871. Since he did not see the activities of Charles Mair and the North-West Emigration Aid Society in 1870 he did not see the significance of the arrival of the first Ontario immigrants in the spring of 1871. He dealt with the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois completely out of context, so that the significance of O'Donoghue's so-called "Fenian Riad" and Riel's efforts in urging the Metis to rally to Archibald's support was missed altogether. Where the Archibald regime as a whole was concerned Morton did not see that the failure of the Canadian government to declare a general amnesty and the presence of the army of occupation at Fort Garry vitiated Archibald's efforts to follow his instructions.

The publication of G. F. G. Stanley's Louis Riel in 1963 revealed that he, like Morton, had wrestled with the problem of the execution of Thomas Scott. Stanley also gave seven pages to Scott's execution, and concluded that it was an "error of judgment".[39] Stanley had prepared the Canadian Historical Association's booklet "Louis Riel: Patriot or Rebel?" in 1954.[40] Louis Riel was an expansion of this work. In his booklet Stanley had given a brief discussion of the context of the Resistance of 1869-1870, stating on page three that "the troubles . . . were the manifestation . . . of the traditional problems of cultural conflict, of the clash between primitive and civilized peoples". In Louis Riel he undertook a major biographical work, placing his emphasis on the life and personality of Riel. Such a work involves many pitfalls for the historian, and Stanley did not avoid all of them. In concentrating on Riel Stanley had to find out why no general amnesty had been issued to those who participated in the

Resistance of 1869-1870. Stanley showed how Governor General Sir John Young acted in a partisan manner to ensure that no general amnesty would be issued to cover offenses committed by Red River people. However, Stanley did not notice that Riel was under pressure, during the summer of 1870, from militant Metis who wished to resist the Red River Expeditionary Force in the Winnipeg River country, where their knowledge of the terrain and the vulnerability of men moving through a strange country in boats would have permitted them to render that Force helpless. Likewise Stanley made no mention of the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois, an incident which he had touched upon in his Birth of Western Canada,[41] and which, in leaving the Metis angry and embittered, might have caused the secession of Manitoba from Confederation.

Where the Archibald administration is concerned Stanley's treatment is inadequate on two counts. He attempted to cram too many details into too few paragraphs, and provided the curious reader with too few footnotes. This is especially true where the violence of the period is concerned.[42] After all, the Red River Expeditionary Force was always alleged to have brought law and order to Manitoba. Secondly, there is too little indication that the seeds of Riel's mental problems were sown in the months of hiding during the Archibald regime when Riel found himself being urged by his friends to leave the province for a time. Then, as the violence continued and Dominion promises were not fulfilled Riel found it necessary to urge moderation and support for the Canadian government on his exasperated colleagues. Riel's efforts at the time of the so-called "Fenian Raid" must have caused him prodigious mental strain. In my opinion, more important than the question of whether Riel was insane in 1885 is the question of

whether events which occurred during the Archibald period could have driven the Metis leader to the verge of insanity.

At the end of his long introduction to Begg's Journal W. L. Morton made some remarks about the significance of Riel and the Red River Insurrection in the context of Canada and Confederation. Readers wondered whether he was being accurately descriptive or simply indulging in wishful thinking, especially in these two sentences:

> By the Resistance Riel challenged Quebec to play a positive part in Confederation, to maintain French institutions throughout Canada and not merely in Quebec. He challenged Ontario to recognize that the dual nature of Canadian nationality was not a temporary concession to necessity, but the foundation and framework of the federation.[43]

Morton was not answered immediately, but when the answer came it was stated emphatically by the Toronto historian Donald Creighton.

Creighton's statement, made in 1967,[44] must be read in the context of the time in which it was made. In response to the growing unrest among French-Canadians the government of Lester B. Pearson had set up the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to hold hearings across the country and to recommend ways of ensuring wider recognition of the basic cultural dualism of Canada. The Commission's work eventually resulted in the adoption of the federal Official Languages Act. Creighton was in basic disagreement with Pearson's policies and contended that there was nothing in the B. N. A. Act to justify the view that the Fathers of Confederation had intended anything like a cultural compact between the two founding peoples, as W. L. Morton had implied and certain politicians had alleged.[45] Where the Manitoba Act was concerned Creighton insisted that Riel's "dictatorship" was responsible for its passing, and thus an "elaborate constitu-

tion" was imposed upon an "immature colony" that "had not yet had time to develop its real and permanent character". Only the fear of American expansionism had prompted Macdonald to "accept" an "elaborate provincial constitution with an absurdly top-heavy bi-cameral legislature including a little senate on the model of Quebec". Creighton was answered in 1971 by Ralph Heintzman,[46] who objected that a case could be made for a bicultural compact and searched through the statements of Macdonald's contemporaries for proof that such a compact had once existed. Heintzman was in turn replied to by D. J. Hall,[47] who accused Heintzman of lack of care in the use of historical fact. "The golden age", Hall concluded, "never existed. The roots of conflict have always been present: the spirit of toleration, all too rarely." "Mr. Heintzman's 'spirit of Confederation', hopefully, has today a far wider acceptance among English-speaking Canadians than was the case a century ago." Each of these scholars could easily have cited facts from Red River history to prove that bilingualism, far from being a theoretical "compact" had for years been a widely practised reality.

While the participants in this three-way conversation were preparing their arguments other historians were seeking for other ways to explain what had happened at Red River in 1869-1872. Concentrating on Red River in the period before 1870, and using the ecclesiastical records of the Red River missions, Frits Pannekoek put forward the idea of a social structure seriously divided by sectarian and racial conflict deeply rooted in the past of the Red River Settlement. Giving emphasis to the impact of European women and the Anglican church on marriage patterns, and going into detail on divisions caused by two sex scandals in Red River, Pannekoek

argued that there existed a growing gulf between European and Metis and between Metis of English-speaking and French-speaking background. Viewed in this light the Resistance of 1869-1870 was not so much a struggle against outside economic and political forces as it was a kind of Red River civil war. Pannekoek first made his argument in his 1973 thesis[48] and returned to it by several routes in a series of articles published in 1976 and 1977.[49] In the third of these, "Some Comments on the Social Origins of the Riel Protest of 1869", Pannekoek entertained the idea that the Insurrection was nothing more "than a grand mutiny of the boat brigades".[50]

The essence of Pannekoek's interpretation is that the divisions in Red River, and thus the crisis of 1869-1870, had their origins in social and religious tensions that had been in the making for a generation. The implications for the years under consideration in the following pages, the Insurrection and the subsequent Archibald administration, was that Protestants and Roman Catholics, English-speaking and French-speaking citizens, had already found plenty of cause to make war. This is not, in my view, a tenable position. There were divisions in Red River society, but they were not between Protestant and Roman Catholic or between English-speaking and French-speaking Metis.

One brief study which supports an aspect of this view and rejects the Pannekoek approach is Irene Spry's "The Metis and mixed-bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870", published in 1985.[51] Spry disagreed with Pannekoek, citing recently-published works like that of Louis Goulet[52] as evidence to the contrary. Listing examples of marriages between English-speaking and French-speaking Metis and showing that there was considerable interaction between the two groups on buffalo-hunts and freighting expedi-

tions, Spry argued that cooperation was more often the rule than conflict. Far from being the "implacable enemies"--to use a phrase that Pannekoek had used in "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869-70"[53]--the two communities were linked by ties of blood and long association on the buffalo-hunt and boat trip. Divisions that existed in the Settlement, Spry suggested, arose from differences in affluence, education and social status, or from the different interests of those involved in hunting and trapping on one hand and farming on the other.[54] As we shall see, this accords with my view of the troubles at Red River.

The last decade has seen a shift of emphasis in the studies of the period. Considerable attention has been given to issues involving Metis lands. D. N. Sprague in his 1980 article, "The Manitoba Land Question", paid scant attention to the Archibald administration; indeed, only a half-dozen foot-notes out of a total of forty-seven concerned that period.[55] Sprague developed the theme that strong Canadian provinces can fulfil their provincial interests by successful manipulation of national institutions. However, he made no attempt to show either how the Volunteers from Ontario and Quebec were used to assist in this aim or under whose direction this was done. He could have used, if he had wanted to, the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois to prove a point about the deliberate dispersal of the Metis, but made no mention whatever of it. Likewise in his "Government Lawlessness In the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887", published in 1980, Sprague gave short shrift to the Archibald period, devoting only slightly more than one page to it.[56] In my view Sprague was right to point out the importance of the B. N. A. Act of 1871 in validating the Manitobe Act, but he made little use of this develop-

ment. In this article, moreover, he made no reference to the presence of the Volunteers, the role of Schultz, the enforced absence of Riel, or the Riviere aux Ilets de Bois incident. Sprague would have found further support for his cause in the 1870-1872 period.

Doug Owram, in his 1980 book, Promise of Eden, has written of the events of the period under study in the context of the expansionist spirit which possessed a number of men then resident in Ontario or newly-arrived in the Red River Settlement. Owram's work laid great stress on perceptions, and such words as "vision", "image", "idea", and "myth" are to be found on many pages. "Man reacts," Owram pointed out, "to his perception of reality as well as to reality itself. The North-West--with its acres of prairie and parkland--remained a constant through the history of the expansionist movement, but the perception men had of it grew and changed.[57] "To all intents and purposes," Owram wrote, "the Canadian expansionists viewed the North-West as a social TABULA RASA."[58] All that was necessary to make of it a new Upper Canada was an influx of settlers of the right sort. When the Metis resisted, the expansionists simply could not understand why, and their first reaction was to view the resistance with contempt. Then, as the Provisional Government gained strength, the expansionists developed a conspiratorial interpretation in explanation. They saw three individual but interrelated groups as the real instigators of the resistance: the Americans, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic Church. Since these elements had instigated the "rebellion", the expansionists concluded that the only suitable response was to use force in return, and they then put all possible pressure on the Ottawa authorities to have an expeditionary force sent to Red River. As attitudes grew

increasingly militant in Ontario after Scott's execution, French-Canadians became wary of the motivation behind such vehemence. They could readily understand Metis fears for their language and religious rights. Following French-Canadian protests against the use of force, according to Owram, more and more of Ontario public opinion turned its attention away from foreign agents to those within Canada who would oppose their brand of expansion. These people and their protests were soon seen by the expansionists as treasonable. By July of 1870, it was being argued not only that French Canada opposed the expedition but also that unless "loyalists" acted quickly the Force would never reach Red River. "Canada First" members, in Owram's view, saw a devious plot on the part of Cartier and his cohorts to give Riel an amnesty and recall the Force before it reached Red River. Once again the cry of treason was raised, but this time the traitors were identified as French-Canadian cabinet members.

> In a complex psychological process brought on by French-Canadian opposition to Ontario militancy, the conspiratorial figures of Red River were transferred from the North-West to Canada. It was the story of the established church, clergy reserves, and anti-democratic privileges for the minority all over again. French Canada had allied itself with the priests of Red River in order to prevent the natural development of British civilization and to preserve autocratic rule.[59]

Throughout the expansionists' shifting of attention from conspirators in Red River to those in Ottawa and Quebec, writes Owram, one point remained constant: the Metis continued to be seen as dupes being used by others. Rather than the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company or the Americans, however, they were seen as instruments of French-Canadian and Catholic nationalism.

In Owram's view, two implications flowed from this distrust of French

Canada. The Metis connection with French Canada began to be stressed. From 1870 on there was a trend to identify the cause of the Metis and their leader Riel with the cause of French-Canadian rights. The second was the perception that only Ontario possessed the true spirit of Canadian nationalism and sensed the importance of the North-West. As Owram saw it, the violence accompanying the arrival of the Expeditionary Force reached its climax with the drowning of Elzear Goulet in September of 1870. Thereafter it declined but "broke out sporadically". Owram gave little attention to the Archibald years, and ended his account with Morris's prediction of early 1873 that there would be trouble in "the Saskatchewan".[60]

While Owram saw "Canada First" as participating in the anti-amnesty demonstration of July, 1870, he did not appear to notice their participation in the indignation meetings of April, 1870. Likewise he did not see the part played by "Canada First" in the North-West Emigration Aid Society's efforts to begin an emigration of farmers from Ontario. Had he seen this he might have laid more stress on the events of the Archibald administration. Finally, Owram did not appear to see land as entering into the mixture of problems of concern to the Metis people.

L. H. Thomas prepared the article on Louis Riel for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, published in 1982, and in so doing was able to take advantage of the latest scholarship. Five paragraphs of this article sketch out the rough outlines of the Archibald period, and Riel's meeting with Archibald at the time of the so-called "Fenian Raid" is touched upon. Thomas does not, however, refer to the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois, nor does he mention the work of Riel and his committee in ensuring a Metis response favorable to Archibald's government and the Canadian

connection at the time of the Raid. Likewise he makes no reference to the group of men who were in loose association throughout the 1870-1872 period and whom Riel brought into more formal association in the Union St. Alexandre after the Raid. As for the violence which characterized the entire Archibald period, Thomas appeared to believe that it subsided with Archibald's organization of a provincial government.

In his Riel and the Rebellion of 1885 Reconsidered,[61] published in 1983, Thomas Flanagan relied upon the work of others for his treatment of the Archibald period. Accordingly, neither the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois nor its significance as an indication of government policy on land are touched upon. And, like so many other writers, Flanagan simply accepted as basic the right of the Dominion government to retain control of the lands obtained by the transfer of Rupert's Land and the North-West from the Hudson's Bay Company. Flanagan had previously edited the four 1884-1885 diaries of Louis Riel for publication in 1976. Through his study of these diaries Flanagan came to know very well the trend of Riel's thinking in the eighteen months--months which included the North-West Rebellion and terminated with his execution--for which he kept a diary. Not surprisingly Flanagan found in these diaries a man possessing a "particular kind of self-deception".[62]

In 1984 Le Messianisme de Louis Riel by the French-Canadian historian and theologian, Gilles Martel, was published.[63] Martel is a professor at the University of Sherbrooke and a member of the editorial committee which prepared the five-volume Collected Writings of Louis Riel[64] under the general editorship of G. F. G. Stanley. Using Riel's letters, poems and other writings now readily available for study, Martel strove to examine

Riel's life and work in the context of the collective history of the Metis people. In so doing Martel watched for signs of millenarianism or messianism in both the society at Red River and in Riel's work. Where Red River society was concerned Martel noticed that in the Protestant clergy the belief in the imminence of the coming of the millenium had known an upsurge in fervor about 1860.[65] As for the Catholic clergy Martel found it dominated by a view of the world at once retributive and providentialist. In Louis Riel Martel saw an intelligent and educated man of great sensibility and fascinating personality, a man who had lived at the intersection of two societies. In the course of his life the man had passed progressively from a moralist and providentialist view of the world to one that was millenarist and, at certain moments, messianic. Martel pointed to the frustrations which Riel experienced while in enforced hiding during the fall and winter of 1870 and 1871. Yet Riel acted to restrain his more agressive comtemporaries. At the time of the so-called "Fenian Raid", Martel noted, Riel emerged from hiding to urge the Metis to resist O'Donoghue's blandishments and respond to Archibald's proclamation. More frustrations were in store for the Metis leader, both from the efforts of Macdonald to pay him and Lepine to go into exile and from the plots of J. C. Schultz and others to have his papers stolen or Riel captured. Martel is the first scholar to look systematically at the frustrations and shocks endured by Riel in the post-resistance period. The outline he has drawn will be sketched in with greater precision in the following chapters, particularly those concerning the 1870-1872 period in Manitoba.

G. F. G. Stanley gave his "Last Word on Louis Riel" at a conference held in Saskatoon in 1985.[66] By that time the University of Alberta had

published The Collected Writings of Louis Riel under Stanley's general editorship and everything known to have been written by Riel was available in five volumes. Dr. Stanley spoke of the Metis in the context of the expansion of the British Empire and of their biological evolution. Viewed in this context, he said, it was inevitable that the Metis should fail in their effort to resist. Stanley outlined the evolution that had taken place in historical writing on the subject of Riel, and pointed out that his own writing had influenced the work of Marcel Giraud, who added "the strength of his vast researches" to Stanley's "cultural-conflict" theory. If one can judge by this last statement on the matter Stanley still believes in the validity of his original thesis that the Red River Insurrection marked a "clash" between primitive people and the approach of a more advanced civilization. Where Riel himself is concerned Stanley's views are less certain than they were at the time of the publication of his controversial booklet. He said in 1985 that he tended toward the view that Riel was affected by messianism. Stanley attempted an explanation of why Canadians and many others have continued to find Riel fascinating more than a century after his execution at Regina and concluded by saying that, after fifty years of working on Riel's life and thought, he was leaving further analysis of the Metis leader to others.

It would be presumptuous to predict the direction that future research into the period will take, but I would like to offer this observation: neither the Insurrection and Provisional Government period nor the Archibald administration can be studied in isolation or as the work of an individual. Also neither can be understood without a knowledge of the societies which produced the small group of Canadians who appeared at

Red River in 1868 and 1869. It is now clear that the difficulties at Red River could have come to a conclusion satisfactory to all but for the interference there and the influence in Ottawa of this "Canadian" party.

The following chapters draw upon dozens of new sources and many more documents that have never been placed in the proper context to sketch a very different picture of Manitoba between 1869 and 1872. Newspapers published in St. Paul, Minnesota, Toronto and Montreal were used to provide a documentation of life and events at Red River, while reconstituted sets of the Manitoba News-Letter and the Manitoba Liberal[67] have been used to find the point of view of those in opposition to Archibald and his policies. These chapters demonstrate that, far from engaging in civil war, the people of Red River entered Confederation peacefully and, to a remarkable degree, united. Thereafter, it will be argued, the exceptional efforts of a small, selfish clique undermined the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor, Adams George Archibald, and destroyed the harmony of the community. The consequence was not merely a divided Manitoba but a divided Confederation. Archibald embarked on a Red River steamer in October of 1872 with the knowledge that, despite his best efforts, the collaboration of Dominion government leaders and local troublemakers had forced his country to take a wrong turn.

Footnotes

1. The information which this very compressed account of the ten days following Archibald's arrival at Fort Garry is based on is derived from the following sources: The Manitoba News-Letter; The New Nation: The Globe; The Telegraph; La Minerve; Le Nouveau Monde; Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1902; Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Cassell and Co. Ltd., London, MCMXV; Dom Benoit, La Vie de Mgr. Tache 2 vol. Librairie Beauchemin, Montreal, 1904; A. G. Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Dans l'Ouest Canadien, 3 vol. Granger Freres, Montreal, 1922. Joseph James Hargrave, Red River, John Lovell, Montreal, 1871; W. L. Morton (ed), Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870, Champlain Society, Toronto, 1956; Archibald's letters to Cartier and Howe in C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20) and in Canada. House of Commons. Journals. 1874, VIII, "Report of the Select Committee of 1874".

2. Courrier de St. Hyacinthe, Jan. 11, 1870 (Riviere Rouge, Dec. 15, 1869).

3. Canada. House of Commons. Journals. 1874, VIII, "Report of the Select Committee of 1874", p. 152.

4. PAM Schultz Papers MG12 E3 Box 16/19 - Charles Mair to Schultz, letter 111, May 10, 1870.

5. See, for example, the Manitoba News-Letter for March 25, 1871, and Dr. Turver's history of the Insurrection in the Manitoba Liberal for June 15, 1872.

6. See the Gazette for February 18, 1874, and the Herald for February 19, 1874, for a resume.

7. Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, Peguis Publishers, Winnipeg, 1971, p. 62. For Goulet's death see C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870; for McTavish, New Nation, August 13, 1870; for O'Lone, St. Paul Daily Press, March 7, 1871; for Ross, Manitoban, Sept. 23, 1871; for Scott, Le Metis, May 29, 1872; for Farquharson, Daily Free Press, Nov. 2, 1874.

8. See G. F. G. Stanley (ed), The Collected Writings of Louis Riel, 5 vol., University of Alberta Press, 1985, Vol. 1, p. 269, for a letter of thanks from the people of St. Vital, dated July 24, 1873.

9. See The Globe (Series by "Justitia" beginning in issue of Dec. 2, 1869; Dec. 23, 1869; Dec. 31, 1869; Jan. 6, 1870; Feb. 14, 1870; Feb. 19, 1870; Mar. 12, 1870; Mar. 19, 1870).

10. Alexander Begg, The Creation of Manitoba, A. H. Hovey, Toronto, 1871.

11. Alexander Begg, The Creation of Manitoba, pp. 389-395. He is suppressing the violence that accompanied the arrival of the Red River Expeditionary Force under the command of Wolseley.

12. Alexander Begg, History of the North-West, 3 vol. Hunter, Rose & Co., Toronto, 1894-5.

13. D. J. Dickie, The Canadian West, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Toronto, 1926.

14. T. A. Patrick, Pioneer of Vision: The Reminiscences of T. A. Patrick, M. D., Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, 1980. pp. 124-5.

15. A. G. Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Dans L'Ouest Canadien, 3 vol. Granger Freres, Montreal, 1922.

16. W. M. Davidson, Louis Riel: 1844-1885, Albertan Publishing Co. Ltd., Calgary, 1955.

17. W. M. Davidson, op. cit., in the Foreword.

18. G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, Longman's Green and Co. Ltd., London, 1936.

19. G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1973, p. vii.

20. A. H. de Tremaudan, Histoire de la Nation Metisse, Levesque, Montreal, 1936. A translation entitled Hold High Your Heads, was issued in 1982 by Pemmican Publications, Winnipeg.

21. M. H. Long, review of A. H. de Tremaudan's Histoire de la Nation Metisse in Canadian Historical Review, 1936, pp. 452-4.

22. Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1976, p. 240.

23. A. S. Morton, History of the Canadian West to 1870-71, T. Nelson and Sons, London, 1939.

24. A. S. Morton, History of the Canadian West to 1870-71, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1973.

25. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 882.

26. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 914.

27. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 1108.

28. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 1115.

29. Marcel Giraud, Le Metis Canadien, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1945.

30. Translated by George Woodcock, the work is entitled The Metis in the Canadian West and published by University of Alberta Press, 1986, in two volumes.

31. John E. Foster, "Some Questions and Perspectives on the Problem of Metis Roots", in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown (eds), The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America, pp. 75-77.

32. Giraud, op. cit., p. 1108.

33. Giraud, op. cit., p. 1115.

34. Joseph Kinsey Howard, Strange Empire, William Morrow and Co., New York, 1952.

35. See note 1.

36. Carl Berger, op. cit., p. 247.

37. W. L. Morton (ed), Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870, afterwards Begg's Journal, p. 1. See also Le Metis, April 25, 1874; The Collected Writings of Louis Riel, Vol. 1, p. 344.

38. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957.

39. G. F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1963, p. 117.

40. Canadian Historical Association Booklets, No. 2, G. F. G. Stanley, "Louis Riel: Patriot or Rebel?"

41. G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, pp. 165-6.

42. G. F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 161.

43. W. L. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal, p. 148.

44. Donald Creighton, "John A. Macdonald, Confederation and the Canadian West" in Transactions and Papers of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, Nos. 21-25, 1964-1969.

45. Thomas D'Arcy McGee came as close as anyone came to expressing such an idea when he spoke in the Confederation debates: "Well, gentlemen of French origin, we propose to restore these long-lost compatriots [New Brunswick's Acadian minority] to your protection; in the Federal Union, which will recognize equally both languages, they will naturally look to you; their petitions will come to you, and their representatives

will naturally be found allied with you." Province of Canada, Confederation Debates, p. 137, Feb. 9, 1865.

46. Ralph Heintzman, "The Spirit of Confederation: Professor Creighton, Biculturalism and the Use of History", in Canadian Historical Review, September, 1971.

47. D. J. Hall,"'The Spirit of Confederation': Ralph Heintzman, Professor Creighton, and the bicultural compact theory", in Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. IX, 1974.

48. F. Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1870" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Queen's University, 1973).

49. See F. Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870" in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (eds), The West and the Nation: Essays in Honor of W. L. Morton, Toronto, 1976. See also F. Pannekoek, "The Rev. Griffiths Owen Corbett and the Red River Civil War of 1869-70" in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 57, No. 2, June 1976.

50. F. Pannekoek, "Some Comments on the Social Origins of the Riel Protest of 1869" in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series III, Numbers 34 & 35, 1977-78, pp. 45-6.

51. Irene Spry, "The Metis and mixed-bloods of Rupert's Land Before 1870" in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America, University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, 1985.

52. Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces: Memoirs of Louis Goulet, Editions Bois-Brules, Winnipeg, 1980; translated by Ray Ellenwood, from the original French edition, L'Espace de Louis Goulet, 1976.

53. See note 49.

54. Some readers have found Spry's work marred by a failure to carry out a more systematic analysis of marriage patterns than that used in her article. In Spry's opinion the "fragmentary nature of the documentary record" made this impossible.

55. D. N. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870-1882" in Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 15, No. 3, Fall, 1980.

56. D. N. Sprague, "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887" in Manitoba Law Journal, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1980.

57. Doug Owram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900, University of Toronto Press, 1980, p. 6.

58. Owram, op. cit., p. 135.

59. Owram. op. cit., p. 96.

60. Owram. op. cit., p. 100; PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 252, Morris to Macdonald, Jan. 25, 1873.

61. Thomas Flanagan, Riel and the Rebellion of 1885 Reconsidered, Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, 1983.

62. Thomas Flanagan, The Diaries of Louis Riel, Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1976, p. 18. Flanagan had collaborated with Gilles Martel to prepare Louis 'David' Riel in 1979. Martel had prepared his doctoral thesis on the messianism of Louis Riel for the University of Paris in 1976.

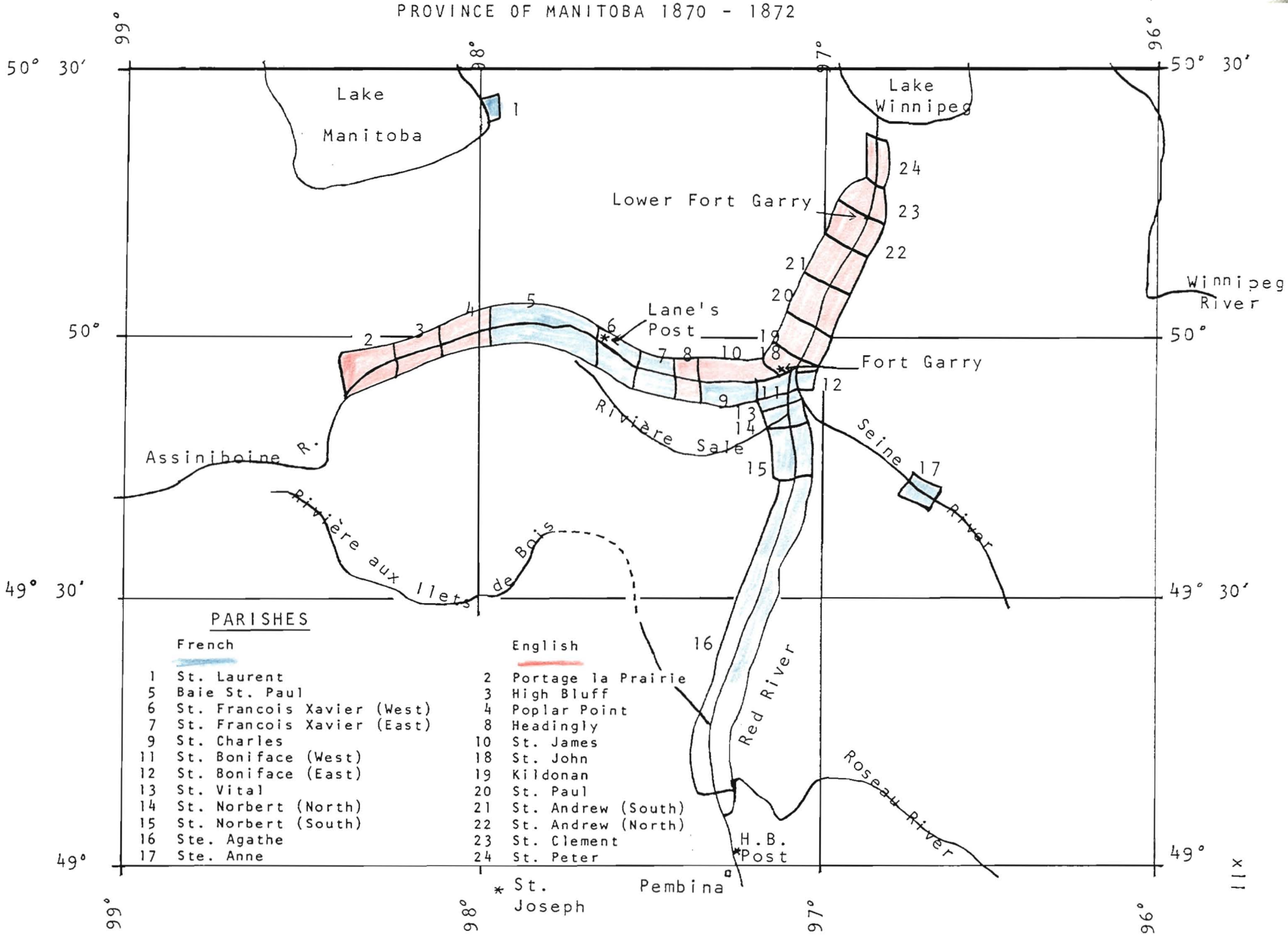
63. Gilles Martel, Le Messianisme de Louis Riel, published by Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, 1984.

64. G. F. G. Stanley (ed), The Collected Writings of Louis Riel, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, 1985.

65. Gilles Martel, op. cit., pp. 80-3.

66. G. F. G. Stanley, "The Last Word on Louis Riel--The Man of Several Faces" in F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram 1885 and After--Native Society in Transition, proceedings of a conference held at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, May, 1985.

67. No complete set of either newspaper is known to exist. As a result neither newspaper has been used systematically as a primary source. It was necessary to look for copies in widely scattered collections.


PROVINCE OF MANITOBA 1870 - 1872
99°
98°
97°
96°
50° 30′
50°
49° 30′
49°
Lake Manitoba
Lake Winnipeg
Lower Fort Garry
Lane's Post
Fort Garry
Winnipeg River
Assiniboine R.
Rivière Sale
Seine River
Rivière aux Ilets de Bois
Red River
Rosseau River
H.B. Post
St. Joseph
Pembina
PARISHES
French
1 St. Laurent
5 Baie St. Paul
6 St. Francois Xavier (West)
7 St. Francois Xavier (East)
9 St. Charles
11 St. Boniface (West)
12 St. Boniface (East)
13 St. Vital
14 St. Norbert (North)
15 St. Norbert (South)
16 Ste. Agathe
17 Ste. Anne
English
2 Portage la Prairie
3 High Bluff
4 Poplar Point
8 Headingly
10 St. James
18 St. John
19 Kildonan
20 St. Paul
21 St. Andrew (South)
22 St. Andrew (North)
23 St. Clement
24 St. Peter

Chapter One
John C. Schultz[1]

John C. Schultz was the son of Mrs. McKenney (née Elizabeth Reilly), a "grass widow" of several years, and William Schultz, of Amherstburg, Ontario.[2] He was born January 1st, 1840.[3] In the summer vacation of 1860 he travelled to the Red River Settlement to visit his half-brother, Henry McKenney (son of Elizabeth Reilly by her first marriage), who had been engaged in frontier trading in Minnesota in the 1850's and had established himself in Red River in 1859. Schultz returned to the Settlement to make it his home in 1861.[4] In 1867 he married Agnes Farquharson, the daughter of James Farquharson, formerly of the West Indies.[5]

Schultz always said that he had attended the prestigious Oberlin College, at Oberlin, Ohio.[6] However, that college has no record of his having been in attendance. He claimed to be a graduate of Queen's College, Kingston, and of Victoria University, Cobourg.[7] However, Queen's records indicate that, while Schultz did attend there for two terms, no degree was earned. Victoria's records indicate that he attended one term but received no degree.[8] The Manitoba College of Physicians and Surgeons appears to have taken his word, like so many others in Manitoba, that he had been licensed in 1861 by Victoria.[9]

It must be pointed out here that Schultz was only 21 when he reached Red River in the spring of 1861. To explain this some biographers have used the word "precocious" with regard to him.[10] Little in his career in Red River leads one to believe that he was, in fact, able to have telescoped his training to this extent, had it been, in fact permissible to do so. Other well-known Manitoba doctors who trained in Ontario in the

same period graduated at the age of 24. Dr. O'Donnell, the doctor whom Schultz persuaded to move to Red River, was 24 when he graduated from Victoria in 1862.[11] Dr. David Young, who was born in 1847, graduated from Queen's in 1871 at the age of 24.[12] It is hardly credible that Schultz should have graduated in three fewer years than was normal for the time.

It is interesting to note that when Schultz first went to Red River to settle, the Nor'Wester announced the arrival of "Mr. Schultz", "lately . . . from Canada".[13] Two weeks later the same newspaper carried an advertisement concerning "Dr. Schultz, Physician and Surgeon".[14]

Historians have said very little about Schultz's medical practise, agreeing that he was more interested in various kinds of business enterprise.[15] Two records of surgical operations performed by him are not by any means conclusive. There is record of a successful operation to amputate the forearm of Louis Bouvet.[16] This proves very little beyond Schultz's ability to perform effective first aid. A similar operation was performed by Father Lacombe, a clergyman, in the same period. Faced with the gangrenous forearm of the son-in-law of the Indian chief Sweetgrass, Lacombe used a razor and other materials found in his first aid kit to remove the fore-arm and sew up the skin over the end of the stump, thus saving the life of the young man.[17] The other operation cited, that performed on the young Sutherland, shot by Parisien in February of 1870, was unsuccessful, and Sutherland died.[18] When Hugh "Bob" O'Lone required major surgery in early 1871, Schultz managed somehow not to be involved, and Dr. Turver went up to Pembina to assist the United States post-surgeon at that place.[19]

Coincidentally, another proof that Schultz was occasionally called upon to practice involved this same Hugh "Bob" O'Lone. In August of 1868 O'Lone's horse fell with him and O'Lone suffered an injury which Schultz diagnosed as a fracture of the right thigh.[20] However, only a month later the Nor'Wester was able to report that O'Lone was stumping about on crutches.[21] Medical practitioners, considering the short period between injury and recovery, have questioned whether the injury was really a fracture.

Some historians have asserted that Schultz was greatly disliked by the Métis people of Red River. This statement was contradicted by George Dugas, who knew both Schultz and the Métis people well.[22] Dugas noted that Schultz spoke French well enough to converse with them in business matters, and we have Father Ritchot's testimony about his conversation with Schultz in Ottawa in 1870 following Sir George Cartier's request.[23]

Nevertheless--and this is why we must give Schultz more attention than we shall be able to give to other Red River people--Schultz has the distinction of being named in one of the earliest known statements of Métis aims, that sent by W. R. Bown to Sir John A. Macdonald in mid-November of 1869:

> That Dr. Schultz and others shall be sent out of the territory forthwith.[24]

The incident involving the Schultz houses, let it be noted, had not begun at that time. In fact, Riel had not yet sent Schultz the warning letter. Nevertheless Schultz's absence was listed as desirable! We must ask ourselves why.

There can be no doubt that Schultz used his brief association with

Queen's and Victoria to good advantage in gaining acceptance at Red River. For some time after the June 15, 1861, advertisement appeared, Schultz used the Nor'Wester to call attention to his practice.[25] At this time Schultz was helping his half-brother Henry McKenney to manage the Royal Hotel, the first hotel at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.[26] By March of 1862, when the Institute of Rupert's Land was organized, Schultz had added a second degree, "F. B. S. C.", to his string, and was elected secretary of the Institute.[27] At the April meeting of this Institute Schultz addressed the group on the subject of the "Sanitary Condition of the Settlement--causes and remedies".[28]

In August of 1862 the Nor'Wester, in an article discussing the supply of doctors in the Settlement, noted the temporary absence of "Dr. Schultz", who was away during "the past month or so", on a "business trip to Canada".[29]

In February and March of 1864 Schultz was associated with such men as A. G. B. Bannatyne in discussing measures concerning the menace posed by the Sioux.[30] About this same time Schultz went into partnership with William Coldwell to manage the Nor'Wester, and an editorial welcomed the "new blood".[31]

With the organization of a Northern Lights Lodge of the Masonic Order and his installation as "Worshipful Master" of the new association, Schultz's position in Red River society should have been secured, and it was--for a time. Schultz was moving in the same circles as Archdeacon Hunter, W. Inkster and, once again, A. G. B. Bannatyne.[32] Schultz personally discussed details of the ancient history of Freemasonry with J. J. Hargrave, who would in time duly record them in Red River.[33]

Early 1865 saw epidemics of several diseases in the North-West and Schultz, never one to hide his candle under a bushel, let it be published in the Nor'Wester that he was postponing a "proposed visit to England" in order to minister to those requiring his services.[34]

Summer of 1865 found him advertising, in connection with H. Coutu, a relative of the Riel's, for "fat cattle" to butcher. In July it was announced that he was assuming the sole direction of the Nor'Wester and that he was leaving for St. Paul to obtain new equipment for that publication's plant.[35]

It may be that Schultz had overextended himself by becoming involved in too many ventures with too little cash. It may also be that his long absences from the Settlement were too expensive for the results obtained. In any event it appears that 1865 was the beginning of his time of troubles and may be the year when Schultz took a "wrong turn",[36] to use the phrase of a contemporary. In 1864 the firm of McKenney and Company, comprising McKenney and his half-brother Schultz, had been dissolved. Affairs, it seemed, were very complicated, and litigation seemed likely. In May of 1865 Schultz began an action before the General Quarterly Court claiming three hundred pounds sterling as the amount still due him before he would consent to the closing of the partnership accounts. The court appointed a commission to investigate the business and to act as arbiters. The death of François Bruneau, a member of the Council of Assiniboia and one of the commissioners, delayed matters. The process was further delayed by the absence of McKenney. In May of 1866 the case was again entered, and Schultz declared that the court "had permitted itself to be bullied and browbeaten" by McKenney and "had neither the will nor the

power to do justice". When ordered to retract his statement he refused. As a result of this several cases in which he was concerned went unheard, the court having stated that until he retracted or apologized he could not be heard personally at the bar of the court. Schultz then used the Nor'Wester to publish his own account of the affair, stating that it was yet another attempt on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to crush an opponent in trade by refusing him judgment in the courts.[37] Concern with this litigation did not prevent him from being absent from the Settlement for a considerable period of time, returning in early August.[38]

About this time Schultz placed an advertisement in the Nor'Wester--in both English and French--stating that he was prepared to give medical service to anyone needing it, and announcing that those too poor to pay need only bring a "certificate" from a priest or minister indicating that the bearer was unable to pay.[39]

It would appear, however, that notwithstanding this advertised willingness to minister to the poor Schultz had, by 1867, damaged his reputation in the Settlement beyond repair. Proof of this was shown when a vacancy occurred on the Council of Assiniboia. In November of 1866 Chief Factor Clare, then in charge at Fort Garry and a councillor of Assiniboia, left Red River to pay a visit to England. He died suddenly in London in early 1867. Soon after the news reached Fort Garry a letter appeared in the Nor'Wester calling the attention of Schultz to the vacancy on the council. Those who signed the letter asked to be allowed to propose Schultz's name as a suitable replacement for Clare. Schultz, of course, expressed his willingness to act, and a petition was drawn up, signed, and presented, along with an accompanying letter from Thomas Spence.

Smith, the clerk of the Council, stated in his reply to Spence, that the petition had been forwarded to the Governor and Company of the Hudson's Bay Company in England for consideration. Spence was also informed that there was also a counter-petition from other inhabitants which was being forwarded to England as well.

Schultz used the columns of the Nor'Wester to inform the signers that their petition had been, in effect, denied. He explained this result by saying that he was considered obnoxious by the members of the present Council, but assured the signers that a day was approaching when a different state of affairs would permit "law-abiding British subjects" to elect the person of their choice.[40]

Schultz was correct in his assessment of the situation. Bishop Taché, then a member of the Council of Assiniboia, later wrote that the appointment of Schultz

> became an impossibility, as much for the sake of the honor of the Company itself as for the honor of the Council, of which many members would have resigned had men thus disposed been forced upon them as colleagues.[41]

Schultz did not help matters by commenting editorially that people were "openly discussing the propriety of taking the Government from its present hands into that of their own".[42]

In July of 1867 the Nor'Wester reported that two large buildings were being constructed, one for A. G. B. Bannatyne and one for Dr. Schultz.[43]

Schultz married Agnes Farquharson in September of 1867. Agnes wanted to remain in the convent after her marriage, but permission for her to do this was not given. Father Allard performed the marriage ceremony.

James McKay and W. R. Bown signed the register, as did James Farquharson, the bride's father.[44]

If Schultz's reputation was not good in 1867 the events of early 1868 were such as to leave him socially ostracized in the Settlement. First came another episode in the dissolution of partnership case mentioned above. In February of 1867 the barrier raised against Schultz's personal appearance in court had been removed, but Schultz had not brought forward the case again. In the meantime one of the most important creditors of the firm, Mr. Frederick Kew of London, acting through his representative John Inkster, commenced an action against Schultz, hoping to get payment for his share of what was owed to him by McKenney and Company. McKenney had paid his share. Schultz was absent from the Settlement at the time the case was heard, and judgment went against him. Mr. Inkster repeatedly applied to Schultz to meet the judgment, but Schultz refused. After waiting eight months Inkster resolved to enforce the judgment.

On Friday, January 17, 1868, the sheriff, Mr. McKenney, with two constables, went to Schultz's store with the object of obtaining payment of the debt. McKenney, because of his personal interest in the case, asked Schultz to settle peacefully with the creditor, but Schultz would not. McKenney then proceeded to attempt to seize certain of Schultz's goods, but finding himself resisted by Schultz placed him under arrest. Justice of the Peace Roger Goulet committed Schultz to prison.

About one o'clock Saturday morning fifteen persons, including Mrs. Schultz, forcibly entered the prison, overpowered the constables, broke open the door of Schultz's cell and released him.[45]

No attempt was made to recapture Schultz. A meeting of the Council

of Assiniboia was held on January 23rd, and the decision was taken that one hundred special constables should be enrolled. Schultz now made application for another trial, and this application was granted, it being agreed by Inkster and Schultz that the decision of the jury should be final.[46]

The men of the Nor'Wester did not have the good taste to remain silent about the details of Schultz's removal from jail, as might have been expected. Possibly Schultz was seen as a kind of Red River Robin Hood struggling against the Hudson's Bay Company's Sheriff of Nottingham. Not only was a Nor'Wester "Extra" published, giving details of the breaking of the jail and the liberation of Schultz, but the Nor'Wester published a letter written by someone signing himself "Amicus Curiae" (friend of the court) in which the enrolling of constables was criticized. In so doing the Nor'Wester said that the Council had contributed to drunkenness and immorality in the Settlement by giving ten shillings each to "those poor foolish men".[47]

In late February or very early March Schultz left the Settlement on a trip to Canada. Governor McTavish, having had certain representations made to him on behalf of Schultz, became security for Schultz's personal appearance at the May trial in a considerable sum.[48]

While Schultz was away the anti-Nor'Wester, anti-Schultz feeling in the Settlement reached a boiling point. The Nor'Wester made statements to the effect that the recent liberation of Schultz from jail had the support of the majority of Red River people. In response to this an address to the Governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company was prepared and laid before the public, who were invited to sign it. The

address denied that this action had the support of Red River people. Eight hundred and four settlers signed it.[49]

About the middle of April A. G. B. Bannatyne and thirteen people, chiefly Métis, called at the Nor'Wester office and demanded the insertion of their memorial in the Nor'Wester. Schultz, of course, was away in Canada; Bown was in the Lower Settlement, so the memorial was received by James Stewart, who was remembered for his part in the jail-breaking at the time of the Corbett affair. The memorial, though received, was not published. Various reasons were given: the names of the signers had not been supplied; intimidation had been tried; fourteen men had come to do what one could have done. The group of Métis decided to force the Nor'Wester to comply with their demands. Word of the decision leaked out, and Bown was warned that trouble was brewing. Bown wrote to Governor McTavish, stating that he had it on good authority that an attempt was to be made to destroy the Nor'Wester press. The Governor replied that he would protect him and his property, and asked Bown to come and see him. At the same time that Bown arrived the party of Métis arrived also. They told the Governor that they were going to take the Nor'Wester press and leave it in the jail. As for Bown, he was warned that he had three days to leave the country, since his method of conducting the Nor'Wester would cause disorder in the Settlement.

The Governor reasoned with the Métis and succeeded in calming them down. They replied to him that they had wanted the Nor'Wester to print copies of their memorial. Bown said that he was short of paper, but asked how many copies were needed. When he was told "fifty" Bown said that if they had said as much at first there would have been no misunder-

standing. A date was set when they could come to the office and pick up their copies.

On the appointed date two of the Métis called at the office and received from Stewart the printed copies desired. Since the two men did not read English it was necessary for them to take the copies to the post office, where Bannatyne could check the printing for them. While Bannatyne was reading the text Bown burst in, using abusive language and calling the two men "thieves". The men, he said, had no business to remove the copies from the Nor'Wester office. So abusive was he that the result was a defamation suit begun by the Métis against Bown.

The case was tried at the Quarterly Court in May. The court decided in favor of the Métis, and fined Bown five pounds. Bown refused to pay, and in due course was arrested. He demanded to see Dr. Cowan at the Fort, so Constable Mulligan took him there. Cowan refused to become involved in the affair, and Bown was taken to jail. After he had been there an hour Bryan Devlin, a restaurant keeper, paid the five pounds and Bown was released. Devlin recalled that Bown had once done him a kindness.[50]

The case in which Schultz was involved came up at this same Quarterly Court. This sitting featured an astonishing development which "entirely changed the position of parties". Herbert L. Sabine, a land surveyor who had been working for Schultz in 1865 when Mr. Kew had visited the Settlement, was Schultz's chief witness. Sabine swore before the court that

> one day during the term of the said visit of Mr. Kew, he had been witness of the following transaction between the latter and his employer. Schultz had paid over to Kew the sum of two hundred seventy-five pounds, the only evidence of the receipt of which was to be the testimony of Mr. Sabine who saw it and heard the

> verbal agreement between the two men that the affair was to be kept "quiet", and the money was to be paid on the debt, but not to be marked on the note.[51]

Those who knew Mr. Kew, an accountant, could not believe their ears, but since he was in London, and as nobody in court had ever heard of the payment, the plaintiff's attorney was quite unprovided with evidence to rebut Sabine's statement. The jury brought in a verdict allowing Mr. Kew twenty-one pounds instead of the two hundred ninety-six claimed.

Governor McTavish showed how much belief he had in the truth of Sabine's statement when he personally forwarded to Kew the sum of two hundred ninety-six pounds on his own personal account. His action in allowing a new trial had, he believed, made him party to a perpetration of a fraud. As for Kew, he wrote a number of letters to individuals in the Settlement which supported the Governor's views. To clear his character from at least the stain of carelessness as an accountant he made a solemn statutory declaration before the Lord Mayor of London denying the truth of the facts as sworn to by Sabine.[52]

It is not clear why Schultz should have decided to withdraw from the management of the Nor'Wester in 1868, but this step was taken, and Bown took his place. The announcement was made in the Nor'Wester for July 28th, after Schultz's return from the second long absence of the year. It may be that Schultz's interests were much too numerous and his absences from the Settlement too frequent for him to give the newspaper the attention it required. By the summer of 1868 he had interests in stores, herds of horses, the fur trade, and a two-storey brick building was in the course of erection.[53] As for his absences in the United States and Canada, they had been well noticed and speculated on by others in the

Settlement.

There is evidence that Schultz's affairs were undergoing some kind of crisis in 1868. In September of that year Schultz received a remarkable letter from A. G. B. Bannatyne. Bannatyne explained to Schultz that his reasons for writing--a very short walk could take one to the other's residence--had to do with their Masonic vows: "a cable's length or more I am ready to go to assist the widow[']s son". "Do not think that anything that has passed prevents our going over," Bannatyne began, "even altho[ugh] I think you are wrong just now and may get into trouble.

> From long friendship with you and well knowing more than many others how your troubles has [sic] been for some time I am willing in a troublesome moment like this (and believe me the trouble is not yet over) to do all I can for you.

"I may be wrong," Bannatyne went on, "to think there will be any trouble[.] [T]his is my private feeling and you may think me very impudent and bold for saying so.

> I have a <u>right</u> [emphasis his] to take a liberty that some others may not have, or may not be willing to do. Could I do you any good I am ready.

At this point the reader may be pardoned for being puzzled as to the reason for the letter. It is obvious only that Bannatyne knows there has been some kind of trouble and believes that there will be more of it. He had offered his friendly assistance as a fellow Mason. What the trouble is or is likely to be is not clear. Then comes a clue:

> I took the liberty of intruding myself on Mrs. Schultz at a moment when you were in trouble, but from kindness. I was until that time perfectly unaware of any intention ON THE PART OF THE SHERIFF [emphasis mine] to take any steps against you.

Bannatyne is clearly referring to the occasion described above when Mrs. Schultz and a crowd of Schultz's sympathizers released him from jail after he had been put there by Goulet. Had Bannatyne advised against what Mrs. Schultz was doing when he intruded himself on her "from kindness"? It seems very likely. But there is a further consideration:

> I have seen many and know the opinions of many settlers in the matter.

"Burn this," Bannatyne concluded, "if you think me wrong for doing as I have done [. B]urn this or take it as I write it from kindness. Write me if I can be of any use or service. Yours fraternally and sincerely."[54]

With the evidence at hand one can only wonder what was happening in September of 1868 to cause Bannatyne to offer his "use or service". The lack of the precise date on which Bannatyne wrote does not make the task any easier. Schultz owed a great deal of money, and no doubt a great deal was owed to him,[55] given the economic conditions resulting from a failure of the crops, the buffalo hunt and the fisheries. The problem may have been related to this. But of one thing we can be sure: Bannatyne had seen many settlers and knew their opinions with respect to Schultz and his affair with the Sheriff. Bannatyne knew Schultz was going to need help.

In this context it is easy to understand that John C. Schultz was treading on very dangerous ground when, in the summer of 1869, he allowed the rumor to spread that he was to be appointed to a high position in the new Canadian regime to be.[56] The position he had in mind was that of Sheriff, the official in the Settlement whose chief duty was the collection of debts after judgment![57]

Footnotes

1. Few serious biographies of John Christian Schultz exist. One of the oldest is the somewhat hagiographical one found in Volume III of F. R. Schofield's The Story of Manitoba. R. O. MacFarlane's more measured biography in R. C. Riddell, Canadian Portraits, includes a reproduction of the portrait found in the office of the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. There is a two-page biography in Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba compiled by the Manitoba Library Association in 1971. A recent biography is that by Jocelyn McKillop, Research Assistant for the Historic Resources Branch, done in October, 1979. A number of Manitoba histories make frequent reference to Schultz. Manitoba Memories, by Rev. George Young, is written from the point of view of an admiring partisan. Manitoba As I Saw It, by Dr. O'Donnell, the doctor whom Schultz persuaded to come to Red River to practice, though written from the point of view of a close associate of Schultz, nevertheless manages to be reasonably objective.

   Schultz is known to Canadian history as "Doctor Schultz", but, since there is no proof that he was a doctor and convincing proof that he was not, he will be referred to in this thesis as J. C. Schultz, or simply Schultz, except where he is referred to in a quotation.

2. Provincial Library of Manitoba, Vertical File, "Sir John C. Schultz".

3. Schofield, op. cit, p. 5.

4. McKillop, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

5. The Nor'Wester (afterwards Nor'Wester), Sept. 21, 1867.

6. See, for example, Schofield, op. cit., p. 5.

7. Ibid.

8. This researcher is not the first to have made inquiries concerning Schultz's university career. H. C. Knox did so in 1934; Tommy Tweed, the playwright, in 1959; Dr. Ross Mitchell in 1967. See Vertical File "Sir J. C. Schultz", Provincial Library of Manitoba.

9. McKillop, op. cit., footnote 1. See J. J. Hargrave's strange statement in Red River, p. 200: "Some time after Mr. McKenney's arrival he was joined by his half-brother, Dr. John Schultz, understood in the settlement to have obtained his degree from a Canadian Medical School, in which he had studied."

10. Schofield, op. cit., p. 5.

11. Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, p. 176.

12. J. D. Griffin and C. Greenland, "The Asylum at Lower Fort Garry", in The Beaver, Spring, 1980.

13. Nor'Wester, June 1, 1861.

14. Nor'Wester, June 15, 1861.

15. R. G.Riddell, op. cit., p. 75.

16. Peter McArthur, "Rescuing the Schultzes--1870", in Manitoba Pageant, Autumn, 1973.

17. Une Soeur de la Providence, Le Père Lacombe, pp. 119-121.

18. Manitoba Library Association, op. cit., p. 211.

19. Manitoba News-Letter, February 1, 1871. Note that the News-Letter says: "Hugh O'Lone (better known here as Bob) a "General" in the rebel force of last winter . . .", proving that Hugh O'Lone and Bob O'Lone are the same person. G. F. G. Stanley was under the impression that there were brothers. See Louis Riel, p. 430. W. L. Morton had the same difficulty. See W. L. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal and Other Papers (afterwards Begg's Journal), pp. 438, 630.

20. Nor'Wester, August 25, 1868.

21. Nor'Wester, September 29, 1868.

22. G. Dugas, Histoire Véridique des Faits Qui Ont Préparé le Mouvement des Métis à la Rivière Rouge en 1869 (afterwards Histoire), p. 9.

23. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth of a Province, Ritchot's Journal, pp. 150-1.

24. Macdonald Papers, Bown to Macdonald, Nov. 18, 1869.

25. Nor'Wester, June 15, July 1, October 15, November 1, 1861.

26. J. J. Hargrave, Red River, p. 200.

27. Nor'Wester, March 5, 1862; Hargrave, Red River, p. 200.

28. Nor'Wester, April 16, 1862.

29. Nor'Wester, August 18, 1862.

30. Nor'Wester, Feb. 18 and Mar. 17, 1864; Hargrave, Red River, pp. 316-9.

31. Nor'Wester, Mar. 3, 1864; Hargrave, Red River, pp. 321-2.

32. Nor'Wester, Jan. 23, 1865; Hargrave, Red River, pp. 322-4.

33. Hargrave, Red River, p. 323.

34. Nor'Wester, June 5, 1865.

35. Nor'Wester, July 5, 1865. Note that both July 4 and July 5 are used in this issue's pages.

36. The phrase appears to be Dr. W. B. Howell's. See Provincial Library of Manitoba, Vertical File, "Sir J. C. Schultz".

37. Hargrave, Red River, pp. 391-2.

38. Nor'Wester, Aug. 25, 1866.

39. Ibid.

40. Hargrave, Red River, pp. 411-2.

41. Taché, Sketch of the North-West of America reproduced in The New Nation, Sept. 3, 1870.

42. Hargrave, Red River, p. 413.

43. Nor'Wester, July 13, 1867.

44. Provincial archives of Manitoba, MG10 F5, Société Historique de St. Boniface, Bulletin No. 3, 4; See also Nor'Wester, Sept. 21, 1867. Note that while Nor'Wester reported that Father Lestanc performed the ceremony, the records indicate that Father Allard performed it. James Farquharson was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1820, the son of William Farquharson of Balmoral, Scotland. He lived in both Jamaica and British Guiana. The identity of his wife is not known. When his wife died in Jamaica James decided to move with his two daughters to Red River, arriving there in 1864. There he worked as a house-painter. He was imprisoned for a few days during the Insurrection, and, during the Archibald administration he was part of the Schultzite opposition. He died on November 1, 1874, and was buried in St. Johns cemetery. (Census of 1870; Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Vol. III; Provincial Library of Manitoba, Vertical File "Sir J. C. Schultz"; C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19); PAM MG10 F5 Société Historique de St. Boniface, Bulletin 1973-4; Daily Free Press, Nov. 2, 1874, Nov. 3, 1874).

45. Hargrave, Red River, pp. 504-6. Nor'Wester "Extra", giving the Schultz view of the incident,is reproduced on pages 504-6.

46. Hargrave, Red River, p. 427.

47. Nor'Wester, February 29, 1868.

48. Hargrave, Red River, p. 428.

49. Hargrave, Red River, p. 434.

50. Hargrave, Red River, p. 434-7.

51. Hargrave, Red River, pp. 437-8. See also Hill, History of Manitoba, pp. 199-208.

52. Hargrave, Red River, p. 439. Nearly two years later, when it was necessary to mention Sabine in connection with the events of February, 1870, "Justitia", writing in The Globe, used the expression, "Sabine (of Schultz notoriety) a Canadian long resident in the country . . . ." See The Globe, March 12, 1870.

53. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, letters 98, 99, 100, 103. Nor'Wester for July 28, 1868, mentioned that the brick building was being put up. The issue for Oct. 24, 1868, stated that it looked "very well".

54. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, letter 107, Bannatyne to Schultz, Sept. 1868.

55. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, letters 94, 98, 109, 110.

56. AASB, Dugas to Taché, August 24, 1869: "Schultz fait courir les bruites qu'on va lui donner sous peu la place de shérif".

57. Hargrave, Red River, p. 92.

Chapter Two
The "Canadian" or "Loyal" Party

Of all the factors[1] in the Red River Insurrection the most identifiable and most thoroughly documented is probably the so-called "Canadian" or "loyal" party. Both terms are unfortunate. Not all members of the party were Canadian and there were many Canadians who did not join it. It would be difficult to establish whether the men saw themselves as loyal to Canada, to Great Britain, or simply to what they saw as their private interests. It could well be more appropriate, in view of the support which the Provisional Government eventually received, to refer to them as the "rebel" party, as, indeed, some of them referred to themselves at the time.[2]

Several lists exist which give the names of those composing the "Canadian" party. Some were made at the time for various reasons;[3] others were made later as historians strove to assign credit or blame or put the events of the Insurrection in some kind of perspective.[4]

What may be the first of these lists was made on October 1st, 1869, when John A. Snow, the superintendent of works on the "Fort Garry Section of Red River Road" made his report on an incident at Oak Point. He had been "dragged by violence from the government depot and threatened with grievous bodily harm if [he] persisted in not paying the unjust demands".[5]

Twenty-three names appear on the list, along with figures giving the amount paid to each man. Twelve of the names are those of Red River Métis, and it is clear that someone has written their names for them and that the Métis then made their marks. Three of the Métis refunded to Snow the amounts paid to them. One name, François Thibault, has opposite it

the notation, "Mr. Mair agreed to pay this man's time out he says".[6]

The other eleven names are signatures, some barely legible, of those of the Canadians who had been the ringleaders in the affair. The signatures appear to be as follows: W. J. Allen,[7] Thos. Scott,[8] Angus Chisholm, A. Chisholm,[9] George Fortivery,[10] James Robb,[11] William F. Walsh,[12] Francois J. Mogridge,[13] Geo. A. Bubian,[14] John Harris,[15] Joseph H. Stocks.[16] Those signing as witnesses to the transaction were A. H. Hamilton,[17] Robert Holland,[18] and George Parker.[19]

It is to be noted that four of the men, Allen, Fortney, Mogridge and Scott, were later taken to court by Snow. Two of them, Scott and Fortney, were fined, and Judge Black gave them 30 days in which to pay the fine.[20]

These facts are, of course, familiar to historians. The document, however, has additional significance in that it provides corroboration of statements made by Le Métis concerning the events of the summer and fall of 1869. The reader will remember that the Red River Settlement had no French-language newspaper until May 27 of 1871, when Le Métis began publication. Accordingly it is difficult to find out what was going on among the French-speaking people, much of what the Nor'Wester published having a "Canadian" party bias.

In April of 1874 Le Métis published material in rebuttal to what Dr. James Lynch,[21] a member of the "Canadian" party, had published concerning Thomas Scott:

> Dr. Lynch insists that Scott had very regular habits. Let us see if the following fact, known by all in the Oak Point parish, supports the assertion of Dr. Lynch. During the summer of 1869 Scott and about ten [une dizaine] companions, who like him had come from Onta-

> rio, spent several days in an unbelievable drinking binge at Oak Point. When night came they went to houses whose men were absent, frightening the women and children by the disorder of their conduct, and, taking over the houses, danced as many hours as they pleased, keeping the doors and windows guarded to prevent the women and children from getting out and warning the neighbors. That is what the entire parish of Oak Point knows. Was Scott reasonable? Did he have regular habits? Let the reader judge.[22]

This account has the ring of truth. First of all there is the number--about ten--"une dizaine". This cannot be coincidental. The Oak Point Métis would know how many men had been involved in such behavior as that outlined, and both whom to blame and whom not to blame. Then there is the fact--known by all who knew Red River--that there were many homes whose men were away during much or all of the summer season, either on the buffalo hunt, the freight hauls to St. Paul, Minnesota, or Fort Edmonton, or the long canoe voyages to Portage La Loche and beyond.[23] The women and children in these homes would be safe enough in the usual order of things. They were no longer safe when a class of men with no scruples came into their community. Finally there can be little doubt that these men were at Oak Point "during the summer". In late June the Nor'Wester had noted the arrival on the "International" of three men, "F. J. Mogridge, Wm A. Allen, and James Scott".[24] These must be the same men who appear in Snow's document. If it is objected that "James Scott" is not "Thomas Scott" it must be observed that it is not clear why there should be trouble about this name, unless Scott was using an alias, or was always called by his surname, both of which are entirely possible. The diarist Begg did not know what name to use when he recorded that Scott was one of the two fined at the trial.[25] He had the same trouble

when he recorded Scott's arrest on December 14th, 1869.[26] The correspondent of the St. Paul Daily Pioneer experienced the same difficulty in March of 1870, referring to him as "Mr. Scott of Toronto".[27] This evidence would suggest that he was usually referred to by his surname.

The Nor'Wester announced in early July that work was beginning on the road to Lake of the Woods.[28] Fifty laborers were employed at and beyond Oak Point under the supervision of Charles Mair. It may fairly be presumed that Scott and his companions went to work there at that time. John Snow returned on July 5th, accompanied by Arthur Hamilton, and took general charge of the work.[29] The Nor'Wester managed to ignore a strike which took place during the summer, and we are indebted to Governor McTavish, and to the fact that a General Quarterly Court sat on the 18th and 19th of November, for what little is known about the strike.[30]

The second of these lists was made secretly by Alexander Begg, who had begun a daily journal of events on November 16th, with the meeting of the twenty-four delegates called for by Riel and the French party. The surrender of the Schultz party on December 7th ended a crisis that had gone on for more than a week. Begg prepared a list of those captured in the Schultz houses.[31]

Begg's list is in two parts. The first contains the names of 45 men who were actually in the Schultz houses when the decision was taken to surrender. The second, made on December 14th, contains the names of 13 men who had been "arrested since the surrender of Schultz' party for being implicated with it". There are seven additional names too, of men about whom Begg was not certain. It is not known what Begg's source of

information was, but it was quite reliable, and stands comparison with other lists which were made later in the winter.[32]

Dr. James Lynch, a recent arrival from Canada, had been "appointed" by Dennis a "Captain of Canadian and other volunteers in the Town of Winnipeg". In February, of 1870, when he wished to leave the Settlement and go to Canada, he left a document authorizing Dr. O'Donnell "to pay to the persons named on the other side goods or clothing to an amount not exceeding Ten pounds sterling each to be charged to the account of the Canadian Government". There are 64 names on Lynch's list.[33]

A fourth list was made by Charles Mair for publication in the Toronto Telegraph. His list is in three parts, and contains 60 names of "those released on parole after several weeks of imprisonment", "those who escaped on the night of the 9th January", and those "released upon demand made by forces under command of Dr. Schultz and Major Boulton". Mair was one of those who escaped.[34]

A comparison of the three lists brings out some useful points.

The most obvious, of course, is that brought out by Mair's list, which includes the place of origin of each of those listed. Almost three-quarters of the men were from the Canadian provinces, the overwhelming majority of these being from Ontario. Mair listed nine as from Red River, counting Schultz as being from Amherstburg, Ontario. If Schultz is added--he had been in Red River for more than eight years--the number is ten. Three of the men were from Great Britain.

Of those listed as from Red River, it should be noted that three were pensioners; two were Canadians who had been at Red River for some time, leaving only four who were natives of the Settlement. William

Hallett was well known as one who had helped release James Stewart from jail in 1863,[35] at the time of the Corbett affair.

All three lists agree on twelve of the men who had been at Oak Point in October of 1869. Three of them, Mair, Parker, and Scott, are in Mair's list of those who escaped.

Begg's list contains names which do not appear in either of the other lists. Where Fonseca is concerned, it is known that he was arrested on December 13th and released the next day.[36] Kent appears to be unidentifiable, and no one by that name made a claim for losses of imprisonment in 1871.

Mair's list also contains two names that do not apear in the other two. John McLeod is identified as being from "Stornaway, Scotland". No one by that name made a claim for losses or imprisonment.[37] As for George Miller, there is no doubt that Lynch forgot to put his name on the list, and it is curious that he should make this oversight. P. G. Laurie recorded that Miller was chosen as leader by the Canadians before the capture of Fort Garry. After the taking of the Fort he and Boulton were to have led a Canadian assault on the Fort. Two of Lynch's fellow prisoners have mentioned Miller as being one of the officers of those in the Schultz houses.[38] Miller later made claim for 66 days imprisonment.

Mair's list is useful, too, in that it points out a fact that has been neglected by students of the Insurrection. Twelve men were released on parole after being imprisoned for some time. There is evidence to suggest that more or all of the prisoners would have been released if they had been willing to take an oath not to oppose the Provisional Government. On the first of January, 1870, A. W. Graham included the fol-

lowing sentence in his entry for the day:

> Riel today offered some their liberty if they would swear allegiance to his government. They refused of course.

The next day he had more to say on the subject:

> Seven or nine men were liberated by taking some kind of oath and agreeing to leave the country.

Graham was one of those who tried to make their escape on January 9th, but the alarm was given just as he went to crawl out. Graham recorded that

> Hyman was taken six miles from the Fort, with his feet badly frozen. This evening they also brought back Miller, McArthur and Allen.

The prisoners had another opportunity for release on February 12th. As Graham described it,

> Hallett was liberated by giving bail of $450. The rest of us were offered our liberty by taking an oath of allegiance to Riel's government. Ten or eleven went out on these terms, the rest of us refused . . . We were taken one at a time from our rooms down stairs, then upstairs in another building. O'Donohue [sic] and a clerk sat at a table. Riel walked quickly and nervously back and forth the room [sic] O'Donohue [sic] read me the oath. I said I was a British subject on British soil and would take no oath to serve another government. Riel said, "Take that man out." I was taken back.

Graham was, of course, released on February 15th when the Provisional Government was faced with the uprising of "forces under command of Dr. Schultz and Major Boulton". Graham described his release in very few words:

> About 8 p.m. we were offered a parole oath, which we took, and we are now out in town.[39]

According to Alexander Begg, who described in detail the negotiations

which resulted in this release, this oath was "merely to keep the peace and the laws of the country".[40]

Before turning away from Graham's diary to examine the lists of prisoners taken in the "Portage" incident, it is useful here to take note of several details which he recorded concerning the surrender of those in the Schultz houses on December 7th:

> . . . a girl came in with a note from Col. Dennis, stating that he could not help us and to make the best terms we could. We sent three delegates to the fort to make terms, especially to let the women get out to a place of safety. The delegates, Scott and Hallett, were locked up. McArthur returned at 2 o'clock, followed by about 300 French, headed by Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue [sic], with orders to surrender in fifteen minutes, or they would fire on us from the fort. We held a hasty council of war, when it was decided best to surrender.[41]

In the years after the Insurrection, the Rev. George Young, Dr. Lynch and others were to make much of the fact that Thomas Scott was not taken in arms when those in the Schultz houses were forced to surrender. This entry of Graham's indicates clearly that Scott, along with Hallett and McArthur, had been with the others in the Schultz houses, and that if he was not actually in one of the houses at the moment of surrender it was because he was acting as a "delegate".[42]

Let us now look at the "Portage party".

The first list to be made public of those captured from the "Portage party" appeared in the New Nation for February 18, 1870. The reader will note that the place of origin of each man has been given. Also, while the news item refers to "48 in all", only 47 names are given.[43]

Alexander Begg seems to have noticed this when he copied the names

in his journal for that day. However, the careful diarist counted the names and noticed that there were only 47. He wrote at the end of his list, "one unknown". He did not take the trouble to copy the parish from which the New Nation said each had come. One can only speculate as to the reason for this, but it may be that Begg recognized that a number of the men were not originally from the parish given.[44] Captain Boulton, for example, had been with Milner Hart's survey party in the fall of 1869.[45] William Farmer and George Newcomb had been with A. C. Webb's survey party.[46] Also, the reader will have noticed that three of the men, Ivy, Scott and Parker appear in Mair's list of those who had escaped on January 9th, and had taken refuge where they could.

It must be emphasized here that this list does not represent the entire "Portage party" but only that portion of it which came so dangerously close to Winnipeg in returning home as to arouse the fears of those responsible for security in that village. Charles Mair, for example, did not travel with this group, but was careful enough to remain at some distance from Winnipeg.[47] William Gaddy, one of the "eight" known to have begun the organization of "a secret force" which was to release the prisoners and return, was also not captured with this group, having been captured on the 14th of Febraury at William Dease's house. His capture deprived the Portage movement of the element of secrecy which was necessary for its success.[48]

It is possible, incidentally, to identify five of the "eight" organizers of this force. "R. McC", writing in the St. Paul Daily Pioneer after the capture of the Portage party but before the execution of Scott, mentioned Gaddy as having "commenced the organization of a secret force"

and went on to specify that it was

> composed mainly of English halfbreeds [sic], with some Canadians, as Major Boulton, Mr. Scott, of Toronto, Mr. Farmer and others, as volunteers under the leader of Mr. Gaddie [sic].[49]

"R. McC." did not mention Charles Mair, but that gentleman must be added to the list. In an angry letter written to John C. Schultz in May of 1870, Mair insisted upon his right to speak for Portage la Prairie in negotiations with the government in Ottawa. "Any documentary reference to that settlement," he wrote,

> should of course have come from either Mr. Setter or myself who in conjunction with Farmer and Scott devised the movement at the Portage.[50]

Who the other ringleaders of the "eight" were is not known for certain, and in the years after the execution of Scott the "Canadian" or "loyal" party were so anxious to minimize his part in the Portage affair and blacken the reputations of Riel and the Provisional Government that their statements on that subject have to be accepted and examined with caution.[51]

We have now to turn to what Riel later called the "Schultz Provisional Government", the body of men appointed at Kildonan Church to "act as a general council for the force". Rearranged in alphabetical order the fourteen names as given by "R. McC." are as follows: Dr. Beddame, Geo. Calder, Donald Gunn, Jr., Edward Hayes, John Hodges, Wm. Leask, Adam McDonald, Joseph Monkman, Andrew Mowatt, A. H. Murray, Henry Prince, Alex. Ross, Thomas Sinclair, John Tait. The list is not complete, since there were several other "native residents whose names ["R. McC."] did not learn".[52] The council was to choose a leader, but seems not to have

done so before disbanding.

"R. McC." preserved for us a record of what the "general council for the force" perceived to be the aims of the gathering at Kildonan:

> to demand of Riel the whole of the prisoners [,] to declare that they ignored the action of their Delegates, who, by threats of violence had been compelled to vote for Riel or retire from the convention, and to say that while they did not object to the French governing themselves in any manner they chose, yet that they would have nothing to do with Riel or his government. They also demanded the restitution of the confiscated property of Dr. Schultz, Mr. Wm. Dease and others, and a guarantee that no such outrages be repeated.[53]

This list of aims can be compared with another which was recorded by the correspondent of the Montreal Witness:

> that all prisoners be liberated at once, and a guarantee given that neither escaped prisoners nor any others be taken in future; that all confiscated property be restored; safety for Schultz's life be promised, and that we form a government of our own, allowing him to carry on his without any interference, but letting it be understood we countenance him in no shape or manner. Also freedom of all highways for us through the country.[54]

A report published by the New Nation also mentions "the right of the public highway", and specified the four parishes of St. Pauls, St. Peters, St. Andrews and St. Clements as refusing to recognize in any way the authority of the Provisional Government. This report referred to the demand for a general amnesty, pointing out Schultz and Dease as especially deserving of such an amnesty. All Canadians, it was asserted, should have the same rights as other inhabitants.[55]

"Justitia", in a long account written for publication in The Globe, reported that this council held a meeting which resulted in the decision to disperse, since they had "got what they had come for--the release of

the prisoners".[56]

In early March, with the hostilities of February safely behind, and a Provisional Government maintaining order in the Settlement, people could turn their attention to other things. An entry in Begg's Journal proves conclusively that not all the men who had volunteered for service under Dennis had been captured in the Schultz houses. Begg wrote as follows:

> Mr. Ellwood claimed pay on account of having enrolled himself as a volunteer under Dennis--he was not generally known as a volunteer until now but had Dr. O'Donnell's orders to receive 10 pounds sterling on account of the Canadian government.
>
> Dr. O'Donnell left by Dr. Lynch to act as his attorney in paying the men enrolled under Dennis is reported to be paying out money to some extent on that account.[57]

Two days later Begg mentioned the subject again:

> Mr. McArthur leaves today. He takes with him over 500 pounds sterling of orders on the Canadian government for supplies furnished the men enrolled by Col. Dennis and captured by the French in Schultz's house.[58]

Begg's final comment on this matter was made in April:

> It is strange to note how men who kept shady during the late troubles now come forward to claim their reward from the Canadian government.[59]

Finally, let us look at the "loyal" French. In his article published in the St. Paul Daily Pioneer, "R. McC." stated that no member of the Charette, Dease, Fisher, Genthon, Grant, Marion or McKay families was "with him", i. e., Riel.[60]

Several months later, in July of 1870, someone signing himself "Spectator" discussed the "loyal" French for the Daily Telegraph.[61] It is to be noted that six of these surnames are among the seven given by "R.

McC.". The seventh, Fisher, is not in "Spectator's" list, and is not, furthermore, in the list of those making claims on account of the Insurrection. On the other hand, an Alexander Fisher had been mentioned by Begg as in the Provisional Government service.[62] Nevertheless, an agreement of six out of seven names must be more than coincidence.

In May of 1871, during the Archibald régime, the Weekly Manitoban published a letter giving details of a new settlement to be established by "loyal" Half-breeds at Rivière aux Roseaux.[63] The reader will note that four of the surnames are those found in "R. McC."'s list. Once again, Fisher is not to be found.

It should be observed that four members of the Charette family, two of the Dease family, two of the Marion family, and one of the McKay family, made claims, five of them for imprisonment.[64]

Of 13 additional Métis who made claims for imprisonment, four received no compensation. Their names follow, asterisks indicating those who received no compensation: B. Dauphinay*, Joseph Dumas*, François Goselin, Joseph Hamelin, Baptiste Jolibois*, George Kline, G. Lafournaise, Alexis Lamirande*, Louis Laroque, Eli Millien, Laventure Parisien (compensation for imprisonment and for the loss of his son), Pascal Parisien, Pierre St. Germain.[65]

It is unfortunate that it is not possible to do a similar study of those who gave their support to the Provisional Government.

A comment will not be out of place here concerning the nature of many of those Canadians then to be found on North America's frontiers. When John C. Schultz spoke to the large meeting in Toronto in April of 1870 he had some words of praise for the Canadians he had met on the frontiers he

had seen. The Globe for April 7, 1870, quoted him as follows:

> What Canadians could not do could not be done. Canadians were everywhere and always stood pre-eminent. Even on the Pacific slopes, among the rough miners where rowdyism prevailed, they held preeminence. Of course this was not always to their credit, but it served simply to show that they will be foremost in anything. Let no one hang his head because he was a Canadian.

John C. Schultz was certainly in a position to know!

The men of the Oak Point incident contributed materially to the suspicion and dislike with which many in the Canadian party were regarded by the Métis. The men of the Schultz houses incident enlisted to protect the government stores in Schultz's buildings in what could be called a kind of intaglio Jameson's Raid. They had officers and received pay for their services. The fact that they disobeyed orders and got themselves captured does not alter the fact that they looked upon themselves as soldiers. The men of the Portage party were indirectly responsible for the death of John Hugh Sutherland and directly so for the death of Parisien. The men of the "general council for the force" by their decision to attempt to overcome the Provisional Government after the release of the prisoners share the responsibility for the death of these two men. Unless we understand these facts we cannot understand either the Insurrection or the Archibald administration.

Appendix "A"

List of workmen involved in the incident at Oak Point, Oct. 1, 1869.

	Shillings	Pence
1. W.J. Allen	9	3
2. George Bubian	4	7
3. A. Chisholm	12	4
4. Angus Chisholm	13	1
5. George Fortivery	4	7
6. John Harris	4	7
7. Francois Mogridge	9	3
8. James Robb	9	3
9. Thos Scott	9	3
10. Joseph H. Stocks	4	7
11. William F. Walsh	4	7
12. Charles Mair - paymaster		
13. A. H. Hamilton - witness		
14. Robert Holland - witness		
15. Geo. Parker - witness		

Red River Métis involved in the incident at Oak Point, Oct. 1, 1869.

Joseph * Couchon		7	8
Joseph * Galumeau		4	7
Tuisant * Galuneau		4	7
Thomas * Hubert		4	7
Antoine * Lucie		7	8
Joseph * McDougall		4	7
John * McLeod	(refunded)	4	7
M * McKenzie		9	3
Joseph*Marchand	(refunded)	7	9
Severe * Oillenime		4	7
François Thibault		9	3
one name illegible	(refunded)	4	7

[* Indicates "his mark"]

(PRO CO 537 Supplementary Correspondence. Canada. 1870.)

Appendix "B"

Dr. Lynch's "List of Prisoners in Fort Garry confined by Riel and associates. December 1869", dated Feb. 21, 1870.(Names have been placed in alphabetical order.)The numbers between 1 and 15 are from Appendix "A"

1. Wm Allen
16. L. W. Archibald
17. J. H. Ashdown
2. Geo. Boober
18. Geo. Brandon
19. Dan Cameron
20. D. W. Campbell
21. Jos. Combs
3. A. R. Chisholm
22. Mat Davis
23. Wm Davis
24. Jas. Dawson
25. Jas. Devlin
26. John Eccles
27. John Ferguson
5. Geo. Fortney
28. Thos. Franklin
29. A. W. Graham
30. Wm Graham
31. Chas. Garrett
32. A. Haines
33. John Hallett
34. Wm Hallett
13. Arthur Hamilton
35. Andrew Hill
14. Robert Holland
36. H. F. Hyman
37. Chas. Heath
38. John Ivy
39. James Jeffry
40. Wm Kittson
41. Geo. Klyne
42. Frank LaRose
43. Thos. Langman
44. John Latimer
45. Thos. Lusted
46. Dr. Lynch
12. C. Mair
47. P. McArthur
48. G. D. McVicar
49. R. P. Meade
50. F. C. Mercer
7. F. Mogridge
51. John Mooney
52. S. Mulkins
53. Jas. Mulligan
54. Alex Murray
55. Geo. Nicol
56. Wm Nimmons
57. Dr. O'Donnell
58. Philip Otterwell
59. Charles Palmer
15. Geo. Parker
8. Charles Robb
60. Dr. Schultz
9. Thos. Scott
61. R. Smith
62. Wm Spice
63. James Stewart
64. Chas. Stodgill
10. Jos. H. Stokes
65. H. Woodington
66. A. Wright
67. H. Wrightman

Appendix "C"

List of prisoners entered in the diary of Alexander Begg, December 7 and 14, 1869, after the surrender of Schultz's party.(Names have been placed in alphabetical order.) The numbers from 1 to 15 are from Appendix "A".

1. W. J. Allen
16. L. W. Archibald
17. Jas. H. Ashdown
18. Geo. Brandon
2. Geo. Bubar
19. D. Cameron
20. D. U. Campbell
3. A. R. Chisholm
21. J. M. Coombs
22. Matthew Davis
23. W. J. Davis
24. James Dawson
26. John Eccles
27. John Ferguson
68. W. G. Fonseca
5. George Fortinay
28. T. Franklin
29. A. W. Graham
30. Wm Graham
31. Charles Garrett
32. J. B. Haines
33. John Hallett
34. Wm Hallett
13. Arthur Hamilton
36. W. F. Hyman
38. John Ivy
69. James C. Kent
40. Wm Kitson
41. Geo. Klyne
42. Frank LaRose
44. John Latimer
43. Thos. Limgerard
45. Thos. Lusted
46. Joseph Lynch, M. D.
12. Charles Mair
47. P. McArthur
48. G. D. McVicar
49. R. P. Meade
50. F. C. Mercer
70. Geo. Miller
7. F. F. Mugridge
52. Stewart Mulkins
53. James Mulligan
55. George Nicol
56. Wm Nimons
57. John O'Donnell, M. D.
59. C. E. Palmer
15. Geo. Parker
60. Dr. Schultz
9. _____ Scott
61. Robt. R. Smith
62. Wm. Spice
63. James Stewart
64. Charles Stodgall
65. Henry Woodington
66. A. Wright
67. H. Wrightman

N.B. Begg's entry for December 14 contained this note: "The following are supposed to be prisoners but not known to be for certain -

"John B. Harris (1)
Geo. A. Hill (2)
John B. Harrington - mistake gone to Canada.
Thomas Baxter (3)
James Deffrey (4)
Wildon Bartlet (5)
Alex. Marple." (6)

(1) See App. "A"
(2) Is this 35 of App. "B"?
(3) See 74 in App. "G" and "H"
(4) See 39 of "B" and "E"
(5) See 73 in App. "G" and "h".

(6) An Alex Marple came to the Settlement in May of 1869 with Richard Sparling, Hugh Macdonald, and John V. Graham.(Nor'Wester, May 29,1869)

Appendix "D"

Charles Mair's list of "Prisoners released upon demand made by forces under command of Dr. Schultz and Major Boulton" published in the Toronto Telegraph, April 6, 1870.

1. W. J. Allen - Port Hope.
16. Lewis W. Archibald - Truro, Nova Scotia.
17. J. H. Ashdown - Durham.
2. George Bouber - New Brunswick.
20. Duncan W. Campbell - Chatham.
21. Joseph Coombs - London.
3. A. R. Chisholm - Glengarry.
19. Donald Cameron - McGillivray, Ont.
23. William Davis - Durham.
22. Mathew Davis - Durham.
25. James Devlin - Durham, Ont.
27. John Ferguson - Smith's Falls.
5. George Fortney - N.S.
28. Thomas Franklin - (pensioner), Red River.
31. Charles Garrett - Simcoe, Ont.
29. A. W. Graham - Eagle, P.O., Elgin.
30. William Graham - Eagle, P.O., Elgin.
32. J. B. Haines - Stratford.
36. Wm F. Hymen - London.
34. William Hallett - Red River.
43. Thomas Lanaman - Barrie, Ont.
46. Doctor Lynch - Stratford, Ont.
51. John Mooney - Marnoch.
47. Peter McArthur - Toronto.
7. F. J. Maugridge - Toronto.
54. A. Murray - Dickenson's Landing.
70. George Miller - Shefford, Quebec.
53. James Mulligan - (Pensioner), Red River.
55. George Nicol - Ottawa.
57. Doctor O'Donnell, Stratford, Ont.
59. Charles Palmer - London, England.
61. Robert Smith - Manchester, England.
10. J. H. Stocks - Stratford.
63. James Stewart - Windsor.
64. Charles Stotgill - (pensioner), Red River
49. R. P. Wade, Editor, Nor'Wester, Winnipeg. (Obviously a typographical error, and should read R. P. Meade)
67. Hugh Wrightman, Barrie, Ont.
66. A. Wright - Bruce, Ont.

Appendix "E"

Charles Mair's list of "Prisoners released after several weeks of confinement" published in the Toronto Telegraph, April 6, 1870.

18. George Brandon -Huron.
14. Robert Holland - Hastings.
35. AndrewHall - Haldimand.
33. John Hallett - St. James, Red River.
13. Arthur Hamilton - Ottawa.
39. James Jeffrey - Norfolk.
44. John Latimer - Bruce.
52. Stewart Mulkins - Kingston.
50. F. C. Mercer - Winnipeg.
71. John McLeod - Stornaway, Scotland.
58. Philip Otwell - Owen Sound.
62. William Spice - Fullarton.

Appendix "F"

Charles Mair's list of "Prisoners who escaped on the night of 9th January", published in the Toronto Telegraph, April 6, 1870.

38. John Ivy - Red River.
40. William Kittson - Kent.
41. George Kline - Red River.
48. G. D. McVicar - Chatham.
12. Charles Mair - Perth.
56. William Nimmons - Elora.
15. George Parker - Lanark.
60. Dr. Schultz - Amherstburg.
9. Thomas W. Scott - Toronto.
65. Henry Woodington - Brampton.

Appendix "G"

The list of those taken prisoner on Feb. 17, 1870, as published in the New Nation, for Feb. 18, 1870. (Names have been alphabetized.) Numbers between 1 and 71 are from Appendices "A" to "F".

72. R. Adams - High Bluff.
73. Wilder Bartlett - Portage la Prairie.
74. Thomas Baxter - Headingly.
75. W. G. Bird - Portage.
76. Capt. Bolton - Portage.(C.A. Boulton had
77. Magnus Brown - Headingly. been with
78. Robert Dennison - Headingly. Milner Hart's
79. J. Dillworth - High Bluff. survey
80. William Dillworth - High Bluff. party)
81. W. Farmer - Portage.(Farmer had been with
82. John Ivy - St. James. A. C. Webb's survey
82. James Jock - High Bluff. party)
83. James McBain - Portage.
84. Robert McBain - Portage.
85. Archibald McDonald - High Bluff.
86. Charles McDonald - Portage.
87. John McKay - Headingly.
88. Alex. McLean - Portage.
89. John McLean - Portage.
90. M. McLeod - High Bluff.
91. Alex. McPherson - Portage.
92. Chas. Millan - Headingly.
93. J. B. Morrison - Headingly.
94. N. Morrison - Headingly.
95. A. Murray - Portage.
96. Geo. Newcomb - Poplar Point.(Newcomb had
97. J. Paquin - High Bluff. been with
98. Jos. Paquin - High Bluff. A. C. Webb's
99. W. Paquin - High Bluff. survey
100. Alex. Parker - Headingly. party)
15. G. Parker - Rivière Sale.
101. Sergt. Powers - St. James.
102. W. Salter - Headingly.
103. James Sanderson - High Bluff.
104. George Sandison - High Bluff.
9. Thos. Scott - High Bluff.
105. Dan Sissons - Portage.
106. Jos. Smith - Headingly.
107. Laurence Smith - Portage.
108. W. Sutherland - Headingly.
109. John Switzer - Portage.
110. A. Taylor - Poplar Point.
111. D. Taylor - Poplar Point.
112. H. Taylor - Poplar Point.

Appendix "G" - continued

113. Jno. Taylor - Headingly.
114. H. Williams - Portage.
115. George Wylds - Poplar Point.
116. "48 in all" - The New Nation, however, published only 47 names. The 48th may have been James Joy, as suggested by Robert B. Hill, in his History of Manitoba, p. 286. No claim was made by anyone of that name. See Appendix "I".

Appendix "H"

This list of the "names of the prisoners taken in Captain Bolton's [sic] party" was entered into Alexander Begg's journal for February 18, 1870. (Names have been alphabetized) The numbers between 1 and 71 are from Appendices "A" to "F".

72. R. Adams
73. Wilder Bartlett
74. Thomas Baxter
75. W. G. Bird
76. Capt. Bolton
77. Magnus Brown
78. Robert Dennison
79. J. Dillworth
80. Wm Dillworth
81. Wm Farmer
38. John Ivy
82. James Jock
83. James McBain
84. Rob. McBain
85. Arch. McDonald
86. Chas. McDonald
87. John McKay
88. Alex. McLean
89. John McLean
90. M. McLeod
91. Alex McPherson
92. Chas. Millan
93. J. B. Morrison
94. N. Morrison
95. A. Murray
96. Geo. Newcomb
97. J. Paquin
98. Jos. Paquin
99. Wm Paquin
100. Alex. Parker
15. G. Parker
101. Sergeant Powers
102. W. Salter
103. James Sanderson
104. George Sandison
9. Thos. Scott
105. Dan Sissons
106. Jos. Smith
107. Laurence Smith
108. W. Sutherland
109. John Switzer
110. A. Taylor
111. D. Taylor
112. H. Taylor
113. John Taylor
114. H. Williams
115. George Wylds
116. "One unknown"

Appendix "I"

A list of those making claims as a result of the Insurrection at Red River. The numbers from Appendices "A" to "H" indicate those who had been involved in the incidents covered by those Appendices. The number of days each was imprisoned is also shown. Canada. Sessional Papers. 1872 (No. 19).

72	Robert Adams	33 days imprisonment
	Thomas Alcock	-------
16	Louis Archibald	68 days "
17	Jas. H. Ashdown	70 days "
73	Wilder Bartlett	29 days "
	Frederick A. Bird	-------
75	William G. Bird	33 days "
76	Major Boulton	[Did not claim for imprisonment]
	Hon. Alfred Boyd	-------
	Andrew Boyd	-------
18	George Brandon	31 days imprisonment
	James Brown	-------
77	Magnus Brown	28 days "
2	George A. Bubar	70 days "
	Martin Burwell	-------
20	D. W. Campbell	65 days "
	R. Campbell	-------
	C. L. Champagne	-------
	Baptiste Charette	15 days "
	Daniel Charette	-------
	François Charette	15 days "
	Joseph Charette	-------
3	A. R. Chisholm	[Number of days not given]
	T. Couvenant	-------
	Matthew Cook	20 days imprisonment
	Copland Cowlard	-------
	B. Dauphinay	-------
22	Mathew Davis	67 days "
23	William Davis	36 days "
24	James Dawson	67 days "
	William Dease	4 days "
	Wm Dease, jr.	-------
78	Robert Dennison	31 days "
	Brian Devlin	-------
25	James Devlin	69 days "
	Wm Dewer	-------
	Wm Dewer, jr.	10 days "
	Jno Dilworth	-------
79	Jno Dilworth, jr.	4 months "
80	Wm Dilworth	31 days "

	Joseph Dumas	-------
	Wm S.Durie	-------
26	John Eccles	44 days imprisonment
	Garner Elwood	-------
81	Wm. A. Farmer	30 days "
	Jas. Farquharson	12 days "
27	John Ferguson	69 days "
	Alexander Fiddler	-------
68	W. G. Fonseca	[Not stated]
5	George Fortney	71 days imprisonment
28	Thomas Franklin	66 days "
	William Gaddy	9 days "
	George Garrioch	-------
31	Charles Garrett	66 days "
	Antoine Gingras	-------
	François Goselin	-------
29?	Samuel Graham	[Not stated]
30	William Graham	65 days imprisonment
	George Gunn	[Not stated]
32	John H. Haines	34 days imprisonment
35	Andrew Hall	34 days "
	William B. Hall	-------
33	John Hallett	17 days "
34	William Hallett	73 days "
	Joseph Hamelin	9 days "
	C. M. Hamilton	-------
	Charles House	31 days "
	Joshua M. House	-------
36	Walton F. Hyman	42 days "
	James Irwin	-------
38	John Ivy	35 days "
	S. Jeanveniu	-------
39	James Jeffery	34 days "
82	James Jock	31 days "
	Henry Johnston	-------
	Baptiste Jolibois	-------
40	William Kitson	37 days "
41	George Kline	30 days "
	G. Lafournaise	2 days "
	Alexis Lamirande	-------
	Louis Laroque	-------
44	John Latimer	[No imprisonment claimed for]
	Patrick G. Laurie	-------
45	Thomas Lusted	-------
46	James S. Lynch, M. D.	68 days imprisonment
12	Charles Mair	[Not stated]
	Edward Marion	-------
	Narcisse Marion	-------
49	Rollen P. Mead	-------
50	F. C. Mercer	[Not stated]
92	Charles Milliam	23 days imprisonment

70	George Miller	66 days imprisonment
	Eli Millien	-------
7	F. J. Mogridge	[Not stated]
	Joseph Monkman	-------
51	John Mooney	70 days imprisonment
93	John Morrison	25 days "
94	Norman Morrison	25 days "
	Andrew Mowat	-------
52	S. D. Mulkins	[Not stated]
53	James Mulligan	66 days imprisonment
	Robert Mulligan	-------
95	Alexander Murray	30 days "
54	Alexander Murray	69 days "
	Alex McArthur	100 days "
47	Peter McArthur	75 days "
83	James McBain	28 days "
84	Robert McBain	31 days "
	A. McDermott	-------
85	A. McDonald	31 days "
86	Chas. McDonald	32 days "
	George McKay	16 days "
87	John McKay	29 days "
	Leonard McKay	-------
88	Alex. McLean	27 days "
	Farquhar McLean	29 days "
89	John McLean	27 days "
	McLean and Smith	-------
90	Murdoch McLeod	35 days "
91	Alex. McPherson	32 days "
48	G. D. McVicar	30 days "
96	George Newcombe	31 days "
55	George Nichol	69 days "
56	William Nimmons	[Not stated]
57	Hon. John O'Donnell, M. D.	70 days imprisonment
58	R. P. Othwell	[No claim for imprisonment]
100	Alexander Parker	33 days imprisonment
15	George Parker	60 days "
	Laventure Parisien	-------
	Pascal Parisien	14 days "
97	Joseph Poelie 1.	33 days "
98	Joseph Poelie, Jr. 2.	29 days "
99	William Poelie 3.	30 days "
101	Michael Powers	30 days "
	Hugh Pritchard	-------
	Herbert L. Sabine	31 days "
103	Francis Sanderson	27 days "
104	George Sanderson	30 days "
60	John Schultz, M. D., M. P.	[Not stated]
	John James Setter	[No claim for imprisonment]
	Horace R. Sewell	-------

105	Daniel Sisson	28 days imprisonment
106	Joseph Smith	28 days "
107	Lawrence Smith	28 days "
61	Robert Smith	71 days "
	David Spence	16 days "
	Thomas Spence	1½ days "
62	William Spice	31 days "
63	James Stewart	66 days "
10	Joseph H. Storkes	69 days "
64	Charles Stodgaell	70 days "
	Charles Swain	-------
109	John Switzer	26 days "
108	Wm Sutherland	23 days "
	Pierre St. Germain	2 days "
	St. Boniface Mission	-------
	David Tait	17 days "
110	Alexander Taylor	23 days "
111	David Taylor	32 days "
	David Taylor, jr.	21 days "
112	Herbert Taylor	21 days "
	James Taylor	-------
113	John Taylor	32 days "
	Peter Walker	-------
67	Hugh Wrightman	77 days "
	Thomas White	-------
115	George Wild	29 days "
65	Hy Woodington	65 days "
	William Work	-------
66	Archibald Wright	65 days "

* * *

1. This is almost certainly a misprint for Joseph Paquin, of High Bluff.

2. This is almost certainly a misprint for Joseph Paquin, Jr., of High Bluff.

3. This is almost certainly a misprint for William Paquin, of High Bluff.

Appendix "J"

List of "Loyal" Half-breeds published in a letter from "Spectator" in the Daily Telegraph for july 15, 1870. (The names have been placed in alphabetical order).

Dennis Caplitbo [Caplette]
Daniel Charette
William Dease
Charles Genthon
Eli Genthon
Joseph Genthon
François Goalim [Goselin]
Baptiste Goulet
Roger Goulet
John Grant
Joseph Hamlin
Thomas Harrison
Solomon Jeauviemu
George Klyne
Louis LaRoque
Narcisse Marion
Roger Marion
Goodwin Morchands [Marchand]
Angus McKay
Augustin Nolin
Charles Nolin
Francis Nolin
Norbert Nolin
J. B. Perrault, Sr.
Bonne Homme Plouff
Joseph Savoyard
Louis Thibault

* * *

Appendix "K"

List of "Loyal" Half-breeds published in a letter in the Weekly Manitoban for May 20, 1871. (Names have been placed in alphabetical order).

J. Bte Charette
Joseph Charette
W. Dease, jr.
Wm. Dease, jr.
André Genton
Charles Genton
Elie Genton
Joseph Genton
John F. Grant
Louis LaCerte
L. Lacerte, jr.
H. Pariseau

Footnotes

1. The earliest, and possibly the best, analysis of the factors leading to the Insurrection was made by Alexander Begg in the preface to his Journal. See W. L. Morton (ed), Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and Other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistence of 1869-1870 (afterwards Begg's Journal), pp. 151-165. See also in House of Commons. Journals, 1874, VIII, "Report of the Select Committee of 1874" (afterwards "Report--1874), the following: Deposition of Archbishop Taché, pp. 8ff; Deposition of Rev. N. J. Richot, pp. 68-9; Deposition of W. R. Bown, pp. 112-3; Deposition of Thomas Bunn, pp. 115-6; Deposition of A. G. B. Bannatyne, p. 123; Deposition of William Cowan, p. 126; Deposition of Thomas Spence, p. 133; Deposition of John Sutherland, p. 134; Deposition of Hon. A. G. Archibald, pp. 138, 156, 157; Deposition of J. J. Hargrave, p. 185; Deposition of J. S. Dennis, pp. 186-7.

2. See The Manitoban (afterwards Manitoban) for September 30, 1871, for Archibald's reply to an address from the people of Portage la Prairie. See also Manitoban, Dec. 3, 1870, for an account of a meeting at Poplar Point.

3. See, for example, Begg's Journal, pp. 217 and 228 for Begg's lists of Dec. 7 and Dec. 14, 1870, of those arrested for being involved in the Schultz houses incident. See the New Nation list, published Feb. 18, 1870, of those of the Portage party who were imprisoned. Begg's list of these men is on pages 315-6 of his Journal. Dr. Lynch's list is in PAM MG3 A1 No. 11.

4. See, for example, Begg, Creation of Manitoba (afterwards Creation), pp. 164-5, for his list of the Schultz houses party. The Portage party are listed on pp. 189-90. Dugas' Histoire had a list of the Schultz houses prisoners on pp. 115-7. There are lists of the Portage prisoners in R. B. Hill's History of Manitoba (afterwards History), pp. 286-7, and in Gunn and Tuttle's History of Manitoba (afterwards History), p. 387. Those making claims for losses in the Insurrection are given in Canada. Sessional Papers 1872. (No. 19) (afterwards C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19)).

5. PRO CO 537, Supplementary Correspondence. Canada. 1870. Snow's report of payments made. See list of men in Appendix "A".

6. Charles Mair was paymaster of Snow's party, and had been in charge in the area before Snow's arrival, Nor'Wester, July 3, 1869. See Norman Shrive, Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist, p. 86.

7. This man appears on Lynch's list as simply "Wm Allen". See Appendix "A".

8. Note that Lynch's list has "Thomas W. Scott".

9. It is not clear which of these men is the "A. R. Chisholm" who appears in most lists. A payment of 12 pounds 4 shillings was made to "A.Chisholm", a payment of 13 pounds 1 shilling to "Angus Chisholm", so it appears certain that there were two men surnamed "Chisholm".

10. Begg spells this name "Fortinay" (Appendic "C"), Lynch "Fortney" (Appendix "B"), C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19) "Fortney" (Appendix "I").

11. Lynch lists a "Charles Robb". No one surnamed "Robb" appears in C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19) (Appendix "I").

12. Walsh appears in none of the other lists.

13. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19) gives "F. J. Mogridge"; Lynch had "F. Mogridge"; Begg has "F. F. Mogridge" in his Journal, "F. G. Mugridge" in Creation.

14. This must be the "George Bubar" of C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19); Lynch has "Geo. Boober" Begg has "Geo. Bubar".

15. Note that Begg's Journal, on page 228, mentioned a "John B. Harris" as one of those "supposed to be prisoners but not known to be so for certain".

16. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19) had "Joseph H. Storkes"; Lynch had "Jos. H. Stokes"; Begg has "J. H. Stocks".

17. Both Begg and Lynch have "Arthur Hamilton".

18. While Begg does not list him and he apparently made no claim, Lynch has "Robt. Holland" as does Mair's list of prisoners released on parole (Appendix "E").

19. Begg and Lynch both have "Geo. Parker". Mair has him in his list of those who escaped on the night of January 9 (Appendix "F"). There is also a "G. Parker" in both the New Nation list (Appendix "G") and Begg's list (Appendix "H") of those of the Portage party who were taken prisoner. He claimed for 60 days imprisonment. See C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19) (Appendix "I").

20. The comment of W. L. Morton in Begg's Journal, page 173, footnote 3, is interesting. Begg presumably wrote his entry on November 19, long before the name of Thomas Scott had assumed any significance. It would appear that Morton is allowing himself to express a bias.

21. Note that C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19) correctly identifies him as "James S. Lynch" "M. D.". Begg incorrectly identifies him as "Joseph Lynch, M. D.". Morton has perpetuated this mistake in his footnote in Begg's Journal, p. 217, footnote 1. Stanley has done likewise in Louis Riel, p. 137.

22. Le Métis, April 25, 1874. See also Collected Writings of Louis Riel (afterwards Writings--Riel), Vol. 1, p. 346.

23. Nor'Wester, June 8, 1865, "The Annual Migration".

24. Nor'Wester, June 26, 1869.

25. Begg's Journal, p. 173.

26. Begg's Journal, p. 228. On Dec. 6 he had confused him with Alfred H. Scott. Lynch referred to him as "Thomas W. Scott".

27. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

28. Nor'Wester, July 3, 1869.

29. Nor'Wester, July 10, 1869.

30. In fairness it must be noticed that two issues of the Nor'Wester are missing from collections, those of July 31 and August 7, 1869, which could well have reported the strikes. For McTavish's report see Begg, Creation, p. 79. See also PAM "Record of the Quarterly Court of Assiniboia", Nov. 18, 1869. See also PAC, Cowan's diary. Snow appeared before Cowan on Oct. 2 to give evidence against his men.

31. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, p. 12: The Schultz party occupied "three buildings", "one of brick veneer of one and a half story, one was a rough cast of two stories and the other was a log building of two low stories, used as a storehouse for Government stores". Young was told he could go free as he was "too young to lock up". Note that W. L. Morton wrote as though there was only one building. See Begg's Journal, p. 74. G. F. G. Stanley did likewise in Louis Riel, p. 75.

32. See Appendix "C". See Begg's Journal for the original entries, pp. 217, 228-9.

33. PAM MG A1 No. 11. See Appendix "B".

34. Toronto Telegraph (afterwards Telegraph), April 6, 1870. See Appendices "D", "E" and "F". Mair is in error concerning Schultz, who escaped on January 23, 1870.

35. Hargrave, Red River, pp. 285-7.

36. Begg's Journal, pp. 227, 229.

37. It may be coincidence only that a "John McLeod" is among the Red River Métis listed as working at Oak Point in October of 1869. He

refunded the amount paid to him. See Appendix "A".

38. PAC, Diary of A. W. Graham, Dec. 31, 1869; "Dr. Lynch, captain; Mr. Miller, major, Lieut Allen". G. D. McVicar, in a letter to the Toronto Leader, April 10, 1870, gave : "Dr. Lynch as captain; Miller as Lieutenant, and Allen as Ensign". See also Saskatchewan Archives, Storer Papers, Diary of P. G. Laurie, pp. 15, 19.

39. Diary of A. W. Graham, pp. 78, 80-1. See Begg's Journal for a list of those released, pp. 305-6.

40. Begg's Journal, p. 308.

41. Diary of A. W. Graham, p. 75.

42. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, p. 12. In this paper Young stated that Scott had been stationed with him "at one of the front upper windows of the brick store".

43. See Appendix "G". It should be noted that Hill in his History, listed a James Joy in place of John Ivy. There is evidence, however, that the name missing from the list may be that of one "old man Pocha" or Pochain, whom Murdoch McLead sent forward "to meet the French half-breeds to talk with them and call out to him what they said so that he, Murdoch, could tell Boulton". See F. N. Shrive, "Charles Mair on the Red River Rebellion" in CHR, Vol. 40, 1959, p. 224. The name may really be Pochain, since a family by that name lived at High bluff. See "R. McC"'s account of the Portage affair in St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

44. See Appendix "H". See Begg's Journal, pp. 315-6.

45. C. S. P. 1870 (No. 12), p. 21.

46. Ibid.

47. See F. N. Shrive, op. cit., p. 223.

48. "R. McC" in St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

49. Ibid.

50. PAM MG 12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Mair to Schultz, May 10, 1870.

51. Donald Smith's very partisan report is one of the earliest of these statements. Smith makes no mention or analysis of the "causes" of the "obstruction" "to the peaceable ingress of the Hon. Wm McDougall" called for by his commission. See Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona, where his commission is given on pages 180-2. He omits all reference to the Schultz houses affair, leaving the impression that the

Canadians had been imprisoned for no reason at all. See also Dr. Turver's account in Manitoba Liberal (afterwards Liberal), June 15, 1872.

52. "R. McC.", op. cit.

53. Ibid.

54. Republished in The Globe (afterwards Globe), March 18, 1870 (Winnipeg, Feb. 19).

55. New Nation, Feb. 25, 1870.

56. Globe, March 12, 1870 (Red River, Feb. 18).

57. Begg's Journal, March 10, 1870, p. 333.

58. Begg's Journal, March 12, p. 335.

59. Begg's Journal, April 16, 1870, p. 358.

60. "R. McC.", op. cit.

61. Telegraph, July 15, 1871. See Appendix "J".

62. Begg's Journal, Feb. 20, 1870, p. 318.

63. Manitoban, May 20, 1871. See Appendix "K".

64. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19), "Schedule of Claims Arising Out of the Insurrection at Red River". See Appendix "I".

65. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19).

Chapter Three
The Rifles

On September 17, 1869, William McDougall, then making his preparations to leave for Fort Garry and his post of Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, wrote a memorandum to the Cabinet requesting that the Militia Department be instructed to send to Fort Garry not fewer than one hundred Spencer carbines and 250 Peabody muskets. These were to be equipped with bayonets and accoutrements, and between 8,000 and 10,000 rounds of suitable cartridges

> for the use of such Police and Volunteer Force as may be found necessary.

A committee of the Cabinet met on September 22nd and decided to advise that instructions should issue accordingly. Sir John A. Macdonald signed the report and the Governor General approved it.[1]

Clearly the sending of a shipment of rifles to follow McDougall to the North-West was part of Canadian government policy.

Action was taken at the Department of Militia and Defence on September 28th, and the order was transmitted to the Superintendent of Stores.[2]

By the 5th of October, McDougall, then in Toronto, was becoming uneasy about the rifles, and telegraphed an inquiry to Sir George Cartier.[3] Inquiries were made, and it developed that the shipment had left Kingston by boat the preceding Friday (October 1st).[4] The rifles made their way to St. Paul, Minnesota, on schedule. The cases of rifles were noticed by Métis freighters, and the message went down to the Red River Settlement that the new Governor was coming with rifles to arm the Canadians then in the Red River Settlement as surveyors and settlers.[5] When he realized that he was not going to be allowed to cross the border, McDougall sent

word back to have the rifles put in storage near Fort Abercrombie. They remained there until the fall of 1870, when Lieutenant-Governor Archibald arranged for their shipment to Fort Garry.[6]

In view of the importance which these rifles attained in stimulating the Métis to prevent McDougall from entering the Settlement, we must ask ourselves questions about them. What police force was going to require 350 rifles with bayonets and accoutrements? What Volunteer force did Macdonald and the Cabinet have in mind? What events in the North-West had prompted the sending of these rifles? Had someone in the North-West recommended the sending of these arms, and, if so, why?

Let it be observed that McDougall's memorandum was written on September 17th; the committee met and reported on the 22nd. On these dates the two events traditionally considered as signalling the beginning of the Insurrection were still in the future. Riel and his Métis had not stepped on the surveyors' chain and, of course, McDougall had not been stopped at the border. Yet 350 rifles--enough to equip a regiment--were to go to the North-West. Which 350 men were to be issued them and under what circumstances?

There are three possibilities which may be identified. Let us consider them now.

The Canadian Cabinet had in mind the eventual establishment of a police force for service in the North-West Territories. In a letter to McDougall, written in December of 1869, Macdonald sketched out the broad outlines of the force envisaged:

> . . . you can, with Cameron, be organizing a plan for a <u>quasi</u> [emphasis his] military body [a Mounted Police]. This force should be a mixed one--of pure whites and British and French half-breeds [sic], taking great care that the half-breed [sic] element does

not predominate.[7]

Captain D. R. Cameron, then with McDougall at Pembina, was to be the officer commanding this force. Later in December Macdonald wrote to Cameron throwing more light on his view of the force being considered:

> . . . the best Force would be Mounted Rifleman [emphasis his], trained to act as Cavalry but also instructed in the Rifle exercise. They should also be instructed, as certain of the Line are, in the use of Artillery. This body should not be expressly Military, but should be styled Police, and have the Military bearing of the Irish Constabulary.[8]

It is not clear what status any force organized by Cameron would have had at that time. The authorization for it had to wait for several months. In April of 1870 the Cabinet approved a Memorandum prepared by Macdonald recommending the organization of a police force. It was expected to reach an eventual strength of 200 men, 50 of whom were to be enlisted immediately for a 3-year term. The men were to be provided with horses and cavalry equipment. At the end of their 3-year period of service the men were to become eligible for a free allotment of land. Captain D. R. Cameron was again recommended as commanding officer.[9]

Recruiting evidently began, for on May 5th William Smith reported to Commissioner McMicken that he had "a large number of names for Mounted Police". However, the next sentence of his letter makes it appear that the work of recruiting had been ordered halted: "When I got your message to stop work there the men were just commencing to come in."[10]

This force is mentioned in a last and unnumbered paragraph of Lindsay's instructions to Wolseley:

> The Dominion Government has appointed Captain Cameron to take up a body of men to act as mounted police but you will not permit him to precede or accompany you.[11]

However, the force did not follow the Red River Expedition, and was

not available to either Smith or Archibald as a civil force to maintain order.

Where this police force is concerned we are still left with the question of why 350 rifles were sent to the North-West when the immediate goal of the authorities was a force of fifty men.

Let us now turn to the "Volunteer" force referred to in the language of the Cabinet committee. Which "Volunteer force" was meant, and what circumstances would render it "necessary"? Was a volunteer force of Red River people under consideration? If so, what was the urgency? The Settlement had been getting along fairly satisfactorily without one. Why would the beginning of the Canadian régime suddenly see a need for 350 armed men?

Writing in the early months of the Archibald administration Alexander Begg commented on this matter of the rifles:

> . . . it was still more unfortunate for Mr. McDougall, as well as an ill-judged act on his part, to bring with him cases of arms at the outset of his career as Governor of a new country--where he was as it were a stranger, and where the people were strangers to him. He might have known that the circumstances, when blazed abroad by the newspapers, would be looked upon with suspicion by the people of the North-West, even had there been no opposition to his entrance into the Territory. A regiment of regular soldiers would have been viewed as only a step taken to keep up the dignity of the Government, and protect the settlers if necessary, but arms, without the men to handle them, was certainly a queer method to sustain the dignity of the law.[12]

There is no doubt what the Métis thought about the shipment of rifles. Writing in late 1872 Riel stated that

> Several hundred men recently arrived in the country, partisans of Snow and Dennis, by whom most of them were employed, boasted that they had come in advance of Mr. McDougall, as his soldiers, and that they were ready to support him by force of arms.[13]

In 1874 Riel prepared his Memoir, and in it stated that the Canadian adventurers

> had already declared that they had come from Ontario, in advance of Mr. McDougall, as a military force, being fully decided to impose Mr. McDougall on us as governor by strong-arm methods if necessary.[14]

Many years after the Insurrection Rev. George Dugas told about how Walton Hyman had spent some time at Saint Norbert acting as a "spy" for Schultz. While there, Hyman, according to Dugas, told the Métis family with whom he boarded that a number of the Canadians had brought military uniforms with them and that he had one himself.[15] When the news of McDougall's rifles came to the Settlement the Métis drew the obvious conclusion. Part of Dugas' story can be verified from other sources. Dugas wrote that Hyman was at Saint Norbert "une quinzaine" or two weeks.[16] Actually Hyman was in that vicinity more than two months, ostensibly as a tanner, having gone there in early August. He placed an advertisement in the Nor'Wester stating that he was "at the Stinking River tannery and that all kinds of leather will be furnished there in the most approved manner--Orders solicited. References--Messrs Stalker and Wright--Winnipeg."[17] Presumably Hyman's stay at Stinking River came to an end with his deposition of October 22nd, 1869, before Dr. Cowan at Fort Garry.[18]

Hyman's deposition amounted to a warning that parties of men were about to commit riot. Was his intention to alert the Council of Assiniboia or to alert a group of men who were eagerly awaiting the arrival of the latest in rifles? The Council, for its part, did not see its way clear to taking action on the warning. As for the Canadians in and around Winnipeg, they did not take action before the Métis Committee acted.

We must now consider a third possibility.

In the period both before and after McDougall's departure from Canada for the North-West McDougall and Macdonald received letters from individuals with militia experience who were prepared to take "Volunteer Battalions" to the North-West as volunteers and as colonists. The first offer came from the County of Mégantic in Quebec's Eastern Townships, and gives a fascinating glimpse of what was going on in the minds of people in small rural settlements as they contemplated the forthcoming transfer of the North-West to Canadian rule. On September 3rd Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Barwis, of the 55th Battalion Volunteer Militia, wrote to Macdonald on behalf of his men, residents of the area around St. Ferdinand de Halifax. Barwis began by informing Macdonald that a "perfect mania" existed "in these townships" to emigrate to the United States. Barwis said that in so doing the people were not so much wanting to "leave the old Flag" as desiring to better "their condition". Barwis thought that this "epidemic" could be turned to "our own western possessions". "The government having lately acquired the Hudson [sic] Bay Territory," he went on

> I have lately taken every opportunity of mentioning these facts to all my Friends and men that have served under me, firmly believing that the Territory in question is the best place for our young men to emigrate to, and that they are the best adapted . . . on account of the similarity of the climates, and if a commencement were once made, those in future who leave these Townships, would naturally follow after . . . I will undertake to raise five hundred men or more, who will be ready to leave as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made to send them, Should this offer be accepted. They are all Township men bred and born . . . all farmers . . . there is not one among them that cannot build a Bridge [,] House or make a canoe . . . At the same time if the Government would accept us as a Volunteer Battalion, we would be happy to do so, and will be found ready . . . to turn out any moment in the defense of our country.[19]

Barwis pledged himself to produce the signatures of five hundred men to emigrate to Red River. He wrote to McDougall on September 6th, enclosing a copy of his letter to Macdonald. He told McDougall that the men would have to know the government's decision soon, since the men "would require to sell off and get some things ready. I suppose it would be too late to think of going before next spring; however, I could get a good number to go this fall if necessary."[20]

David Price, of Quebec City, wrote to Macdonald in support of Barwis. He pointed out that the men were "all on the eve of leaving for the States and we cannot afford to lose such Canadian born, bone and sinew as these young fellows are made of".[21]

These letters were written, it must be emphasized, before there was any news of trouble in the North-West. Not unexpectedly, after the news of trouble arrived other offers were received, like that of John Boxall, of Toronto, who wrote to Macdonald on November 18th:

> It is reported here that you are about to send an armed force to Red River.
> A number of officers connected with the Volunteer Force in Toronto have spoken to me and will raise a regiment in a few days if required.
> If you move in the matter give us a chance.[22]

Barwis, of St. Ferdinand, renewed his offer on November 20th:

> I have just heard that a Force might be required for active service for the Red River Territory. I therefore hasten to offer my services and that of the Battalion under my command for immediate active service if required and with a view to settle in the country as formerly offered the men are ready and willing.[23]

Is it not reasonable to assume that, faced with such offers of support from the country's Volunteer militia, Macdonald, McDougall and

the rest of the Cabinet naively supposed that there could be no harm in having rifles shipped to the North-West, just in case they might be needed there, either by a group of people already in the Settlement or by a group to come later?

Footnotes

1. PAC RG2, 1, Vol. 17, PC 708.

2. PAC RG9, II A 1, Vol. 13, Department of Militia and Defence to Superintendent of Stores, Sept. 28, 1869.

3. PAC RG9, II A 1, Vol. 13, McDougall to Cartier, Oct. 5, 1869.

4. PAC RG9, II A 1, Vol. 13, W. P. Philips to Lt. Col. Wily, Oct. 5, 1869.

5. See, for example, A. Begg, Creation, pp. 51-2; G. Dugas, Histoire, p. 53; G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, p. 69; J. K. Howard, Strange Empire, pp. 103-4; G. F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 62.

6. PAC RG9, II A 1, Vol. 27, Archibald to Howe, Nov. 5, 1870.

7. PAC MG 26A, Vol. 516, Macdonald Papers, Letter Book 13, pp. 712-6, Macdonald to McDougall, Dec. 12, 1869.

8. PAC MG 26A, Vol. 516, Macdonald Papers, Letter Book 13, pp. 767-8, Macdonald to Cameron, December 21, 1869.

9. PAC RG2, Series 1, Vol. 2, Privy Council Order 1335.

10. PAC MG 26A Vol. 245, Smith to G. McMicken, May 5, 1870.

11. PAC RG9, II A 1, Vol. 30, Instructions to Wolseley, May 26, 1870.

12. A. Begg, Creation, p. 52.

13. "Report--1874", p. 201, Riel and Lépine to Lieut.-Gov. Morris, Jan. 3, 1873. See also Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 244.

14. Le Métis, Feb. 28, 1874. It is reproduced in English in Begg's Journal, pp. 527ff. See also Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, pp. 298-317.

15. G. Dugas, Histoire, p. 54.

16. Ibid., p. 53.

17. The reader will notice that in the August 17 and 24 insertions the name was misspelled "Lyman". By August 31 it was correctly spelled "Hyman". The advertisement appeared Sept. 7, 13, 21, and Oct. 26.

18. The deposition may be found in Begg, Creation, pp. 34-6.

19. PAC MG27 1C6 McDougall Papers, Barwis to Macdonald, Sept. 3, 1869.

20. PAC MG27 1C6 McDougall Papers, Barwis to McDougall, Sept. 6, 1869.

21. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Pt. II, Price to Macdonald, Oct. 4, 1869.

22. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Pt. II, Boxall to Macdonald, Nov. 18, 1869.

23. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Pt. II, Barwis to Macdonald, Nov. 20, 1869.

Chapter Four
William McDougall

William McDougall was to have been the first Lieutenant-Governor of the area known as Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. That he did not, in fact, assume the office does not in any way diminish our interest in him or his importance to our study. From him we can learn much as we strive to understand Canadian government policy in the North-West.

William McDougall was born near York--later Toronto--in 1822, and was raised on his father's farm in the township of Vaughan. He attended Victoria College at Cobourg. He studied law in the firm of Prince and Ewart, barristers-at-law, and when he wrote his Law Society examination finished second in a class of sixteen. In 1845 he married Amelia Caroline Easton.

For a number of years McDougall was involved in the world of journalism. He was a contributor to the Examiner. In 1846 he became editor of the Toronto Mirror, the organ of the Roman catholic body of Upper Canada. In 1848 he founded the British American Cultivator, later known as the Canadian Agriculturist. This was sold and eventually came under the control of George Brown, who continued it as the Canada Farmer. In 1850 McDougall founded the semi-weekly North American. Long an associate of George Brown he used the North American to promote the ideas of the Clear Grits, or radical wing of the Reform Party. In 1858 McDougall was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly for North Oxford. He served as member for North Ontario from 1863 to 1864, and for North Lanark from 1864 to 1867. He was commissioner of crown lands in the Macdonald-Sic-

otte and Macdonald-Dorion administrations between 1862 and 1864. He entered the Great Coalition in 1864 as provincial secretary, and was a delegate to each of the Charlottetown, Quebec and London Conferences. He was, therefore, a Father of Confederation. He did not follow Brown out of the Great Coalition in 1865.[1] He was appointed Minister of Public Works in Sir John A. Macdonald's first cabinet, and held this post until he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in September of 1869.[2] In 1868 he went to England with Sir George-Etienne Cartier to negotiate for the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canadian jurisdiction. While he was away in England his wife died at Ottawa in January of 1869.[3]

Rumors of McDougall's impending appointment began to reach the Red River Settlement in June of 1869. The Nor'Wester then commented that the position of Lieutenant-Governor "could not fall into better hands".[4] In July the Nor'Wester reported that McDougall intended to visit the Settlement with the minister of public works for Ontario, and speculated that McDougall would then stay on as Lieutenant-Governor.[5] In August the Nor'Wester announced that McDougall was to be Lieutenant-Governor, quoting the Pembroke Observer as its source.[6] In early September the Nor'-Wester stated that it was "in a position to announce" the appointment.[7] Later that month the newspaper gave the names of three men who were supposed to have been chosen as members of McDougall's council. The men named were Gilbert McMicken, F. H. Burton, M. P. for Durham East, Ontario, and Angus Peter MacDonald, M. P. for Middlesex West, Ontario.[8] How much truth there was in this report has never been established, and in any event the two Conservative members of Parliament never held any office in Red River.[9] McMicken did not reach Red River until 1871, when he came

in the capacity of Agent of Dominion Lands for Manitoba.[10]

The Nor'Wester rumor that McDougall planned to establish a temporary capital "somewhere else but Fort Garry"[11] had a secure basis in fact. McDougall planned to reside at "Silver Heights", a house then owned by the Rowand family. J. S. Dennis was given instructions to arrange to rent the house--at sixty-four pounds the first year, seventy-six pounds the second--and make extensive renovations and alterations, including the installation of a water closet.[12] When the people of St. James Parish learned of McDougall's intention, the vestry prepared a pew for the McDougall family in St. James Church.[13]

Some other rumors made their way to Red River too, and while they were not published in the Nor'Wester they muddied the political waters considerably. Joseph Howe heard these rumors when he visited the Red River in early October. He did not know what to make of them when he heard them, although he understood that they concerned something that had happened at Manitoulin Island several years before.[14] P. G. Laurie heard them too, and wrote in his diary in late October that

> The opposition at this time was against McDougall personally--he was an infidel--he had hanged two priests--he ha[d] insulted the Bishop--he would destroy the church-. . .[15]

McDougall was well aware himself that such rumors had preceded him to the Red River Settlement. When interviewed at St. Cloud by John Ross Robertson in December of 1869 McDougall made reference to them:

> Yes; they spread the most ridiculous stories. One that I had insulted the Pope; another that while in Canon [sic] I had killed two priests, and also that a third priest had lost his life at my hands, on our way to Pembina.[16]

It is clear that we must turn now to look carefully at this "Mani-

toulin Island" incident, and see why it is that it was held against McDougall in October of 1869.

The "Manitoulin Island" incident has been studied in some depth by scholars.[17] It may be summarized as follows: Manitoulin Island had been chosen in 1835 as the site for an experiment in establishing "Christian, agrarian Indian communities" where Indians could learn to enter fully into British North American society as "yeoman farmers". Manitoulin Island was, in 1835, sufficiently distant from centres of white settlement for its Indian population to learn white ways before they were forced to assimilate. Its inaccessibility might prevent the usual group of unscrupulous merchants and hangers-on from becoming nuisances. Finally, it was believed that Manitoulin Island had plenty of land suitable for agriculture. One of the Indian Department's most experienced officers, Captain Thomas G. Anderson, became northern superintendent with headquarters in Manitowaning, where there was an Anglican Mission. In 1845 he was succeeded by George Ironside, another long-time Indian Department officer. He remained in this position until his death in 1863. However, Manitowaning did not meet the expectations of its founders. Agricultural returns were meagre, and the Indians found that they had to rely upon hunting and fishing to supplement them. This failure resulted in a gradual exodus of people, some to other parts of the island, some to the mainland. Eighteen miles away was another settlement, Wikwemikong, which was begun around a Roman Catholic mission about the same time Manitowaning was established. Wikwemikong's people depended mainly upon fishing and hunting for their subsistence, while laying less emphasis on farming than those of Manitowaning. Wikwemikong was relatively prosperous and stable, while

Manitowaning was clearly in decline. Wikwemikong people had adopted some of the trappings of white society while continuing to follow some of their ancient ways. The Roman Catholic leaders, Jesuit priests like Father Jean-Pierre Choné and Father Auguste Kohler, seemed to realize that their people needed time to change and adapt to white ways. In time the whole island might have been successfully colonized following the Wikwemikong model. However, in the years since 1835 the rest of Ontario had been settled, and little arable land remained. Farmers began to look to other areas for land, businessmen of Montreal and Toronto for markets. Once the Bruce Peninsula had been occupied, about 1861, pressure developed to open up Manitoulin Island for white settlement. That year the provincial authorities commissioned Indian Superintendent W. R. Bartlett and Toronto lawyer Charles Lindsay to make arrangements for a treaty. When they reached Manitoulin Island in September of 1861 they found the Indians completely unreceptive to their proposals. With this rebuff the government decided to take no further action, beyond empowering J. S. Dennis to undertake a survey of the island and report upon its resources and possibilities. Unfortunately the government also laid the foundations for trouble by licensing certain commercial firms to fish in waters around Manitoulin Island which were vital to the livelihood of the island's Indian fishermen. Not unexpectedly the Indians began to harrass the newly-established fishing stations, much to the annoyance of William Gibbard, the fisheries commissioner for the upper Great Lakes. In May Gibbard wrote to deputy superintendent-general William Spragge, requesting some action on the part of the Indian Department. Spragge said he was powerless to act in such a situation, and referred Gibbard to Colonel Prince,

the stipendiary magistrate for Algoma, who resided at Sault Ste. Marie. During the spring and summer the Indian Department renewed pressure on the Indians to accept a treaty. This time the Indians were more agreeable to the idea, and arrangements were made for treaty negotiations in October.[18] William McDougall, now the superintendent-general of Indian affairs, and William Spragge, the deputy superintendent-general, travelled to Manitowaning to negotiate with the Indians.[19]

Talks began on October 4th. McDougall was astonished to find that the Indians did not wish to accept the terms which had been offered. His response was to declare an adjournment of the council "for an hour, during which time the Indians were to consider the propositions he had made with care and deliberation". When the Indians reassembled it became clear that there was a division of opinion among the Indians. Those from the western, or Manitowaning, end of the island favored acceptance of the terms, while those from the eastern, or Wikwemikong end, opposed them.[20] McDougall would have been well advised to abandon the project at that point, but the logic of the situation demanded otherwise, so he decided upon a compromise. A treaty was made with the Indians of the western end of the island, while those of the eastern end were "exempted" from the treaty's provisions, remaining, however, "under the protection of the Government as formerly".[21] McDougall's name was now associated in the minds of the Indian people with a design to deprive them of their land, but it was the events of the following winter and spring which did the most damage to his name.

In December of 1862 several families were expelled from the Wikwemikong settlement for trafficking in liquor.[22] These families included

that of C. de Laronde, Philemon Proulx and his son J.-B. Proulx.[23] The Proulx families withdrew to the woods near the village, where they managed to survive until spring. Then they moved to Lonely Island, some twenty-four miles to the south-east in Georgian Bay. The idea of these two families being cast out into the snow was too dramatic to be passed over by the newspapers, and the case of the "Proulx families" became a cause célèbre. About the same time some Indian families were expelled, including that of former head chief Francis Tetekumah, who was forced to seek refuge with Superintendent Ironside at Manitowaning. This served to add fuel to the press's interest in Manitoulin Island. The interest was to continue for some time for various reasons. After the spring thaw, in May of 1863, the Indian Department requested William Gibbard, whose fishery duties included the area, to distribute annuity money to the Indian bands along the north shore of Lake Superior as far west as Thunder Bay. He was also to attempt to suppress the illicit liquor traffic and illegal timber cutting on Indian reserves. On June 26th Gibbard visited Lonely Island to visit the Proulx families. While there he granted a fishing license to them for the annual fee of four dollars. Two days later Gibbard stopped at Wikwemikong to warn the Indians not to interfere with the Lonely Island fishery. For people who looked upon Lonely Island as their own property, and who depended upon the fishery there for food for part of the year, this was too much. A shouting match ensued, involving Gibbard, some Indian leaders, and Fathers Choné and Kohler. When Gibbard left, the Indians decided to drive the whites from Lonely Island.

On June 30th a second confrontation occurred, this time at Lonely Island. Gibbard, expecting trouble, had gone there to ensure the safety

of the Proulx families. About mid-day some twenty-five Wikwemikong Indians landed and tried to force both Gibbard and the Proulx to leave at the point of a knife. Gibbard signalled to his schooner's crew, and when these reinforcements arrived the Indians fled. The next day over fifty of them landed and forcibly removed the Proulx to Sheguiandah.

Gibbard, meanwhile, had gone about his official duties. When he heard what had happened he determined to arrest the offenders, including the Wikwemikong missionaries. Returning to Toronto, he approached the city police force to recruit some special constables as part of a punitive expedition. Early in the morning of July 23rd Gibbard, six "specials", commanded by a regular sergeant, and a York county detective left Toronto on the Northern Railway for Collingwood. At Barrie six more constables joined the force, while Chief Constable Dudgeon of Collingwood and six of his men waited at the dock for the journey to Manitoulin on board the paddle-wheel steamer "Ploughboy". Leaving Collingwood late in the afternoon of July 23rd, the "Ploughboy" first called at Owen Sound and then set out for Lonely Island, which was reached about 4 a.m. on the 24th. Gibbard and four constables landed but found the Proulx homestead deserted. Pressing on to Wikwemikong, the entire party of police landed about mid-day and proceeded to Father Choné's residence. As they came ashore the school bell was rung as an alarm, and a crowd of between two hundred and three hundred Indians assembled, surrounding the policemen as they moved to the priest's house. Thinking the missionaries were to be arrested, the crowd became restive, verbally threatening the police, one of whom brandished his revolver and threatened to shoot the first person who interfered. When Gibbard emerged from the mission-house he recognized

one of the Indians as a leader of the group which had expelled the Proulx, and tried to arrest him. The crowd moved to isolate the prisoner and his escort from the main body of the police. The party with difficulty made its way back to the landing. Father Choné now began to exhort the Indians to stop the police and free the prisoners. Gibbard ordered the priest's arrest. At this point many Indians withdrew to find weapons for themselves, while the remainder continued to harass the police. A pushing match ensued, during which one constable temporarily lost his revolver and the prisoner freed himself. A large number of armed Indians now reappeared and threatened to massacre the police unless Father Choné was released. Gibbard, realizing that his men were outnumbered ten to one, wisely proposed that those who had been arrested should meet the "Ploughboy" on its return trip to Collingwood, whence they could travel to Quebec City and discuss the Manitoulin situation with government officials. This was agreed upon: the Indians returned to their homes and the police to the steamer.

These events created a great stir in the Toronto press when the news reached that place, but more was yet to come. Gibbard and his men remained on the "Ploughboy" for the duration of the regular trip to Sault Ste. Marie, taking a second prisoner at Bruce Mines, when one of the ring-leaders of the expulsion of the Proulx was recognized. Remanded and released on bail in Sault Ste. Marie, the Indian rejoined the "Ploughboy" for the return to Manitoulin. Father Auguste Kohler, who had been visiting the area, also took passage for Sheguiandah on his way home to Wikwemikong. All proceeded uneventfully until the morning of July 28th, when Gibbard failed to appear for breakfast. Gibbard had been seen alive

for the last time. To make a long story short, Gibbard's body was eventually found "a short distance from Little Current" bearing a deep cut on the forehead and contusions on the temple, and an inquest was held. Gibbard's wallet was missing, as were the ship's porter and its bartender, who could not be located for questioning. As for the two thousand dollars, which was to have been used to make treaty payments to the Lake Superior Indians, it was found secure in the "Ploughboy's" safe. There was some speculation in certain quarters that Gibbard had been murdered and pushed overboard by either Father Kohler or the Indian who had been released on bail at Sault Ste. Marie. The evidence of witnesses discounted this idea, however. The inquest ended with the verdict that Gibbard had been murdered by person or persons unknown.

Those who were following the events of this "Indian rebellion" on Manitoulin Island now had plenty to speculate about in the mysterious death of a fairly important government official. It was actually the second death in the Manitoulin Island incident for, while Gibbard was in Toronto recruiting the special constables, Superintendent Ironside died very suddenly on July 14th. A temporary replacement was not named until August 5th, and Ironside's permanent successor, Charles Dupont, did not take office until early September. An employee of the crown lands department travelled to Manitoulin in mid-August to confer with the Wikwemikong chiefs. Through the good offices of Charles de Lamorandière of Killarney, a man esteemed by the Indians, the chiefs were persuaded to travel to Quebec City for interviews with government leaders. Finally, as though to cap the climax of a summer filled with news, the "Ploughboy" sank near Bruce Mines and four of her crew were drowned.[24]

The press coverage of these events was extensive, occasionally featuring long letters from individuals like Charles de Lamorandière,[25] who could see that government policy toward the Indians had left a great deal to be desired. Another writer wrote of Commissioner McDougall's attempt to "deprive the poor Indians of the Manitoulin of their property and rights".[26] Other writers had noted Gibbard's provocative act in issuing a fishing license to the Proulx family for an area the Indians considered theirs.

There was no doubt about the attitude of William McDougall in the matter. For him it was all quite simple. The Proulx family had been granted a license. The Indians had committed a trespass, probably an assault. What was important was that the "majesty of the law should be vindicated in the Algoma district". His letter of July 18th to Gibbard was published in full in the Quebec Mercury and reprinted in the Globe and probably in other newspapers:

> Sir: In reference to the case of Indian outrages against certain lessees of the Fishing Station at Lonely Island, respecting which you have communicated with the Crown Land Department and asked for instructions. I have to remark that as you have explained the case to me verbally, and by reading copies of the depositions which you have forwarded to Quebec I do not see that any special instructions are needed. There appears to have been a trespass committed, and probably also, an assault.
>
> In your character of magistrate you are competent to deal with the case, or if you think it of too much gravity to be disposed of by a single magistrate, you can invoke the assistance of His Honor Judge Prince. The offense is a criminal one, and within the jurisdiction of the ordinary legal tribunals. I do not think, therefore, there is any necessity for Government interference until it is made clear that the ordinary powers of the magistrate are insufficient to deal with the case.

> I shall bring the matter under the notice of the law officers of the Crown when I return to Quebec, but in the meantime would advise you to proceed as in any ordinary case of trespass and assault. I am sure the Government will sanction your proceeding if within the law and the scope of your authority, and allow all reasonable expenses.
>
> It is essentially necessary that the rights of our lessees and the majesty of the law should be vindicated in the Algoma district. I have the honor to be, etc.
>
> William McDougall[27]

It may be assumed that, just as a lively discussion of the Manitoulin Island incident took place in the press, discussions of the affair took place in the homes and institutions of Canada, including the Collège de Montréal, where Louis Riel was pursuing his studies.

We must now pause for a moment and try to make sense of what we have observed. It is clear that in 1862 and 1863 there were two policies being considered with regard to Indians. One, the government policy, would try to turn the Indians quickly into agriculturalists and assimilate them into the larger society. The other, more conservative, would permit the Indians to adapt gradually to the ways of the white man, while continuing certain aspects of the old way of life. As we have seen, the two policies brought the officials of the Canadian government into conflict with Roman Catholic priests who were working in the interests of the Indians. Certain newspapers were prone to refer to the affair as an "Indian rebellion", to see Jesuit influence and American influence at work in some sort of conspiracy against the Canadian government. This appears, in fact, to have been very near Mr. McDougall's assessment of the situation. During the Archibald administration, when certain members of the Canadian Cabinet seemed to be living the events of the Insurrection over again, Mc-

Dougall wrote as follows:

> In the course of official duty I disturbed a few years ago, one of their outposts on the island of Manitoulin, and the falsehood and calumny with which they have pursued me ever since, and the secret wires pulled for that purpose, prove at once their vindictive spirit, their indomitable energy, and their powerful influence in our complex society.[28]

It would not be the last time a Canadian politician would invoke this type of conspiracy in a time of national crisis.

The government of the province of Canada was using Quebec City as a capital in 1863. The move to Ottawa was made in 1865. McDougall's department moved too, of course, and along with that department came a young man named Henry Morgan. This youthful biographer and secretary in McDougall's office proved to be the central personality around which a group of men rotated when business brought them to the raw new capital. The first of these was George Taylor Denison--a Toronto lawyer and major in the militia--whose errand in Ottawa was to find himself a position in the Militia Department. Morgan first met Denison in 1866. It was through Morgan that Denison met the young poet Charles Mair in 1868. Mair was a medical student at Queen's College, Kingston, when McDougall, now minister of public works, asked him to undertake researches on the North-West in preparation for the Dominion's negotiations concerning the transfer of the area to Canada. To his new acquaintances in McDougall's office Denison now introduced a Toronto barrister, William Foster. Foster had been the chief editorial writer for the Toronto financial paper the Monetary Times. He had published a cogent argument for the need to renew the recently-cancelled Reciprocity Treaty. Another, rather older, man shared Foster's interest in trade. Robert Grant Haliburton, son of the Nova

Scotia loyalist who had created the literary figure "Sam Slick", appeared in Ottawa as a spokesman for the Cape Breton coal mining interests, which had suffered from the loss of the American market. Father Dawson, the Roman Catholic chaplain to the British troops stationed in Ottawa, was drawn to the group by his interest in literature, colonial questions and the North-West. He wrote a favorable review of Mair's "Dreamland" for the Ottawa press, and was to provide a warm letter of introduction to Bishop Taché of St. Boniface on behalf of Charles Mair.[29]

This group of men came to be known to Canadian historians as "Canada First". When the term began to be used can probably never be discovered now, and really is of little importance to us here. What is of importance to us chiefly concerns Denison and Mair. Let us look first at Denison. About the same time that Denison became acquainted with Foster, Haliburton and Dawson[30] an incident occurred which left Denison on bad terms with Sir George Cartier, the minister of militia. When Denison met these young men in 1860 he was trying to have himself appointed assistant adjutant-general of cavalry. He had submitted an application accompanied by letters of recommendation from Colonel Wolseley, General Napier and others. As Denison later told the story, when he had sent in this application and these letters he called on Sir George Cartier and Cartier told him to come and see him when the Militia Bill was passed. Denison promised to do so. When the bill became an act of Parliament Denison went to the House of Commons and sent in a note asking to be let know when Cartier could see him. What happened next is difficult to explain. Cartier may have had a difficult day in the House and saw in Denison just another of many who were importuning him for favors. Cartier left no

papers to help us, and Denison may not have told us the whole story. Let us hear his version of what happened next:

> He came out in the lobby, walked up to me in a very offensive manner and spoke to me so sharply and in such an overbearing and insolent manner that I very nearly struck him.

Denison responded by telling Cartier "curtly" that he did not want to see him, turned away and left. He sent in his resignation and, when asked to reconsider and withdraw his letter of resignation, insisted on its acceptance. Before the year was out Denison "had lapsed into the position of a private in the second class of sedentary militia".[31] He had also become a bitter and implacable enemy of Sir George Cartier. This was to have serious consequences before too much time had passed. Very few people were aware of the incident involving the two men. The doorkeeper referred to by Denison was probably one of only a half-dozen witnesses to it.[32] Charles Mair, however, was soon to be known by thousands of readers in both Canada and the Red River Settlement. We must turn now to consider this gentleman.

In sending Charles Mair to Red River William McDougall was hardly helping Canada to put its best foot forward. McDougall's intention had been to take Mair with him to England to act as his personal secretary. The unexpected illness of Mair's sister Margaret compelled McDougall to make other arrangements for a secretary and Mair was sent to Red River instead.[33] Certain aspects of Mair's personality, of which McDougall was probably not aware, would receive expression on the north-western frontier rather than in the British Empire's capital. McDougall sailed from Quebec on October 3rd, 1868, and Mair left Ottawa by train a few days

later.[34] His progress to the North-West may be traced in some detail because Mair was sending letters to the Montreal Gazette and to his brother Holmes, who passed them along to the Perth Courier.[35] The letters were published in these newspapers and copied in other newspapers, including The Globe. At Fort Abercrombie Mair found "Mr. Snow, the surveyor" waiting for him. When the two men reached their destination they registered at "Dutch George" Emmerling's hotel. Mair's stay at Emmerling's was brief, for he was soon invited to stay with John Christian Schultz, and enjoyed the "quiet and solid comfort of a home".[36]

This is the appropriate place to point out that there is a set of unanswered questions concerning Schultz and his relationships with Mair and the men soon to be known as "Canada First", with the Canadian department of public works, Snow and McDougall, and with the Canadian leaders Cartier and Macdonald. We are forced to ask these questions at this point because of Schultz's behavior in the months previous to the arrival of McDougall at Pembina and the suspicions that this behavior aroused in the people of Red River, particularly, but not exclusively, in that part of the Settlement made up of French-speaking people, Métis and otherwise. These questions may be summed up thus: "Did Schultz have reason to expect a more important appointment than that of sheriff?"[37]

In a previous chapter it was noticed that the summer of 1868 was apparently a time of crisis in Schultz's life.[38] The arrival of Charles Mair must have been a most welcome event for Schultz. Mair's biographer claims, without providing any proof, that Schultz and Mair had been corresponding since "about 1863".[39] If that is true it is not remarkable that after a short stay at "Dutch George" Emmerling's hotel Mair should

accept an invitation to stay for a time with Schultz. However, this does not necessarily apply to John Snow, Mair's superintendent, who, according to Hargrave, also moved to Schultz's home.[40] Settlement people understood that Schultz had been "selected as their principal local agent". This perception was reinforced by the fact that, when Snow went to Governor McTavish to ask whether "he had any objection to [Snow's] opening the Road", he was accompanied by Mair and by Schultz.[41] Then when Mair and Snow went out to Oak Point to set up headquarters Schultz accompanied them again. Upon his return he reported that operations had commenced on the Lake of the Woods Road. Men were erecting shanties to accommodate the laborers, and Snow was locating the line of the road. Schultz had not gone out to Oak Point "just for the ride". Hargrave's explanation of this errand is to the point:

> When Messrs. Snow and Mair commenced road operations at Oak Point . . . Dr. Schultz established a store at that place under the management of a clerk named Hall. From this warehouse certain goods were advanced to the men employed on the works, on the understanding that an equivalent should be afterwards refunded from Mr. Snow's importation of pork and flour.[42]

Alexander Begg described what is clearly the same arrangement in these terms, but without mentioning Schultz:

> In the fall of 1868, Messrs. Snow and Mair . . . announced to the inhabitants that they were sent by the Canadian Government for the purpose of building a road to the Lake of the Woods . . . stating . . . that they proposed distributing their money and provisions in the shape of charity, modestly stipulating that the starving settlers should work in return at the rate of three pounds sterling per month for each man to be paid with the CHARITY (?) [emphasis his] in the shape of flour and pork at higher prices than those articles could have been procured at

> the stores in the Settlement. Mr. Snow succeeded in employing a certain number of men from amongst the settlers, and, when flour was selling at three pounds per barrel in the stores, he charged his employees three pounds twelve shillings and four pounds per barrel: and at the same time he paid his men only three pounds per month in that ratio for their work. This created dissatisfaction. . .[43]

The Nor'Wester's brief notice also did not mention Schultz's part in this arrangement:

> Snow has a large supply of provisions under way, which he is instructed to exchange for labor upon that section of the Lake Superior Road lying between this place and the Lake of the Woods.[44]

Thanks to Hargrave we know that Schultz was understood to be Snow's "principal local agent", and that Schultz's store formed part of Snow's arrangements at Oak Point. We do not know whether Snow, in selecting Schultz, acted on his own initiative or on orders from McDougall. We must now leave Schultz for the moment and return to Charles Mair.

The people of the Settlement promptly extended a welcome to Mair, and in the few days before he left with Snow's party to set up the headquarters at Oak Point and later on occasional trips into Winnipeg Mair "received the hospitalities of many families".[45] Mair was impressed with much that he saw in the North-West and continued to write long letters to the newspaper and to his brother. The reaction to these letters was as instantaneous as the mail service to and from Canada would permit. His letter of November 19th, 1868, to his brother Holmes, written at Oak Point, was published in the Perth Courier and reprinted in the January 4th, 1869, issue of the Globe. It was read in the Red River Settlement later that month and earned for Mair the public horsewhipping at the hands of Mrs. A. G. B. Bannatyne which is now part of Manitoba's history and folk-

lore.[46] Later that same evening Mair had a "somewhat stormy interview" with some of the husbands who, according to Mair, met "each other with desperate courtesies and hospitalities, with a view to filthy lucre in the background". Mair, in commenting on the fact that the Red River Settlement contained many people of mixed blood, had clearly touched a nerve. There was a reaction in the French-speaking community too. This time the response was in printed form--in the form of a letter to Le Nouveau Monde--so Red River readers did not see it until late February or early March of 1869. The letter was signed "L. R.", and may well have been written by Louis Riel, who dated it at "Red River--February 1, 1869",[47] although by his own account he was not in the Settlement at the time.[48] Possibly he was somewhere between Minnesota and Pembina, making his return to the Settlement by easy stages. Probably what triggered Riel's response was Mair's statement that the "half-breeds [sic] are the only people here who are starving". Riel was not so angry about Mair's letter as Mrs. Bannatyne was. His complaint is familiar to all of us who have read the statements written by correspondents after a few hours or days in a new country. Mair had not even seen Portage la Prairie, and yet he knew that it was destined to be one of the most important cities in the country!

Still another reaction to Mair's letters--and behavior--was a major work of Alexander Begg's, "Dot It Down", a story about a bumptious young man who was always "dotting down" notes about the new country he was in.[49] "Dot It Down" is very likely the "story" that Private Charles Napier Bell of the Ontario Rifles was employed by Begg to copy in November of 1870.[50] Bell applied to his Captain and received a working pass enabling him to

go to Begg's to work. Bell, unlike many of his regimental comrades, was kept out of trouble by this project, starting it on November 10th and finishing it on December 17th. The manuscript was sent away and was published in Toronto in 1871.

"Dot It Down" is not great literature, although it is probably the first historical novel written in the North-West. Its chief value for our study lies neither in its plot nor its narrative, but rather in the fact that Begg chose to include in it a number of quite recognizable Red River people, places and events. Enos Stutsman, for example, known in the book as "Mr. Shorthorn", is described thus:

> Possessed of sharp, shrewd, intelligent features, and a body stout and well-formed; his arms were marvels of strength, but he was almost without legs, having only a couple of stumps in their place, the longest of which being not over a foot and a half in length. He was born with this deformity. In moving about he used a couple of short crutches, and it was astonishing with what rapidity he could limp along on them.[51]

The assembling of "Dutch George" Emmerling's famous billiard table, which he imported in 1867,[52] was thus chronicled:

> Mr. Everling had imported it from St. Paul, and, taking advantage of the rainy day, he had invited all the young men of the town to take part in setting it on its legs. Quite a number, therefore, assembled, and by their united exertions, the large boxes containing the several parts of the table were carried into the room. The lids were quickly raised, and then came the scene: one had this opinion, another had that, on the respective merits of the dismembered piece of workmanship before them; and when the parts were being placed in their relative positions, there were as many suggestions given as would have put together a dozen billiard tables. The fact was that none of them knew anything about the matter . . .[53]

"Mr. Bon" is easily recognized as A. G. B. Bannatyne,[54] and "Mr. Twaddle" is Bown, the editor of the Nor'Wester, which features articles and editorials abusing the Hudson's Bay Company:

> The Buster was, in fact, the organ of a few ambitious intriguing men of the settlement, such as Cool, who, while working for a change of government, calculated upon a large benefit to themselves personally, without taking into account the welfare and condition of the settlers at all.[55]

"Cool" is a businessman who appears to be perpetually in debt and having trouble with his accounts.[56] It is impossible not to see his resemblance to J. C. Schultz, who, like the others mentioned above, had been in Begg's circle of acquaintance for a number of years. When "Dot It Down", a "stout, dumpy little fellow" who greatly resembles Charles Mair, arrives at the "Everling Hotel", "Cool" pays him a visit and finds him sobering up after a "debauch".[57] A friendship springs up. On several occasions throughout the course of the story "Cool" has things to say about the Half-breed people of Red River. In a conversation with someone called "Whirl" he philosophizes as follows:

> The half-breeds [sic] are bound to give place to new people coming into the country; like the Indians, they will have to fall back on the approach of a more civilized state of society.[58]

In another discussion with "Whirl" we find him assuring his friend that

> We don't want Canadians and half-breeds [sic] to go together; one must fall behind; and if I can help to do it, the people here must be the ones to give way.[59]

And in a conversation that took place in the course of arranging a deal to use "a little rum and a few pounds of pork and flour" to buy land from the Indians, "Cool" overcame the objections of "Sharp"--or John Snow--by using the words, "Pshaw! The Canadian Government will listen to our

claims before those of the half-breeds [sic], depend upon it".[60] Begg's account of how "Cool, 'Dot', Sharp and Co." were caught and taken to court for selling liquor to the Indians sounds more like history than a passage from a novel.[61] The hard-working Private Charles Napier Bell may not have realized that what he was copying was history, that "Cool" was none other than his regiment's hero and that the events had actually taken place less than two years prior to his copying the manuscript.

J. C. Schultz was in the habit of leaving the Settlement on long trips to either St. Paul or Canada, or both, at least twice a year.[62] When he made his first trip to Canada of the 1869 season he called on Denison and was enrolled in "Canada First". "Haliburton happened to be in Toronto at the time," Denison later recorded; "I introduced Schultz to him and to W. A. Foster, and we warmly welcomed him into our ranks. He was the sixth member."[63]

Much of what happened next is history familiar to all, and it is not our purpose to go into it at any length here. It is enough to say that the crews set to work by Snow in the vicinity of Oak Point proceeded with the projects assigned to them. One of them was a large headquarters building which was given the name of "Redpath House",[64] after Peter Redpath of Montreal. Redpath was a sugar refiner who was also a director of the Bank of Montreal. A member of the Board of Governors of McGill University, he made numerous bequests to that university.[65] In the 1880's he invested in the Alberta Railway and Coal Company,[66] and a street in Lethbridge--now 3rd Avenue South--was known as "Redpath Street" until about 1910.[67] What the connection was between Snow and Redpath has never been established.

It is well known that Métis suspicions with regard to Canada's intentions eventually found expression in various acts in the summer and fall of 1869. These suspicions were to prevent William McDougall from assuming his responsibilities, and we cannot know now how successful he would have been had he been allowed to enter the Settlement and implement Canadian policy. It is possible, however, to gain a hint of the nature of the proposed regime. In May of 1870, when the Manitoba bill was before Parliament, McDougall prepared and publicized a bill of his own by means of publication in the Globe.[68] It is probable that in the provisions of McDougall's bill we can see substantially the sort of bill that would have been presented to Parliament if there had been no Insurrection at Red River.

The bill had 23 sections, and provided for a territorial system of government. A Lieutenant-Governor was to be advised by a council of not more than 15 nor less than seven persons. A district of Assiniboine was to be created, encompassing roughly all of present-day Manitoba south of a line through the 52nd parallel of latitude, and between the Lake of the Woods, Winnipeg River and Lake Winnipeg on the east, and a north-south line drawn through present-day Melville and Estevan, Saskatchewan. This area was to be divided into 24 electoral districts. Each white or Métis male British subject over 21 was to have the franchise. Members of the House of Assembly were to be over 21 and have the ability to write either English or French. The legislature was to have power to make laws concerning the following: the rules and procedure of the House, public schools, roads and bridges, licenses, levying of taxes, companies, law enforcement, all purposes of a municipal, local or private nature, and

"the management and sale of school lands, and such other lands as may from time to time be placed under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor and the House of Assembly". The procedures relating to the assenting to and reserving of bills was to be the same as that of the province of Ontario. Section 19 provided that "The survey, management and disposition of lands in the North-West Territories, and in the said district, except school lands and such other lands as may be placed under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor and the House of Assembly, shall be under the direction and at the expense of the Government of the Dominion". In every township[69] sections twenty-four and twenty-six were to be set aside as school lands, with the proviso that by "agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company any section or part of a section" could be reserved "in lieu thereof". Any person who was a British subject and of the age of twenty-one or over could be granted one quarter-section of land.[70] Three years of occupation and observation of the homestead requirements entitled the person to a patent.

It would be interesting to attempt to speculate on the kind of reception this bill would have received from the politically self-conscious people who were to prevent McDougall from assuming office and go on to make the Insurrection of 1869-1870!

Footnotes

1. The Red River Pioneer, Dec. 1, 1869; Encyclopedia Canadiana.

2. Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation: July 1, 1867 - April 1, 1973, p. 5.

3. Nor'Wester, Feb. 5, 1869.

4. Nor'Wester, June 26, 1869.

5. Nor'Wester, July 17, 1869. Actually McDougall and Joseph Howe visited Thunder Bay. See House of Commons, Debates, 1870, col. 1507.

6. Nor'Wester, August 31, 1869.

7. Nor'Wester, Sept. 7, 1869.

8. Nor'Wester, Sept. 21, 1869.

9. J. K. Johnson, The Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867-1967, pp. 85, 395.

10. See, below, the chapter entitled "O'Donoghue's Raid". For biographical material about McMicken see the Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, pp. 149-150.

11. Nor'Wester, July 17, 1869.

12. PAC RG11, Records of the Department of Public Works, Vol. 264, J. S. Dennis to Minister of Public Works, December 17, 1869. This is probable the water closet to which reference is made in the Métis song, "Misfortunes of an Unlucky King", pages 38 and 40 of M. A. MacLeod, Songs of Old Manitoba.

13. Nor'Wester, Oct. 26, 1869.

14. House of Commons. Debates. May 9, 1870, Col. 1513.

15. Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, p. 7.

16. Begg's Journal, "Special Correspondence by James Ross Robertson . .", pp. 483-4.

17. See Douglas Leighton, "The Manitoulin Island Incident of 1863: An Indian-White Confrontation in the Province of Canada" in Ontario History, June 1977, pp. 113-124. The following account is from that source.

18. For an account of the treaty see Hon. Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada With the Indians (afterwards Treaties), pp. 22-4 and pp.

309-313.

19. Morris, Treaties, p. 22.

20. Ibid., p. 23.

21. Ibid., p. 311.

22. Globe, Aug. 8, 1863.

23. Once again the narrative is from Leighton's article.

24. La Minerve, Aug. 18, 1863.

25. Globe, Aug. 8, 1863.

26. Globe, Aug. 22, 1863.

27. Globe, Aug. 6, 1863.

28. PAC MG29 E29 Vol. 18, Hon. Wm. McDougall, The Red River Rebellion: Eight Letters to Hon. Joseph Howe, p. 50.

29. Carl Berger, The Sense of Power, pp. 49-51.

30. Note that Denison does not mention Dawson: G. T. Denison, The Struggle for Imperial Unity (afterwards Struggle), p. 10; G. T. Denison, Soldiering in Canada (afterwards Soldiering), pp. 170-2.

31. Denison, Soldiering, pp. 170-3.

32. Denison, Soldiering, p. 173.

33. Norman Shrive, Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist, pp. 54-5.

34. Ibid., p. 56.

35. Ibid., pp. 57-8.

36. Ibid., p. 59.

37. See, above, chapter entitled "John Christian Schultz", note 56. See also, Creation, p. 85. See also AASB, Dugas to Taché, August 24, 1869.

38. Chapter entitled "John Christian Schultz".

39. Shrive, Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist, p. 22.

40. Hargrave, Red River, p. 450.

41. PAC Department of Public Works, Register of Correspondence, Vol. 264,

Snow to McDougall, Feb. 8, 1869.

42. Hargrave, Red River, p. 458.

43. Begg, Creation, pp. 16-17; Begg's Journal, p. 155.

44. Nor'Wester, Oct. 10, 1868.

45. Begg, Creation, p. 17; The letter is in Begg's Journal, pp. 395-9.

46. Dugas, Histoire, pp. 27-8; Begg's Journal, p. 157.

47. The letter is in Begg's Journal, pp. 399-402. See also "Writings--Riel", Vol. 1, pp. 13-15.

48. Begg's Journal, p. 36.

49. Alexander Begg, "Dot It Down", long very difficult to obtain, was republished in 1978 by Toronto Reprint Library of Canadian Prose and Poetry, University of Toronto Press.

50. PAM MG14 C23, Journal of C. N. Bell for 1870, entries for Nov. 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, 26, Dec. 13 and 17.

51. Begg, "Dot It Down", p. 88. Compare this with Dale Gibson, Attorney For The Frontier, University of Manitoba Press, 1983, Prologue.

52. Hargrave, Red River, p. 419.

53. Begg, "Dot It Down", p. 88.

54. Ibid., p. 54. Begg dedicated his work to Mr. and Mrs. Bannatyne.

55. Ibid., pp. 163-4.

56. Ibid., pp. 92, 174, 175, 176.

57. Ibid., p. 273.

58. Ibid., p. 107. Compare with Begg, Creation, p. 21, and with Riel's statement in Le Métis, Feb. 28, 1874, in "L'Amnistie".

59. Begg, "Dot It Down", p. 282.

60. Ibid., p. 328.

61. Begg's Journal, p. 156; Hargrave, Red River, pp. 458-9; Begg, Creation, pp. 124-6.

62. His movements are chronicled in the Nor'Wester. See also Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 64.

63. Denison, Struggle, p. 15.

64. Dom Benoit, La Vie de Mgr Taché (afterwards Vie), Vol. 2, p. 9: "Cette maison. . .devait être le noyau d'une grande ville qui allait surgir sur les frontières de l'Ouest at à laquelle ils donnèrent à l'avance le nom d'un raffineur de Montréal, probablement leur ami, Redpath." See also PAC Department of Public Works, Register of Correspondence, Vol. 264, Snow to McDougall, Aug. 2, 1869. The building was of two storeys, and measured 40 by 27 feet. It was eventually to become a convent at Oak Point. See Villa Youville Inc., Album-Souvenir--Ste Anne-des-Chênes, 1883-1983, p. 20.

65. Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1978; Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1938; Sir. J. William Dawson, Peter Redpath, pp. 6-7.

66. A. A. den Otter, Civilizing The West, 1982, p. 101.

67. Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1938, entry "Redpath, Peter, (1821-1894)".

68. Globe, May 6, 1870.

69. It must be remembered that reference here is to Dennis's 64-section township, and not to the adaptation of the 36-section American township adopted during the Archibald régime. See A. C. Roberts, "The Surveys in the Red River Settlement in 1869" in The Canadian Surveyor, June, 1970, p. 241.

70. This would have meant a grant of 200 acres, as the sections were to contain 800 acres. See note 69.

Chapter Five
William McTavish

William McTavish,[1] if he is remembered at all by Canadian students and historians, is known as the rather ineffectual Hudson's Bay Company Governor of Rupert's Land who was ill during the Red River Insurrection, and whose illness contributed to its success. It was perhaps inevitable that such an opinion should come to be held, but it is not at all certain that that is the correct interpretation to place on events. McTavish was accused of favoring annexation to the United States. He was also accused by Schultz of being a puller of strings behind the Métis movement. It may be that we shall never know all the facts about what happened, for McTavish died in July of 1870,[2] before he had a chance to prepare his memoirs. Nevertheless it is difficult to envisage what other course McTavish could have followed in the Insurrection.

William McTavish was born in Scotland, the son of Dugald McTavish and Letitia Lockhart. He came to Rupert's Land in 1833 as a clerk in the service of the Company, and was stationed at Norway House, York Factory, Fort Garry and Sault Ste Marie. He was promoted to chief trader in 1837, and to chief factor in 1851. He was Governor of Assiniboia from 1858 until the transfer in June of 1870, and after 1864 also held the office of Governor of Rupert's Land. By his marriage to Sarah McDermot he had at least one son. He was also a brother-in-law of A. G. B. Bannatyne, the Winnipeg trader, who married Annie McDermot.[3] McTavish was a collector of a wide variety of objects illustrative of natural history collected during his numerous long voyages in the North-West.[4]

McTavish's personal influence and prestige were great, the result of

many years of honorable and considerate dealing with the people of the North-West.[5] To explain his apparent lack of ability to influence events in late 1869 and early 1870 it is necessary to point out certain facts. One of the most important of these is the change in the nature of the Company that took place after 1863, when the International Finance Society[6]--the financial backers of Sir Edward Watkin--bought the Company.[7] Suddenly the employees of the Company found that the focus of activities changed to allow for such matters as transporting and storing telegraph insulators and wire.[8] It did not take an old hand to figure out that a change of emphasis had taken place in the Company's business operations. What was worse, however, was what happened to morale among the various ranks of Company people. As Isaac Cowie put it, the Company officials had acted "stealthily",[9] and the old hands no longer felt the same about it. Then, too, the Hudson's Bay Company administration was defective in that it had no military or police organization to enforce its laws.[10] With the departure of the Royal Canadian Rifles in 1861[11] the government of Assiniboia had no force but moral suasion to back its authority. Luckily enough, most of the time this was enough, since most of the people were peaceable and law-abiding. However, when it was faced with a challenge, as in the Corbett affair of 1863, the St. Andrew's Day riot of 1867,[12] or in the jail-breaking of January, 1868,[13] when John C. Schultz was released from jail by a mob in an incident described in another chapter, it found itself either unable to act adequately or unable to act soon enough. As it turned out it was easy enough to raise a force of special constables--three hundred men came forward at the call of the Council of Assiniboia[14]--but the force was not used, since the crisis was by then deemed to be

over.[15] These special constables had been chiefly French-speaking Half-breeds.[16] Then in early 1869 came the news that the Hudson's Bay Company had come to an agreement to "sell" Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory. People felt that they had been "sold".[17] The factors of the Company felt that they had been betrayed, since they were not to share in the three hundred thousand pounds paid to the Company.[18] The biographer of Donald A. Smith has recounted how William McTavish paid a visit to Smith, and with "alarm on his face and a grievance in his bosom" asked for the truth about the transaction.[19] McTavish had been to Britain, and visited Smith on his way back to Red River.

While it is not of particular relevance to this study, it is worth noting that there was dissatisfaction among the shareholders in England too. It was alleged that the meeting had not been legally called, that an amendment to a motion had not been accepted, that the voting was done by hand and not by ballot as it should have been, and that voting had not been restricted to those who had held stock for six months as required by the law.[20] Objection was also taken to the replacement of the Earl of Kimberley by Sir Stafford Northcote as Governor.[21]

This is the place, incidentally, to dispel the myth that no one gave thought to the people of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories during the process of arranging the transfer. Sir Frederic Rogers, of the Colonial Office wrote to Sir Stafford Northcote on March 9th, 1869, as follows:

> It is not creditable to this country that any inhabited part of Her Majesty's Dominions should be without a recognized Government capable of enforcing the law and responsible to neighboring countries for the performance of international obligations. The toleration of such a state of things in parts of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory

> is unjust to the inhabitants of that territory and is not without danger to the peaceful relations between this country and the U. S. and this danger and injustice are likely to increase.[22]

Northcote may have thought that the transfer of the territory concerned to Canada was all that was necessary to correct this injustice. No one in the great tripartite agreement, however, seems to have seen the need to appoint a secretary or set up a committee empowered to communicate with the people of the North-West on the subject of the transfer. This was a serious omission, and may be, all things considered, simply an expression of a social attitude shared by all those party to the agreement.

McTavish had reason to be embittered, hurt and angry at three separate levels. As a person he had been "sold". As an officer of the Company he was not to share in the famous three hundred thousand pounds. Then in the summer of 1869 came another blow. When the Canadian government passed its "Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada"--generally known as the "Rupert's Land Act"--it was revealed that McTavish was specifically excepted from any part in the direction of the new order of things. Section 6 of this Act provided as follows:

> All Public Officers and Functionaries holding office in Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, at the time of their admission into the Union, EXCEPTING THE PUBLIC OFFICER OR FUNCTIONARY AT THE HEAD OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS [emphasis mine], shall continue to be Public Officers and Functionaries of the North-West Territories with the same duties and powers as before, UNTIL OTHERWISE ORDERED BY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR [emphasis mine] under the authority of this Act.[23]

Careful readers noted the option that the Lieutenant-Governor-to-be had

by the last portion of the section, and there were those, like Wemyss Simpson, who recommended on two occasions that all Hudson's Bay Company officials should be kept in office.[24] The Nor'Wester, of course, disagreed, suggesting that McTavish's services would be far more valuable "as a commissioner to bring about a fair understanding with our Indian tribes relative to the cession".[25] As time passed it became common knowledge that William McDougall was to be Lieutenant-Governor. McTavish must have wondered if he was to be asked to take some subordinate position, but no such request seems ever to have come from McDougall. All this was galling enough, but there was even worse.

McTavish had been astonished in early October of 1868, when he was called upon by the Superintendent of the Lake of the Woods Road, John Snow, in company with his paymaster, Charles Mair, and--John C. Schultz! Snow asked McTavish if he had any objection to "[their] opening the Road". McTavish answered "Not the least", but "hoped [Snow] would make a good one".[26] If McTavish had private misgivings at this indication that Schultz had been selected as some kind of government agent they were amply justified only four months later when Snow and company were taken to court in February for trading liquor to the Indians in what appeared to be incipient land transactions.

From then on it seemed that all reports concerning Canadians were bad, and all, except the one about the week-end binge at Oak Point, had to do with land. The Canadians, it appeared, had not even the decency to be subtle about their desire for land. Settlement people could not understand why these people wanted Settlement land. Almost all of them. in coming to Red River, had travelled past hundreds of miles of unoccupied lands in

Minnesota that were equally good.[27] Why did they insist on coming as far away from a railway as Oak Point or Portage la Prairie, where there probably would not be rail service for years? Were they real estate speculators at heart, people asked.

One of the worst reports involved Schultz and Mair and their meddling with the Indians near Portage la Prairie in what amounted to a challenge, not just to McTavish's authority, but to that of the coming Canadian administration. Schultz and Mair met with the Indians near Portage la Prairie and had a great deal too much to say to them, considering that they had no legal authority to say anything.[28] McTavish was immediately under pressure to take appropriate action. He contacted James McKay and asked him to go to the Portage and strive to repair any damage that Schultz and Mair might have done with the Indians. McTavish reminded McKay that no one had authority to make any agreement with the Indians concerning what they regarded as their land. Could McKay get from them a short-term agreement not to interfere with the Canadians now moving into the area? McTavish was "on the eve" of a trip to Norway House and could not make the Portage trip himself.[29] McTavish knew that McKay could be trusted to say no more than was necessary while attempting to persuade the Indians not to molest the Canadians. McTavish could not blame the Indians for being upset, since he was upset, too. The Canadians had ploughed furrows marking off huge squares of land by way of laying claim to them.[30]

It was common knowledge that the Canadians of the work party sent to build the road to Lake of the Woods had staked out claims in the spring of 1869.[31] It was not at all clear whether this activity was related to

the liquor-selling incident. However, there was certainly no doubt about the time and place of the incident between Fort Garry and Winnipeg. In July a group of Canadians and others who should have known better began staking claims on the "common" between Fort Garry and Winnipeg, traditionally an area where the Indians could camp when they visited the centre of the Settlement. It is not clear what happened. Possibly those who were surveying disturbed some Indians while running their lines across the "common". At any rate, the Nor'Wester appeared with some indignant editorials on the subject. One was as follows:

> Can anybody inform us what the officers at Fort Garry meant by sending the Indians to interfere with the parties who were marking out claims upon the common between this town and the Fort on Tuesday last? If the land belongs to the Company why do they incite the Indians to prefer a counter claim? And if the Indians own the land, why do the Company impertinently interfere? Do they wish to incite a quarrel between the whites and the Indians? The question bears a strange aspect whichever way it is viewed.

The officer at Fort Garry, Dr. Cowan, caused a process to be served upon each of the claimants, warning them that the land in question was the property of the Company, that their proceedings were unlawful and that they must at once desist.[32] One of those served with a process was James Stewart, of St. James, a man formerly in the Hudson's Bay Company service who had been involved in the jail-breaking of 1863.[33] McTavish did not like the appearance of this, and he knew there were many others who would feel the same about it.

Like others in the Settlement, McTavish knew that something was stirring among the Métis. He also knew that Schultz was boasting that he would be sheriff in the new order of things.[34] The Canadians were telling

the Métis that they would be driven away to the Rocky Mountains when the Canadian government established a new administration in Red River.[35] A dangerous situation was developing, and Bishop Taché, one of the most influential people of the French-speaking community, was away in Quebec. McTavish wrote to Taché, saying that he had "never seen the people here in the restless, excited state they are now". The people, he told Taché, were suspicious about the connection that there appeared to be between Schultz and the officials like Snow, of the Lake of the Woods road party, and Dennis, of the surveying party, more recently arrived. He had told the people, he said, that Schultz had simply been "kind and accommodating", but found that their suspicions remained. McTavish saw trouble ahead if McDougall were to come in and appoint Schultz to some position or other--sheriff would certainly be the worst of all possibilities. McTavish suggested to Taché that it would be wise for him to be in Red River "when the new order of things [was] instituted".[36] When Taché received McTavish's letter he did everything he could to have McTavish's views brought to the attention of Sir George Cartier, even though he had previously been spoken to so harshly by Sir George that he couldn't bring himself to approach him again. A reply came back indirectly that Cartier and his colleagues "knew all about it" and had "made provisions respecting matters". Very soon the newspapers announced that "a certain number of rifles and a certain quantity of ammunition would be sent to Fort Garry with Mr. McDougall". When this news reached Red River the excitement became more intense, especially since the Canadian party was boasting that upon McDougall's arrival they would "take up arms and drive out the half-breeds [sic]".[37] As for Taché, he did not return to Red River as

McTavish requested, but began his long journey to Rome to take part in the Vatican Council of 1870.[38]

There was to be no let-up in the tension and anxiety of the summer and fall of 1870. McTavish found himself feeling strangely tired of constantly having to reassure people that they need not be worried about Schultz and the Canadians and that all would turn out well. It was not long before he realized that there was more than the fatigue of office. People began to remark that their Governor McTavish did not appear to be well.[39]

Meanwhile something was indeed stirring in the Métis parishes. For some months the Métis had watched uneasily and suspiciously as they saw John C. Schultz assuming an increasingly prominent position in the Settlement's affairs. Others put up with a certain amount of abuse from the more boastful members of the Canadian party. Those who spoke to McTavish about their misgivings received his assurances that Schultz's acts towards Snow and Dennis were simply expressions of kindness and accommodation.[40] There were, they agreed, no laws against kindness and accommodation. However, with the beginning of the activities of Dennis and his survey parties, unease and suspicion turned to mystification. The Métis had seen surveyors before. Men like Herbert L. Sabine had been in the Settlement for years, now and then running survey lines for settlers where a dispute had to be settled or where a new river lot was to be laid out.[41] The new survey party, however, did not seem to be interested in river lots. J. S. Dennis was at some pains to assure the people that they need fear nothing: he was not interested in interfering with the old survey. Dennis later told of an interview he had with Louis Riel about the first of October,

1869:

> Mr. Riel . . . stated that he had come to see me, as representing the Canadian Government, to know what were their intentions with regard to the extinction of the Indian title, and the disposition of the lands occupied by the settlers. He said that having some education, his brethren the half-breeds [sic] who were in a state of great excitement being in ignorance of what was going to be done with the country, and requested him to see me, and obtain explanations. I told him I was glad to see him especially upon that mission, and explained to him thoroughly that the people need to be under no apprehension whatever as to their being deprived of their lands, that the intention of the Canadian Government was to survey all the lands occupied and to give the parties in possession of lands Crown deeds free, and that steps would be taken almost immediately to extinguish the Indian titles to the lands upon equitable terms. This policy I had been authorized and instructed to make public, on my arrival in the Settlement, and so I told Mr. Riel. He expressed himself pleased and satisfied, and said it would be his duty and pleasure to make it known to his people. I thanked him for the straightforward course he had taken in coming to me for information, and he took his leave.[42]

Dennis complained that Riel did not keep his promise "to make [the policy] known to his people", but he was probably mistaken in this. Dennis had cleared up a matter which had caused the Métis endless difficulty. The Métis had watched every move of the surveyors and had compared notes on them. If Dennis had adhered to his original plan--to retrace the existing land holdings as given in the Hudson's Bay Company's "Register B"--it is likely that no suspicions would have been aroused. In that event he would likely have spoken to Governor McTavish and been told that he should speak to one or other of the Métis leaders about the procedure he wished to follow. His way would then have been clear to begin work. However, Dennis noted that much of the land was in crop and decided that

it would be unwise to begin that kind of work at that time. Accordingly he began the surveys necessary to establish the principal governing line known as the Winnipeg Meridian. This work was begun on September 8th and involved locating the 49th parallel accurately. Dennis found that the previous survey had placed the International Boundary about two hundred feet south of that parallel. He then surveyed the Winnipeg Meridian north toward the Assiniboine River, being careful not to encroach on the two-mile strip on either side of the river. By this time Mr. Webb had arrived in the Settlement, and Dennis organized a survey party to work under Webb's direction running the governing line between townships six and seven[43] east of the Meridian over to Oak Point. Webb proceeded to the area, and began survey operations on October 6th. Work continued on the 7th, 8th and 9th, the crew taking a rest on Sunday, October 10th. The party resumed work on October 11th until they were "stopped by 18 Half Breeds [sic]" and "found it impossible to proceed farther". The men were under the leadership of Louis Riel, who acted as spokesman. The surveyors had reached the outer limit of the hay privilege in the parish of St. Vital.[44]

Following this interruption of work Mr. Webb and party returned to camp and sent a report to Colonel Dennis with W. A. Farmer. When Dennis received the report he immediately met with Dr. Cowan, the chief magistrate in the Settlement. Cowan did not wish to bother Governor McTavish, because of the poor state of the Governor's health, so he sent for another magistrate, Mr. Goulet, and consulted with him. Riel happened to come into Fort Garry at this time so Cowan sent for him and advised him of the complaint filed by Colonel Dennis. Riel told Cowan that the surveyors

had no right to survey, and really had no right in the country whatever. Cowan explained that the surveys could do the Métis no harm, and that the survey was quite legal, since the Company had consented to it. Riel said that he would think about it and advise them of his decision the next day. When Riel called the next day Cowan took him to see Governor McTavish, who spent two or three hours discussing the whole matter with him. McTavish attempted to persuade Riel that he was acting illegally, and that the survey would not in any way affect the land or rights of the Métis people. Riel, however, was adamant. He said the people would not alter the stand they had taken. He said if they were sent to jail they were quite ready to go.[45] It is likely that in this conversation McTavish learned of the rationale behind the Métis resistance to the surveys.[46]

Most land surveys have been made after a long period of occupation and consultation with the people concerned. One could say that these kinds of survey simply confirm what traditional usage has decreed. The river lot survey of the Red River Settlement--like that of the St. Lawrence valley and similar surveys in Europe--admirably suited the kind of land usage which was customary with the people. The Métis had watched the Canadian surveyors and knew that they were not seeking to verify the old survey. They had spent almost all of their time running lines over the unoccupied lands which lay at some distance from the two rivers.[47] The Métis knew that to impose a survey before occupying the land is to make a decision concerning land holding and settlement which will affect a people for centuries. Riel and his group saw that a decision had been made about a "new system of survey"[48] and that they had not been consulted. They knew intuitively that if they were ever going to be consulted--

and, in their opinion, a mistake corrected--it would have to be now. Hence the stopping of Webb's survey party.

As Riel outlined it to McTavish, it was easier to "keep the wolf out of the cattle barn than it would be to put the wolf out after he had come in". For the Métis, Canada, in the way things were developing, was the wolf. The Métis were determined to keep Canada out of the Settlement where it had no right to be. "We are loyal subjects of Her Majesty," said Riel, "but we absolutely refuse to recognize the authority of Canada here."[49] The problem was how to do what had to be done without laying themselves open to the accusations of disloyalty and treason. Riel thought that this could be done. He had lived in Lower Canada for eight years, practically becoming a Canadian in the process, and had studied English and Canadian history. He knew that Sir George Cartier had taken part in the rebellion of 1837, had been amnestied, and was now a leading member of Sir John A. Macdonald's Cabinet.[50] However, the Métis were not going to rebel against an established order. They were going to prevent one from being established, and then take part in the discussions leading to the establishment of a new order. They had decided to resist.

The Métis saw that McTavish was in a difficult position. He was not, they said, "between two fires", but rather between three--even four--fires. The fires could be identified as the Canadian government, the Schultz party, the Red River settlers, and the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company.[51] They knew that McTavish must at all times appear to be the Company's devoted servant. He could not allow himself to appear to be in favor of the Métis movement, even if he was.[52]

Events moved quickly in the next few days, days in which McTavish

and Cowan were constantly being forced to assess the strength of the various elements in the Settlement in an effort to decide what to do. Several meetings were held among the Métis which resulted in the formation of a National Committee, headed by John Bruce as president and Louis Riel as secretary.[53] On the 17th of October, acting under instructions from the National Committee, a group of Métis placed a barrier across the road at St. Norbert, in order to prevent any stranger from entering the Settlement without being challenged. News came that McDougall was on his way from Canada and would reach Pembina in not many days. He was bringing with him a quantity of rifles, reports said, in order to arm his partisans in case of trouble. Following the receipt of this news Riel and several of his councillors went to St. Norbert to discuss this latest development with Fathers Ritchot and Dugas. The outcome of this conference was a short note to McDougall, ordering him not to enter the "territory of the North West" without the "special permission" of the National Committee.[54] On the 22nd Walton F. Hyman, who had been for several months at St. Norbert, ostensibly as a tanner, went in to Fort Garry and made a deposition to Magistrate Cowan concerning the concentration of armed men at St. Norbert.[55] The publication of this deposition in the Nor'Wester was taken by the Métis as a sign that the secret organization among the Canadians was now ready to act. It is more likely that Hyman and his fellows hoped to use this means to force the Hudson's Bay Company to accept an armed guard of volunteers from the Canadian party. Cowan's failure to proceed thus was long afterwards cited as proof of the complicity of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Métis movement. Cowan and McTavish both knew that they could not raise a body of men to force the men gathered at St. Norbert to

disperse or do anything else. Neither man wished to plunge the Settlement into a civil war. The response they decided upon was to summon Riel and Bruce to attend a session of the Council of Assiniboia on October 25 in hopes of persuading the two men to have their force disperse.[56]

In the illness of Governor McTavish Judge John Black acted as chairman. He expressed the Council's hope that the rumors he had heard concerning plans to prevent Mr. McDougall from entering the Settlement were untrue. It did not take Riel long to undeceive the Council on this point. The Métis were, Riel said, "perfectly satisfied with the present government and wanted no other"; they "objected to any government coming from Canada without their being consulted in the matter"; they "would never admit any Governor no matter by whom he might be appointed, if not by the Hudson's Bay Company, unless Delegates were previously sent, with whom they might negotiate as to the terms and conditions under which they would acknowledge him"; they realized that they were "uneducated and only half civilized and felt that if a large immigration were to take place they would probably be crowded out of a country which they claimed as their own"; they believed they were acting "not only for their own good, but for the good of the whole Settlement"; they did not feel that they were breaking any law, but were "simply acting in defence of their own liberty"; they "did not anticipate any opposition from their English-speaking countrymen, and only wished them to join and aid in securing their common rights". They were, Riel announced, "determined to prevent Mr. McDougall from coming into the Settlement at all hazards".[57]

The Council members did their best to persuade Riel that his ideas were "erroneous", and that his course of action would be attended with

"disastrous consequences" to the Settlement generally. Riel was not persuaded. He promised, however, to tell his supporters what the members of the Council had said.

After Riel and Bruce had gone, the Council discussed what course of action they should follow. They had no military force at their disposal, and to try to raise one might involve the Settlement in a civil war. At last, on the suggestion of A. G. B. Bannatyne, it was decided to ask William Dease and Roger Goulet "to collect immediately as many of the more respectable of the French community as they could and with them proceed to the camp of the party who intend to intercept Governor mcDougall and endeavour if possible to procure their peaceable dispersion".

It would appear that, while Dease did his best, using money and argument to purchase support, Goulet decided not to take sides in the matter. When the two groups met at St. Norbert there was no doubt as to which was stronger. When the Council of Assiniboia reconvened on October 30th, Judge Black reported that "Mr. Dease's mission had entirely failed in producing the desired result".[58] There was nothing more the Council could do. It adjourned, and never met again until it was time to welcome the first Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Manitoba. However, more of that in its place.

The Council had met on Saturday, October 30. On Saturday night and Sunday Cowan and McTavish talked over what had been said at the two Council meetings and what the Settlement's state of affairs was. There were signs of support for McDougall in the English parishes, where meetings had been held and addresses of welcome prepared.[59] Most ominous, however, was the activity in the Canadian party. Cowan reported that a Canadian

named Scott had been taking around a subscription list and collecting money for a fund for a celebration to welcome McDougall.[60] His chief support was at Garrett House, where the Canadians were staying.[61] Cowan noted that, except for the Métis gathered at St. Norbert, those staying at Garrett's were the largest concentration of men in the Settlement.

On Monday Governor McTavish was visited by two men from Kildonan, William Fraser and John Sutherland. Fraser and Sutherland wanted to know the Governor's feelings "with regard to the insurrectionary movement" and suggested that he call out a "sufficient number of loyal men to prevent the rebels from taking [the Fort]". They pointed out that it would not be hard to find a body of loyal men willing to defend the Fort. McTavish had been caught by surprise by the visit of the two men, and found himself having to be very careful in his choice of words as he expressed himself as being against such a suggestion. Fraser and Sutherland were dissatisfied with his reply and rose to leave. Just before they left Fraser said to the Governor, "Don't be surprised if the English people take [the] Fort by force to protect it". McTavish jumped to his feet and said, "If there is nobody else that will do it, I will shoot the first man that will come inside the gate myself".[62]

McTavish realized that there was no time to lose if he was to act responsibly and save the Settlement from a civil war. Other men were assessing the situation in the Settlement, just as he and Cowan were. Not all of these men were as responsible as he believed Sutherland and Fraser to be. McTavish noticed Romain Nault, a young Métis, in the courtyard of the Fort, and spoke to him, asking, "What is Louis Riel doing? Why does he not act?" McTavish left nothing to chance, but prepared a

note and gave it to François Larocque to take to the National Committee. It contained the suggestion that the National Committee come and take the Fort. The response was prompt, and a file of men soon made their way unobtrusively to the vicinity of Fort Garry. François Marion went in first and waved his handkerchief to show that the Fort was not occupied by Schultz or others. André Nault with about twenty men then went in and took possession of the Fort.[63]

McTavish had, in effect, chosen a government for the Settlement.[64] He had done so after weighing the known factors in a Settlement both he and Cowan knew very well. McTavish could not know how ambitious and reckless Schultz could be, nor gauge the arrogance and impetuosity of the Lieutenant-Governor-designate. He may have thought that Schultz and his party would accept the set-back, and that McDougall would go back to Ottawa for instructions. In these two respects he was mistaken, but he had done what he could.

Footnotes

1. The family spelled the name both McTavish and MacTavish.

2. W. J. Healy, Women of Red River, p. 47.

3. Sources used are G. P. de T. Glazebrook (ed), The Hargrave Correspondence; Margaret A. MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave; E. E. Rich (ed), The Letters of John McLoughlin.

4. Hargrave, Red River, p. 360.

5. For an example, see Hargrave, Red River, p. 361.

6. Note that Isaac Cowie, in Company of Adventurers, pp. 156-8, calls it "Association".

7. J. S. Galbraith, The Hudson's Bay Company As An Imperial Factor, chapter 17, outlines the process.

8. The correspondence concerning these materials is in PAC HBA A-7/4 and A-6/39.

9. Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 156-8.

10. British troops had occasionally been stationed at Fort Garry. For example, the 6th Regiment of Foot arrived in 1846 under the command of J. F. Crofton. See Dictionary of Canadian Biography, "Andrew McDermot", pp. 545-6.

11. Hargrave, Red River, p. 187.

12. Hargrave, Red River, p. 421. The Corbett affair is on pages 280-7.

13. Hargrave, Red River, p. 426.

14. Hargrave, Red River, p. 427.

15. Ibid.

16. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 13.

17. Begg's Journal, "Memoirs of Louis Schmidt", p. 462.

18. "Report--1874", Bown's deposition, p. 113.

19. Beckles Willson, Life of Lord Strathcona, pp. 43-4.

20. PRO "Correspondence Relating To The Surrender of Rupert's Land", protest of William H. Stewart, July 8, 1869.

21. Ibid.

22. PRO Co42 681, Rogers to Northcote, March 9, 1869.

23. The Act was assented to on June 22, 1869. A précis of the Act appeared in the Nor'Wester for June 26, 1869.

24. Nor'Wester, May 8, 1869 and July 23, 1869.

25. Nor'Wester, Sept. 7, 1869.

26. PAC, Department of Public Works, Register of Correspondence, Vol. 264, Snow to McDougall, Feb. 8, 1869.

27. In October of 1869 George McVicar wrote to his fiancée that along the St. Paul trail in Minnesota there were "about 200 miles with not a house or a settler". PAM MG3 B9, McVicar Papers, McVicar to fiancée, Oct. 18, 1869.

28. Nor'Wester, June 29, 1869.

29. Globe, Sept. 4, 1869; Begg's Journal, J. J. Hargrave in a letter to the Montreal Herald, Dec. 13, 1869, p. 431.

30. Diary of A. W. Graham, July 20, 1869, p. 71. The Ottawa Citizen for May 22, 1869, stated that Kenneth Mackenzie had "secured . . . 1,400 acres".

31. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 8.

32. Nor'Wester, July 24, 1869.

33. J. J. Hargrave, Red River, pp. 285-8.

34. AASB, Dugas to Taché, August 24, 1869.

35. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 11. See also P. G. Laurie's diary for Oct. 8, 1869.

36. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, McTavish to Taché, Sept. 4, 1869, pp. 9, 10.

37. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, pp. 11-12.

38. Ibid., p. 15.

39. McTavish was suffering from tuberculosis. He died in Liverpool in July of 1870, on his way to the south of France. See PAC microfilm reel C-756, diary of William Cowan, entries for Sept. 25, Oct. 13, Oct. 17, 1869.

40. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, McTavish to Taché, Sept. 4, 1869, pp. 9-10.

41. Nor'Wester, May 14, 1862; Nor'Wester "Extra", Sept. 11, 1864; Hargrave, Red River, p. 438.

42. "Report--1874", Dennis's deposition, p. 186.

43. It must be emphasized that this refers to "townships six and seven" of the original survey, which featured a township of 64 800-acre section.

44. A. C. Roberts, "The Surveys in the Red River Settlement in 1869", in The Canadian Surveyor, Vol. 24, June, 1970, pp. 238-248.

45. Ibid., p. 246. See Cowan's diary, entries for Oct. 11 & 12, 1869.

46. Abbé G. Dugas, Histoire, p. 74. See also "Report--1874", Cowan's deposition, p. 126.

47. A. C. Roberts, op. cit., pp. 242-3. P. G. Laurie's Diary, p. 5, Oct. 8, 1869.

48. Begg's Journal, "Mémoire by Louis Riel on the Course and Purpose of the Red River Resistance", p. 529.

49. Dugas, Histoire, p. 46.

50. Stanley, Louis Riel, pp. 31-3; Brian Young, George-Etienne Cartier, pp. 10-11.

51. Dugas, Histoire, p. 48.

52. Ibid., pp. 48-52.

53. Ibid., pp. 55-6.

54. C. S. P. 1870, V, No. 12.

55. The text is in Begg, Creation, pp. 34-6. See Cowan's diary for Oct. 22, 1869.

56. Minutes of a meeting of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, Oct. 25, 1869. See also PAC Cowan's Diary for Oct. 25, 1869.

57. Minutes of a meeting of the Governor and Council, Oct. 25, 1869.

58. Minutes of a meeting of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, Oct. 30, 1869. See also PAC Cowan's Diary for Oct. 27, 1869.

59. Nor'Wester, Oct. 26, 1869.

60. Manitoba News-Letter (afterwards News-Letter), Feb. 1, 1871.

61. Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, pp. 32, 46. PAM MG12 Box 16/19 Schultz Papers, Letter 117, Sutherland to Schultz, March 18, 1871.

62. There is a problem about the identity of this John Sutherland. There were two half-brothers named John Sutherland. One was known as John Sutherland, the other as John Sutherland, Point Douglas, because of his pre-1852 place of residence. The latter, due to his proximity to French-speaking people, spoke French, and was acquainted with many people in French parishes. He was also active politically, and played a part in the political activity that took place in the winter of 1869-1870. W. L. Morton, on page 635 of Begg's Journal, lists a number of references to John Sutherland of Point Douglas. In fact it may well be that the man referred to in all cases is John Sutherland of Point Douglas. The reference on page 301 is a case in point. This John Sutherland is supposed to have gone with one Fraser to see Governor McTavish concerning the forming of a Provisional Government. McTavish is reported to have answered "for God's sake to have any form of Government which would restore peace and order". Fraser asked him if he would delegate his authority to another. The Governor's reply was "I am dying and will not delegate my authority to anyone".

    In March of 1871 J. C. Schultz was attempting to collect information about what had happened in Fort Garry at the time he was raising support for a counter-movement in the Lower Settlement in 1870. He wrote to John Sutherland of Point Douglas, then a member of the provincial assembly. Sutherland replied on March 18, 1871: "As the testimony of these gentlemen [John Sutherland and Fraser] cannot be had now, I will give you the substance of their statements afterwards to myself and others there-anent". This would lead the reader to believe that the John Sutherland referred to was John Sutherland of East Kildonan. He then went on to tell the story just referred to here as well as the story of the visit of two men to McTavish just before the occupation of Fort Garry by the National Committee, intimating that the same John Sutherland was involved in both incidents while John Fraser was involved in one and William Fraser in the other. However, in 1874, when he appeared as a witness at the trial of Ambroise Lépine, Sutherland testified that he was one of a deputation that had gone to Mr. McTavish, the other being John Fraser. At the same trial Xavier Pagé corroborated this evidence, stating that he and Ambroise Lépine had accompanied Sutherland and John Fraser. Why Sutherland should have told Schultz one thing and the Lépine trial another is not clear. However, if he told the truth when under oath it is obvious that John Sutherland of Point Douglas was one of the men who spoke to McTavish immediately before the National committee occupied Fort Garry.

    We must notice here, incidentally, that the other John Sutherland

was referred to by Charles Mair and associates as "a great Loyalist and quite unlike his brother in politics". (W. J. Healy, Women of Red River, pp. 59-60, 74; Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine For The Murder of Thomas Scott, testimony of Hon. John Sutherland, p. 80, testimony of Xavier Pagé, p. 74; F. N. Shrive, "Charles Mair: A Document on the Red River Rebellion" in CHR, 1959, p. 226; PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Letter 117, John Sutherland, MPP, to Schultz, March 18, 1871).

63. "Letter of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, January 3, 1873" in CHR, Vol. VII, June 1926, pp. 140-1, de Trémaudan's footnote 4. See Cowan's diary entry for Nov. 2, 1869.

64. One does not make such a suggestion without care. I submit that there is no reason to disbelieve the information supplied by de Trémaudan concerning Métis oral tradition on the subject. McTavish had the best of motives for taking such an action. Moreover, nothing in the statements made by him immediately after the occupation of the Fort or later is in any way inconsistent with the suggestion that he took this action. On the day the Métis occupied the Fort he wrote to the London secretary of the Company as follows:

> As I close this letter a party of one hundred of the malcontents have arrived and taken possession of Fort Garry under pretext of defending it, as from information in his possession Mr. Riel alleged it is in danger; guards are posted at each gate and parade the platforms. They give assurance that nothing will be touched and nothing taken. For what provisions they require they offer to pay in the name of the Council of the Republic of the half-breeds [sic]. About four hundred men continue on guard at St. Norbert. Outgoing and incoming mails are subject to examination.

A week later McTavish wrote to Lieutenant-Governor-designate McDougall as follows:

> . . . on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 2nd inst., a number of these daring people, suddenly and without the least intimation of their intention to make such a move, took possession of the gates of Fort Garry, where they placed themselves inside and outside the gates to the number in all of about one hundred and twenty, and where night and day they have constantly kept a pretty strong armed guard. On being asked what they meant by such a movement upon the Fort, they said their object was to protect it. 'Protect it from what?' they were asked. Their answer was-- 'from danger'. 'Against what danger?' they were asked. To this question, they replied that 'they could not now specify the danger; but that they

> would do so hereafter;' and obstinately took up the positions they have since kept in spite of all our protests and remonstrances at such a bold and high-handed proceeding. On coming into the Fort, they earnestly disclaimed all intention of injuring either person or property within it; and, it must be allowed, that in that respect they have kept their word; but it is an inconvenience, and a danger next to intolerable, to have a body of armed men, even with professions of peace towards ourselves, forcibly billeted upon an establishment such as this. Their intentions, in coming to the Fort, they have never definitely expressed; nor have they yet specified the danger from which their presence was meant to protect the place. We are therefore left in some measure to conjectures; and by these we are strongly led to believe that you were expected to come to the Fort; and that, by thus having previous possession of the gates, they felt that they would be sure of keeping you out. It is needless to ask why their presence was submitted to, for I presume you already know enough of the circumstances fully to understand that it was only borne as being apparently, with respect to immediate results, the less formidable of two very serious evils.

The McTavishes left Red River on May 17, 1870, and set out for Europe, where McTavish hoped to regain his health. He was interviewed by newspaper reporters in both St. Paul and New York, and had plenty of opportunity to express himself against his "captors" at Fort Garry, but did not do so. Some sentences from the New York interview are of interest to us here: "The people became bitterly incensed against Schultz and looked upon him as a bad man. When Gov. McDougall came out there, he took Schultz as his chief adviser. This at once set the people against him. They extended their prejudices against Schultz to the Governor, and it was thenceforth impossible for him to gain their confidence . . .". (McTavish's first letter and part of the second are reproduced in Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, pp. 184-6. A more complete text of the second of the letters is also to be found in Begg, Creation, pp. 53-4. For the complete text see "Correspondence--1870", pp. 37-39, McTavish to McDougall, Nov. 9, 1869. The St. Paul interview was published in the Globe, June 9, 1870. The New York interview appeared in the New Nation, July 16, 1870).

Note that William O'Donoghue wrote in February, 1875, to the Speaker of the House of Commons as follows:

> I make the following statement of facts, which I can prove most conclusively: The insurrection was advised by Governor McTavish, who, with other

> officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, also aided and abetted it from its inception up to the very hour it ceased to exist. That Riel was in constant communication with Governor McTavish, and on many occasions under his instructions. That he, Governor McTavish, fully recognized the Provisional Government . . . .

Historians who have used this quotation include: John Macoun, Manitoba and the Great North-West (1882); Robert B. Hill, History of Manitoba (1890); A. H. de Trémaudan, "Letter of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, January 3, 1873" in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. VII, June, 1926.

P. G. Laurie's 1869 diary contains the following entry:

> "In the morning of 2nd Nov. information was conveyed to Dr. Cowan, Judge Black and Mr. McTavish that the rebels would be in that afternoon to capture Fort Garry for the sake of the arms and ammunition that were stored there. But no notice was taken of this news--the public were not even advised so that when the rebs came down in the afternoon under the leadership of Riel and Bruce, they came to the number of about 100 marched boldly and unchallenged up to the fort and took possession of it. Their first step was to place double sentries on each of the gates with sentries also along the several faces of the walks between the gates." (Saskatchewan Archives, E. L. Storer Papers, Diary of P. G. Laurie.)

As for Riel, he later spoke of those in the Fort as being "mad at [the occupation of the Fort], and they would have stopped it if they could". (Collections--Riel, Vol. 2, p. 417).

Chapter Six
An Act of Folly[1]

One of those who were imprisoned because of their part in the Schultz houses affair later wrote of this incident of late November and early December, 1869, as the "Schultz blunder".[2] Two and one-half years after it occurred the newspaper controlled by John C. Schultz was taking pains to omit reference to the event from its account of what happened during the Insurrection:

> The imprisonment of many loyal inhabitants and at last the foul murder of one of Ontario's sons . . .[3]

Why should the writer have been attempting to suppress memory of an event in Manitoba's history? The oblique reference should whet the historian's appetite for more information.

To begin with, the Schultz houses incident itself began before any proclamation was issued by either Lieutenant-Governor-designate McDougall or his "Conservator", J. S. Dennis, and must be seen in the context of the verbal sparring and searching for advantage that went on throughout 1869 and was reaching some kind of climax in October and November of that year. As early as November 27, 1869, Louis Riel wrote a warning note to John C. Schultz:

> Your house is suspected as going to make trouble or be a place of trouble. Mind you, Docteur, and believe that I am serious and would be very sorry to be compelled to [take] any energetic action against you.[4]

We must pause here and take stock of the alignment of political forces in the Settlement insofar as these were visible in the fall of 1869. Our task is not made easier by the fact that some of the actors wanted their political acts to be invisible. Nevertheless it is possible

to get a fair indication of what was going on. First, of course, it is obvious that Métis feelings of dissatisfaction were widespread early in 1869 and that the group around Louis Riel was only one of those seeking for a course of action to follow. We must note too that meetings were being held in the English parishes. There is record of a meeting on October at the home of magistrate Thomas Sinclair in the parish of St. Andrews. Louis Riel and John Bruce attended this meeting in an effort to persuade those present to oppose the entry of Lieutenant-Governor-designate McDougall. They were not successful.[5] Another meeting was held "at the Rapids school-house", October 19th, at which it was decided to send a delegation with an address welcoming the Lieutenant-Governor-designate. Those present included: Rev. Gardiner, Thomas Sinclair, Sr., Thomas Sinclair, Jr., Donald Gunn, Sr., John Tait, Bernard R. Ross, John Gunn, George Kennedy, Captain Kennedy, Mr. Norquay, Mr. Hay, Mr. Hodgson, and others. Donald Gunn had prepared an address which met with general approval. Captain Kennedy, however, expressed opposition, saying that he had no faith in McDougall's character and antecedents. He said the Red River people should come into Confederation "on equal terms" with other provinces. The people were fully competent to manage their own affairs. Donald Gunn spoke again, defending his address and saying it did not "compromise" the people in any way. Hay spoke in support of Kennedy, objecting to McDougall's "foreign councillors" and advocating suffrage for "every one capable of holding a plough". Nevertheless a delegation was chosen to present the address to McDougall.[6]

In the meantime others were working in other ways. Thomas Scott was canvassing to collect a fund to be used in welcoming McDougall.[7] Scott

had been laid off by Snow as a result of the incident at Oak Point and was living at Garrett's[8] awaiting trial for his part in it.[9] Others were canvassing the settlers to discover how large a force could be assembled to accompany McDougall to Fort Garry. Begg reported that fewer than 50 willing people could be found.[10]

In early November Fort Garry was occupied by the same committee that had prevented McDougall from entering the Settlement. On the 6th of November a notice was published asking all English parishes to send delegates to join with the French to "consider the present political state" of the country.[11] A few days later an unsigned letter was taken to Colonel Dennis and transmitted to McDougall. It had come "through the same channel" as one that had been similarly dealt with a few days before, and was from John C. Schultz in Winnipeg. It gave an assessment of the situation at that part of the Settlement. Concerning the proclamation referred to above it offered this prediction:

> In most of the parishes no answer will be made to Riel's Proclamation, or, if acted on at all, will be simply to send a letter, protesting against their past and present action . . .
>
> The cause is quietly and surely advancing with the English element, and gaining ground even with the French, and we feel sure that all will be well.[12]

The author of the unsigned letter was not correct in his predictions. "Answer" was made by all the parishes, and talks began in the Court House on November 16th.[13] When J. C. Schultz wrote to creditors that day he referred to "an armed force" being "in possession of Fort Garry". He said he had "secured most of his movable stock". As for his last purchase, it had not crossed the line yet and he would arrange to have it stored at some point in "American territories". He signed this letter.[14]

Discussions went forward at the Court House without anything conclusive being arrived at. In the view of the English delegates the Métis National Committee had acted illegally and unconstitutionally in taking up arms, in opposing McDougall's entry, and in taking Fort Garry. The English parishes did not wish their delegates to involve them in illegal or disloyal acts. In this they apparently had the support of Governor McTavish. Near the end of the first meeting a proclamation written by him was read to the delegates by Henry McKenney, sheriff under the old administration and delegate for Winnipeg at the convention. It summarized the illegal acts which had been committed, and called upon those who had committed them to disperse. It asked the meeting to "ratify and proclaim with all the might of your united voices this public notice and protest". It closed with these words:

> You are dealing with a crisis out of which may come incalculable good or immeasurable evil and with all the weight of my official authority and all the influence of my individual position let me finally charge you to adopt only such means as are lawful and constitutional, rational and safe.[15]

One must express admiration for the tact and diplomacy shown in this message. McTavish was in a difficult position. He had been urged to issue a proclamation by Lieutenant-Governor-designate McDougall,[16] then at Pembina, and by the "loyalists"[17] of the Settlement. However, there were those among the "loyalists" whom McTavish did not trust,[18] and, on the other hand, he well knew that those who had committed the illegal acts had always been the mainstay and support of his government in time of crisis.[19] There were probably men from the French parishes present in the Convention who had been sworn in as special constables on occasions

when the government of Assiniboia needed their assistance. McTavish, as governor, was acting correctly and at the proper time and without alienating those to whom it was directed.

After the proclamation had been read, James Ross, delegate for Kildonan and chief spokesman for the English parishes, told Riel that the acts of the National Committee were now acts of rebellion, and that he was awaiting "with confidence the evacuation of the Fort by the French of the Colony". However, Riel responded by saying that if the National Committee was rebelling against the Company which sold them and against Canada which wished to buy them it was not rebelling against the English government. Riel then turned some of McTavish's construction around and said that "from the decisions of this assembly [could] come inestimable good".[20]

According to another source the English delegates wanted to make some special use of the document, but the fact that it had not been translated into French or widely distributed prevented this.[21]

The second meeting saw an attempt on the part of the English delegates to find out what the French meant to do. It soon developed that there was no agreement at all on the subject of what to do about McDougall. The English favored letting him come in: the French were opposed. James Ross was again the chief spokesman for the English parishes, and a careful reading of Riel's notes would suggest that Ross knew he was fighting for his chance to have some kind of appointment in a government organized by McDougall. Ross said he had spoken with McDougall before returning to Red River earlier in the year. He had made McDougall "see" that "his government and the measures" it adopted "might be somewhat harmful to

the present colonists".[22]

Before we continue our study of this debate we must pause briefly to consider James Ross. Ross was a native of Red River and had been educated at St. John's College and the University of Toronto. Between 1860 and 1864 he and William Coldwell published the Nor'Wester.[23] For some time Ross was sheriff, but was dismissed from this position because of his criticisms of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1865 he returned to Canada to further his legal experience and to work briefly for the Hamilton Spectator and the Globe.[24] He returned to Red River in 1869, and we are forced to assume that he expected to receive an appointment in McDougall's government. Ross realized that the Red River settlers had not managed to take "the precautions" necessary to "preserve unimpaired their rights and privileges". He understood people's fears that McDougall's government might be "more interested in advancing the interests of a large number of immigrants than the interests of the first settlers". However, he preferred to silence these fears and trust Mr. McDougall. To do otherwise might cause misfortunes such as the colony had never known.

Riel was quick to spot the weakness in Ross's armor. He stated that he admired the "nobility in the remonstrances" that Ross had made to McDougall in Ontario. He admired Ross's concern for the interests of the first settlers. Now, asked Riel, why did Ross not join the half of the Settlement who wanted nothing more than the guarantee of those rights that Ross himself saw as needing guarantees? "Mr. Ross," said Riel, "speak up for your country [;] do not seek to silence it."[25]

Late that night a "loyalist" in the town of Winnipeg--almost certainly John C. Schultz--wrote another unsigned letter for the attention of

Dennis and McDougall which gives us another tiny window on what occurred in this session. The writer had had "an interview with three of the principal English delegates". Riel, they said, had argued that the Hudson's Bay Company government was a very weak one. A better one was necessary. The counter argument was made, they reported, that the Canadian alternative was the only one possible. O'Donoghue had evidently lectured on the wrongs of Ireland. Riel had "pointed" to a republic, "but would not say so directly". According to the three delegates the English delegation, "with the exception of the two from the town", was working well together. The English delegates were "very determined" and would have meetings with their own people during the coming recess. No reference was made to the exchange between Ross and Riel.[26]

It was agreed to adjourn until November 22nd in order to allow the General Quarterly Court to hold its sessions. Riel and the Committee were insisting that they still "recogniz[ed] the government of Assiniboia".[27]

There is evidence that considerable behind-the-scenes political activity took place during the four-day adjournment. Alexander Begg recorded in his diary that his partner, Bannatyne, was being accused of "influencing the present movement of the French".[28] James Ross, Begg wrote, was "suspected of working in favor of the McDougall clique and against the interests of the settlers".[29] The next day--the 19th--an incident occurred which annoyed both partners:

> Towards evening Mr. James Ross called on Mr. A. G. B. Bannatyne and invited him to spend the evening with him. Mr. Bannatyne accepted the invitation wondering what could have brought it about as he was not on visiting terms with Mr. Ross. What was his surprise on entering the house to find Dr. Shultz [sic] there to meet him. He sat down and both Ross and S[c]hultz tried to draw out of him his views on the present state of affairs. They were unsuccessful however.

> It was a mean shabby trick on the part of Ross and could only have been done to try and waylay Mr. Bannatyne into trouble. It goes to show that Mr. James Ross is in hand and glove with the McDougall-S[c]hultz party irrespective of the claims of the settlers here--a two faced traitor.[30]

On the 20th Begg recorded statements made by delegates Thomas Bunn, Maurice Lowman and Henry McKenney, to the effect that they would insist on a "full and elective representation at the council board of the country".[31] That same day--a Sunday--John C. Schultz met with "a number of clergymen and others" at the house of James Ross "to discuss the political state of the country".[32]

One result of the week-end's round of consultations became apparent Monday morning. A petition was being taken around by Dr. Bown with a view to handing it to the Convention when it met. This petition had for one of its objects the unseating of delegates McKenney and H. F. O'Lone, and had been signed chiefly by "strangers". A. G. B. Bannatyne refused to sign it. He was so angry at certain recent developments and rumors about his actions as postmaster that he prepared a letter explaining his reasons for not signing, with the intention of handing it to a member of the Convention. "I have refused to sign this document," he wrote, "because those engaged in getting it up have been to a very great extent the cause of all our present troubles. The course they have adopted in their relations with the Canadien [sic] Government and its officials is well known to all here--and their connection with the latter has not been fruitful of good to the country."

> The Petition has been written by one [J. C. Schultz] who has broken our laws headed by one [James Stewart] who has broken our laws and handed me by one [Dr. Bown] who has broken our laws. I could not consent to mix myself

> with such people and have on these grounds refused to sign it.[33]

A second petition was being passed around too. This one had been started by D. A. Grant, bookkeeper for Col. Dennis, and had two main points. One was to the effect that those signing showed a willingness to conciliate between various parties. The other was a recommendation that the French should lay down their arms. Begg recorded that G. Ellwood had signed it.[34]

The meeting of the Convention on November 22nd must have taxed the patience of everyone concerned. Ross and Riel were the chief speakers, Ross underlining the importance of the Red River Settlement as a "key-stone" of a great national undertaking, Riel agreeing, but insisting that it must be put on such a "footing" that the settler might go on living prosperously and that outsiders might find institutions ready for them. Thomas Bunn pointed out that three days had been spent and nothing had been accomplished. The French should lay down their arms and state exactly what they wanted. McDougall should be allowed to come in. Riel was adamant that McDougall would never enter the Settlement, "either in the capacity of a private individual or as Governor".[35] While it appeared at adjournment that there was little enough reason for them to meet again, the two groups agreed to meet the next day.

Riel's adventure in statecraft had not, on the 22nd of November, been a conspicuous success. If someone like the diarist Begg had made a tally sheet of the achievements of the National Committee it would have shown that it had little to its credit, except for the maintenance of order in those areas covered by its patrols. A court of inquiry would likely have said, with McTavish, that it had "obstructed" people's move-

ments, "seized" private goods on the highways, "interfered" with the public mails, "billeted" men in Fort Garry, "compelled" McDougall's party to leave the Hudson's Bay Company fort at Pembina, and "avowed" their intention to resist arrangements for the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada. The tally would not have included one very important point: the National Committee was forcing the Canadian Cabinet to reconsider the details of the transfer. On November 22nd Macdonald received news of the stopping of McDougall, and he and his Cabinet began to study the implications of what had happened.[36] Before they made their decision Riel and his committee would have pushed even further into the uncharted waters of impromptu statecraft.

Early in the morning of November 23rd George Young and other servants of the Company noticed an armed guard of several men accompanying John McTavish and John Balsillie, both Company officers, from the residences to the main office of the Company. At breakfast Young and others heard that the officers had been forced to give up the books, records and cash of the Council of Assiniboia. Young supposed that this had been done to "impress" the delegates with [Riel's] determination and power.[37] However, there was probably a much more practical reason for this action, as was to be seen in Riel's subsequent acts. Young's reaction to the incident was to spike one of the Fort's guns and then to attempt to go to Winnipeg. He was made prisoner, but managed to escape and report the incident in Winnipeg.[38]

Riel may have been contemplating both this and his next move for some time. He had suspected that there was tampering going on with the English delegates, and had written in his notes, "Schultz and the 'Cana-

das' are raising the devil".[39] However, another event probably forced his hand. The scouts of the National Committee had brought word that a string of carts belonging to John C. Schultz was on its way to Winnipeg. Schultz was generally known to be "very far behind" in the payment of duties on his imported goods.[40] Since these duties were one of the chief sources of income for the local government it was important that there be an authority in the Settlement powerful enough to insist on payment of them and to keep track of whatever was imported into the Settlement. There is no reason to impute any other motive on Riel's part at this point. There was good reason for him to be suspicious of Schultz. He could not know that Schultz's own recent purchases were in storage in the United States and that the materials now en route for Winnipeg were Canadian government stores that had been consigned to Schultz.

Unknown to Young and others lights had burned both late and early on the night of November 22-3 as the National Committee met for seven hours, and Riel had striven to persuade it "to form itself into a Provisional Government". We have it from Riel himself that it was no easy task:

> Not one was ready. What fears and hesitations there were to overcome. It is incredible what misgivings I had to overcome in them. That which was feared most was the appearance of a rebellion against the Queen.

Riel had to use all his powers of persuasion to convince the Committee that they should form a Provisional Government. He had to remind them that McDougall had had over a month to reply to their note of October 21st. "If he declares himself governor on December 1, he will be no more governor than before. Assiniboia will be dead. Let us form a Provisional Government beforehand.

> Let us speak about it tomorrow to the English representatives. Let us seize the public accounts, the public funds in order to force McDougall to deal with a public body. Those books and that public money also belong to the public. McDougall must not take possession of them in spite of us. The members of the Committee consent at last . . .[41]

November 22-3 was one of the longest and most difficult waking periods in Riel's life. From persuading the National Committee to form a Provisional Government he went to trying to persuade the English delegates in the Convention to join it. The English, as Riel no doubt expected, found themselves unable to act in this "emergency", but stated that they must go back to their people for direction in this. The Convention adjourned to Wednesday, December 1st.[42] Riel then sent for Roger Goulet and attempted to determine what had been that gentleman's policy with regard to collecting the duties on goods imported into the Settlement.[43] It developed that Goulet had made a practise of taking notes for the amounts due from the several merchants. This was done to accommodate them and to make the payment of duties easier than if they had been obliged to pay upon receipt of goods. The result was that Schultz and some of the other merchants were behind in the payment of their notes.[44] Goulet was detained for a short time and released. Begg speculated that if a Provisional Government were agreed upon the collection of these overdue notes might be one of the first things done.[45]

John C. Schultz's carts arrived on Wednesday, November 24th, and were instantly the subject of intense interest.[46] Riel had the cart train stopped at Fort Garry and, when Schultz went to see why, said that he wanted to know whether there were arms in the cases, and whether the duties had been paid. Schultz replied that there were no arms. Riel accompanied

him to the store and asked whether the goods were all Schultz's. Schultz answered that they were government stores. Riel then said that he might as well take an inventory of them, in case, as he said, any "parties should remove any portion, and it would be laid to us". He began the inventory, but did not finish it. The story of how Schultz hired Riel's guards to help unload the shipment is familiar to historians. However, the letter which contains this account is of more interest for the suggestions it makes than it is as a narrative of what happened on November 24th. "Now", Grant began, "there are Canadians here willing to protect the property of Canada, and remove the stores to the Stone Fort for safe keeping. We propose the following plan:

> We (the Canadians) to proceed in a party of twenty or thirty, with hired sleighs to be procured in the Scotch Settlement, and go to Schultz's store about noon, and remove them (the stores) down to the Stone Fort, and leave *** (armed of course) in charge. If we meet opposition we will defend the stores, and remove them against all comers. This will have the effect, perhaps, of PRECIPITATING MATTERS [emphasis mine] . . . This will also give us an excuse to occupy the Stone Fort, where a large amount of ammunition is stored. Yours, etc. D. A. Grant. P. S. It is understood that if we act in this matter, we act upon our own responsibility--not wishing to compromise authority--we only desire to have ADVICE [emphasis his].[47]

It is to be remembered that this letter was written November 24th--a full week before McDougall issued his famous proclamation naming Dennis as "Lieutenant and conservator of the peace".

In his reply Dennis advised caution, and gave four points of advice, the first of which was to apply to the local authorities "for a sufficient police or other force to prevent [the seizure of the stores]".[48] Grant made this request, McTavish arranged for a guard, and for a time there were "two sets of sentries on one beat".[49] Once Riel knew what was in

the shipment it had not taken long for him to decide that the Provisional Government must place an armed guard near the Schultz warehouse to see to it that the pork--for that is what the shipment turned out to be--was not removed by Schultz to some other point in the Settlement. Schultz's efforts to "secure" his own stock had been noticed early in November by the Métis patrol and reported to Riel, but no attempt had been made to interfere with this movement of private property.[50] The strategic importance of this large shipment of government pork, however, meant that the Schultz warehouse would have to be watched.

With the government pork under a double guard we can now return our attention to the efforts being made to arrive at some resolution of the Settlement's political problems. The Convention had long debated whether or not McDougall ought to be allowed into the Settlement. That gentleman was still at Pembina. Now the English parishes were faced with a proposal to join a functioning provisional government which, while it might be illegal, was nevertheless in command of the situation in Winnipeg-Fort Garry and controlled the main road into the United States. From the point of view of John C. Schultz nothing had really changed. McTavish was still governor in Fort Garry and those who had supported the government in the past were now patrolling the streets of Winnipeg and the main roads. The delegates from the English parishes had managed to brake the Métis movement. They had not really checked it. Somehow he must work to broaden his base of support. This would not be easy but he must try. The evening before the arrival of his carts he sent a message to delegate H. F. "Bob" O'Lone, asking him to come to his house for a talk.[51] O'Lone refused. The incident involving the government pork had forced Schultz to come into

the open. The two sets of guards now showed the opposition to Riel that he had tried to keep secret.

For others in the Settlement this new development was fraught with danger. On Friday, the 26th, it became common knowledge that Schultz's friend Hallett had gone down to the Stone Fort to see if he could raise a "force" to "rescue" the government pork.[52] He had not succeeded, so far as Begg knew, but concerned citizens began to talk of ways of avoiding violence. A group met in the office of Bannatyne and Begg and decided that instead of joining the Provisional Government they should allow the Council of Assiniboia to continue as the legislature of the Settlement while the people set about electing an executive council to negotiate with the government of Canada as to the terms on which the country would join Canada. The idea had much to recommend it, and it provided a focus for intense political activity at the end of November. William O'Donoghue was one of those present and he pledged himself to persuade his associates of the value of the scheme.[53] On the morning of the 27th everything possible was done to persuade Riel that the idea had merit. Even American consul Oscar Malmros so far forgot his position as to try to convince Riel of the desirability of this course.[54] However, it was not until in the evening that Riel told A. G. B. Bannatyne that he would agree to this plan. On the strength of this assurance plans were made to acquaint certain English delegates of this change of plan and persuade them to attend the Convention on the first of December. Begg volunteered to go and notify the people of St. Andrews parish and to speak to Thomas Bunn about it.[55]

The next day Begg set out on his mission while Bannatyne went to see Robert Tait about the same proposal. Almost everyone they met that day

was favorably disposed toward the suggestion. The same thing happened on the 29th as the circle of those acquainted with it grew larger.[56] Donald Gunn gave notice of his willingness to attend the Convention on December 1st, and said that if ill-health prevented him from doing so he would send a letter to that effect. Enthusiasm was general when Riel suddenly withdrew his support for the idea.[57]

What had happened?

It is impossible to answer this question with any certainty, since the documents which mention it are so few,[58] but it is clear that forces were at work that were inimical to peaceful solutions of any kind. On the 27th of November, the same day that Riel expressed his approval of the "executive council" plan, something happened which caused Riel to write the note to Schultz which was quoted at the beginning of this chapter:

> Your house is suspected as going to make trouble or be a place of trouble. Mind you, Docteur, and believe that I am serious and would be very sorry to be compelled to [take] any energetic action against you.[59]

Begg recorded that there was "excitement" about the government pork. Schultz "represented his property as being endangered by having the Pork in his possession . . . Some Canadians influenced by Schultz got excited over this and resorted to arms . . . the whole thing was quieted down by an assurance to Dr. Schultz that neither private property nor the Canadien [sic] Pork would suffer by the guard being put upon it . . ."[60]

The next report--on the 28th--came from the Lower Settlement. Begg had been driven by Mr. Flett from Lower Fort Garry to Thomas Bunn's. Bunn reported that "a great deal of excitement had been caused in his neighborhood by false reports regarding the Government Pork question . . .". Bunn had had to "turn back over two hundred men . . . who had turned out armed

to go to Fort Garry and rescue the Pork. In justice to these men," Begg concluded, "it is right to say that it had been represented to them that private property and lives were in danger." After sending his own people back Bunn "had to send back about fifty more who had come from the Indian Settlement . . . ."[61]

On the 29th Begg was on his return trip, calling on influential people in St. Andrews parish including Edward Hay, Rev. Gardiner, Mr. Truthwaite and Donald Gunn. Begg had heard a great deal about the government pork: "It is reported today and substantiated by parties who were present at the time," he wrote,

> that Mr. James Ross and Maurice Lowman attended a meeting at St. Andrew s and led the people to understand that 220 Two Hundred and twenty [repetition is Begg's] of the Scotch were ready and in fact that One hundred and eight were going to the Town the next day (Friday last) to take charge of the Government Pork and called on them to support their fellow countrymen. As soon as this was heard by the Scotch (early next morning) Alex. Polson was sent down the Settlement to say that Mr. Ross was not authorized to make such statements and as far as the Scotch were concerned the Government Pork might go to the d---l. . . .There is a very strong feeling against Canadiens [sic] and others trying to start a fight prematurely . . . Maurice Lowman at the same time made a war speech . . . .[62]

Reports of this kind were not guaranteed to persuade Riel and others in the Provisional Government that it was time to step aside and let some still-to-be-elected executive council take over and be responsible for keeping the peace and checkmating John C. Schultz. With companies being formed for drilling purposes in several English parishes[63] it was obvious that the Provisional Government had to remain on the alert.

The "executive council" initiative, however, had had the effect of

bringing a number of people into Winnipeg, and on the 30th some of these people met "by chance" at Bannatyne and Begg's and a spirited discussion took place. The group included John Bruce, Thomas Bunn, Colin Inkster, Louis Riel, James Ross, Robert Tait, William Tait and, of course, A. G. B. Bannatyne and Alexander Begg. James Ross expressed the view that Canada had the right to a certain number of councillors in the new council of Red River. Strictly speaking this was the only possible correctly "loyal" view, since it was completely in accord with what was to be done under the Rupert's Land Act. William Tait and Thomas Bunn, however, insisted that the people had certain rights, one of which was representation, and that the people would fight, if necessary, for their rights. Ross retorted that the people of Red River did not have enough pluck to fight for their rights. Ross was then accused of being inconsistent--he had asked the people of St. Andrews to come forward and fight--and was forced to admit that he had been excited and had made a great mistake, since he knew that the calling out of these men might have plunged the country into civil war. All those present except Ross agreed that they were ready to support the rights of the people. Ross said that the people themselves wouldn't defend those rights. Bunn and Ross nearly came to blows, but with this exception the discussion was friendly enough.[64] Riel does not appear to have taken a prominent part in the discussion, but it must be observed that as the men conversed two sets of guards were seeing to it that no one touched--or moved--the government pork, and Métis patrols moved through the streets. The Provisional Government was on the alert. The men who were talking and waiting for December 1st to bring the meeting of the Convention could not know that Sir John A. Macdonald, a few days

earlier, had cabled Sir John Rose not to pay over the 300,000 pounds on December 1st.[65] While the Métis patrolled the streets and guarded the pork the legal government of the Settlement was still that of Governor William McTavish.

The story of the "spurious" proclamation of William McDougall has often been told, and it is not our purpose to repeat it here, except to point out a remarkable feature of the way that it was presented to the Settlement. McDougall was so determined not to appear to recognize the "de facto" government of the Settlement that he also did not recognize the "de jure" government in the issuing of the proclamation. Henry McKenney, the sheriff, saw this at once,[66] knowing that a proclamation of the kind should either have been sent to Governor McTavish, as retiring Governor of Assiniboia, or to someone like himself or another of the "Public Officers and Functionaries" who, according to the Rupert's Land Act, were to "continue" "with the same duties and powers as before".[67] As it was, Governor McTavish did not have a copy of the proclamation in hand until given one by A. G. B. Banantyne on the evening of the second of December.[68]

The importance of McDougall's proclamation does not lie in its effect upon Riel and the Provisional Government. That "de facto" government, strictly speaking, was illegal before and after the issuing of the proclamation. Nothing could alter this. Riel was ready then--as well as later--to be called before the bar of world opinion to give an account of the acts he and his people had felt obliged to perform. The importance of the proclamation lies in the acts of those who obeyed it and Dennis's commission and in what they thought they were doing in so obeying. Unless

we look into their acts and thoughts much of what happened in subsequent months and in the Archibald administration has no meaning. We shall look at these acts in due course.

We must now look, however, at the last meeting of the November Convention. The French delegates assembled, as had been agreed upon, on Wednesday, December 1st. The English did not join them at first, partly because, as they thought, the Queen's Proclamation was out and partly because many of them "had ceased to be delegates".[69] James Ross has recorded the numerous discussions that the proclamation caused, having decided to keep a journal of events as they transpired.[70] At Bannatyne's Henry McKenney said the proclamation was not the Queen's, but the others were prepared to accept it as genuine.[71] A. G. B. Bannatyne was then appointed to take the proclamation to the French delegates, then in session at the Court House. The French then invited the English delegates to come and join them. After reading the proclamation Riel is supposed to have said that it "staggered" him.[72] However, he soon recovered his composure, and said to his fellow French members, "My friends, if it is the Queen's Proclamation, pay attention. Let us weigh our acts before acting. It is more than ever necessary for us to be prudent in the vindication of our rights . . ." After the English delegates had arrived Riel addressed the Convention in this way:

> If McDougall is really our governor today, our chances are better than ever. He has no more to do than to prove to us his desire to treat us well. If he guarantees our rights, I am one of those who will go to meet him in order to escort him as far as the seat of his government.[73]

Ross asked Riel what they would ask of McDougall if they went to see him. The answer was not immediately forthcoming. After a period of "disorderly

discussion" the French delegates asked for two hours in which to draw up a "list" of rights, and it was this two-hour session that drew up the first "bill of rights".[74] At the end of two hours the two groups convened again to consider what the French had done. Ross had this to say of this first "bill of rights":

> They seemed loosely drawn up and many of them [seemed] impossible. We pointed out [a] good many of the objections, but as passing of them depended on [a] majority, of course, all passed. And we did not care much, for we were ready to ask anything almost.[75]

It would appear that Riel had had time to reflect during the two-hour session, for his attitude toward McDougall's proclamation seemed to have changed. Or it may be that he had learned from Bannatyne or someone else how it was that the proclamation had made its way to them. At any rate he had quite recovered from being "staggered". He insisted that McDougall could not be allowed to enter the Settlement until an act of Parliament had been passed assuring them their rights.[76] The English delegates would not agree to this, nor to the sending of emissaries to McDougall. It must be observed that the English delegation appeared to be paralyzed at this point, not being able to agree, even among themselves, on the proposition of sending two of their own number to speak to McDougall.[77] It is not to be overlooked, either, that at the end of the first day of the new regime, no emissary had come from McDougall to either set of delegates bearing any kind of peaceful proposal. It is difficult to understand why this should be so, unless it is true, as Riel was to write four years later, that McDougall "desired only war".[78] This point is to be pondered if we are to arrive at an understanding of the events surrounding the Insurrection. All these people were British subjects, whether

Canadians or citizens of Rupert's Land. No blood had been shed; Canadians were moving freely about Winnipeg and in and out of the Schultz houses. Why could not a Canadian Lieutenant-Governor-designate send an emissary to a Provisional Government or to a Council of Assiniboia? Was it that for men like McDougall to ask anything at all was to ask too much? Or had decisions already been taken which allowed of no modification?

Meanwhile J. S. Dennis, McDougall's "Lieutenant and conservator of the peace" had had a very busy day.[79] He had arrived at William Hallett's, on the Assiniboine, at five o'clock that morning. He then sent for James McKay and Robert Tait. When these men came he showed them his proclamation and his own commission as "conservator of the peace". He explained that he was instructed to see how much support there would be for organizing a force "to put down the malcontents". If it appeared that there was support he was to issue an appeal, organize a force, and put down the outbreak. Dennis learned of the Convention and of Robert Tait's intention to attend it. Dennis learned also that a petition opposing the Provisional Government had been passed around in the English parishes. The result was a majority of "some hundreds over the French party". Tait was to take the petition to Winnipeg so it could be handed to Riel. Dennis gave him a copy of the proclamation, with the understanding that he would read it to the Convention.

Hallett was of the opinion that the English people would respond "eagerly" to Dennis's appeal. Dennis reported later that McKay and Tait "agreed with" Hallett that people were tired of rule by the French party but feared the results of an appeal to arms. Dennis said they had had to agree that there was no other course to follow if the French insisted upon a provisional government.[80]

Robert Tait then drove Dennis to Winnipeg and went about his own errands. In Winnipeg Dennis found John C. Schultz in a state of "much anxiety". Schultz alleged that the guns of the Fort had, a day or two previously, been pointed directly at his home. Schultz said that he had resisted Riel's suggestion that the government pork be removed to Fort Garry for safekeeping. Since both printing offices had been seized by the Provisional Government Dennis called upon Mr. Grant and "a number of other Canadian gentlemen" for help in writing "a lot of manuscript copies" of the proclamation. These were then distributed during the afternoon and evening, and some were sent to Portage la Prairie.

Dennis then called upon a number of people in the Lower Settlement, including Bishop Machray, Archdeacon McLean, James Ross, Rev. Mr. Black, and Judge Black. Dennis learned that Major Boulton had been in communication with these gentlemen and that men had been enrolled and had begun to drill at several places in the Settlement. Dennis met Rev. Mr. Gardiner and Archdeacon Cowley and talked with them. Since what they said agreed with what Dennis had learned from others he concluded that it was his duty under his commission to make an appeal for volunteers. Having made this decision he proceeded to the Stone Fort and called for volunteers to guard the Fort. Before the morning of the 2nd there were 120 men occupying the Fort.

Dennis was equally busy on the 2nd of December. With the assistance of Mr. Hart, the surveyor, and Major Boulton the organization of parish companies was set in motion. Dennis now sent a message to Governor McTavish reporting the occupation of the Stone Fort, explaining the object of its occupation and enclosing a copy of his commission. Twenty-one Canadians arrived from Winnipeg and "enrolled". Dr. Lynch was given instruc-

tions to enroll a company in Winnipeg. Since most of the Canadians had had experience with drill Lynch was ordered to have the men return quietly to their lodgings until further orders. Captain Webb was ordered to go to Portage la Prairie and organize a force of four companies there.

With these various arrangements made, Dennis assembled Chief Prince's men in the Fort. The proclamation was read and explained to them in Cree. Dennis knew that McDougall was opposed to the use of Indians in putting down the Insurrection, and he agreed with this view himself. Accordingly he had Prince select fifty of the best men to remain in the Fort as a garrison. Dennis explained to Prince that these men would not be used in fighting unless it became necessary to defend the Fort. The rest of Prince's men were paid and sent home with Dennis's thanks for having turned out so readily.

During the evening of the 2nd Dennis conferred with William Dease and John C. Schultz. Dease was certain that many of the French could be relied upon to give their support to Dennis's undertakings. Dennis learned that Schultz had a small hand press and some type. P. G. Laurie, printer for the Nor'Wester, was sent to Winnipeg to fetch this press and some type.[81]

A unique situation existed in the Red River Settlement on the night of December 2nd. The legal Governor of Assiniboia and Rupert's Land was in Fort Garry, unable to do anything about the fact that Fort Garry was occupied. The Lieutenant-Governor-designate of Rupert's Land was in Pembina powerless to do more than issue orders through his "Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace". There were two Hudson's Bay Forts and a garrison illegally occupying each. All across the English parishes men were

drilling. In the French parishes men expected to receive a call to arms. In Fort Garry was a Provisional Government that had failed to win the adhesion of delegates from the English parishes. In the Stone Fort was J. S. Dennis, who apparently had the support of the English parishes and of the "loyal" French, and who was in constant contact with his advisors, Schultz and Dease. Both governments were interested in getting the use of a printing press. The situation as it existed could likely have remained so all winter but for one volatile factor: the three Schultz buildings presented an intolerable situation for both commanders. Dennis could not defend them: Riel could not tolerate them while they were in hostile hands.

Dennis had good reason for satisfaction on December 3rd. Work was going forward in a number of ways, and returns were coming in from the parishes, indicating a "satisfactory" response. Laurie arrived from Winnipeg with the hand press and set up and printed the proclamation, which Dennis then had distributed throughout the Settlement. However, Laurie also brought some disturbing news from Winnipeg. A party of Métis under Riel's command had searched Dr. Schultz's residence about midnight. If Schultz had not called in at John Tait's on his way home from the Stone Fort he would certainly have been captured at home. Dr. Bown, editor of the Nor'Wester, had also eluded capture, and arrived at the Stone Fort about noon. Dennis was afraid that some incident would precipitate matters before his force was assembled, so he wrote to Schultz to have the Canadians remain perfectly quiet "in lodgings". They were "not to invite either by word or deed, any attack from the French".[82]

It would appear, however, that when the party of Canadians returned

to Winnipeg from the Stone Fort they had not gone into "lodgings", as ordered, but had "collected" at Schultz's houses, at Schultz's request.[83] According to A. W. Graham, who "enlisted" on December 3rd, "about forty" Canadians were guarding the Schultz houses at that time. "Squads of French" appeared "at intervals", Graham wrote. "Once they drew up their forces in front of our buildings. We expected they would fire on us, but they soon dispersed."[84]

People in Winnipeg had other reasons for concern that same day. News had come from the Portage that George Racette or "Shawman", a confederate of Schultz's, was on his way into the Settlement with a large party of Sioux.[85] Racette, a thoroughly disreputable character and enemy of the Hudson's Bay Company, could always be expected to assemble around him the worst characters in the community, and several days of drinking and fighting could be expected.[86] A meeting was held in Winnipeg to form a company to protect the village from the Indians. A committee was appointed to see what arms could be obtained in town.[87]

Dennis's review of his situation on December 4th made him decide that he had no option but to order the withdrawal of the Canadians from Winnipeg,[88] and he wrote instructions to that effect to Major Boulton and to John C. Schultz.[89] In addition he wrote a "memorandum of Orders for the Enrolled Canadians".[90] In each of these letters he explained his desire to have the Canadians withdraw to Kildonan, where they would form an outpost of his force at the Scotch church.

That evening Dennis had a visit from James McKay and a Mr. Nolin. They had with them a copy of the "French List of Rights". They said they were eager to see peace restored, and wanted to know whether Dennis

was in a position to say that McDougall would agree to what the French were asking. Dennis stated that he could give no assurance whatever concerning the list. Some of the points might be part of McDougall's policy, some not. McKay begged Dennis to delay the order to arm for action as he was sure that matters could be settled amicably. He was of the opinion that if the French could be persuaded that McDougall's proclamation was genuine they would allow him to enter the Settlement.[91] Dennis then wrote out a memorandum suggesting that he would go to Pembina, obtain McDougall's commission and take it to Governor McTavish for examination, along with a certificate from McDougall's legal adviser as to its authenticity. When the French had signed an agreement not to oppose McDougall further Dennis would give orders to the English to cease arming.[92] McKay and Nolin then left, much more hopeful of success. Whether this initiative could have succeeded we can never know. What is certain is that at this point the Canadians could have left the Schultz buildings without difficulty. People were going and coming freely and without interference. However, those in the Schultz buildings had decided that they knew more than their commander. Late in the evening Dennis received two notes, one from Major Boulton and one from John C. Schultz.[93] Boulton reported that Dr. Lynch, Mr. Snow, John C. Schultz and he had consulted together and decided that with the force of seventy men in the house they could resist a "strong attack":

> It is now 9 o'clock, the men are all posted, and the Rebels know it. There are no men moving about, and no indications of any attack, and a retreat would or might inspire the Rebels with more confidence than they appear at present to possess. Your memorandum to the Canadians says "they had better come down this evening", which apparently gives us

> the opportunity of using our own judgment under existing circumstances.[94]

Boulton added that he intended to go down to see Dennis the next day. In his note Schultz gave an interesting bit of news which further indicates that on December 4th various initiatives were being taken in the hope of arranging a peaceful settlement. President Bruce, of the Provisional Government, had been to see Schultz, and they had talked of old times. Bruce asked where the "sticking point" was for Schultz in the French list of rights. Schultz mentioned "the insulting nature of the last one". Bruce replied that "they had not so meant it, and that [Schultz] must have an incorrect copy".[95] Explanation is required concerning this exchange. The only list of rights that Schultz apparently knew of at this point [Saturday, December 4th] was the one which Dr. Bown had somehow obtained in mid-November, and of which he had sent a copy to Sir John A. Macdonald. This list contained eight demands, the "last" of which read as follows:

> That Dr. Schultz and others shall be sent out of the territory forthwith and unless these demands are assented to by Mr. McDougall he shall not be permitted to come within the territory.[96]

Evidently the two men must not have had a copy before them of either the first list to appear on the first of December or of the printed list which came out on Saturday evening.[97] Bruce had expressed a willingness to speak with Dennis.

Dennis was wise to order the withdrawal of the Canadians from the Schultz buildings. He could not assist them, and their presence in the buildings was of no particular value, while at Kildonan the men could have been useful as an "outpost". The three Schultz buildings stood near the corner of King or Main Street and a street that led toward the Red

River. They were near the southernmost end of the village and in full view of Fort Garry, only Rev. George Young's house being nearer to the Fort than they were.[98] George Young, the son of Rev. George Young, one of the men "placed" in the three buildings, has left us a description of them. One house was of "brick veneer" and one and one-half storeys in height, one was a "rough cast" of two storeys, and the third was a log building of two low storeys, used as a storehouse for government stores.

> There was no passage way or other means of communication or intercourse between these three buildings or any two of them. No provisions were laid in. No supply of ammunition was provided and worse than all [sic] no water was on hand and only a small supply of fuel . . .[99]

Dr. Lynch was their captain, Mr. Miller the major, Mr. Allen the lieutenant.[100] George Young was "posted at one of the front upper windows of the brick store, and at the same window was stationed . . . Thomas Scott".[101] "We had been assured," wrote Young, "that if we made the first step, as being Canadian born, that the settlement would rise to our support and the rebellion be at an end. The settlement did not rise . . ."[102]

As we have seen the government pork had arrived on November 24th and the Provisional Government placed a guard around the building immediately. We cannot know how many Canadians were in the houses before the group that had gone down to the Stone Fort to enlist "collected" on the 3rd. A. W. Graham helped Dennis to write out the copies of the proclamation on December 1st, but did not "enlist" until the 3rd.[103] George Fortney left James Ross's employ and "enlisted" on the 4th.[104] Graham wrote that there were "about forty" in the buildings on the 3rd: seventy on the 4th.[105] None of the sources has indicated how this body of men were fed,

but obviously some sort of arrangement must have been made. Before the 6th they may have slipped out in small groups to eat at one or other of the eating-places. The buildings themselves were indefensible, but the presence in them of a large body of armed men could not be tolerated by the Provisional Government, for fear that they might make a rush for the Fort under cover of darkness.[106] Dennis saw this, first urging that the men remain quiet in lodgings and then ordering that they leave the buildings and go to Kildonan where a house was available for them[107]

Boulton paid a visit to the Stone Fort on the 5th, and asked to have the Canadians allowed to remain in Winnipeg. Dennis told him that whoever stayed there after the orders he had given "assumed the responsibility" for whatever happened. Dennis did not consider keeping a guard over the provisions worth the risk.[108] On the 6th Boulton wrote Dennis another letter concerning the state of affairs in Winnipeg. Boulton said he had pointed out to the men's officers the reasons why the men should not stay on the premises any longer. The officers had agreed that all should leave. Boulton had then gone to St. James Parish and drilled one hundred men there. When he returned to Winnipeg he learned that the Canadians had not left and that it was not safe for him to go into the buildings as there were armed "provisionals" all around them. It was estimated that there were no fewer than six hundred men at the disposal of the Provisional Government by this time.[109] Upon receipt of this note Dennis promptly wrote a letter "to the enrolled Canadians" instructing them to leave the town and establish themselves at Kildonan.[110]

That same day A. W. Graham wrote as follows in his diary:

> Things look serious. The French have taken several

> prisoners in the streets. The women are leaving the houses for fear of the cannon from the Fort. They have completely surrounded us, preventing ingress or egress. No word of help. Some of our men have gone out and not come back. We are now about 50 strong.[111]

December 7th was a day of frustrations for Colonel Dennis. The night before, Alexander Black and his wife had called on him with a report of a visit to Winnipeg to consult with John C. Schultz professionally. She was able, but with difficulty, both to go into the village and to speak with Schultz, so closely was the house surrounded by "provisionals". Schultz had asked her to bring a message to Dennis since he could not be sure that a messenger would get through with a letter: The Canadians were in a state of siege and could not go out either for food, wood or water, and needed help. Mrs. Black did not think that the French numbered more than "fifty". Dennis reasoned that allowing the Canadians to be captured would have a bad moral effect on the object he had in view. He decided, therefore, to operate on the theory that the appearance of an armed force would cause the French to "fall back on Fort Garry", allowing time for the besieged Canadians to make their escape. The forty men of the company whose headquarters were at the Stone Fort were willing and ready, so Dennis set out to mobilize another sixty men in St. Andrews, where he had found plenty of enthusiasm when he had first come. Much to his surprise, there was "an entire absence of the ardour which existed previously". Donald Gunn, Joseph McDonald, and Thomas Sinclair, officers of the two companies in the parish, met him at Rev. Gardiner's and informed him that such a force could not now be raised. Dennis expressed the view that "some agency" was at work producing a change in people's views. These

men replied that the distribution of the printed copies of the French "List of Rights" had brought about the change. They admitted that "up to the time of the dissemination of this document, no one but themselves knew what the demands of the malcontents were". Now that the demands had been published and appeared reasonable, the people were much less "jealous of French domination", particularly since there seemed to be a willingness to send a deputation to Pembina to "treat" with the Lieutenand-Governor.[112]

It seems clear that Riel and the Provisional Government had erred seriously in not issuing such a statement before. No doubt the lack of a printing press was a critical factor--they had had to get Coldwell to print the list.[113] It may also be that before December 1st, when they had worked hard for two hours to systematize their objectives, they had simply been too busy with the multitude of administrative details that the exercise of statecraft had suddenly thrust upon them. At any rate they had adroitly outmanouvered Schultz and his impressionable delegates--not to mention Dennis and his companies--by going over their heads and publicizing their objectives. The people now had a reason for not joining Dennis's companies.

Upon his return to the Stone Fort Dennis found to his dismay that McDougall had issued another proclamation. This one was based upon section six of the Rupert's Land Act and directed "all Public Officers and Functionaries" holding office "excepting the Public Officer or Functionary at the head of the administration" [McTavish] to continue to be public officers "with the same duties and powers as before".[114] Such a proclamation, issued at this time, could not help but confuse the general public

as to the state of affairs in the Settlement. Since the messenger was to return at once Dennis "hurriedly" wrote a reply, outlining the changed situation. He then sent a note to the besieged Canadians, urging them, if obliged to surrender, to get the best terms possible.

Dennis then left the Stone Fort to go to Rev. Mr. Black's at Kildonan, where he convened a meeting of the leading men. He soon learned that the Scotch people would act only on the defensive. A public meeting had just been held, at which delegates were appointed to meet with him at the Stone Fort and tell him to abandon agressive moves. Before Dennis left Kildonan news came from Winnipeg that the Canadian party had had to surrender. His report on the "unfortunate affair" of the Schultz houses can hardly be improved upon:

> . . . [T]here was no force with which this party could have been relieved; and the French, being in overpowering numbers, there was no alternative but to surrender; indeed, it was an act of folly their remaining there to be made prisoners of, as I have reason to believe they could have made their escape a few hours previously without danger or difficulty.[115]

The story of the actual surrender has been told before, but there are aspects of it which need to be examined here, since they became topics of controversy later. One of these is the part played by Thomas Scott.

As has been noted, Scott was, in November, staying at Garrett's and awaiting trial for his part in the incident at Oak Point. The trial took place at the General Quarterly Court for which the November Convention adjourned temporarily. We have testimony from P. G. Laurie that Scott, Frank Mogridge, W. J. Davis, William Allen and James Devlin came to the Nor'Wester office on November 30th, inquiring "where the damn Half-breeds

were" and saying that they would soon "throw them downstairs and hold the office" until any work that was wanted could be done.[116] He was likely with the group of Canadians which went down to the Stone Fort on the 2nd and returned on the 3rd. According to George Young Scott was stationed at the same window as Young in the "brick store".

There is difficulty, however, in deciding how Scott was taken prisoner, and probably it cannot be resolved with the information now at hand. According to Begg's Journal Scott and McArthur were taken prisoner on December 6th, Hallett on December 7th.[117] A. W. Graham wrote in his diary for December 7th as follows: "We sent three delegates to the fort to make terms, especially to let the women get out to a place of safety. The delegates Scott and Hallett were locked up. McArthur returned at 2 o'clock, followed by about 300 French, headed by Riel, Lépine and O'Donhue [sic] with orders to surrender."[118] G. D. McVicar wrote an account for the Toronto Leader mentioning that John Snow was "commissioned to go to Riel and state to him that we were not there to attack Fort Garry, but [to] protect our lives and property . . .". He made no mention of Scott, Hallett or McArthur. McVicar suggested that Snow was less than firm in his dealings with Riel.[119] A few days later Snow responded with an account in the Ottawa Citizen, describing how he and McArthur had gone to Governor McTavish and requested an interview with Riel. Snow made no mention of Hallett or Scott, but quoted Riel as saying, "Dr. Schultz and his men must surrender. If they do, their lives will be spared. The women and natives will be allowed to go free."[120] The Globe published an interview with Stewart Mulkins, who had been "sent from the house to see Riel but on his arrival at [Riel's] quarters was arrested and placed in con-

finement". Mulkins then told how "Mr. Snow, of the Government Roads, was despatched from Schultz's house with power to make terms of capitulation with Riel".[121] It may be that here we have a clue as to what may have happened. Quite likely the loose organization and lack of communication between the houses allowed for a number of initiatives to be made. Remarkably enough, George Young, who was with Scott in one of the houses, made no mention of Scott's being chosen to be part of one of them.

In one of the earliest published accounts of the Insurrection Alexander Begg made this statement:

> . . . [W]hile we condemn the attitude they assumed at the time, we respect those Canadians who, FROM A SENSE OF DUTY [emphasis his] enrolled themselves as soldiers in defence of their country's honour. It is quite evident they were misled, as many others were, regarding the actual position of affairs; AND WHO WAS TO BLAME THEREFOR?[122]

There was no doubt in Begg's mind, and there can be none in ours. If Schultz, Lynch and Snow had done what they were told to do there would have been a completely different unfolding of the efforts made by the Red River people to have their views heard where decisions were being made. Now a party of men who believed themselves to be legally enlisted Canadian soldiers would complicate matters as prisoners-of-war in Fort Garry, while in all the English parishes there were men who had shouldered arms and drilled in response to an illegal proclamation. As for the Provisional Government, while it was still illegal, it had significantly broadened its base of active support and passive acceptance.

Appendix "A"

"The demands they make are as follows:

1. That the Indian title to the whole country shall be at once paid for.

2. That on account of their relationship with the Indians a certain portion of this money shall be paid over to them.

3. That all their claims to land shall be at once conceded.

4. That two hundred acres shall be granted to each.

5. That they and their descendants shall be exempted from taxation.

6. That a certain portion of lands shall be set aside for the support of the R. C. Church and clergy.

7. That the Council shall be elected and at once chosen.

8. That Dr. Schultz and others shall be sent out of the territory forthwith and unless these demands are assented to by Mr. McDougall he shall not be permitted to come within the territory."

(Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Bown to Macdonald, November 18, 1869).

Footnotes

1. The phrase is Col. J. S. Dennis's: "Correspondence Relative to the Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement" (afterwards "Correspondence--1870"), Dennis's Report of Proceedings taken under Commission from Lt.-Gov. McDougall . . . p. 89. This is quoted on page 173 of Begg's Creation of Manitoba (afterwards Creation).

2. O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, p. 32.

3. Liberal, June 15, 1872.

4. Writings--Riel, Riel to Schultz, November 27, 1869.

5. Nor'Wester, October 26, 1869.

6. Ibid.

7. News-Letter, Feb. 1, 1871.

8. Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, pp. 32, 46.

9. He would be tried by the General Quarterly Court on Nov. 19, 1869: Begg's Journal, p. 173; Red River Pioneer, Dec. 1, 1869.

10. Begg's Journal, p. 161; Begg, Creation, p. 46.

11. Begg's Journal, p. 164.

12. "Correspondence--1870", p. 33.

13. Begg's Journal, p. 165; Begg's Journal, Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 420.

14. PAM MG12 E3, Schultz to Darling and Jordan, Nov. 16, 1869.

15. Begg's Journal, pp. 165-169.

16. C. S. P. 1870 (No. 12), McDougall to McTavish, Nov. 2, 1869.

17. Ibid. Petition dated Nov. 12, 1869.

18. New Nation, July 16, 1870, Interview with McTavish in New York. J. J. Hargrave, Red River, p. 439, gives a reason.

19. PAM MG10 F1 Box 6, "Les Dessous Diplomatiques des Evènements de la Rivière Rouge" par M. Guillaume Charette, n.d., p. 12.

20. Begg's Journal, Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 422.

21. "Correspondence--1870"; unsigned letter to J. S. Dennis dated Nov.

17, 1869, p. 39.

22. Begg's Journal, Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 423.

23. J. J. Hargrave, Red River, pp. 146, 320.

24. Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, p. 205.

25. Begg's Journal, Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions, pp. 423-4.

26. "Correspondence--1870": Unsigned letter to J. S. Dennis, Nov. 17, 1869, p. 39.

27. Begg's Journal, Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 424.

28. Begg's Journal, pp. 172-3.

29. Begg's Journal, p. 172.

30. Begg's Journal, pp. 173-4.

31. Begg's Journal, p. 174.

32. Begg's Journal, pp. 175-6.

33. Begg's Journal, pp. 177-8; The three had been involved in the jail-breaking of 1868: Hargrave, Red River, pp. 423-8; pp. 437-9; pp. 504-6. See Begg's Preface to Begg's Journal, p. 154.

34. Begg's Journal, p. 179.

35. Begg's Journal, p. 179; Begg's Journal, Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 425.

36. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Macdonald to Sir John Ross, Nov. 26, 1869.

37. Begg's Journal, p. 181; Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, p. 9.

38. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, pp. 10-11.

39. Begg's Journal, Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 426.

40. Begg's Journal, p. 184.

41. Begg's Journal, Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 427.

42. Begg's Journal, p. 182; Riel's Notes of the Sessions, p. 427. It should be noted that the agreement of Riel's Notes with Begg's

Journal breaks down at this point. Begg's Journal gives November 23rd as the date of Riel's request to the English to join the Provisional Government. All evidence points to the error as being Riel's. This may be explained by the fatigue Riel was experiencing.

43. Begg's Journal, p. 182.

44. Begg's Journal, p. 184.

45. Ibid.

46. Begg's Journal, p. 183; "Correspondence--1870", Grant to Dennis, Nov. 24, 1869, pp. 56-7.

47. "Correspondence--1870", pp. 56-7.

48. "Correspondence--1870", p. 57.

49. Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, p. 44.

50. Begg's Journal, Schmidt's memoir, p. 468. Schmidt thought Schultz's stocks had been sent to Portage la Prairie.

51. Begg's Journal, pp. 182-3.

52. Begg's Journal, pp. 184-5.

53. Begg's Journal, p. 185.

54. Begg's Journal, p. 187.

55. Begg's Journal, p. 188.

56. Begg's Journal, p. 189.

57. Begg's Journal, p. 190.

58. MacBeth in The Making of the Canadian West, pp. 52-3, and in The Romance of Western canada, pp. 121-2, makes a very brief reference to the initiative, but adds nothing to what is known.

59. Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 34, Riel to Schultz, Nov. 27, 1869.

60. Begg's Journal, p. 188.

61. Begg's Journal, pp. 188-9.

62. Begg's Journal, pp. 189-90.

63. Begg's Journal, p. 191.

64. Begg's Journal, pp. 191-2.

65. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Macdonald to Sir John Rose, November 26, 1869.

66. Begg's Journal, A Notebook of James Ross, p. 437.

67. Rupert's Land Act, Section 7.

68. Begg's Journal, pp. 196-7.

69. Begg's Journal, A Notebook of James Ross, p. 436.

70. The notebook covers only the period Dec. 1-14, 1869.

71. Begg's Journal, A Notebook of James Ross, p. 437.

72. Ibid.

73. Begg's Journal, Riel's Notes of the Convention, p. 427.

74. Begg's Journal, Riel's Notes of the Convention, pp. 427-8.

75. Begg's Journal, A Notebook of James Ross, p. 437.

76. Begg's Journal, p. 193; Begg's Journal, Riel's Notes of the Convention, p. 428; Begg's Journal, A Notebook of James Ross, p. 437.

77. Ibid.

78. Begg's Journal, Memoir by Louis Riel, p. 532.

79. The following account is drawn from "Correspondence--1870", Dennis's Record of Proceedings, p. 85. See also Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 76ff.

80. McKay and Tait later denied that they had counselled an appeal to arms. See Begg, Creation, for their statement from the New Nation.

81. "Correspondence--1870", Dennis's Record of Proceedings, p. 86.

82. "Correspondence--1870", p. 86.

83. "Correspondence--1870", p. 87.

84. Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute Publications, "Diary of A. W. Graham", (afterwards "Graham"), p. 74.

85. Begg's Journal, p. 198.

86. Begg, Creation, p. 147.

87. Begg's Journal, p. 198.

88. "Correspondence--1870", p. 87.

89. See (A2) and (A3) of "Correspondence--1870", p. 92.

90. See (A1), "Correspondence--1870", p. 92.

91. "Correspondence--1870", p. 87.

92. "Correspondence--1870", p. 93.

93. "Correspondence--1870", p. 87.

94. "Correspondence--1870", p. 93, Boulton to Dennis, Dec. 4, 1869.

95. "Correspondence--1870", p. 93, Schultz to Dennis, Dec. 4, 1869.

96. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Bown to Macdonald, Nov. 18, 1869. (See Appendix "A").

97. Begg's Journal, pp. 204-5, pp. 209-10.

98. There is a map of the village on page 206 of Begg's Journal.

99. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, p. 12.

100. "Graham", entry for Dec. 3.

101. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, pp. 12-13.

102. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, p. 13.

103. "Graham", entry for Dec. 3.

104. Begg's Journal, A Notebook of James Ross, p. 440.

105. "Graham", p. 75.

106. Begg, Creation, p. 151.

107. "Correspondence--1870", Dennis to Canadians, Dec. 6, 1869, p. 95.

108. "Correspondence--1870", p. 87.

109. "Correspondence--1870", pp. 94-5.

110. "Correspondence--1870", p. 88, p. 95.

111. "Graham", p. 75, entry for Dec. 6.

112. "Correspondence--1870", p. 88.

113. Begg's Journal, Notebook of James Ross, p. 440.

114. "Correspondence--1870", p. 88.

115. "Correspondence--1870", p. 89.

116. Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, p. 46.

117. Begg's Journal, p. 212.

118. "Graham", p. 75.

119. Toronto Leader, April 16, 1870.

120. Ottawa Citizen, April 26, 1870.

121. Globe, Jan. 28, 1870.

122. Begg, Creation, p. 151.

Chapter Seven
Forming A Provisional Government

In imprisoning Schultz and his Canadian "soldiers" Riel and Lépine were, it seems, winning the second round of a match that had begun much earlier. There is evidence to suggest that if Riel and the National Committee had not occupied Fort Garry when they did on November 2nd, Schultz and the Canadian party would have occupied it. François Marion later told how he "went in first and waved his handkerchief to show that the fort was not occupied by Schultz or others. André Nault, with about twenty men, then went in and took possession of the fort."

> According to the late Joseph Riel and other old-timers on the Métis side, Governor McTavish acted in collusion with the Métis. To Romain Nault, who he noticed, one day, spying about the fort, he is reported to have said: "What is Louis Riel doing? Why does he not act." And François Larocque, who died at Richer on May 19, 1923, deposed once that he acted as messenger between McTavish and Riel, and, on November 2, took to the latter a letter from the former containing a suggestion to take the fort.[1]

One could speculate at some length about what would have happened in Red River if Schultz and his party had taken the Fort. Such speculation would be to little purpose, however, since we have not enough in the way of solid evidence to support the suggestion. There is little enough evidence to help us as we examine the record of Riel and the National Committee in giving the Settlement good government. That is the task we must turn to now.

As we saw in the previous chapter one of the Committee's first acts was to issue a call inviting the English parishes and the village of Winnipeg to meet with the representatives of the French parishes on November

16th. We have already considered the efforts of this November Convention to arrive at some sort of consensus, and we have seen that it failed. It must not go unnoticed that another of the first acts of the National Committee was to institute night patrols of from 15 to 20 men in Winnipeg to prevent attempts at "fire and pillage".[2] Fort Garry was guarded day and night by a force of from 60 to 120 men.[3] Guards were placed on all roads leading into Winnipeg. Alexander Begg paid tribute to these men when he wrote as follows in the preface to his Journal:

> Some idea may be formed of the earnestness of these French people when it is stated that at this moment some of them have been eighteen days on guard--sleeping at night on the snow with no tents or other covering except their ordinary clothes and this without the least prospect of pay--the food they eat is the only thing they get and that is furnished them by the more wealthy among their own people.[4]

Since it was reported that the Canadian government had sent a shipment of rifles[5] to the Settlement, all freight carts were stopped and searched at the barriers and any arms found were seized and retained.[6] The carts containing McDougall's furniture and housefold effects were seized and the contents stored in Fort Garry.[7] At one point the mails were stopped and the mail bags locked in a room in a church at La Rivière Salé. The bags were not opened, however, and when postmaster Bannatyne protested the bags were delivered to him after a short detention.[8] People going into and coming out of the Settlement were stopped and examined at the barriers, and passes to leave the Settlement were granted to those wishing to do so.[9]

At first there was an attempt to maintain the pretence that nothing had changed where the Settlement's government was concerned and, as we

have seen, the November Convention adjourned so that the General Quarterly Court could sit.[10] With the seizure of the cash and books of the government of Assiniboia, however, a new state of affairs appears to have been contemplated.[11] Riel had to use all his persuasive powers to make the National Committee agree to the formation of a Provisional Government, and when it was formed it rested upon the support of the French parishes only. An attempt was made to set in motion the machinery of the collection of duties on imported goods, but Roger Goulet would act only under compulsion[12] and this function of government seems not to have been performed until February.[13]

The incident of the Schultz houses proved to the people that the National Committee could act with patience, firmness and restraint. For a number of days the presence of an armed and hostile garrison of men in the Schultz houses was tolerated. A sufficient guard was maintained to see to it that the government pork would not be moved to another point in the Settlement or that this Winnipeg "Trojan horse" full of men would not be able to take Fort Garry by a surprise move under cover of darkness. Yet every day until December 6th people could--and did--leave and enter the three houses without being molested.[14] The National Committee clearly hoped--with good reason--that the garrison of Canadians would disperse, but was able to call upon sufficient numbers of volunteers to prove to everyone that it could cope with any turn of events. Begg recorded that on the 5th of December the French around the Fort were amusing themselves running foot races!

The outcome of the event--the imprisoning of the Canadian party--presented the National Committee with a very serious administrative prob-

lem. A body of prisoners-of-war had now to be taken care of in a fort that was not designed for the purpose. Moreover, the prisoners saw themselves as enlisted soldiers of the legal government of the country, and the Provisional Government's efforts to release them on some sort of parole proved for the most part futile. A truly perplexing state of affairs went on for some time. On one hand the Settlement saw the retention of the Canadians as evidence of Riel's desire to be a dictator, and on the other hand the Provisional Government--for so it called itself after December 8th--did not feel that it could let such men go without endangering itself. Viewed in this light the imprisonment of Schultz and the Canadians was less a victory than a standoff. It is in this context that we must consider the events of the following months. Riel and his committee had simultaneously to act on three fronts: they must carry on the day-to-day government of the Settlement, they must exercise unceasing vigilance in caring for the Canadian prisoners-of-war, and they must work to broaden the base of their support until they could establish a proper Provisional Government. While their success was not complete on any front they did remarkably well.

Three proclamations roughly delimit the periods under study. McDougall's proclamation commanding all "public officers and functionaries" excepting the one "at the head of the administration of affairs" to continue to act appeared in Winnipeg of the 9th.[15] That same day J. S. Dennis, for his part, sent a letter and proclamation to A. G. B. Bannatyne ordering "the loyal party in the North West Territories to cease further action under the appeal to arms made by [him]", and calling on the French to send a deputation to McDougall.[16] The Métis Committee had issued its

"Declaration of the People of Rupert's Land and the North West" on the previous day.[17]

The "Declaration" is worthy of our notice here. When it appeared there were those who thought they saw an American[18] inspiration in it, possibly the hand of Oscar Malmros or of Enos Stutsman. They were not completely wrong in this deduction; neither were they completely right. The language and spirit of the document--like those of the American Declaration of Independence--were derived from John Locke and his great work expressing the moral justification for the Glorious Revolution of 1688.[19] The composers of the Métis declaration wished to give the intended readers--the English-speaking parishes of the Settlement--a glimpse of what Isaac Cowie later called "the true inwardness"[20] of the Métis movement. Cowie wrote that, at the time it occurred, he regarded the movement as "rank rebellion",[21] and that it had taken "many years"[22] for him to grasp its "true inwardness". In Cowie's experience--Cowie was an Orkneyman--we can get an indication of something that Riel and the Committee may not have had an opportunity to learn. More recent than the Glorious Revolution in the folk memory of the English-speaking parishes were the "45" and "Culloden" and the brutal measures taken by the Duke of Cumberland in the days after the battle to stamp out the spirit of rebellion in the Highland clans.[23] The English-speaking parishes viewed with horror anything that resembled rebellion, and the Declaration unfortunately made no mention of the Queen. In the weeks following December 8th Riel and the Committee truly had their work cut out for them as they sought to persuade these parishes that they ought to join a provisional government. Success in this was never complete. It was a tribute to Riel's persuasive powers

that it became as complete as it did.

The Schultz party imprisoned in the Fort, arrangements had to be made concerning the Schultz houses, which now stood empty. This involved an unexpected labor, the removal of a large quantity of arms, ammunition and gunpowder concealed in every possible hiding place in the three buildings. It would appear that exhaustion of their supply of firewood was as responsible as anything for the decision of the Schultz party to surrender. Those surrendering, however, had hoped to have the last word. Gunpowder had been hidden in the cold stoves and stovepipes, under cold ash, in furniture, blankets and beds. When the Métis assigned to guard the buildings made preparations to light fires in the stoves they noticed this gunpowder, and a general search was begun. There was enough gunpowder thus hidden to blow up the houses.[24] The gunpowder removed, Mrs. Stewart was permitted to occupy the house which she claimed her husband, now one of the prisoners, had partly paid for.[25] Mr. Devlin was left in charge of the second house, while a guard was continued to be maintained over the building containing the government pork.[26]

The government property at Oak Point was a problem too. A rumor came on December 18th that the warehouse there had been broken into by Indians, and Mr. Snow, the superintendent, requested that Riel take action. Riel and a guard went out to investigate, and found that the Indians had not broken into the warehouse, but had threatened the man in charge that they would do so if he did not give them some provisions. Riel managed to quiet the Indians, and had the provisions stored in a number of private houses in the vicinity where they would be safe. Riel tried to persuade Snow to continue with work on the Lake of the Woods road, but Snow would

not agree to this. In early January Snow left for Canada accompanied by Stewart Mulkins and Arthur Hamilton, whose release from prison had been arranged with Riel by A. G. B. Bannatyne.[27]

While Riel was away at Oak Point news came of the death of Thomas Johnson of St. Andrew s. It at first appeared that he had frozen to death, but closer examination revealed that he had been shot,[28] and reports soon linked his death with Ryder Larsen,[29] a Winnipeg photographer.[30] A coroner's inquest was arranged for, and this decided against that individual.[31] Larsen fled to Portage la Prairie,[32] where he had previously been in business[33] and where he was safe for the time being. Thus began Larsen's long exile from Winnipeg. Neither the Provisional Government, when it was duly established,[34] nor the Archibald administration was to have any success in apprehending him and bringing him to justice, and he was still at large in August of 1871.[35]

The killing of Johnson was believed to have resulted from a drinking bout and subsequent quarrel.[36] The Provisional Government recognized the special part often played by alcohol in such affairs and did its best to minimize it. Early in the Insurrection the taverns were closed to all for a time, but this order was later modified so as to apply to Métis soldiers only.[37] In late December it was learned that a party of Prince's Indians planned to pay a visit to Winnipeg.[38] Rumors circulated that the Sioux were to come to Winnipeg too.[39] It was recognized that a serious situation could develop. Riel sent notes to the local saloonkeepers which read as follows:

> Fort Garry, 27th Dec. 1869. Sir--I do hereby respectfully pray you to let nobody have any liquor at your place, from this date up to the tenth of January next. In doing so, you will grant the country

> a great favor, and very likely preserve it from great misfortune. Yours very respectfully, Louis Riel. Commander at Fort Garry.[40]

The Provisional Government did not cease its preventive measures with this banning of the sale of liquor. The approach of the Sioux created quite an excitement, especially when it became known that there were two parties of them, that they were armed, and that they intended to come right in to Winnipeg.[41] A meeting of the towns-people was called, every man able to carry a gun was armed, and officers were appointed.[42] When the reports regarding the Sioux were confirmed, the volunteers were called out and scouts were sent to reconnoitre. Towards evening on the 31st the advance party of three Sioux reached the residence of James McKay at Silver Heights. There a number of Provisional Government councillors and others were in waiting to meet the Indians and find out their intentions.[43]

> When the three Sioux entered the house of Mr. Mckay, he asked them where the rest of the band were; but Indian like, they endeavored to conceal the truth, and answered that they were camped some distance up the road, where they intended to remain till next day. Hardly had they finished speaking, when the house was surrounded, and Mr. McKay, singling out the chief, immediately proposed a grand council.[44]

This was agreed to. After appropriate ceremonies the councillors spoke, McKay interpreting, telling the Indians that, since there was trouble among the whites in the Settlement, they had better keep away and not mix themselves in it. The Sioux chief replied, saying that they were merely on their annual visit to the Settlement. They meant no harm. They wanted to receive their New-Year's presents. They would go back, but did not want to do so empty-handed. While speaking the chief pointed to his large silver medal with the Queen's head[45] on it. They had lived under its protection now for eight years. McKay gave him a quantity of tobacco and

other things. Riel, who had now entered the council, handed the chief some more tobacco, and spoke, advising him not to go on to Winnipeg, but to return to his camp. The council over, the Indians returned to their camp, and Riel and the councillors returned to Fort Garry. Two of the Sioux, however, did visit the town that night, no doubt finding that no liquor could be bought. Begg noted that this was the last "Indian scare" of[46] the season.

As in all societies, people had their petty quarrels under the Provisional Government, and at least one of these ended up in a judicial trial. On December 21st Riel heard Mrs. Rodway and Mrs. Meeken in an assault case.[47] Damages were awarded "all round", ten shillings and twenty shillings respectively.[48]

A man who would later be a member of a Dominion cabinet had reason on December 28th to acknowledge Riel's position as head of the Provisional Government.[49] Dr. Charles Tupper, member of Parliament for Cumberland, Nova Scotia, paid Riel a visit and arranged to receive the baggage of his daughter, Mrs. D. R. Cameron.[50] The baggage had been in storage in Fort Garry ever since Cameron, in line for an appointment in McDougall's cabinet, had been forced to return to Pembina in October.[51]

Visitors like Dr. Tupper might well have agreed with "Justitia's" observation of a few days later that the Provisional Government appeared to be "gaining ground".[52] However, behind the scenes the situation was not so placid as might appear on stage. The logic of the situation in the Settlement simply could not be denied. It was very expensive for the Provisional Government to maintain the necessary guard at Fort Garry, and it was not possible not to maintain it there. Caring for the Canadian

prisoners absorbed the energy and the attention of many men, making these men, moreover, almost as much prisoners as were the Canadians themselves. This work was hardly the type of thing the typical Métis had volunteered for. Camping out on the prairie at a road barrier and checking the credentails of passers-by was one thing: accompanying Canadians to the toilet was quite another. In mid- and late December, moreover, it appeared that this situation could go on forever. Grumblings began to be heard. It is clear that matters came to a head just before Christmas. On one hand the long-drawn-out negotiations for the establishment of a newspaper favorable to the Métis cause appeared to be reaching fruition. For a consideration of 550 pounds Robinson and Stutsman were to buy the press and use the office of Mr. Coldwell, without, however, purchasing the proposed circulation and advertisements of his Pioneer.[53] On the other hand, with the holiday season approaching there was a demand for some sort of pay for the men doing the thankless and boring--sometimes galling--work of patrolling the streets and guarding the prisoners. Something must be done about finances. On the evening of December 22nd Riel went with a guard of men into the office of the Hudson's Bay Company and demanded the Company's cash from the accountant John McTavish. McTavish, of course, refused, and also refused to give up the necessary keys. Riel had McTavish searched, and the keys were taken from him. McTavish refused to give up the combination of the safe, and O'Donoghue worked for a long time before succeeding in opening it and getting the money. The money was carefully counted, and the safe was then taken away to Riel's office in another part of the Fort.[54] Riel had previously asked Governor McTavish three times for a loan, but with no success. On the 24th John Bruce,

president of the Provisional Government, took a considerable quantity of goods from the Hudson's Bay Company sales shop to pay the soldiers,[55] keeping a "full account" of what was taken.[56] Alexander Begg found it to be a "singular coincidence"[57] that the appropriation of the Hudson's Bay Company safe should have taken place on the same day that Major Robinson made the deal with Mr. Coldwell and, indeed, there were reports that the Hudson's Bay Company money was used to pay Coldwell for the printing press. The money, Begg stated, was not paid to Coldwell until after the seizure.

These acts not only caused great excitement in the Settlement but created a rift in the Provisional Government itself. The day after Riel and O'Donoghue took the money from the Company Pierre Léveillé and Ambroise Lépine decided to leave Riel's party, saying that he had gone "too far".[58] This was not the first time, nor was it to be the last, that Riel was to hear this charge. Charles Nolin was reported to have withdrawn his support on Christmas Eve.[59] There could be no turning back, however, if Riel's purposes were to be accomplished, and somehow he was able to persuade these men to maintain their support for him. Charles Nolin, for example, was with the group who met with the Sioux at McKay's on New-Year's Eve.[60]

It is clear that in late December of 1869 Riel was fighting for the life of the Provisional Government. He never really knew from one day to the next which councillor would leave his government, telling him that he had "gone too far". Yet there was nothing he and the remaining councillors could do but continue to perform the functions of government while attempting to release the prisoners on parole and try to persuade those who held back to join the Provisional Government. Riel may not have paid particular attention to the arrival, on December 27th, of Donald Smith of

the Hudson's Bay Company and his brother-in-law Richard Hardisty. Governor McTavish was a very sick man, after all, and it was not unexpected that the Company should send someone to assist or replace him. The arrival was seen by many in this light.[61] What Riel and his council found mystifying was that men should be arriving from Canada with very indefinite mandates. Grand Vicaire Thibault had arrived at Fort Garry on Christmas Day,[62] and Colonel de Salaberry was known to be at Pembina.[63]

We must turn our attention now to Donald A. Smith and to the commission that he held from the Canadian government. This is not easy to do, since a good deal of mystery shrouds his activities at Fort Garry.

Donald A. Smith was not so much an appointee of the Canadian government as he was a representative of the Hudson's Bay Company who, after he had decided to go to Red River, was given a commission by the Canadian government.[64] This, more than anything else, explains the ease with which he crossed the international boundary and was admitted to Fort Garry. Only when he was in Fort Garry did Smith mention that he had a commission from the Canadian government. Smith reported on his reception there in this way:

> [Riel] requested to know the purport of my visit, to which I replied in substance that I was connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, but also held a commission from the Canadian government to the people of Red River, and would be prepared to produce my credentials as soon as they, the people, were willing to receive me.[65]

Smith was then asked to "take an oath not to attempt to leave the fort that night, nor to upset their government, legally established". Smith refused to take this oath, but said that, being very tired, he had no desire to go outside the gate, and promised "to take no immediate steps

forcibly to upset the so-called 'Provisional Government', 'legal or illegal as it might be, without first announcing [his] intention to do so'".[66] Smith, always most punctillious in his use of words, kept his word while privately laying stress on the words "immediate" and "forcibly". It seems clear that, in fact, he did little else at Fort Garry but strive to "upset" the Provisional Government. He later wrote of being virtually a "prisoner within the Fort, although with permission to go outside the walls for exercise, accompanied by two armed guards . . .".[67] Smith was allowed to stay with Dr. Cowan,[68] under conditions that must have suited Smith's purposes admirably, since he was at the very centre of affairs in the Settlement and could receive visitors.[69] He came very near causing a civil war in the Settlement.

In 1874 Smith, then before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, alluded to what he had been doing while at Fort Garry. He had been empowered by the Canadian government to spend five hundred pounds while at the Fort. This money was to be given "to the loyal half-breeds [sic], whose assistance [was] absolutely necessary in [his] position as Canadian Commissioner in 1869 and 1870".[70]

Louis Schmidt, who served the Provisional Government as secretary in 1870, was more specific regarding Smith's activities when he prepared his memoirs in 1912. "Donald Smith," he wrote, "was not only an old trickster, he was also a Hudson's Bay Company man, of which he became governor a little later, if he were not so already at that time. As such he had very great influence on the old settlers who had served the Company in such great numbers.

> Closely confined as he was . . . he contrived to spin some intrigues. He attempted to detach as many Métis

> as possible from the popular cause and he used for that purpose the means which succeed so often with weak spirits, even when they are not mercenary: money, which he did not lack. It was then that the true patriots were to be recognized, and the well tried men.[71]

It will be useful here to consider the instructions given in Smith's commission. He was empowered to

> inquire into the causes, nature and extent of the obstruction offered at the Red River . . . to the peaceable ingress of the Honourable William McDougall . . . to inquire into the causes and discontent and dissatisfaction alleged to exist in respect to the proposed union . . . to explain to the inhabitants of the said country the principles on which the Government of Canada intends to administer the government of the country . . . to take steps to remove any misapprehensions which may exist in respect to the mode of government . . . to report . . . the result of such inquiries and on the best mode of quieting and removing such discontent and dissatisfaction . . . to report on the most proper and fitting mode for effecting the speedy transfer of the country and government from the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Government of Canada with the general consent of the inhabitants . . . to consider and report on the most advisable mode of dealing with the Indian tribes in the North-West Territories.[72]

A comparison of Smith's report with this commission forces one to question whether Smith acted according to these official instructions or, rather, followed instructions given verbally by Macdonald and Cartier with a quite different intent.[73] Be that as it may, it would certainly appear that there was at least an unwritten instruction to the effect that Smith was not to recognize the Provisional Government,[74] but was to work to undermine that government and "restore law and order".[75] It was fortunate for Red River and for Canada that Smith was not successful in this.

We must now return to our consideration of the Provisional Government and of efforts being made to broaden its base. Riel began the new year

by visiting Oak Point and addressing a large meeting there, pledging himself to work for union with Canada "on proper terms".[76] It would appear that Riel's efforts along this same line were winning support in the Lower Settlement. William and Robert Tait spoke to the French council on January 5th.[77] As a result of this visit William Tait and Alexander Begg paid a visit to John Sutherland with a view to influencing him to work for unity in Kildonan.[78] Riel's efforts to persuade A. G. B. Bannatyne to join the Provisional Government reached fruition on January 8th when Bannatyne was sworn in as postmaster and head of the courts. He joined with an understanding that an effort was to be made to negotiate with Canada.[79] Two days later William and Robert Tait reported success in their endeavors to get the people of the Lower Settlement to join the Provisional Government. Begg expressed annoyance at hearing that there was talk of reviving the "executive council" idea that had been given serious consideration in late November.[80] The idea refused to die, however, and was proposed again on January 12th at a meeting of Kildonan and St. John parishes. Colin Inkster and John Fraser were appointed delegates to visit other parishes.[81] On the 13th John Fraser went down to the Stone Fort to discuss the idea there.[82] By January 14th, when the Taits, William Fraser and Robert Morgan met in Bannatyne and Begg's office, discussions had matured to the point where Wednesday, January 19th, was chosen as the "day appointed by the English delegates to meet those from the French side".[83]

On January 11th the Provisional Government had to arrange for doctors to operate on the frostbitten feet of Walton F. Hyman, a prisoner who had been recaptured after making his escape on the 9th. Riel was present at the beginning of the operation, but had to leave the room at the sight of

what was being done. He afterwards remarked to a friend, "I pitied that young man--what a position mine is to have to bear all this--but I cannot help myself".[84] At first it was feared that Hyman would have to have his toes amputated, but the doctors were able to save the toes.[85]

It is remarkable how much trouble the Provisional Government had with prisoners in January of 1870. William Nimmons was the first prisoner to escape, doing so on January 2nd.[86] Frank LaRose escaped in the night of January 7-8th.[87] Shortly after this twelve prisoners escaped and ten were quickly recaptured, leaving Thomas Scott and Charles Mair at large.[88] This indicates that in January the Provisional Government was better at recapturing escaped prisoners than it was at keeping them in confinement. Why this should be so is not clear, but it is necessary to ask questions about it, since there were important consequences. It must be remembered that Ambroise Lépine, the adjutant-general and in charge of the force at the Fort, had wavered in his allegiance to the Riel party immediately after the Hudson's Bay cash had been taken. He remained with the Provisional Government, but morale among his men must not have been good. A. W. Graham, one of the prisoners, recorded that on December 23rd, the day of Lépine's indecision, "most of the guard [were] drunk".[89] Then Begg recorded an unusual event on December 27th: "The clerks of the Company," Begg wrote, "got on a spree and disarmed the guard at the gate--they then marched to the town and back again with the guns of the men they had disarmed. The guard must have been weak and lax in their duties."[90] When Frank LaRose escaped Begg commented that Casimer, "an idiotic boy that was on guard", had been bribed.[91]

When Donald A. Smith arrived at the Fort on December 27th the clerks of the Company were still talking about the prank they had played on the

Provisional Government the previous evening. In the days that followed it must surely have occurred to Smith that some carefully distributed gifts could work wonders at releasing what he called the "political prisoners" being kept in the Fort. Nothing can be proved, of course, but the possibility cannot be ruled out, particularly when Smith is known to have used gifts to good advantage to secure partisans for other purposes.

The Provisional Government had still another conspicuous failure in its treatment of the prisoners. It gave John Christian Schultz preferred status as a prisoner-of-war. For much of December Mrs. Schultz had been permitted to be with him in the home of J. H. McTavish.[92] Then on Christmas Eve the two were separated, and Schultz was put in a room by himself.[93] While he and Mrs. Schultz tried various ruses to make possible an escape,[94] it was not until January 23rd that he had success.[95] Certain circumstances of this escape--now a well-known part of Manitoba history--make it appear that more than the famous gimlet was involved.[96] Schultz was reported to have requested the guard to leave the room while he changed clothes. With the guard out of the room Schultz is supposed to have cut his robe in strips, tied the strips together to form a long "rope", and put the "rope" out the window with the end secured to a gimlet bored firmly into the wooden window casing. Then he crawled through the window and climbed down the "rope" to make his escape. Are we to believe that all of this cutting and tying could be done in the time taken for a man to change clothes? There must surely have been collusion of some kind on the part of the guard. The New Nation also reported that "strange cutters" had been seen passing through the town in the night, suggesting that another party or parties participated in the escape.[97] Then A. W. Graham recorded

that at the time of Schultz's escape Schultz "left word with the guard to treat all prisoners with rum at his expense. The guard passed it in pails through all the rooms".[98] One is left wondering how Schultz "left word" with the guard. And how was it that Schultz's wishes were honored, and rum issued to the prisoners? We can only assume that security was not all that it could have been at the time. This slackness of security in Schultz's case--as in that of Mair and Scott--would have serious consequences for the Métis National Committee's cause.

We have seen how the Provisional Government performed a variety of functions at various levels of government activity while at the same time working steadily to broaden its base of support in the Settlement. We noted that at a certain point in early January a date was set for delegates from the English parishes to meet with those from the French. We must now see how this meeting suffered a sea change, becoming not a convention of twenty-four delegates but a great outdoor concourse of hundreds, and how the Settlement narrowly escaped a civil war. In so doing we must become better acquainted with the three Canadian commissioners.

It is hard to envision how the Canadian government could have chosen three more suitable men to negotiate with the people of Red River than Colonel de Salaberry, Donald Smith and Rev. J.-B. Thibault--that is, if negotiation was the point desired. The three men possessed a massive pool of experience on which to draw in dealing with people of a frontier area.

Colonel Charles-René-Leonidas de Salaberry was 49 years of age in 1869. The son of the famous hero of Châteauguay, he had accompanied the Dawson Expedition which surveyed the area between Thunder Bay and Red

River in 1857-8, being in charge of the commissariat. A cultured French-Canadian with military training, he was admired and respected by all Red River people who knew him.[99]

Donald Alexander Smith was also 49 in 1869. Born in the Scottish county of Elgin--formerly Morayshire--Smith had left home at the age of eighteen to join the Hudson's Bay Company. He was posted to the Company's Labrador operations where he spent thirteen years. He showed promise, received several promotions, and in 1868 he was chosen to be chief executive officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, stationed in Montreal. A stranger to the western operations of the Company, Smith had received a visit from William McTavish, the Governor of Assiniboia, earlier in 1869, and it may be assumed that he was conversant with Company affairs as they stood at the time of the seizure of the Fort by the Métis National Committee.[100]

Rev. J.-B. Thibault had spent his entire adult life in the North-West. Born at St. Joseph de Lévis in Lower Canada in 1810, he had studied theology in preparation for work in the North-West, where he was ordained in September of 1833. He had taught at St. Boniface College and, in the absence of Monseigneur Provencher, had been in charge of the mission in 1836 and 1837. He served as priest at St. Francis Xavier and at various points farther west, studying the Cree language as he worked. In 1842 he travelled as far west as the Rocky Mountains. He founded the mission at Manitou Lake or Lac Ste Anne in 1844. He visited La Loche Portage in 1845,[101] and became a familiar figure wherever missionary work was to be done.[102] In 1852 he returned to Red River, where he remained until his return to Canada in 1868.[103]

Considering the talent and experience of the three men, it is remarkable that they were given so little power to do anything when they came to Red River. We have already seen that Smith's written instructions empowered him to do little more than "inquire" and "report". Thibault's instructions were even less specific, describing his errand as a "mission of peace and conciliation".[104] The Métis council listened to their presentation with "attention" and "respect". Riel expressed sorrow that their papers gave them no authority to treat with the Red River people. De Salaberry and Thibault went beyond their instructions to the point of suggesting that a "delegation" be sent to Canada. Riel's reaction to this proposal was non-committal, but, fortunately, at the end of the meeting, he made a remark which encouraged the two men to delay their return to Canada: "Colonel," said [Riel],

> don't be in a hurry to leave, it is probable I may entrust you with a commission which cannot but be agreeable to you.[105]

De Salaberry and Thibault delayed their departure, and continued to preach peace and conciliation. They also did something which may well have been the real object of their mission to Red River. They distributed and discussed copies of a document which purported to deal in point form with several alleged grievances of the Métis. One of these, point five, is of especial interest to us, emphasizing , as it did, that "under Confederation each province has the control of Public Lands and all monies arising from the sale of Crown Lands, mines, minerals, etc, etc. In the United States the Federal Government takes all the money obtained by the sale of public lands."[106]

Meanwhile Donald A. Smith had decided to go beyond his written in-

structions.[107] It may well be that the obvious weakness of the Provisional Government at the time he arrived encouraged him to think that he could overturn it with ease. A few days later the pro-American tone of the first New Nation editorials may have underlined to him the importance of acting decisively. Whatever his reasons, Smith continued to distribute "assignats"[108] and make promises and statements to members of the "well affected French party". These promises and statements led these people to believe that Smith had power to completely satisfy them in their concern about their rights under the Canadian government.[109] It began to appear to many of this party that Riel and his adherents stood in the way of a peaceful settlement with Canada, and a number of these people withdrew their support from him, saying that he had gone too far, and insisting that he allow Mr. Smith to be heard by the people of the Settlement.

About the 13th of January matters came to a head when Riel called on Smith and asked to see his commission. Smith, of course, replied that his commission was not in his possession, but was in the care of Mr. Provencher at Pembina. Arrangements were then made to have Richard Hardisty go to Pembina for the documents and bring them back to Smith.[110]

The next several days was a time of extreme peril for Riel personally, for the Provisional Government and for the Settlement generally. Smith later reported that, if the ill-fated Portage movement had occurred at this moment, the Provisional Government could have been toppled, and this may well be true.[111] Once again we are indebted to Alexander Begg for an account of what happened. Begg's familiarity with the details suggests that either he was a witness to the events or that he was told about them by someone who had taken part in them.[112] Few of the events redound to

anyone's credit, least of all to Riel's. There can be no doubt that Riel was under extreme pressure at this time, having to renew arrangements for the retention of the prisoners, take care of the day-to-day duties of administration, and cajole councillors to stay with him just at the time when it began to appear that, at long last, the cautious English parishes were going to join the Provisional Government. This is not to excuse Riel's mid-January conduct, but to explain it. It was an over-wrought Riel who strode into Smith's bedroom with a guard between two and three o'clock on the morning of January 15th and demanded a written order for the delivery of Smith's papers.[113] It was, moreover, a foolhardy and stupid Riel who left his post at the Fort on the 17th to personally superintend the capture of Smith's papers.[114]

The story of these perilous days may be summarized as follows: Hardisty had set out secretly for Pembina on the morning of the 13th, accompanied by an escort supplied by Riel.[115] When John F. Grant, Angus McKay and Pierre Léveillé heard of Riel's nocturnal visit to Smith they left Fort Garry with the object of intercepting Hardisty on his return and conveying the papers safely to Smith. One of the Nolins was left behind to arrange for a large group of the "well affected" to join them when they returned. Grant and his companions camped at Scratching River to await Hardisty's return. When Hardisty arrived he was surrounded, Riel's guard was made a prisoner, and McKay searched Hardisty and took the papers from him. When Riel heard that the three had left Fort Garry he too set out with a group of supporters. These events coincided with a wedding party being held at the house of Laboucan Dauphinie. All those people who intended to join Grant, McKay and Léveillé were there waiting for them. Even-

tually Grant's party and Riel's party all arrived at Dauphinie's house, and Riel tried unsuccessfully to get the papers from the Grant party. At this point Riel could easily have shot Léveillé, but kept himself under control. The next day a procession of six or seven sleighs filled with people set out to accompany the Grant party to Fort Garry. Before long they were joined by more people, and the cavalcade of "over a dozen" sleighs filled with people made its way through the "blustering" weather. Riel, in a cutter by himself, tried to pass the party, but was prevented from doing so. Before they reached La Rivière Sale they met Father Ritchot, who tried to speak to Léveillé, but Léveillé cut him off short, saying that the road was no proper place to speak. When they reached La Rivière Salle the party stopped, proposing to have a consultation at Joseph Hamelin's house. Riel again attempted to pass, but was ordered to stop by Léveillé. Riel got out of the cutter, and a scuffle ensued. Léveillé drew his revolver and was pointing it at Riel's head when he was prevented from firing by some of those with him. It was agreed that all would then proceed to Fort Garry. Since Riel's horse had given out Riel rode in Grant's cutter, eventually transferring to Elzéar Lagimodière's sleigh. Fort Garry was reached without further incident.[116]

In the meantime it had become common knowledge in the French parishes that there was dissension in the ranks of the Provisional Government, and the arrival of the long procession of sleighs loaded with armed men was watched with fear and apprehension. Not long before the arrival of this large party Father Lestanc, Colonel de Salaberry and Rev. Thibault arrived at Fort Garry and confronted Smith with the report that he "had been endeavoring to incite the different parties to hostile collision". Smith,

of course, "repudiated any such charge" and "explained that [he] had acted only in the cause of peace and order, and with the desire of making the people, both French and English, fully acquainted with the liberal views of the Canadian Government, so that a peaceful transfer of the Territory might be affected". Smith added that "there was every likelihood this would speedily be accomplished".[117] Judging by their subsequent acts the two commissioners were not entirely convinced, but, with the arrival of Grant and his large party, went outside.

The immediate sequence of events cannot be accurately reconstructed from the available sources. According to Begg, "Dr. Cowan's house--the passage and mess room--were filled with men", and this must be true if the "sixty or eighty" men reported by Smith to be in the procession all came into the Fort and took part in events. There was an angry scene in which Riel and O'Donoghue "vehemently protested against the action now being taken, while the ex-councillors accused them of treason to the Imperial Crown, and of using every effort to bring about the annexation of the country to the United States". Riel replied that "that was only supposing the people desired it, but that he was willing the question should be submitted to them". Father Lestanc spoke warmly in favor of the "President", who, he said, "had acted so as to meet the gratitude of his countrymen" and begged them still to place confidence in him.[118]

At some point Smith insisted that he be "relieved from all restraint and be permitted to communicate with the people", and Riel had no option but to allow this. Judge Black was present, and opened the documents just brought in so that they could be verified by Smith. It was decided that, in view of the fact that a number of people were already going to

meet at the Fort on the 19th--the next day--this meeting should be expanded to be "public to the whole settlement". Messengers were despatched throughout the Settlement to acquaint the people with this decision. With this decided, many of those present dispersed, but a guard of forty men remained at Dr. Cowan's house, "to ensure the safe-keeping of the documents". According to Begg the excitement of the day had moved some of the Winnipeg businessmen to "shut up" their shops. Everyone now looked forward to the events of the morrow.[119]

The Provisional Government had been forced to change its direction, but it had not been upset. Two sets of guards were now on duty inside Fort Garry, one to guard Dr. Cowan's house and its precious papers, the other to keep the Fort secure. Those who hoped to see the Provisional Government toppled may well have expected that it could happen the next day. That it did not--and no bloodshed resulted--is probably due to the nocturnal work of three men, Father Lestanc and the two Canadian commissioners Colonel de Salaberry and Rev. J.-B. Thibault. For these men there was more involved than the "transfer" of land from one jurisdiction to another. Men whom they knew--men who should soon be fellow-citizens in a greater Canada--had been led to run the risk of falling into civil war. As the three men saw it, an "unlooked for occurrence" had caused them temporarily to "lose all hope", but no blood had been shed and there was still a chance that they could prevent violence. Early in the morning of the 19th of January, the first day of the great outdoor gathering, the three gentlemen paid a visit to those guarding the Cowan house, on what Pierre Léveillé later described as a "mission of peace", to use their "influence in preventing any collision or bloodshed". Donald Smith repor-

ted that "their visit occupied three or four hours, and resulted in the defection of a majority of the party, which of course had its effect on many outside". Smith was of the opinion that only Thibault had accompanied Lestanc, but Thibault's report implies that de Salaberry was with them too. It is to be noticed that Smith used the words "defection of a majority of the party". He was not entirely correct in this. Léveillé was determined that the documents should be produced, and he did not waver in this. He and his men, however, must have assured the three peacemakers that they would not come to blows with Riel's supporters.[120]

When the great outdoor "mass meeting" began to come to order on the 19th, Riel's motion that Thomas Bunn take the chair was seconded by Pierre Léveillé. This was a sign to all that cared to notice that the disagreements between the two men had been at least partly resolved. If this was a disappointment for Smith a more serious disappointment came a few moments later when Colonel de Salaberry proposed that Riel be interpreter.[121] Colonel de Salaberry had promised Smith that he would act as interpreter himself.[122] It was soon the part of Pierre Léveillé to be disappointed, for the reading and translation of Smith's instructions showed clearly the limited nature of his powers. Léveillé had been led to believe that Smith's powers "were of such a nature as to completely satisfy the people whom [Léveillé] represented". Léveillé later wrote as follows:

> After finding that such was not the case, I immediately entered the council the following morning, to offer my explanation and regret for any breach between myself and the other leaders: and we then became united stronger than ever to support the cause in securing our rights.

There can be no doubt as to Pierre Léveillé's motives in either

joining Riel's movement or in giving temporary support to Mr. Smith:

> For my part, had Mr. Smith's commission granted "our rights", I had no wish to continue in the cause of opposition against Canada; but until they were secured, we determined to unite, as with one heart, feeling assured that England would protect us as loyal subjects, although "rebels" to the unjust cause of Canada.

In his report Smith complained that at the beginning of the first mass meeting no one had acted on his suggestion that the chairman and those near him

> begin by insisting that all arms should be laid down, and that the flag then flying (fleur de lis and shamrock) should be replaced by the British ensign . . . .

Léveillé, in his letter, had a few words to say concerning the symbolism involved in this suggestion:

> I would state that Mr. Smith deceived himself very much if he thought it was the intention of myself and the leaders with whom I was associated, to lay down our arms, or haul down the flag which we had hoisted to obtain our rights as British subjects,--we considering that it was time to do so when the object was attained for which the people had taken up arms.[123]

Léveillé became one of the most ardent supporters of Riel, and in an effort to erase the memory of the events that took place along the Pembina road he made Riel a present of a gun which had cost him three hundred dollars.[124] Late February found him and Patrice Breland in charge of the men at Lane's Fort "under orders of Riel".[125]

It is not necessary here to give an account of the great "mass meeting"--that was done well by the New Nation[126]--except to point out that the Provisional Government was able to retain control of the proceedings. Léveillé maintained appearances where Smith was concerned by keeping a

guard in the Fort on the 20th, 21st and 22nd of January.[127] As a result of decisions taken at the great "mass meetings" delegates were elected throughout the Settlement and sent to take part in the so-called "Convention of Forty" beginning January 26th.[128] This Convention concluded with the formation, on the 10th of February, of a Provisional Government with representation from all parishes in the Settlement.[129]

The Settlement had good reason to celebrate and congratulate itself.

Footnotes

1. Many authorities have touched upon the occupation of Fort Garry. Boulton in Reminiscences, p. 65: "The excuse [Riel] offered to the Governor for this act was that he heard an attempt was about to be made to seize the Fort by some other party in the country." Dugas in Histoire, p. 67: "Dennis avait formé le dessein de s'y loger avec ses gens pour, de là, communiquer avec Pembina." Garrioch in First Furrows: "Messrs Mulligan and Powers offered to procure a sufficient number of men to hold Fort Garry, so as to prevent its possible capture by the Métis." Gunn and Tuttle, History, p. 353: "In short the insurgents were now 'masters of the situation' and held the position which ought to have been occupied by the loyal party, and which they would have occupied but for the supineness--to use no harsher term--of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company." Hill, History: "About this time rumors began to be circulated at Fort Garry that the insurgents intended to take possession of the fort, of which the authorities were duly warned by Sgt. Mulligan, chief of police at Fort Garry and others. Mulligan urged Dr. Cowan to call out a number of the special constables, as also pensioners, for its defence. No notice . . . was taken . . . by Governor McTavish." Prud'Homme, in "Riel et la Naissance du Manitoba": "Le 2 novembre ils s'emparèrent du Fort Garry afin de l'empêcher de tomber entre les mains de leurs ennemis." Riel in "L'Amnistie": "Et M. McDougall ne fut pas sitôt arrivé à Pembina, que ces aventuriers parlèrent hautement de s'emparer de Fort Garry, le siège de nos affaires publiques." Sutherland to Schultz, March 18, 1871: "[William Fraser and John Sutherland] stated to this Gov. the advisability of guarding the Fort by a sufficient number of men to keep Riel and party out of it." Dr. Turver in Liberal, June 15, 1872: "Murmurings were being heard that armed men were going to take the fort--loyal inhabitants offered their services to prevent them, but were refused by the existing power . . ."; Rev. Young in Manitoba Memories, p. 108: "Just prior to the capture of Fort Garry by Riel and his following, a number of Loyalists had advised its occupancy and defence by themselves, but for want of unanimity nothing was then attempted."

   The quotation used here is from A. H. de Trémaudan's "Letter of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, January 3, 1873" in CHR Vol. VII, June, 1926, pp. 140-1, footnote 4, and seems to indicate that a move was expected on the part of the Schultz party.

2. Begg's Journal, Begg's Preface, p. 162; Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, p. 21.

3. Begg's Journal, Begg's Preface, p. 162.

4. Ibid.

5. See above the chapter entitled "The Rifles".

6. Begg's Journal, Begg's Preface, p. 162. See also p. 173, entry for Nov. 19, 1869; Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, p. 60.

7. Begg's Journal, Begg's Preface, p. 162.

8. Ibid.; Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, page 11, Oct. 29, 1869.

9. Begg's Journal, Begg's Preface, p. 163.

10. Begg's Journal, pp. 172-3.

11. Begg's Journal, p. 181.

12. Begg's Journal, pp. 182, 183, 184, 230.

13. Begg's Journal, p. 302.

14. Begg's Journal, p. 211; Diary of A. W. Graham, entry for Dec. 6.

15. Begg's Journal, pp. 221-223. As we have seen, it had appeared earlier in the Lower Settlement.

16. Begg's Journal, p. 224.

17. Begg's Journal, pp. 218-220.

18. Begg, Creation, p. 170.

19. John Locke, "Of the Dissolution of Government" in Of Civil Government.

20. Isaac Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 450.

21. Ibid., p. 396.

22. Ibid., p. 450.

23. John Prebble, Culloden, pp. 161ff, outlines the measures fully.

24. Begg's Journal, p. 223; Courrier de St. Hyacinthe, Jan. 8, 1870 (Winnipeg, Dec. 12); Globe, December 31, 1869, "Justitia" No. 3.

25. Begg's Journal. p. 221.

26. Begg's Journal, pp. 221, 230.

27. Begg's Journal, pp. 233, 235, 239, 252; Begg, Creation, p. 186; The Globe, Feb. 14, 1870, "Justitia" No. 3.

28. Begg's Journal, pp. 223; New Nation, Jan. 7, 1870.

29. Begg's Journal, p. 235.

30. Begg's Journal, p. 207.

31. Begg's Journal, p. 235, p. 301.

32. Begg's Journal, p. 239.

33. Nor'Wester, Geb. 5, 1869.

34. See, below, chapter entitled "The Provisional Government".

35. Legislative Library of Manitoba, Liberal, Aug. 30. 1871.

36. Begg's Journal, p. 233.

37. Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, p. 21.

38. Begg's Journal, p. 245.

39. Begg's Journal, p. 246; Begg, Creation, p. 203.

40. Begg's Journal, pp. 245-6; Begg, Creation, p. 204; Globe, Feb. 14, 1870, "Justitia" No. 4.

41. Begg's Journal, p. 246; Begg, Creation, p. 204.

42. Begg's Journal, p. 246; Begg, Creation, p. 204.

43. Begg's Journal, p. 248, gives the names of those present: "James McKay, two of the Bourke brothers, Pierre Laveiller, François Dauphinie, Pierre Poitras, John F. Grant, Baptiste Morin, Charles Nolin, Isiore Lagomonière, Wm. O'Donohue, Alex. Begg, Louis Riel afterwards came in. -----acted as interpreter."

44. Begg, Creation, p. 205.

45. These would likely be medals given to the Sioux in 1812 by the Governor-General. The text should read "King's head". Eight years would be from the year of the Minnesota massacre, inclusive.

46. Begg, Creation, p. 207; Globe, Feb. 14, 1870, "Justitia" No. V.

47. Begg's Journal, p. 236.

48. Begg's Journal, p. 239.

49. Begg's Journal, pp. 239, 243.

50. Sir Charles Tupper, Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada, pp. 101-123.

51. Begg's Journal, Special Correspondence by J. J. Hargrave, Montreal Herald, p. 419.

52. Globe, Feb. 14, 1870, "Justitia" No. V.

53. Begg's Journal, p. 236; Begg, Creation, p. 195.

54. Begg's Journal, p. 237; Begg, Creation, pp. 195-6; Governor McTavish's account is in Begg's Journal, Letter from William McTavish to W. G. Smith, December 25, 1869, pp. 455-8.

55. Begg's Journal, p. 238; Begg, Creation, pp. 196-7; Globe, Feb. 14, 1870, "Justitia" No. V.

56. Begg's Journal, Letter of William McTavish to W. G. Smith, Dec. 25, 1869, p. 456.

57. Begg, Creation, p. 196. Robinson denied receiving assistance from Riel, Begg's Journal, p. 241.

58. Begg's Journal, p. 238.

59. Begg's Journal, p. 239.

60. See note 43 above. It should be noted that there is a difficulty here which cannot at present be resolved. Begg noted the presence at McKay's of "Pierre Laveiller". Without further information it cannot be established whether this was Pierre Lavallée, representative for St. Francis Xavier of the November Convention, or Pierre Léveillé. Both men were from St. Francis Xavier. (Sprague and Frye, The Genealogy of the First Métis Nation.)

61. Begg's Journal, pp. 242-3.

62. Begg's Journal, p. 239.

63. Ibid.

64. Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona--The Story of His Life, pp. 54-5; The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, p. 202.

65. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth of a Province, "Smith's Report", p. 26.

66. Ibid.

67. "Smith's Report", p. 27.

68. Begg's Journal, p. 249.

69. Ibid.

70. "Report--1874", Smith's deposition, p. 94.

71. Begg's Journal, "Memoirs of Louis Schmidt", p. 469. Smith's biographer, Beckles Willson, in the 1915 version of Smith's biography,

The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, gave specifics concerning Smith's method of operation.

72. The instructions can be found in "Appendix B" of Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, pp. 280-2. They are also in "Correspondence . . . 1870", pp. 105-6.

73. Macdonald to Rose, December 5, 1869: "Mr. Smith, Hopkins locum tenens, will go as a sort of Commissioner and in his capacity as an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company he will be allowed access to Fort Garry and to Governor McTavish. He will take a letter appointing him Commissioner on behalf of the Canadian Gov't and endeavor to make arrangements for the dispersion of the Insurgents and the dissolution of their Committee."

74. "Smith's Report", p. 26.

75. C. S. P. 1870 (No. 12), Howe to McDougall, December 7, 1869, has this expression.

76. Begg's Journal, p. 250.

77. Begg's Journal, p. 251.

78. Begg's Journal, pp. 251-2.

79. Begg's Journal, pp. 252-3, 254.

80. Begg's Journal, p. 257.

81. Begg's Journal, p. 259.

82. Begg's Journal, p. 260.

83. Begg's Journal, p. 260.

84. Begg's Journal, pp. 257-8; "Graham", Jan. 10, 1870.

85. Begg's Journal, pp. 258, 297. Graham does not mention the operation.

86. Begg's Journal, p. 250.

87. Begg's Journal, p. 255.

88. Begg's Journal, p. 256; "Graham", Jan. 10, 1870.

89. "Graham", Dec. 23, 1869.

90. Begg's Journal, p. 241.

91. Begg's Journal, p. 255.

92. O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, pp. 35, 36.

93. Begg's Journal, p. 239; Young, Manitoba Memories, p. 118.

94. Begg's Journal, p. 256.

95. Begg's Journal, p. 281.

96. O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, pp. 35-6; Rev. Young, Manitoba Memories, pp. 119-120.

97. New Nation, Jan. 28, 1870.

98. "Graham", Jan. 24, 1870.

99. A. G. Morice, Dictionnaire Historique, p. 275.

100. Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, pp. 1-43.

101. A. G. Morice, Dictionnaire Historique, p. 297.

102. He was the "Father Thebo" of Paul Kane's Wanderings of An Artist, p. 261.

103. A. G.Morice, Dictionnaire Historique, p. 297.

104. C. S. P. 1870 (12), Howe to Thibault, December 4, 1869.

105. "Correspondence--1870", Thibault to Howe, March 17, 1870, p. 125.

106. USNARS, microfilm T24, Reel 1, Malmros to Davis, January 15, 1870. The text maybe found in Begg's Journal, pp. 81-2.

107. This was noticed at the time. "Correspondence--1870", Young to Granville, Feb. 17, 1870, p. 105.

108. Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, p. 217.

109. New Nation, May 27, 1870, letter of Pierre Léveillé.

110. Note that Smith says that this happened on the 14th: "Smith's Report", p. 28. However, Begg says that Hardisty started for Pembina on the 13th: Begg's Journal, p. 261.

111. "Smith's Report", p. 34.

112. Begg's Journal, pp. 261-265.

113. "Smith's Report", p. 28.

114. "Smith's Report", p. 28; Begg's Journal, pp. 262-5.

115. Begg's Journal, p. 261.

116. This account is taken from Begg's Journal, pp. 261-5 and "Smith's Report", pp. 28-9.

117. "Smith's Report", p. 29.

118. Begg's Journal, p. 265; "Smith's Report", pp. 29-30.

119. Begg's Journal, p. 265; "Smith's Report", pp. 29-30.

120. Begg's Journal, p. 265; "Smith's Report, p. 30; "Correspondence--1870", Thibault to Howe, March 17, p. 125; The New Nation, May 27, 1870, letter of Pierre Léveillé.

It must be pointed out here that W. L. Morton, in his Introduction to Begg's Red River Journal, published in 1956, made a mistake concerning this nocturnal meeting. On page 93, in his footnote 1, he stated concerning Smith's report that "twenty-one lines are struck out, in which Smith wrote that on the night of January 19-20, Lestanc and Thibault won over a majority of Smith's French party to Riel". However, study of the original of Smith's report reveals that Smith wrote, "That night, or rather about 3 o'clock of the morning of the 19th, Pere Lestanc visited them, and, most unfortunately, the Grand Vicar Thibault accompanied him. . .". Remarkably enough G. F. G. Stanley, in his Louis Riel, followed Morton's mistake, placing the event between the two days of the mass meetings rather than in the night before the mass meeting began at all. In his footnote, p. 387, Stanley wrote, "Smith's Report. The references to Thibault and de Salaberry were deleted from the printed version of the report". He does not appear to have looked at the original wording, which is very clear.

121. Begg's Journal, pp. 265-6.

122. "Smith's Report", p. 30.

123. New Nation, May 27, 1870, letter of Pierre Léveillé.

124. Morice, Dictionnaire Historique, p. 188.

125. Begg's Journal, p. 323.

126. Begg's Journal, pp. 265-276; New Nation, Jan. 21 and Jan. 28, 1870.

127. Begg's Journal, pp. 277, 278, 279; "Smith's Report", p. 31.

128. Begg's Journal, p. 285.

129. Begg's Journal, p. 303.

Chapter Eight
"Four Days . . . Two Bodies"[1]

Certain historians have made efforts to suppress consideration of the counter-movement organized by John C. Schultz and his sympathizers in the days after his escape from Fort Garry. In his two general histories The Making of the Canadian West and The Romance of Western Canada, for example, the historian R. G. MacBeth created the impression that Schultz left the Red River Settlement after a short stay of two days at the MacBeth home.[2] The truth of the matter is quite different from this: Schultz left the Settlement, of course, but not before the first blood of the Insurrection had been shed. No study of the Insurrection or of the Archibald administration makes any sense if this fact is not taken into account.

Schultz made his escape on January 23rd[3] and was able to reach the MacBeth home. There he was hidden until he could be taken down to the Lower Settlement where his henchman Monkman's home was. His whereabouts in the succeeding days can only be guessed at, but the evidence available suggests that Louis Riel was not wrong when he wrote that Schultz "laboured to destroy" the Provisional Government.[4] It is now time to consider this evidence.

The diarist and historian Alexander Begg thought he could see proof of the existence of a preconcerted plan in the fact that although the "party from the Portage only passed through the town on the morning of the 15th . . . that same night over six hundred men collected together at Kildonan school-house, from all parts .

> Agents must have been at work for some time, and foremost amongst these were Dr. Schultz and Mr.

> Charles Mair. The former was either refused a command, or he would not accept one in the expedition, as he was only known as a private soldier in it. He, however, made himself very conspicuous in driving about, exciting the people, and taking an active part in the several councils of war that took place,--at one of which it was proposed to burn down the town.[5]

On February 19th, just after the dispersal of "the force" at Kildonan, a correspondent of the Montreal Witness prepared a dispatch for his newspaper in which he told what he had seen and heard of the movement in the Lower Settlement:

> Last Sabbath [13th] two men from the Portage came down here telling the people that they had 200 men ready: that Dease had possession of the Stinking River barricade: that Nolan [sic] was at Oak Point: Laviny at White Horse Plains, all keeping back the French from joining Riel (the three above named are loyal French) while they, with the help of the Indian Settlement and St. Andrews, would take the Fort, liberate the prisoners, and establish a government with Mr. Donald Smith at the head.[6]

The grand strategy of this movement is to be noted, as is the three-point objective, with its purpose of establishing a government to be headed by a man who was at once a Hudson's Bay Company official and a Canadian commissioner. In the days following the failure of the movement mention of this purpose was to be suppressed, and the liberation of the prisoners emphasized.

The response to this call to action was prompt enough to be conspicuous immediately, and on Monday, February 14th, Begg recorded in his diary that "a rumor was abroad that Schultz was raising a body of men near the Stone Fort".[7] Begg also recorded the continued presence of the Portage la Prairie men at Headingly, where they had been forced to stop by a severe blizzard. It is appropriate that we should pause here and look at

what is known of this part of the grand strategy.

One of the sources upon which the Schultz counter-movement depended for strength was Portage la Prairie. William Gaddy had instigated a secret organization of eight, whose object was the release of William Hallett, an intimate friend and hunting companion of Gaddy, and his fellow prisoners.[8] Gaddy's organization included Thomas Scott, who had told stories of the sufferings endured by those in confinement in the Fort,[9] William Farmer, Charles Mair, J. J. Setter,[10] and three others, whose identity can only be conjectured. Major Boulton, who led the force once it was organized, insisted that he was not in the secret organization, but was called upon because of his military experience, and led the men only reluctantly, feeling it his "duty to accompany them, and endeavor to keep them to the legitimate object for which they organized".[11] In spite of efforts to keep the organization's intentions secret, its preparations were known at Winnipeg as early as February 10th, the same day that the fireworks were set off in Winnipeg to celebrate the Provisional Government.[12] Begg recorded that Mr. Lonsdale, delegate from Headingly, "sent word to stop them till the Convention had finished its labours".[13] Sixty strong, the force left Portage la Prairie on the 12th, equipped with ladders and torches for the nocturnal enterprise.[14]

At a certain point--not now known--William Gaddy left the party and made his way to a rendezvous with William Dease.[15]

Boulton and his men, once involved in statecraft, soon found themselves faced with the same type of practical problems that Riel and his committee of Métis had met. On the way to Headingly they had to take two prisoners, and Boulton took the precaution to have them detained until

the tiny army was well on its way, "that no information might reach Fort Garry in advance of our movement". Like Riel, Boulton received criticism from his men for his way of dealing with the prisoners. Some felt that the prisoners should have been kept with the force, but Boulton "did not wish anything done that would arouse a feeling prejudicial to [the] movement".[16] They were joined by volunteers at High Bluff[17] and reached Headingly about midnight.[18]

At Headingly they sought shelter in settlers' homes, having agreed to make the attack on Fort Garry at dawn.[19] The elements, however, were not on their side. A blizzard came up, and they could not leave Headingly for two days. On the morning following their arrival there they held a meeting at Mr. Taylor's house. Boulton felt that he had lost the confidence of the men, and he resigned his command, stating his reasons and proposing that they should choose someone else to command them. However, he was renominated and, after stating that he would do his "utmost to accomplish the object for which [they] had left the Portage", he was reelected.[20]

At Headingly, "visits" were paid to several settlers who were known to be in sympathy with the Provisional Government, and weapons were requisitioned. John Taylor was persuaded to join the party.[21]

The enforced stay at Headingly had deprived the party of any element of surprise it had ever had, and a letter was received from Riel, warning that if they did not return home at once he would send a force and make them prisoners.[22] While at Headingly, too, they met Kenneth McKenzie, on his way home from attending the Council of Forty, who tried to discourage them from going on to Fort Garry. The prisoners were being

released, he told them, or were about to be so.[23] Had the party paid attention to Lonsdale's message and to McKenzie's entreaties, Red River history might well have been quite different. There can be no doubt that these men--like Schultz--now knew that they were acting against the wishes of a majority of the Red River community. They must have known, too, that those in Fort Garry knew of their movements. However, as Boulton put it, "the men's blood was up",[24] and those favoring further moves clearly had the ascendancy in the party. It would seem clear that from this point on the real reason for acting was the overthrow of the Provisional Government, however emphatically they might protest later that it was the release of the prisoners.

Messengers were sent to the English parishes on the lower Red River to indicate that the Portage men intended to continue as planned.[25] The response being favorable, it was decided to move towards Kildonan by way of Fort Garry.

It will be useful at this point--before the move to Kildonan--to examine the state of the prisoners who were the ostensible reason for the counter-movement.

In 1869 and 1870 there had been no general international convention on the treatment of prisoners-of-war. Some general statements had been made by Montesquieu and J. J. Rousseau, of course, and Riel may well have come upon them in his studies in Montreal.[26] Both held that the right of the captor over the prisoner was limited to preventing him from taking up arms again, and ceased altogether with the end of hostilities. It could be argued that the Provisional Government had no right at all to retain the prisoners, but the intransigent attitude of the "Canadian"

party made it inadvisable for Riel and Lépine to give the men their freedom again until they had given their word not to take up arms against them. These soldiers of Col. Dennis's simply could not be allowed to roam about the Settlement and attempt to overthrow the Provisional Government. Every effort must be made to keep the peace while a general consensus was arrived at. On February 15th this had just been accomplished.[27]

No prisoner-of-war convention could have complained about the buildings used to confine the "Canadian" party, especially not its leader. Dr. O'Donnell, one of those confined, gave interesting details on this point:

> Dr. Schultz, Mrs. Schultz and Mrs. Mair were allowed to accept an invitation to lodge in the house of Mr. J. H. McTavish in the Hudson [sic] Bay post, and Dr. O'Donnell and his wife were allowed to accept rooms with Dr. Wm Cowan's family, the chief factor in charge of Fort Garry. Two days after Dr. O'Donnell was taken from Dr. Cowan's house and lodged with the other prisoners, but Dr. Schultz was allowed to remain with his wife with Mr. McTavish's family until two days prior to his escape, when he was placed in the building where the other prisoners were, but in a room by himself.[28]

The lot of the other men was somewhat different. At first the men were put in "overcrowded"[29] rooms that had once been officers' quarters in the Fort.[30] Then for a time they were lodged in "the jail outside the fort walls, on the banks of the Assiniboine River".[31] On January 12th, just after the escape of twelve prisoners, the men were taken back to the same rooms they had occupied at first.[32] This is where they were at the time of the counter-movement. They had to sleep in their blankets on the floor, using their coats for pillows.[33] During the day they used their bed-rolls for seats.[34]

The basic fare was coarse meat, pemmican and bannock, washed down with black tea.[35] However, people were often permitted to send regular meals to them, and occasionally treats of apples, pie or tarts were sent in.[36] A special Christmas dinner was provided by friends in Winnipeg.[37] Bread was provided from time to time.[38]

Clergymen were permitted to visit the men. The Rev. George Young came regularly for prayer services.[39] Archdeacon McLean came occasionally[40] as did Rev. Mr. Fletcher of Portage la Prairie.[41]

The guards appear to have had a certain amount of freedom in the way they dealt with the men. This occasionally led to unfortunate results. At the time of John C. Schultz's escape he left word with the guard to treat all the prisoners with rum at his expense. The guard passed it in pails through all the rooms. A. W. Graham, one of the prisoners, was of the opinion that this rum was partly responsible for an unpleasant scene which took place when Riel came in to examine all the windows.[42]

Prisoners were occasionally released temporarily for special reasons. Ashdown, the tinsmith, was allowed out on January 6th to fix up some stoves in the New Nation printing office. He was accompanied by a guard, and had to return to prison when his work was finished.[43] On at least one occasion--there were probably others, since a petition was presented asking for his release--Dr. O'Donnell was permitted to leave prison in company with a guard to care for the children of Mr. Burdick.[44] On still another occasion--on which the researcher would like more details--O'Donnell was allowed out to take part in an interview involving the American Consul Oscar Malmros and some "French Half Breeds [sic]" with a view to preventing a "rising" among the settlers.[45]

While their quarters were very cramped, the prisoners on a number of occasions had the use of the hall between the rooms. On Christmas Eve and on Christmas Day there was music and dancing.[46] At twelve o'clock New-Year's Eve the New Year was welcomed with "God Save the Queen", followed by "two hours' music and dancing in the hall".[47]

It was very inconvenient for the Provisional Government to have a body of prisoners to look after in Fort Garry, and the prisoners were repeatedly offered their freedom if they would take an oath not to act against the Provisional Government. On New-Year's day Riel offered some prisoners their liberty "if they would swear allegiance to this government". The prisoner A. W. Graham recorded in his diary, "They refused, of course".[48] The very next day, Graham wrote that "seven or nine men were liberated by taking some kind of an oath and agreeing to leave the country".[49] On January 6th Mr. Bannatyne arranged with Riel for the release of Mr. Mulkins and Mr. Hamilton, and those gentlemen promptly started for Canada with Mr. Snow.[50] From time to time rumors circulated that the prisoners were to be allowed out, but most of these rumors did not culminate in actual releases.[51] From the evidence available it would appear that the Provisional Government were contending with what would today be called "militants".

Shortly after the Convention finished its labors on February 10th, Riel, true to his promise, released Governor McTavish, Dr. Cowan, and Mr. Bannatyne.[52] Setting the other prisoners free was more easily said than done. On the 12th William Hallett was released, giving security of 450 pounds to keep the peace.[53] William Drever was let out on security of 400 pounds.[54] According to Graham, "the rest of us were offered our

liberty by taking an oath of allegiance to Riel's government. Ten or eleven went out on these terms. THE REST OF US REFUSED [emphasis mine]."[55] Alexander Begg's account of the same event is as follows: "The following prisoners were released on their parol[e] that they should keep the peace and abide by the laws of the country."[56] A. W. Graham has described what he remembered of his turn in front of O'Donoghue:

> O'Donohue [sic] read me the oath. I said I was a British subject on British soil and would take no oath to serve another government. Riel said, "Take that man out." I was taken back.[57]

The position Graham here took is interesting and worthy of comment. On Christmas Eve the prisoners had learned that McDougall's proclamation was "spurious", making their acts "illegal".[58] The day after Christmas Graham wrote that the prisoners were "all down in the mouth since we hear [the] proclamation is spurious".[59] Having "enlisted" and gone "on duty guarding the stores and provisions at Dr. Schultz's" they now had to retreat to the "British subject" position, while knowing full well that there was no other government in the North-West.[60] Months later Graham would state his position this way: "I tried to mind, and I believe I did mind, my own business, and interfered with that of no one else. But I had to take up arms in defence of my own life when the British flag, being hauled down could afford no protection."[61]

Graham and the others had given themselves permission to remain in prison for three more days. On the 13th, John F. Grant went to the Fort from Headingly to demand the release of the prisoners. Riel answered that they could go on giving their parole, but that through some misunderstanding they were refusing to give it.[62] On the 14th James Ross and

two others called and advised them to take the oath and be let out, but they refused.[63] According to Graham's diary for that same day Riel knew of the imminent departure of the Portage men from Headingly: "About midnight Riel came to our door and told us that our friends were going to attack the Fort, to release us, and the first movement would be our death." On the 14th, also, Begg reported in his diary the capture at William Dease's of six men, among them William Gaddy, Dease himself having eluded capture.[64] Begg could not, of course, know the significance of this, and made no comment on it. Gaddy, of course, had gone to Dease's as part of the grand strategy of the counter-movement, and his capture was a considerable victory for the Provisional Government.

In the hours before the Portage men passed through Winnipeg on their way to Kildonan the situation with regard to the prisoners was this: William Hallett, the object of Gaddy's concern, was no longer there, having been released on bail 3 days earlier, on the 12th, while Gaddy, the founder of the secret organization of eight was a prisoner. Dr. Lynch was in irons.[65] A considerable number of the "Canadian" party had been released, and the 24 who were still there were prisoners because of their own intransigence.[66]

About 4 o'clock on the morning of the 15th the Portage party passed through Winnipeg on their way to join Schultz. As they passed the Fort the sentries saw them and fired a signal of alarm,[67] but no effort was made to interfere with them. In the village several houses were[68] searched, including that of H. Coutu, where Riel occasionally slept.[69] Major Boulton and Thomas Scott entered Coutu's house, "hoping to make a timely capture", but Coutu assured them that Riel was not there. They

had breakfast at William Inkster's, and passed on to Kildonan.[70] Here they occupied the school-house "as previously arranged",[71] hoisted the Union Jack[72] and waited for the arrival of the force from the Lower Settlement. During the day J. J. Setter arrived from there,[73] saying that 500 loyalists and Indians were on the way, headed by Schultz and bringing a cannon and ammunition with them.

The practical problems that had worried Major Boulton when he was elected commander of the Portage party now began to arise. The men could keep warm in the Kildonan church, but if they were to be there long something would have to be done about feeding them.[74] Boulton and his men were not aided in this by the fact that their arrival there created considerable consternation among the local people.[75] It was common knowledge that there was now a Provisional Government. People were disposed to be quiet and see what happened, if not actively participate. These considerations prompted the decision to send a local man, Tom Norquay, to ask Riel to release the remaining prisoners.[76] Riel acceded to this at once, and was in the act of administering an oath to a prisoner when Miss Victoria McVicar arrived with A. G. B. Bannatyne.[77] Miss McVicar had heard rumors of a gathering in the Lower Settlement. She had independently taken the initiative of asking Bannatyne to help her in an attempt to persuade Riel to release the prisoners. She soon discovered that it was the prisoners, and not Riel, who needed persuading. Alexander Begg described the scene as Bannatyne spoke to the prisoners urging them to sign the oath "to keep the peace and the laws of the country":

> Smith was the first prisoner who was called and when he was asked if the rest would sign Mr. Bannatyne requested him to sign and told him it was all right.

> Smith signed. Miller followed--the same thing happened, the next prisoner was similar; then all the balance followed. Dr. Lynch said at once when he saw the paper he could sign that and immediately did so. Riel would not take Farquharson's oath as he said he had twice already broken his oath--they pushed him out of the Fort.

According to Begg William Drever then drove Miss McVicar down to give the news to those at Kildonan church and prevent any hostile move on the Fort.[78] At this point Maurice Lowman, James Ross and Colin Inkster came to the Fort to ask for a general amnesty to all Canadians.[79] They were not successful.

This would have been an excellent time for the men assembled at the church to go home. The prisoners had been released;[80] no blood had been shed. There was no reason at this point for the Provisional Government to be angry with either the Portage party or the Schultz force from the Lower Settlement, since Riel, Lépine and O'Donoghue could understand as well as anyone else the annoyance people felt about prisoners being kept in Fort Garry. A dispersing Portage party could likely have walked through Winnipeg in broad daylight without being molested in any way.

This was soon to change.

During the absence of Norquay and the private initiative of Miss McVicar the situation at Kildonan had altered dramatically. About three o'clock in the afternoon the force from the Lower Settlement arrived.

> It was a fine sight . . . to see three or four hundred settlers marching up to our neighborhood, headed by a small cannon, drawn by four oxen, the whole under the leadership of Dr. Schultz, whose powerful figure stood out boldly as he led them up.[81]

Boulton has described how "the utmost enthusiasm now prevailed, though there were many who felt great anxiety under the new turn of affairs,

fearing that a conflict was inevitable, which so far had been happily averted". Boulton shared in this anxiety, but he was enough of a soldier that his first concern as he surveyed the changing scene was "how to feed the large gathering .

> A subscription list was passed around to raise sufficient to purchase some supplies; but beyond a sovereign from Dr. Schultz, who emptied his pockets, and half a sovereign from one or two others, there was no money among the party, so we had to fall back upon the hospitality of the people in the immediate neighborhood for our evening and morning meals. The Rev. Mr. Black placed his house, stores, and everything that he had at our disposal; and we camped in the church for the night.[82]

Other administrative details had to be dealt with too. Strangers had been noticed in the district, and three of these were arrested and detained on suspicion of being spies. One was John McKenney, the son of Sheriff McKenney, one was a man named Porter, and the third was a Métis named Parisien.[83] These men had to be kept in confinement somewhere until it was considered safe to release them. Details concerning McKenney and Porter have not come down to us, but Parisien was assigned to the care of George Garrioch, of the Portage, who imprisoned Parisien under the church pulpit and stood guard over him.[84]

Here we must pause briefly and consider this situation. It is understandable, perhaps, that Parisien and the others should be taken prisoner. News of the release of the prisoners in Fort Garry was sent to Major Boulton late in the evening, and those in Winnipeg congratulated themselves on the satisfactory turn that events had taken.[85] Why were the prisoners at Kildonan not released when the news came? George Garrioch would certainly have been pleased to be relieved of his onerous duty of

watching Parisien. The reason is probably near at hand. The decision to attack Fort Garry must already have been taken by those in charge of affairs. McKenney, Parisien and Porter could not, under these circumstances, be permitted to be at large. They were prisoners of war, and their captors were responsible for them in the same way that the Provisional Government were responsible for the prisoners they had felt themselves obliged to take.

Our suspicions in this connection are strengthened when we learn what happened early the next morning. A meeting was held in the church to consider strategy. A "general council for the force" was appointed, consisting of the following: John Tait, A. H. Murray, Thomas Sinclair, Edward Hay, John Hodgson, Wm Leask, Geo. Calder, Andrew Mowatt, Donald Gunn, Jr., Adam McDonald, Joseph Monkman, Henry Prince, Alex Ross, Dr. Beddome and "several" others whose names are not known. It was agreed that, if force had to be actively employed, this council should choose from themselves a leader.[86] The council met shortly afterwards to draw up a set of demands to send to the Provisional Government.[87] The first demand, that all the prisoners be released, requires a bit of explanation. When news of the release of the prisoners came to the Portage party, George McVicar and "Flatboat" John McLean, not content with the news, went in to Winnipeg to see for themselves. Their movements aroused the suspicions of Provisional Government patrols and McLean was caught and taken to the Fort. McVicar made good his escape, but did not return to Kildonan until next morning, reaching the school-house just before the Parisien incident.[88] The second point was to the effect that while they did not object to the French governing themselves in any way they chose

they would have nothing to do with the Provisional Government. Finally they demanded the restitution of the property of Schultz, Dease and others, and a guarantee that such confiscations would not be repeated. These demands were put into letter form by Rev. John Black,[89] and Thomas Norquay volunteered to take it to Riel.[90] Norquay was about to set out when the incident involving Parisien took place.[91]

The story of Parisien's escape has often been told, but there are good reasons for telling it here, partisan historians having taken pains to suppress certain details.

It had been agreed that at a certain time the force would "move on St. Boniface, plant the cannon there and breach the walls of Fort Garry". It was argued that those in the Fort would not return fire for fear of damaging St. Boniface buildings.[92] Preparations for this move had been going forward while the council was meeting. Men were standing around waiting when Parisien and Garrioch came out of the school-house. Parisien had asked to go to the toilet.[93] In view of the nature of the request Garrioch took him out the back door. Garrioch had no experience in this sort of thing, and before he realized what was happening Parisien had followed the path through the snow around to the front of the school. There was a large crowd of people and several cutters were parked. One had in it a double-barrelled shotgun, loaded with ball and standing in the rig so as to be visible. Parisien saw his chance, ran for the cutter and grabbed the gun.

> Mr. Dilworth cried to Garrioch to stop him and shoot if necessary [,] at which Parisien turned and pointed the gun at Garrioch [,] who jumped aside into the crowd.

Parisien ran up the trail and followed it to take the "ice track" onto the river.

At that moment John Hugh Sutherland[94] happened to be riding along the "ice track" toward the area where the crowd had gathered. Spectators were not sure if Parisien feared pursuit or wanted Sutherland's horse.[95] At any rate Parisien fired one barrel at Sutherland, injuring him in the hand. The horse reared and threw Sutherland. When he got up Parisien fired the other barrel, wounding him mortally in the breast. Parisien threw away the gun and ran for the woods at the side of the river, having been wounded in the thigh by a shot from Dilworth's rifle.

A group of men including Robert McBain,[96] Thomas Scott,[97] Wildred Bartlett[98] and the Pochain[99] brothers pursued him on horseback and he was overtaken eventually in the woods. A desperate hand-to-hand scuffle ensued in which Parisien was able to wrest McBain's[100] gun from him, and he just missed McBain when he fired at him with it. He was hit on the head and knocked out by a "young fellow named Pochain[101] from the High Bluff". Thomas Scott then tied Parisien's sash around his neck and secured the other end of the sash to the horse's tail, making a drag rope. Scott then got on the horse behind[102] Wildred Bartlett,[103] and they dragged the insensible man in the direction of the gathering of men for lynching.[104] On the way, however, they were met by Major Boulton, who "interfered",[105] and had Parisien carried to the church. Parisien was cared for by Dr. Beddome and taken by him to the Beddome house in St. Andrews.[106] Sutherland, meanwhile, had been carried into Dr. Black's kitchen, where he was examined by Dr. Beddome and John C. Schultz.[107] They probed for the ball, but Sutherland died the next day.[108] Parisien

lingered on to die in early March.[109]

The wounding of the two men had a profound effect on all concerned. It must be pointed out here that the "general council for the force" already had reason for disappointment in the working out of the grand strategy. There was no word of activity on the part of any of the "loyal" French, either at Stinking River, Oak Point or White Horse Plains.[110] As for Kildonan, not only was there no sign of a rising of the parish men, there were now distinct signs of opposition to the entire plan. Just after Sutherland and Parisien had been carried away a man named Henderson insisted upon taking down the Union Jack. However, the Portage men had put it up and they were not going to have it taken down by anybody:

> Dilworth said ["] No--the man who hauls it down will go down with it.["][111]

The incident revealed the lack of unanimity among those at Kildonan. Women now fell upon their knees and implored the Portage party and the Schultz force to go home.[112]

In the meantime William Fraser had gone to Riel with news of the woundings and Norquay had left to take the council's letter to Riel. His reply to Fraser was that Parisien, as an escaping prisoner, had every right to fire on anyone he thought to be a pursuer. Riel insisted that in detaining Parisien the Portage men had detained an ally, since he was "one of the warmest partisans of Schultz and McDougall". Norquay then arrived with his letter and also told of the shootings. Riel became very "excited and angry".[113]

As head of the Provisional Government Riel had the best of reasons for excitement and anger. Four months of intense political activity had

not seen bloodshed to that point. Now, just as a broad basis of support had been established for the Provisional Government two men had been wounded and might die. Also, John Hugh Sutherland was the son of John Sutherland of Point Douglas, a man who had worked hard, often in the face of criticism and personal abuse, to bring about reconciliation and community of purpose between the Métis and their English-speaking compatriots.[114] That the son of this man should be the first one injured was the most unfortunate of tragedies, one that could seriously injure the long-run interest of the Provisional Government. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Riel tore up the letter from Black, had Norquay detained and told Fraser to go home and tell the English what he had seen.[115] However, one of Riel's first moves was to ask Dr. Bird to go down to Kildonan to see if anything could be done for the injured men. Every effort was then made to mobilize and meet the expected attack. Powder and horses were requisitioned in Winnipeg. Scouts were sent out in all directions from Winnipeg to call for reinforcements and watch for hostile activity.[116]

With basic defensive preparations going forward steadily Riel turned to other matters. About four o'clock in the afternoon Riel had Norquay[117] and "Flatboat" John McLean[118] released. He sent a letter to the "general council for the force" with Norquay, warning that the Provisional Government was ready for war but that what it really wanted was peace and the British rights of all. He said that the prisoners were out, having all sworn to keep the peace. He reminded the council that Governor McTavish had urged them to form and complete the Provisional Government, and that their representatives had joined the government on that basis.[119] "Flatboat" John McLean spoke to Riel about the return journey of the Portage

party and asked "if the party would be permitted to pass". Riel was silent, listening to Mclean, and when McLean went on to inform Riel that the party intended to use the route just outside the village Riel replied "Ah, that is good".[120]

When Dr. Bird returned from Kildonan and reported he said that the council was meeting at Mr. Black's, and since the meeting was not over he did not know what would be done. Bird did not believe that Sutherland would live.[121] In the evening Maurice Lowman came to Winnipeg and reported that the council had decided that the force should disperse. The Portage party would go home in the morning. Begg noted that while there was a general feeling of relief at this news a large guard was nevertheless kept on the alert during the night.[122]

Lowman's report had been accurate. The correspondent for the Montreal Witness described what was going on at Kildonan at the same time that the Provisional Government was making its preparations to protect Winnipeg, St. Boniface and the Fort:

> The messenger [Norquay] was sent, but no movement was made forward. In about two hours we heard that he was kept a prisoner. Many were then for marching at once, but no order was given. Meanwhile, many were going home, having nothing to eat, and being wearied, waiting so long and nothing done. At last, about dark . . . the Indian chief ordered his men home, and all the rest quickly dispersed, and would have left the cannon there for the French to get, if half a dozen good fellows had not stuck to it and got it off safely.

The correspondent gave what he considered to be the reasons for the failure of the counter-movement:

> . . . hesitation ruined the movement. And another cause was Schultz being there, which incensed the French, dissatisfied many of our party, and added no strength to it. There was also no management in the

> affair, no provisions furnished, no leader to guide the men, and no order in the camp--just a mob of men gathered together, full of spirit but without a plan to work by.[123]

Here it will be useful to turn aside for a moment and give careful consideration to the body of fourteen and more men who were chosen from those assembled to be a "general council for the force". We shall be breaking new ground in this, for historians have for the most part neglected it, and little in the way of documents exists to enable us to know these men and their purposes better. Nevertheless it is possible to learn something about them, using the available evidence in a manner reminiscent of the way we use pencil and paper to coax the inscription from a badly worn coin. We have the names of fourteen of them from the St. Paul Daily Pioneer: "John Tait, A. H. Murray, Thomas Sinclair, Edward Hayes [sic], John Hodges [sic], Wm Leask, George Calder, Andrew Mowatt, Donald Gunn, Jr., Adam McDonald, Joseph Monkman, Henry Prince, Alex Ross, Dr. Beddame [sic], and several other native residents . . ."[124] It would seem that to this list we should add those who, according to Charles Mair, "remained at Kildonan consulting what was best to do: C. Mair, F. Ogletree, Sandy Cameron, Jno. Setter, and Wm B. Hall."[125] It may be that to this should be added the names of George Garrioch, and Martin Burnell, mentioned by A. C. Garrioch in First Furrows as being with the five listed by Mair.[126] It is certain that to the above list must be added the names of William Farmer and Thomas Scott. Some words of explanation are necessary here. In May of 1870, less than three months after the events here described, Charles Mair, angry with John C. Schultz for taking so much of the limelight in the negotiations leading to the passing of the Manitoba Act, wrote to Schultz:

> I felt annoyed in Ottawa at your recognition of the Manitoba Bill without concurrence, as it place [sic] me in a position of antagonism to you and Lynch. There were other points moreover which you should have remembered, or at least consulted upon with Mr. Setter and myself. I refer to Portage la Prairie. Any documentary reference to that settlement should of course have come from either Mr. Setter or myself who in conjunction with Farmer and Scott devised the movement at the Portage without which our position at this moment would be a very miserable one indeed.
>
> I do not recognize Dr. Lynch's right, or the right of any man in Canada saving Dr. Setter and Farmer to represent Portage la Prairie under existing circumstances, inasmuch as we are the parties, and the sole parties NOW LIVING [emphasis mine] who instituted the movement there, and for that matter the movement below as well, and should any further public reference be made to those events without reference to us I shall consider it necessary to make the facts public. If it is a good thing for you and Lynch to stand in the foreground in this matter and cast others in the shade who did the work, it is also a good thing for us . . . .

Mair hoped that Schultz would see the "justice of these remarks and repair as far as possible in future the injustice which has been done. If as I apprehend the mischief is complete," Mair went on,

> I shall certainly be compelled to deal in self-defence with the history of the transactions since Denis's [sic] call upon the Canadians after a different fashion from what I intended. Portage la Prairie WE [emphasis his] represent. Red River settlement is represented by you and Dr. Lynch.[127]

In the days after Schultz's arrival in Toronto in April of 1870 the "Canadian" party began to realize that Thomas Scott was more useful to their cause dead than he had ever been alive. They all began to "deal in self-defence with the history of the transactions" following Dennis's call for volunteers in such a way as to leave the impression that Scott had played almost no part in their affairs. The result is that the re-

searcher must regard everything written about Scott after April of 1870 with caution, and everything written after 1885 with suspicion. Such accounts as that written by "R. McC" for the St. Paul Daily Pioneer--after the failure of the counter-movement but before Scott's execution--are accordingly very precious.[128]

It would appear that half of the members from the Lower Settlement were from St. Andrews, with three from St. Peters, three from St. James, and one each from Kildonan and St. Clements. Nine or ten were of mixed blood, three were of European origin, while Henry Prince represented the Indians of St. Peters.[129] It must be assumed that they had in common a sympathy with, perhaps an admiration for, John C. Schultz, who had solicited their help.[130] Three of the names are among those suggested by Alexander Begg as places where Schultz could have taken refuge,[131] and when the party sent in search of Schultz reached John Tait's they found not Schultz but Mrs. Schultz.[132] Henry Prince was a friend of Schultz,[133] and Monkman was deeply indebted to him.[134] The Gunn family were close friends of Schultz, and shared with him a certain amount of hostility to the Hudsons's Bay Company.[135]

It should be noted that no fewer than four of the "general council for the force" had been present at the October, 1869, meeting which prepared an address of welcome to Lieutenant-Governor-designate McDougall.[136] Looking farther into the Red River past may be risky, but we must at least notice that since William Hallett[137] was until February 12th a prisoner in the Fort and John C. Schultz the escaped prisoner able to ask for help certain affinities dating back to the jail-breakings of January 18, 1868,[138] cannot be ruled out as we attempt to understand this group

of men.

Having established something of their identity and background, what do we know of their doings at Kildonan? And why was it that the parish in which the great assembly took place did not contribute scores of its men to these who had come from the Lower Settlement and the western parishes?[139]

First of all we must point to the fact that no member of this council seems to have seen fit to make any kind of list of the men who had volunteered, so the size of the force is not known. The diligent reader may take his choice from among the numerous accounts. Bishop Taché was given figures of from 500 to 800 by clergymen who were at Kildonan and persuaded the council to have the men disperse.[140] The American Consul, Oscar Malmros, most likely as impartial an observer as any, wrote on the 16th to his superior in Washington that "200 Swampy Indians abundantly plied with whiskey by the notorious Dr. Schultz, about 160 english [sic] halfbreeds [sic] and 80 men from the Canadian settlement and vicinity near Portage la Prairie" were assembled at Kildonan.[141] This would make 440 men, a total that compares with the figure of 380 to 450 used by Donald Smith, the Canadian commissioner, who reported later that his "sympathies were wholly with the Portage men".[142] The figure of 440 is probably not far wide of the mark.

If Malmros's estimate is accurate the Indian component of the "force" must have been relatively conspicuous in the vicinity of the Kildonan church and school-house. This is borne out by Charles Mair's statement that Major Boulton had to assign two men, J. Dilworth and Dan Sissons, to protect Parisien from Indians who threatened to kill him.[143] Alexander

Begg recorded in his diary on February 16th: "Prince's Indians are there and have torches prepared to set fire to Fort Garry--bringing Indians into the affair is wrong".[144] On the 19th, when Mr. and Mrs. John Sutherland visited Riel and begged for the lives of Boulton and the others, Riel was reported to have replied, "You have saved three lives--but Captain Bolton [sic] must suffer, Indians have been raised, and the homes of our men are threatened".[145] Four years later when Riel prepared his "Memoir" he used the expression "two or three hundred savages, getting ready to march on Fort Garry".[146] Clearly the presence of the Indians aroused apprehensions, and no doubt these were strongest in Kildonan itself.

It seems very clear that neither Schultz nor any member of the "general council" appears to have been able to impose even a rough organization on the assembled men. Surely a "captain" could have been chosen for each ten or twenty soldiers, but none of the sources mentions anything of the kind. Had the "general council for the force" assumed that William Gaddy--now a prisoner in Fort Garry--would bring such an order into being when he arrived?[147] What of Edward Hay and his nascent interest in things military? What of Thomas Scott and men like him alleged to have known service in the militia in Ontario? Did not some military form of organization seem desirable to them as they saw the "mob" which had assembled? What of Schultz himself? One biographer has asserted that Schultz was raised in the "military atmosphere" of Amherstburg.[148] Did not some form of military organization occur to him? Yet the only image we have of Schultz at this point is that suggested by Mrs. Bernard Ross. She had just left Miss Victoria McVicar at MacBeth's house and "met Dr. Schultz in the hall". He was saying "War! War!"[149]. Was Schultz preoccupied with

preserving the secret that he was not a trained surgeon while having to work along with Dr. Beddome to probe for the ball that had lodged somewhere in Sutherland's breast? With the exception of the taking of prisoners no warlike move had been taken.

Bishop Taché was told by the Rev. Black of the kind of warlike moves which Schultz and his "general council" were contemplating:

> . . . a consultation was held in his own room, at which it was proposed to go and seize [Taché's] palace and . . . cathedral, fortify them, and have cannons placed there with which to fight the parties across the river. Some of the party, however, objected to that, as the French people generally being Catholics, considered the palace and the cathedral sacred, and it would only provoke them and cause those not already under arms to rally to the Provisional Government. Finally the idea was abandoned altogether.[150]

It was February in the Red River Settlement. There was considerable snow.[151] The day was "frosty".[152] This "Council" was proposing to take a cannon along the winter road on the ice of the river and mount it somewhere in St. Boniface.[153] There it was to bombard Fort Garry. Had scouts been sent out to see what the "provisionals" were doing? Had arrangements been made to guard the flanks of the force, so that it would not walk into a trap? Had gunners been trained in the art of loading and firing of cannon? If we can judge by the remarks of Major Boulton the answer was probably in the negative:

> I had much difficulty in withstanding the excitement of the assembled force, who thought further action should be pressed. I argued with them that the object for which the expedition had been undertaken was gained, in the release of the prisoners . . . I also cautioned them that while it was a legitimate effort on their part to make, the moment we attempted anything further we were as amenable to the law as were Riel and his followers,

> and would be responsible for any danger that might threaten the settlement. These counsels prevailed, though an aggressive policy was abandoned with GREAT RELUCTANCE [emphasis mine] by many, who thought that we should show more courage in withstanding Riel. This discussion took up some time . . . .[154]

Finally we must look at the policies of these men to get some idea of how they saw the future of the Red River Settlement. No minute books of their meetings are known to exist, but four[155] summaries have survived, and we must turn to these now. The release of the prisoners in Fort Garry was, of course, the chief point of policy. All the sources agree on this. A second point was their desire to have nothing to do with the Provisional Government. One source specifically mentions repudiation of the acts of their delegates in agreeing to participate in it. Presumably this council would have settled for two governments in the Settlement, one for those parishes which took part in the affairs of the Provisional Government and one for the parishes represented in the "general council for the force". Then there was the request for the restitution of the property of John C. Schultz and William Dease, and for a guarantee that such confiscations would not take place again. One source mentions a demand for the safety of Schultz, and one mentions the freedom of all settlement highways. It would appear that this council made the first suggestion concerning a general amnesty.[156]

With this brief glance at the "general council" the curtain comes down on the participation of these men in the counter-movement. We know that they counselled Schultz's leaving the Settlement as soon as possible. and that he left on February 21st in company with Joseph Monkman.[157] At Fort Alexander they met George McVicar,[158] and together they made their

way by way of Fort Francis, Duluth, Superior City and Milwaukee to Ontario. We shall hear more of these three in another chapter.

The Portage party were now "deserted and left 60 miles from home without provisions or bedding",[159] and had now to find their way somehow back to Portage la Prairie. Nothing better illustrates the contempt of the party for the Provisional Government and their reckless disregard for their own and others' safety than the manner of their attempted return. Riel had warned them when they were at Headingly two days earlier that if they did not return home they would be captured and made prisoner. They had since then been responsible for the shooting and wounding of two natives of the Red River Settlement, and yet they boldly assumed that they could pass Fort Garry in broad daylight, armed and unscathed. They were soon to learn otherwise.

After the general dispersal at Kildonan most of the Portage party went to William Inkster's.[160] They were joined there for a time by some of the others who had remained at Kildonan with the "general council for the force".[161] Mair and some of his comrades announced that they were going to strike out across the prairie under cover of darkness and not go near Fort Garry. They advised the others to follow them. These gentlemen, however, said that they were very tired and hungry. They wanted to have supper and a sleep before setting out the next day.[162] They had "Flatboat" John's firm assurance that Riel had promised that they could go by Fort Garry in peace. No one appears to have asked "Flatboat" exactly what it was that Riel had said. They also had the exhortations of an old pensioner who had been a sergeant-major in the British army, who argued that

> [they] had come down like brave men and that [they] should go back like brave men, in a body.[163]

They also had Boulton's practical suggestion that they should disperse and accept the hospitality of friends in the various English parishes until the "excitement had quieted down", when they could return singly and unnoticed. Boulton later said that he rebuked the old pensioner "for taking the responsibility upon himself of recommending so imprudent a course". However, the old pensioner must have been most persuasive and inspiring, for his suggestion was followed rather than Boulton's.[164] Just before leaving Inkster's the news came that Gaddy had been captured and hanged, and the party had an explanation for the lack of success of Gaddy's part of the grand strategy.[165] The news, as it turned out, was not accurate. Gaddy had been captured, of course, but he had been permitted to make his escape.[166] The news of the hanging did not impress the Portage party, and they stuck with their plan to return home by way of Winnipeg.

The available sources disagree somewhat on the details of the capture of the Portage party. There is, however, no disagreement on the fact that as soon as the party came in sight of Fort Garry a body of horsemen under the command of Ambroise Lépine rode out to meet them. An early account is probably the best:

> Nearer and nearer the two parties approached each other [,] the French plunging their horses through the deep snow at a hard gallop. At times when the horses would stick, the men would jump off, ease their animals, and then jump on again, hardly stopping their speed in doing so; thus showing them to be as expert horsemen as our plains Indians. The Portage men now came to a halt, and awaited the coming of the French. Everyone on the lookout now

> expected to see a flash, and hear a report, the signal for the commencement of hostilities, but none came. At last the French and English seemed to mix up in one body. A considerable halt then occurred, when the whole party moved off slowly in the direction of the Fort. ["]They are taken prisoners ["] was the word that passed from mouth to mouth amongst those on the lookout, and such indeed turned out to be the case. Their arms were taken from them, and as they neared Fort Garry the holsters of many of the prisoners were found to be empty, looking as if they had thrown away their pistols. Two men were therefore detailed to go and search for them. While they were hunting about they came upon a man hidden amongst some bushes, who turned out to be a Portage man or one of that party. He had secreted himself before the capture took place, and would have escaped if the two men had not been sent to search for the missing arms.[167]

Two members of the Portage party later wrote accounts of the incident. After the 1885 rebellion Major Boulton published his story of the capture, claiming that the men were unarmed and suggesting that he was firmly in command at all times.[168] Many years later Charles Mair, who was not in the captured party, urged Murdoch McLeod, who was, to tell what he remembered of the event. From McLeod's reminiscences we get a picture so different as to make us wonder if it is really the same incident being described. McLeod admitted that the party was armed, and stated, furthermore, that he would have fired at one of the Métis if he had not been prevented. We must now look at McLeod's story[169] since it touched on what happened when the "French and English seemed to mix up in one body" and a "considerable halt" occurred.

The reader is reminded that the situation concerning Boulton's leadership had been ambiguous on the way to Kildonan. Then at Kildonan Boulton had spoken against aggressive action and, while his views were accep-

ted, many thought a cowardly course had been followed. Finally the views of Powers, the old pensioner, had been accepted in preference to Boulton's. As they trudged along the track made by the others in the night Boulton must have felt himself in an intolerable position where his leadership was concerned. This is the only explanation possible for what McLeod said had happened.

Very soon what Boulton had feared and warned against became real. Horsemen were making their way quickly towards the Portage men. According to McLeod Boulton was so indecisive at the approach of the plunging horsemen that he (McLeod) sent old Mr. Pocha[in], who could speak French, to talk to them and call out replies to the rest in English. Boulton is said to have broken down and "cried like a child" at this point. McLeod then insisted that Sergeant-major Powers assume command. Powers refused, saying that he could not take over the command of his superior officer in the field. McLeod pointed a pistol at Boulton's head and told him to "be a man and go right on". Pocha[in], meanwhile, had done what he was told and now shouted back that the Half-breeds had said not to fire, that they only wanted to shake hands and part as friends. At this McLeod said "Don't believe him". McLeod then asked Dan Sissons to take the lead while he (McLeod) guarded the rear. The men, disheartened at Boulton's conduct, were doing nothing. Ambroise Lépine and other Métis came up and began shaking hands and speaking to Boulton, Powers and McLeod O'Donoghue had remained somewhat apart, but now shouted to Lépine to give his orders, and Lépine did so. These were to take the Portage party's guns, horses and sleighs and go to Fort Garry to shake hands with Riel. A Métis named Goulet came up to McLeod to take his rifle and cutter.

McLeod said that no Half-breed was going to take his rifle and struck Goulet between the eyes, knocking him down. McLeod then took aim at O'Donoghue, but Powers threw up the rifle barrel. Meanwhile all the others had been disarmed,[170] and the party began to head for the Fort, O'Donoghue in the lead. McLeod, Powers and Thomas Scott had to take hold of Boulton and force him to get into the cutter. Very soon the Portage party were prisoners in the Fort.

After the capture of the Portage party the Provisional Government was to be accused of every kind of duplicity and bad faith in thus making prisoners of men who said they were on their way home. However, it is difficult to see how the Provisional Government could have acted otherwise on the morning of February 17th. Riel had urged restraint[171] when the party had passed by on the 15th, and now there were two men wounded so badly as to be not expected to live. The Provisional Government--like any government--simply could not tolerate an armed band roving about the Settlement, impressing men, requisitioning supplies, taking prisoners and wounding them, especially when that band had declared for all to hear that it would not acknowledge the Provisional Government. Guards had been on the streets of Winnipeg all night and through the early morning and would have to remain on the alert while such a band was at large. The men would have to be prisoners-of-war until they would agree either to leave the country or to behave themselves.

Footnotes

1. The phrase is from Le Métis, June 19, 1872.

2. R. G. MacBeth, Making of the Canadian West (afterwards Making), p. 61, and Romance of Western Canada (afterwards Romance), p. 130.

3. W. L. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal, p. 181.

4. Begg's Journal, "Memoir by Louis Riel", p. 536.

5. Alexander Begg, Creation, p. 280.

6. Globe, March 18, 1870, republished the despatch to the Montréal Witness.

7. Begg's Journal, p. 307.

8. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870, article by "R. McC".

9. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 101; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 226. The St. Paul Daily Pioneer mentions Scott, Farmer and Setter.

10. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19 Schultz Papers, Mair to Schultz, May 10, 1870. The account published in R. B. Hill's History, pages 281 to 286 was probably written by J. J. Setter. See page 137: "he left with the Portage contingent to release the prisoners under Riel, or to retake Fort Garry if possible. His work in this respect is given in the following pages". Murdoch McLeod may have been a sixth (Hill, p. 281).

11. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 101; Donald A. Smith's report in W. L. Morton (ed), Birth of a Province (afterwards Birth), pp. 35-6.

12. Begg's Journal, p. 303.

13. Ibid.

14. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870; Q. U. L. Charles Mair papers, "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 1; "Charles Mair: A Document on the Red River Rebellion" in CHR 1959, p. 221, afterwards "Charles Mair: A Document"; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 226.

15. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870; Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 113; Charles Mair wrote that it was during the blizzard at Headingly, "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 225; Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 227.

16. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 102.

17. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 1.

18. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 103.

19. Ibid.

20. Boulton, Reminiscences, pp. 103-4.

21. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 1; Begg's Journal, p. 330.

22. "J. Dilworth and Self", pp. 1-2.

23. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 222; Begg, Creation, p. 277; Charles Mair at a meeting in Toronto, Globe, April 7, 1870.

24. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 102.

25. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 2; "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 222. Note that the first document says Murdoch Macleod and Susie Pocha, while the second one says Macleod and J. J. Setter. Setter's account agrees with the second. See Hill, History, p. 281.

26. Montesquieu in De L'Esprit des Lois and J. J. Rousseau in Le Contrat Social.

27. Begg's Journal, pp. 303-4, entries for Feb. 10 and 11.

28. O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It (afterwards Manitoba), p. 35; Begg's Journal, p. 218; Begg, Creation, p. 164.

29. O'Donnell, Manitoba, p. 36.

30. "Graham", entry for Dec. 7.

31. "Graham", Dec. 11.

32. "Graham", Jan. 12.

33. O'Donnell, Manitoba, p. 36.

34. "Graham", Dec. 11.

35. "Graham", Dec. 8, Dec. 29.

36. "Graham", Dec. 13, 19, 25.

37. "Graham", Dec. 25.

38. "Graham", Dec. 31.

39. "Graham", Dec. 10, 13, 15, 18, 19, 26, Jan. 2, 9, 23.

40. "Graham", Dec. 9, 16, 23, 29, Jan. 2, 9, 23.

41. "Graham", Dec. 30.

42. "Graham", Jan. 24.

43. Begg's Journal, p. 252.

44. Begg's Journal, p. 234.

45. Begg's Journal, p. 297.

46. "Graham", Dec. 24, 25.

47. "Graham", Jan. 1.

48. "Graham", Jan. 1.

49. "Graham", Jan. 2.

50. Begg's Journal, p. 252.

51. "Graham", Jan. 7, is an example.

52. Begg's Journal, p. 303.

53. "Graham", Feb. 12; Begg's Journal, p. 305.

54. Begg's Journal, p. 305.

55. "Graham", Feb. 12.

56. Begg's Journal, pp. 305-6. The names of the prisoners are given.

57. "Graham", Feb. 12.

58. "Graham", Dec. 24.

59. "Graham", Dec. 25.

60. "Graham", Dec. 3.

61. Telegraph, July 15, 1870. Letter dated in St. Paul, July 10, and signed A. W. Graham.

62. Begg's Journal, p. 306.

63. "Graham", Feb. 14.

64. Begg's Journal, p. 306.

65. "Graham", Feb. 12; Begg's Journal, p. 306.

66. Begg, Creation, p. 277.

67. Begg's Journal, p. 307; Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 105.

68. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 2.

69. Begg's Journal, p. 307; Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 105; "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 222.

70. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 222; "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 2; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 227.

71. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 106.

72. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 2.

73. Ibid.

74. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 107; The New Nation, Feb. 18, reported that "men went round and demanded at the point of the bayonet, a certain quantity of provisions".

75. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 105.

76. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 222; "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 2; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 228. See also Ellen Cooke, "Norquays in the Red River Disturbances", in Manitoba Pageant, Winter, 1976.

77. Begg's Journal, p. 308.

78. Ibid.

79. Begg's Journal, p. 308.

80. "Graham", Feb. 15: "About 8 p.m. we were offered a parole oath and we are now out in the town."

81. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 106.

82. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 107.

83. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 107, mentions Parisien; Begg's Journal, p. 309, mentions all three; St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870, mentions Parisien and McKenney; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 228, mentions Parisien.

84. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 107, gives the detail of the pulpit; "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 3, mentions Garrioch, as does Setter's account in Hill, History, p. 285; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, gives the detail that Garrioch was the brother of the writer.

85. Begg's Journal, pp. 308, 309, 310.

86. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

87. Globe, March 18, 1870; Montreal Witness report dated Feb. 19; St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

88. "Charles Mair: A Document", pp. 222-3; Begg's Journal, p. 309.

89. This is the letter referred to in Begg's Journal, p. 310.

90. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

91. Ibid.

92. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 3.

93. The account that follows is based on "J. Dilworth and Self", pp. 2-4.

94. Sutherland was the son of John Sutherland, Point Douglas. See note 62 of the chapter "William McTavish". John Hugh was taking no part in the gathering at Kildonan.

95. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 223.

96. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 4.

97. Le Métis, April 25, 1874.

98. Setter's account in Hill's History, p. 285.

99. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 228.

100. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 4.

101. There is a difficulty about this part of the incident. When the execution of Scott became a "cause célèbre" there was a tendency on the part of certain historians to suppress his part in the capture and wounding of Parisien. Boulton, who "interfered" and prevented the Lynching of Parisien, wrote only of "a large crowd" who had followed and captured Parisien. J. J. Setter wrote that Parisien was "dragged back by Wildred Bartlett and others, making a drag rope of his scarf, which was tied aroung his neck". Mr. Hart, a surveyor who was at Kildonan wrote that "A loyal half-breed [sic] was so enraged when he saw the prisoner that he struck him in the face with his hatchet". Mrs. Black is reported to have said that "one of the men" had wounded Parisien with a hatchet". A. C. Garrioch, in his account in First Furrows, implied that the "Pochien brothers of High Bluff" used a tomahawk on Parisien. However, we are fortunate in that the first detailed published account, written

on March 1 and published in St. Paul on April 2, reported that "a young fellow named Pochain from the High Bluff" captured Parisien, but said nothing about his having used a hatchet. This would appear to agree with Hart and Garrioch. Then in 1874, in response to assertions made by Dr. Lynch, the French-language weekly Le Métis published details about which "the first news was spread by persons who were not at all interested in talking about it" ("dont la première nouvelle a été répandu par des personnes qui n'étaient pas du tout intéressés à en parler"). It was Scott, Le Métis reported, who tied a sash aroung Parisien's neck and tied it to a horse's tail (Il est dit que Scott attacha au cou de Parisien encore vivant, une ceinture, et qu'après avoir bien noué l'autre bout de la ceinture à la queue d'un cheval, Scott monta en croupe sur le même cheval . . .). Boulton, Reminiscences; Setter's account in Hill's History; Hart's account in 1921 Annual Report of the Association of Ontario Land Surveyors; Healy, Women of Red River; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows; St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870; Le Métis, April 25, 1874. Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 345.

102. Le Métis, April 25, 1874; A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, gives no names.

103. Setter says, "Wildred Bartlett and others", Hill, History, p. 285.

104. Begg's Journal, p. 310; Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 109; MacBeth, Making, p. 77; W. J. Healy, Women of Red River, p. 223.

105. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 109; Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 229.

106. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 223.

107. Ibid.

108. Begg's Journal, p. 314.

109. Begg's Journal, p. 105.

110. Globe, March 18, 1870; Montreal Witness report dated Feb. 19.

111. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 4; St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

112. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 223.

113. Begg's Journal, p. 310.

114. Globe, March 12, 1870, "Justitia's letter No. 11, dated Feb. 18, 1870.

115. Begg's Journal, p. 310.

116. Begg's Journal, p. 311.

117. Ibid.

118. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, Report of Donald A. Smith, p. 35.

119. Begg's Journal, p. 312; Schmidt's Memoir, p. 473; "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 22, Taché to Howe, March 11, 1870.

120. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, Report of Donald A. Smith, p. 35.

121. Begg's Journal, p. 311.

122. Begg's Journal, p. 312.

123. Globe, March 18, 1870, Montreal Witness report dated Feb. 19.

124. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870. "Hayes" should be Hay. "Hodges" should be Hodgson. "Beddame" should be Beddome.

125. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 223.

126. A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 230.

127. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19 Schultz Papers, Mair to Schultz, May 10, 1870.

128. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2 (Portage la Prairie, March 1), 1870.

129. D. N. Sprague and R. P. Frye, The Genealogy of the First Métis Nation.

130. For example, the Gunn family. See Dictionary of Canadian Biography, entry "Gunn".

131. Begg's Journal. p. 319.

132. Begg's Journal, p. 318.

133. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19 Schultz Papers, Schultz to Archibald, Sept. 6, 1870.

134. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Jan. 16, 1871.

135. Dictionary of Canadian Biography, entry "Gunn".

136. Nor'Wester, Oct. 26, 1869. The meeting was at the Rapids Schoolhouse, Oct. 19, 1869. Present were: Captain Kennedy, E. H. G. G. Hay, Donald Gunn, Rev. Gardiner, John Gunn, Bernard R. Ross, John Tait, Thomas Sinclair, Jr.

137. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 13: "This Hallett was . . . one of the ringleaders in the last prison-breaking." A. C. Garrioch, in First Furrows, p. 227, remarked: ". . . for the Red River set-

tlers under the Hudson's Bay regime had got into the habit--bad or otherwise--of releasing prisoners when in their judgment they were deserving of better treatment".

138. J. J. Hargrave, Red River, p. 426.

139. George McVicar, on his way to Ontario with schultz, wrote from Fort Frances on March 14 to his friend Alex Polson: "How was it that Kildonan did not turn out in that abortive movement?".

140. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 25.

141. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Malmros to Davis, Feb. 22, 1870.

142. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, Report of Donald Smith, p. 34.

143. "Dilworth and Self", p. 4.

144. Begg's Journal, p. 312.

145. Begg's Journal, p. 317.

146. Begg's Journal, p. 536.

147. Gaddy had been a leader in the plains hunt. Begg's Journal, p. 307.

148. F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Vol. III, p. 5.

149. W. J. Healy, Women of Red River, p. 230.

150. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 25.

151. "Justitia" wrote of horses having to "plunge" through the snow; Globe, March 12, 1870.

152. Begg's Journal, p. 309.

153. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 3.

154. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 111.

155. Three were published: St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870; Globe, March 18, report published in Montreal Daily Witness; Globe, Mar. 12, report by "Justitia". Another was entered in Begg's Journal, p. 310.

156. New Nation, Feb. 18, 1870.

157. A. C. Garrioch, First Furrows, p. 236.

158. PAM MG3 B9, McVicar Papers, George McVicar to Alex Polson, March 14 and April 3, 1870.

159. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 4.

160. There is a problem here. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 4, and "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 223, mention "Inkster's", while Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 112, mentions "Mr. Boyd's store at Point Douglas", as does Garrioch, First Furrows. It would appear that Boyd and Inkster were partners.

161. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 223.

162. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 112.

163. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 112.

164. Ibid.

165. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 113. The report was also recorded by Begg the same day: Begg's Journal, pp. 312-3.

166. Begg's Journal, "Memoir by Louis Riel", p. 537.

167. Globe, March 12, 1870, "Justitia" No. 11.

168. Boulton, Reminiscences, pp. 114-5.

169. "Charles Mair: A Document", p. 224.

170. "J. Dilworth and Self", p. 4, agrees that the party was disarmed.

171. Begg, Creation, p. 279.

Chapter Nine
The Execution of Thomas Scott[1]

Thomas Scott had made himself conspicuous in the Red River Settlement previous to the Insurrection. His behavior at Oak Point and his part in the Snow affair have been described. He took part in the activities of the "Canadian" party then using Garrett House as headquarters.[2] He established his own position in public affairs by taking up a collection of funds with which to welcome Mr. McDougall upon his arrival in the Settlement. He further involved himself at the time of the Schultz houses affair, and was taken prisoner while doing some sort of errand before the surrender of the others besieged in those buildings.

Louis Riel referred to Scott as "one of the most dangerous partisans of Dr. Schultz, of McDougall and of Dennis". Contemporary sources support this statement. An account of the Portage rising, written on March 1, 1870--before Scott's execution--and published in the St. Paul Daily Pioneer of April 2, 1870, mentioned William Gaddy as the leader of "an organization of eight", "composed mainly of English half-breeds with some Canadians, as Major Boulton, Mr. Scott of Toronto, Mr. Farmer and others under the leader, Mr. Gaddie [sic]".

Scott's part in the Portage rising is corroborated in another contemporary document. Charles Mair, in a letter to John C. Schultz written in early May of 1870, expressed his annoyance with Schultz's "recognition of the Manitoba Bill" without consulting with Mair where Portage la Prairie was concerned: "Any documentary reference to that settlement should of course have come from either Mr. Setter or myself, who in conjunction with Farmer and Scott devised the movement at the Portage."[3]

Scott, then,was not the obscure young Irishman taken out and shot for

no known reason whom we find in accounts of the Insurrection written by the Rev. George Young and others like Charles Mair who in later years dealt "in self-defence with the history of the transactions since Denis's [sic] call upon the Canadians . . .".[4] Scott was a key actor in the events of the rising of the Portage la Prairie men, and must take his share of the blame for the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien. Indeed, if we are to believe André Nault's statement, made many years after the event, Scott was responsible for the severe mauling which caused Parisien's death.[5] Let it be remembered that in the Portage rising Scott and the others could not be described as acting under orders received from McDougall through Dennis. They did what they did, furthermore, in the knowledge that most of the Settlement had come to recognize the Provisional Government and participate in it. They were, too, the first to mention the idea of a general amnesty--requesting one for themselves for what they had done.[6]

It must be observed here that if Riel and the Métis National Committee were guilty of riot during the winter of 1869-1870, the "Canadian" party were equally guilty of it. It must be noted, however, that if Riel and the Committee prevented the entry of McDougall into the Red River Settlement they were at least acting within the boundaries of their own Settlement. The "Canadian" party, on the other hand, recent comers to the Settlement, and in some cases--like Scott--with no stake in it whatsoever, had gone considerably astray in fortifying the Schultz buildings and preparing to make war on their new neighbors.

By what right did Farmer, Mair, Scott and the others encourage the men of Portage la Prairie to set off through the snow to Fort Garry? By

what right did Scott and Boulton search Coutu's and other houses to see if the leader of the Provisional Government was there? If Riel had been there what would have happened? Would they have killed him, or would they have taken him hostage? By what right did Schultz and his "general council for the force" take prisoners, requisition supplies from the people of the parishes near Kildonan and lay plans to take St. Boniface and attack Fort Garry? By what right did Dilworth fire at the fleeing Parisien, wounding him in the thigh? By what right did Scott and Bartlett tie a scarf around Parisien's neck and drag him behind the horse as one drags a toboggan? Would Schultz have answered that a civil war was being fought, and that these things were unfortunately necessary in such a struggle? Most likely. For his part, Riel would likely have said that since a provisional government had been agreed upon by representatives in a convention the Portage rising and the Schultz counter movement were nothing more dignified than rebellion.

Regardless of whether we choose to call these actions a civil war or incidents in the suppression of a rebellion, we have to admire the restraint with which the Provisional Government dealt with the band of armed men claiming to be on their way back to Portage la Prairie. No one was shot or injured. The Portage men were lodged in the same officers' quarters that had held prisoners earlier in the winter. While security was more strict than it had been then, before two weeks had passed the men would be offered opportunity to take part in the political processes then going on.[7]

All this is in marked contrast to an incident in Upper Canadian history which it is both useful and fitting to relate here because many of

the men in the "Canadian" party were from Upper Canada. Remarkably enough the incident involves persons and localities well known to some of those who have figured in our study. The incident took place during the battle of Windsor, an engagement in which--like the incidents at Red River--British subjects were to be found on both sides, some with well-known Canadian names. Also involved was one Colonel John Prince, whom we have already met elsewhere in this study.[8] Prince recorded the incident in an entry in his own diary as follows:

> 4 December 1838. A cold day. Awoke at 6 am by an alarm gun at Sandwich. Rose and saw a fire at Windsor. Proceeded there with the Militia and found it in possession of Brigands and Pirates. We attacked them and killed 27 and took about 20 prisoners. I ORDERED THE FIRST 5 TAKEN TO BE SHOT [emphasis his]. We lost 4 men. . . .[9]

It was later revealed that two of the prisoners, men named Bennett and Dennison, had been wounded. Another wounded man, who had been promised surgical assistance, was among those shot on orders from Prince. Seven more prisoners, who had been captured by a party of Indians then serving with the British forces, would have been shot too, had it not been for the interference of four men, one of them a clergyman. One of the men shouted to Prince, "For God's sake, do not let a white man murder what an Indian has spared". Col. Prince yielded to these entreaties, remarking to one of the men, a Mr. Elliott, that he would hold him responsible for the interference.

The affair rapidly became a cause célèbre, and although the displeasure of the Lieutenant-Governor was shown in no uncertain terms, Prince soon became a new hero of Upper Canada. His notoriety eventually reached Britain, where the debate on it in the House of Lords occupied three days. Lord Brougham stated that nothing but insanity could excuse Prince's

act. As a lawyer Brougham had no hesitation in saying that Colonel Prince was guilty of murder.[10] The incident did not hurt Prince's eligibility for public office.

Windsor was only a short distance from Amherstburg, the birthplace of John C. Schultz. The Prince affair was, no doubt, part of the military tradition upon which Schultz's most admiring biographer stated that Schultz was nourished.[11] When Prince died in the fall of 1870 Schultz's newspaper, the Manitoba News-Letter, called the attention of its Red River Settlement readers to the event.[12] Many years later Colonel G. T. Denison, of "Canada First", wrote admiringly of Colonel Prince's act: "His action aroused intense indignation in the States, and some criticism in England, but he certainly had the support of the great body of the Canadian people."[13]

The capture of the Portage party on the 17th of February did not mean the end of tensions in the settlement. Riel has described how in the last days of February the people of Portage la Prairie

> assumed, with all the Indians of the country, especially with those of their neighborhood, a posture so threatening that the métis ranged along the Assiniboine river between Fort Garry and Portage la Prairie, fearing for their families and their possessions which their enemies at the Portage openly spoke of coming to massacre and burn in a night raid, besought immediate protection from the Provisional Government . . . For the safety of the citizens, two detachments of métis soldiers were then stationed on the Assiniboine River. One was at Lane's Post, 24 miles from Fort Garry, the other at Baie St. Paul, ten miles farther on.[14]

Alexander Begg recorded in his Journal for February 21st and 24th that a force had been sent to that area.[15] That vicinity, the only one in the Settlement where French parishes--St. Francis Xavier East, St. Francis Xavier West and Baie St. Paul--had English parishes on both sides, was the scene of trouble for the Provisional Government on several occasions.

Incidents also took place there after the arrival of the Red River Expedition in August of 1870, and during the Archibald administration. "From hour to hour," Riel wrote,

> new troubles were expected to break out. These troubles would put the lives of citizens in jeopardy again; they tended to thwart the departure of the delegates.[16]

Affairs of state were pressing hard upon the Provisional Government. Plans had to be made for the holding of the first Council of the Provisional Government. That Council was expected to assemble on March 7th or 8th, but did not do so until the 9th.[17] Arrangements had to be made for the provisioning of families at White Horse Plains whose men had been pressed into the service of the Provisional Government.[18] People were complaining about the hardships caused by the shutting down of Robert Tait's mill.[19] In the Fort itself it was necessary to take steps to maintain discipline among the men.[20] There were many reasons for not wanting a court martial just then.

By the first days of March the Provisional Government had proved to the Settlement--if proof were needed--that it was not interested in taking life, either for the sake of taking life or for purposes of revenge. The famous buffalo-hunter Gaddy, the ring-leader of the Portage movement, had been permitted to make his escape from the bastion in which he had been imprisoned, and this was gradually becoming common knowledge.[21] True, the life of Boulton, the reluctant commander of the Portage men, was used by Riel as a pawn in the chess-game of power politics, but Boulton behaved himself honorably and lived to tell of his imprisonment.[22] Farmer, another of the Portage conspirators, was released unharmed.[23] Murdoch McLeod, although sentenced by court-martial to die, was, like Boulton, spared and asked to join the Provisional Government.[24] Only in the case of

Thomas Scott was the decision of a court-martial carried out. We must now strive to discover why this was. Our task is not made easier by the fact that such men as Boulton, Mair and Rev. George Young, soon discovered a fact about the Macdonald-Cartier government's underpinnings, and began to write "in self-defence" about "the history of the transactions since Denis's [sic] call upon the Canadians . . . ."[25]

At the end of February and the beginning of March Riel and his councillors were learning something about the underpinnings of the Provisional Government. The guards in Fort Garry had reached the end of their patience, and were demanding the court-martial and execution of Thomas Scott.

Scott's life was spared on one occasion which has been recorded, and there may have been others. Let us examine what is known about it. There is a problem concerning the date of the event. Riel wrote about it in two different accounts, but gave different dates in each. In a short article entitled "L'Affaire Scott" Riel wrote as follows:

> On the last day of February Thomas Scott was so violent that some of the Métis, in a fit of exasperation seized him, dragged him out, and were preparing to sacrifice him when one of the French councillors came by, snatched him away from them, and sent him back under guard to his cell . . . .[26]

In a longer work entitled "Memoir by Louis Riel on the Course and Purpose of the Red River Resistance", written in 1874, Riel described what seems to be the same event as follows:

> Thus captured for the second time, Scott did not fail to distinguish himself in prison by the violence of his conduct, especially on the first of March. On that day Thomas Scott and M. McLeod forced the doors of their prison, threw themselves on the guards, urged their companions to do the same. The Métis who had always treated their prisoners with great consideration were so indig-

> nant in view of these outrages that they drew Scott outside the establishment and were going to put him to death, when one of their representatives released him . . .[27]

The incident became public knowledge, and on March 1st Alexander Begg mentioned it in his journal:

> Scott one of the prisoners is in irons for having been indiscreet in the use of his tongue while in prison.[28]

What happened next has also been described twice by Riel. In the short article he wrote as follows:

> On March 1 Riel was notified and at once investigated the circumstances of this affair, trying to pacify the guards, but on this very day Thomas Scott renewed his outrageous conduct and the soldiers made a great outcry demanding that the matter should be left to the military court.

In the longer "Memoir" Riel went into greater detail:

> All demanded that Scott be taken before a Council of War. It must not be imagined that Scott was at once delivered to a court-martial. The President of the Provisional Government sought to avoid that extremity, by having Scott brought before him. He invited him to consider his position seriously, begging him, so to speak, whatever his convictions, to be silent and remain quiet in prison; so that, said the President, I may have a reason for preventing your being brought before the Council of the Adjutant-General, as the métis soldiers loudly insist.

What was Scott's response to these efforts on his behalf? In the short article Riel wrote that

> Riel did all he could to extract from Scott a promise of peaceable conduct: Scott jeered at him and insulted him.

In the longer "Memoir" Riel recorded simply that "Scott scorned everybody, and persisted in his defiant conduct".

These accounts of Scott's conduct are corroborated by contemporary

ones. Two days after the execution of Scott the correspondent of Le Courrier de St. Hyacinthe reported to his newspaper that, after insulting the President and attacking a captain and a soldier "Scott's insolence was so great that Captain Boulton asked to be allowed into Scott's room in order to make him be quiet".[29]

Both of Riel's accounts agree that the"council of war" took place on the 3rd of March. In his "Memoir" Riel wrote of this court-martial as follows:

> The third of March we made Scott appear before a council of war. He was examined with sworn testimony: he was convicted and condemned to death.

As both W. L. Morton and G. F. G. Stanley have pointed out, such "courts-martial" were part of Métis custom.[30] When they were on the hunt both the presence of numerous Indian tribes and the need to make a successful hunt required absolutely that the Métis act in a disciplined manner, according to rules made in advance and based upon principles accepted by all. There is a Métis tradition about a family of Métis which obstinately refused to obey the laws of the hunt. The Deschamps were "bad people". They were warned. They persisted in their disobedience. One morning the entire family was found dead. No one ever knew what happened, but the lesson was perfectly clear, and passed into the folklore of the plains.[31]

There is evidence that the Métis leaders gave considerable thought to the problem posed by the presence of the intractable Scott. Father G. Dugas recalled that in discussions with people like Boulton, who interceded on Scott's behalf, Riel answered like this:

> If I set him free, before two weeks have passed it won't be one life but several lives which will be sacrificed, since he is determined to

> conspire against the Provisional Government as soon as he's free.[32]

What were the Métis to do with a man like Scott, who wouldn't stop his conspiring when he was free and wouldn't behave when in prison? The Métis agonized, but not for long. They made Scott appear before a court-martial.

What is known of the culmination of this three-hour court-martial is from the evidence of Joseph Nolin at the trial of Ambroise Lépine in 1874:

> The first motion for death was by [J.] Ritchot, seconded by André Nault. Goulet and Delorme voted yea along with the mover and seconder. Lajemoniere [sic] voted that it would be better to exile him. Baptiste Lépine voted nay. Ambroise [Lépine] said the majority want his death so he shall be put to death.[33]

Scott's obstinacy persisted even when he was on trial for his life. When Elzéar Lagimodière suggested that it would be better to exile Scott, and offered to take Scott to the border, Scott replied, "Take me there if you will. I will be back as soon as you."[34]

The Rev. George Young found Scott difficult to get along with as he attempted to prepare the convicted man to face the prospect of death. The Courrier de St. Hyacinthe reported that Scott told Young that he belonged to no religion. Young told Riel this, no doubt in an effort to gain more time or even a stay of execution. Riel suggested that Young try using the crucifix. Then Riel ordered "all the soldiers of the fort to fall on their knees and pray for the soul of the condemned man".[35] We have it on Donald Smith's authority that the priest leading the men in prayer was Father Lestanc.[36] In his article in the Telegraph written in September of that same year, Young indignantly denied that such a prayer service had taken place, and insisted that Scott "entered into all the

exercises with a warmth which showed how his heart was with them and that he felt as a brave Christian man ought to feel when about to die".[37] Years later, however, when he prepared his Manitoba Memories, Young changed his mind:

> I cannot affirm that no such prayer-meeting was held by this devout (?) "president" and his guards, many of whom were in a state of semi-intoxication at that hour; but I do affirm that Mr. Scott was from the first most attentive to my ministrations, and, so far as appeared, contrite in spirit . . . .[38]

It is noticeable, too, that in 1893, when he wrote for the Christian Guardian, Young wrote as follows:

> I deeply regret to have to add that he was not when we first met, professedly a Christian. Soon and sorrowfully did he make known to me that he had deteriorated somewhat since coming to the North-West.[39]

Scott was executed by firing-squad on March 4th.[40]

By March 4th, 1870, more than two weeks after the capture of the Portage party, the Métis National Committee and the Provisional Government had had men under arms for something in excess of 134 days and had occupied Fort Garry for 122 of them.[41] In that time the Provisional Government had met the provocative moves of the Schultz houses incident, the march of the Portage men, the gathering at Kildonan and the return march of the rump of the Portage party without the loss of a single life in the areas under its control. The two men who had been killed at Kildonan were both Settlement men, and Portage men were responsible for their deaths. Yet, where the Provisional Government could have with justification made an example of any one of a number of Portage men by executing him immediately, no such example was made. Uppermost in the minds of Riel and his councillors was the formation of a Provisional Government with the widest possible base to negotiate with Canada, and any threats

used where Boulton and Murdoch McLeod were concerned had this in mind. It is impossible to view the available evidence without admiring the restraint with which the only functioning government in the Red River Settlement dealt with problems in the period following McTavish's invitation to come into the Fort.

It was, of course, unfortunate that Scott was executed. However, it would be both absurd and naive to say that what happened at Windsor in 1838 and was described by Brougham as "murder" was the same as what happened in Fort Garry on March 3rd and 4th, 1870. Statecraft has its "exigencies",[42] as Riel said, and to say otherwise would be as futile as it would be foolish. A provisional government existed and acted responsibly. It had the active support of a majority of the parishes and the grudging acquiescence of the rest, which is all that can be said of any government that has taken the trouble to win popular majority support.

The execution of Scott has been described as both a "political blunder" and "an unfortunate error of judgment".[43] To decide thus is to expect Louis Riel and his councillors to know something which they could not be expected to know, and which it was not necessary for them to know in the ordinary processes of Settlement statecraft. They could not know where the underpinnings of Sir. John A. Macdonald's support were, for few enough men knew at the time, and these men were extremely careful whom they shared their knowledge with. Moreover, they could not know that Sir John Young, the Governor-General of Canada--the Queen's representative--was prepared to act in a partisan manner towards the people of the Red River Settlement.

This, however, is to anticipate events. At this point it is impor-

tant to underline one fact. The decision of the Macdonald government to send an expeditionary force to Red River was taken on February 11th,[44] the day before the Portage men set out from that place to surprise Fort Garry.[45] When the execution of Scott took place arrangements concerning the expeditionary force were three weeks under way.

The Provisional Government's aim of "making order triumph"[46] was finally achieved with the execution of Scott. With one of the chief agitators thus dealt with and others either safely behind bars or on their way to Canada the Red River Settlement entered upon a period of peace. This point must be emphasized. Begg was able to make such entries in his journal as the following : "Wednesday, 6th April . . . Confidence is becoming more and more fixed every day. . ."; "Wednesday, 4th May . .. The Settlement remains quiet . . ."; "Saturday, 11th June . . . Everything quiet in the settlement . . ."; "Monday, 11th July . . . Everything remains quiet . . ."

Beginning with the capture of the Portage party on February 18 the Red River Settlement enjoyed six months of general peace, the like of which it had not seen since before the spring of 1869 and would not see again until the mid-1870's.

Footnotes

1. There is good discussion of what historians have had to say about this event before 1925 in A. H. de Trémaudan, "The Execution of Thomas Scott", in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. VI, No. 3, Sept. 1925. W. L. Morton, in his introduction to Begg's Journal, gives one interpretation of this event. G. F. G. Stanley's Louis Riel has a chapter, No. 6, on it.

   There is, too, a problem connected with the identity of Scott, and historians, both local and national, have struggled with it. Scott's alleged career in the militia is a case in point. In the centennial publication Historic Hastings Gerald E. Boyce quotes, on page 102, these words from Stanley's statement on page 111 of Louis Riel: "the finest looking man in the battalion . . . about six feet two inches in height . . . an Orangeman, loyal to the backbone". Stanley's footnote indicates that the quotation came from an April, 1897, letter of George Young to Charles Mair, quoting Captain Rawe, of Madoc, commander of Scott's militia company at Stirling, Ontario. The letter is no longer to be found in the Mair papers at Queen's, nor is it in the United Church Archives in Toronto. In any event, there is doubt about Scott's militia career. The 49th Regiment 'Hastings Rifles' was authorized on Sept. 14, 1866, as the "49th Hastings Battalion of Infantry". (Canadian Army Historical Section, The Regiments and Corps of the Canadian Army, p. 146.) The Stirling Company was No. 2 Company in that Battalion. A nominal roll and covering letter from G. H. Boulter, April 10, 1866, as well as company pay lists for 1867 and 1868 are in the Public Archives of Canada (R. G. 9, C1, Vol. 229, Docket 758) (R. G. 9, IIF6, Vol. 122). The name Thomas Scott does not appear in these lists. A search of pay lists for the Hastings Militia for the period 1866 to 1870 likewise did not reveal that name (R. G. 9, IIF6, Vol. 122) (R. G. 9, IC6, Volumes 18 to 20, R. G. 9, IIB4, Vol. 4).

2. Saskatchewan Archives, Diary of P. G. Laurie, pp. 32, 41, 46.

3. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Mair to Schultz, May 10, 1870.

4. Ibid.

5. A. H. de Trémaudan, op. cit., pp. 228-9.

6. New Nation, Feb. 18, 1870.

7. Major Boulton, Reminiscences, pp. 126-7.

8. See above, chapter entitled "The Insurrection--William McDougall".

9. R. Alan Douglas (ed), John Prince: A Collection of Documents, (afterwards John Prince), p. 26. See also The Michigan State Historical Society's Pioneer Collections, Vols. 12 (1887), 13 (1888), 21 (1892).

10. R. Alan Douglas (ed), John Prince, pp. xxviii-xxix.

11. F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Vol. III, p. 5.

12. News-Letter, Nov. 8, 1870.

13. G. T. Denison, Soldiering, p. 28.

14. "Memoir" , Begg's Journal, p. 540.

15. Begg's Journal, pp. 310, 321.

16. "Memoir" , Begg's Journal, p. 542; Courrier de St. Hyacinthe, March 24, 1870 (Fort Garry, Feb. 26).

17. Begg's Journal, p. 333.

18. Begg's Journal, pp. 323-4; 327.

19. Begg's Journal, p. 327.

20. Begg's Journal, p. 326.

21. Begg's Journal has a number of references to Gaddy: pp. 306, 312-7, 330, 537 (from Riel's "Memoir ").

22. G. Dugas, Histoire, pp. 167-8; Boulton, Reminiscences, pp. 116-134.

23. The list of prisoners is in Begg's Journal, p. 315.

24. F. N. Shrive, "Charles Mair: A Document of the Red River Rebellion", in CHR, Vol. 40, 1959, p. 225.

25. See note 4.

26. The original and a translation are given in the article by de Trémaudan cited above. See pages 230-1; 235.

27. This was originally published by Le Nouveau Monde in February of 1874. It was copied in part in Le Métis, Feb. 21, 1874, and in full in Le Métis, Feb. 28, 1874. The text is in Begg's Journal, pp. 527-550.

28. Begg's Journal, p. 326.

29. Le Courrier de St. Hyacinthe, April 2, 1870 (Fort Garry, March 6).

30. W. L. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal, pp. 112-3; Stanley, Louis Riel, pp. 112-3.

31. Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces, p. 21.

32. Dugas, Histoire, p. 168.

33. Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine For The Murder of Thomas Scott, pp. 120-1; see also "The Lépine Trial Continued" in The Manitoba Daily Free Press, Oct. 30, 1874.

34. A. H. de Trémaudan, op. cit., p. 231 (footnote).

35. Le Courrier de St. Hyacinthe, April 2, 1870 (Fort Garry, March 6). Globe published a translation on April 6, 1870.

36. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, Smith's Report, p. 41.

37. Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 4).

38. Rev. George Young, Manitoba Memories, (afterwards Memories), p. 134.

39. Rev. George Young, "Reminiscences" in Christian Guardian, April 26, 1893.

40. Begg's Journal, p. 327.

41. The Courrier de St. Hyacinthe for Jan. 4, 1870, published a report, dated December 11 at Fort Garry, which stated that Métis soldiers had been sleeping on the ground for "nearly two months". That would place the mobilization of forces at, say, October 15, just a few days after the stopping of Webb's surveying party by the Métis. Begg, in his Journal, wrote on November 15 that "some of [the French] have been eighteen days on guard". That would place mobilization at, say, October 29. However, Hyman's affidavit (Begg, Creation of Manitoba, p. 34-6), concerning "some twenty men . . . fully armed" was dated October 22. Possibly October 21, the day before, was the date of the general mobilization of forces under the Committee. See Cowan's diary entry for Oct. 22: "Hyman's affidavit-people collecting at Rivire Sale to opp. Mr. McDougall and party coming in." (PAC Cowan's Diary for 1869).

42. A. H. de Trémaudan, op. cit., p. 236.

43. G. F. G. Stanley used both terms on pages 116-7 of Louis Riel. W. L. Morton wrote of a "political blunder" on page 115 of Begg's Journal. In view of what is now known about the events of the days immediately before the execution A. S. Morton's use of the term "passionate bloody deed" hardly seems appropriate (A History of the Canadian West, p. 909).

44. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Minute of Council, Feb. 11, 1870.

45. Boulton, Reminiscences, p. 101.

46. Begg's Journal, "Memoir by Louis Riel . . .", p. 542. See also Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 310.

Chapter Ten
The Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act

There were several sets of delegates in Ottawa in the spring of 1870, some official, and some not. We have now to see how these delegates were received and the negotiations conducted. It is appropriate to deal first with those who arrived first.

Immediately after their unsuccessful effort at upsetting the Provisional Government Schultz and his associates left for Canada. Schultz travelled with Monkman and G. D. McVicar by way of Rainy River, Duluth and St. Paul, while Mair, accompanied by J. J. Setter, made a long swing across the prairies from Portage la Prairie to St. Paul, bypassing Pembina, where there was danger that they would be recognized. Accounts of Schultz's arrival in St. Paul on March 31st were published in the newspapers,[1] and the "Canada First" committee set about arranging a reception for them in Toronto.[2] Colonel Denison has told how there was so little general interest at that time in the fate of the Canadians at Red River that the first meeting was held in private, "so much did we dread the indifference of the public and the danger of our efforts being a failure". He has also told how his own speech aroused this private meeting[3] to the point where a request was made to the mayor for a public meeting, and how from the 2nd to the 6th of April the committee worked to urge its "friends" to attend the meeting. When Schultz, Lynch, Monkman and Drever arrived on the 6th of April one thousand people met them at the station. The meeting itself was to have been held in the St. Lawrence Hall, but the crowd was so large that it was decided to use the Market Square instead, the speakers standing on the roof of the porch of the old City

Hall. The inflammatory editorials of The Daily Telegraph, written by W. A. Foster and published with the approval of George Kingsmill, a "Canada First" committee member, were beginning to have their effect.[4] The resolutions adopted at the meeting urged the government to send an expedition to Red River, and to refuse to receive the "emissaries of those who have robbed, imprisoned and murdered loyal Canadians".[5]

Foster and Denison met with Lynch, Mair and Schultz and planned the strategy to be followed in the succeeding days.[6] Denison decided to go with the others to Ottawa to press their claims and give their advice.[7] In the meantime Dr. Canniff and other members sent word to friends at Cobourg, Belleville and Prescott to organize demonstrations of welcome at the various points along their route to the capital. Throughout Ontario committees set to work to plan "indignation meetings" and pass resolutions. If a local man was a "Red River refugee" or "sufferer" he was invited to speak at the meeting.[8] But if no local man was available a meeting was held anyway and resolutions passed.[9] Ottawa was soon inundated with the resolutions passed at these meetings.

Of all the "refugees" Schultz was having the best time. He soon learned what his audience liked to hear and saw to it that they went away satisfied.[10] He found it best to take the line that the Métis were a fine, but misguided, people, of whom a small minority were temporarily under the influence of a demogogue. He even managed to tell audiences that Mrs. Schultz herself was a Métisse, thus proving to his listeners that he had nothing personally against the Métis people.[11] His progress to Ottawa was a triumph. At Cobourg a 20-minute stop at one o'clock in the morning saw an enthusiastic meeting. A stop at Belleville a couple

of hours later was equally successful, and Mair and Setter stayed there to address a public meeting later in the day. A meeting at Prescott also gave a warm welcome to the Red River guests.[12]

In Ottawa Denison went to see Prime Minister Macdonald, and urged him not to receive the Red River delegates at all, but to "send someone to meet them and advise them to return". Macdonald replied that he "would have to receive them"; he could not help himself; the British government were favorable to their reception.[13] Bitterly disappointed, Denison reported this result to Schultz and Lynch, and it was decided that, since Lynch had been requested by his fellow prisoners in Fort Garry to represent their views,[14] he should put their case before the Governor General. Denison later claimed to have drafted the protest which Lynch wrote out and signed on April 12th, the day that Ritchot and Scott were first received by Cartier.[15] Copies of this protest were sent to the press and widely published.[16] As a result of Lynch's letter Sir John Young asked Lynch to come and see him, and a "lengthy interview" took place.[17]

While Denison and Lynch were busy in Ottawa, Schultz had errands to do in Montreal. Creditors there were pressing for payment of accounts unpaid since long before the Insurrection in 1869.[18] He had no money for them yet, but began to see his way clear to receiving compensation for his losses. Before he could make any claim in Ottawa, however, he must have some kind of documentation from his creditors[19] since he had no way of knowing what his losses were, having received nothing but hearsay information as to the state of his property in Red River. Then, too, there was a suggestion of Cartier's which he must follow up. Through Cartier, Schultz was made acquainted with Henry Starnes, a prominent member

of the Montreal business community. Cartier had known Starnes since the events of 1837. Starnes had been mayor of Montreal in 1856-7 and then again from 1866 to 1868. In 1870 he was member for Salaberry of the Legislative Council of the province of Quebec.[20] Starnes arranged through Sir Howard Crauford Elphinstone for Schultz's presentation to Prince Arthur, Queen Victoria's 7th child and third son, then visiting Canada. Elphinstone was a veteran of the Crimean campaign, having won the Victoria Cross for fearless conduct on the night of the attack on Redan. He lost an eye at the final assault on Sebastopol. He had been governor to Prince Arthur since 1859.[21]

With the approval of the province of Ontario filling the newspapers and his presentation to the Queen's son capping[22] the climax Schultz was becoming something of an imperial figure, and when he requested letters from his creditors there was no difficulty, and he was able to return to Ottawa with the best of recommendations. There was also the question of getting some kind of an advance payment to take care of the expenses of such people as Lynch and Mair, who would want to return to Red River.[23] April 19 found Schultz back in Ottawa giving evidence before the Select Committee of Rupert's Land and Red River.[24]

In Montreal again he called on Sir Stafford Northcote, then at the St. Lawrence Hall. Northcote had been sent to Canada to meet the Red River delegates when they arrived, and, if he thought it necessary, to go to Red River. His errand was to protect the Hudson's Bay Company's interests, make the Company's claim for compensation and, if need be, to help to restore order in Red River. Schultz expressed his suspicion that Hudson's Bay Company officers had assisted in the Métis movement, but he did

not give Northcote any specific information.[25] April 25 found Schultz back in Ottawa again.[26]

While Schultz was shuttling back and forth between Ottawa and Montreal, a group of men well known to him were the centre of attention as they gave evidence before a Select Committee of the Senate on the Subject of Rupert's Land, Red River and the North-West Territory. To use the language of the Report, "the presence at Ottawa, during the existing Session of Parliament, of a number of persons recently from Red River, all more or less personally familiar with the North-West Territory" made it convenient for the Senate to call upon them for their assessment of the potential, agricultural and otherwise, of the territory soon to become part of Canada.

Hearings began on April 14th, when J. J. Setter, a Portage la Prairie farmer and school-teacher, and Mair's companion on the long trip to St. Paul, gave evidence. Joseph Monkman, one of Schultz's associates on his trip via Duluth to St. Paul, was heard on the 14th and 16th. Both Setter and Monkman were natives of Rupert's Land. The Rev. William Fletcher, an Aberdeenshire Scot who had lived in Canada for 20 years but had been in Rupert's Land only 18 months, completed the work of the 16th. On the 18th the Committee heard from Donald Codd, Dr. James Lynch and Arthur Hamilton. All three had gone to Red River in 1869. Major Boulton, who had reluctantly taken command of the Portage counter movement in February, testified on the 10th, as did Schultz. Charles Garrett, a resident of Red River of eleven years standing, gave evidence on the 21st and 22nd. Charles Mair was heard on April 25th, when the Select Committee wound up its hearings.[27] All these men had been active in one way or another with

the so-called "Canadian" party in the events of the preceding fall and winter, and Schultz, of course, was a member of "Canada First".[28]

Also present in Ottawa were at least three other men with Red River experience. These were William Drever,[29] Peter McArthur,[30] and John Snow.[31] There may have been others but of these we are certain.

By April 25th, then, when Cartier and Macdonald began to negotiate with the three "delegates" from Red River,[32] the "Canadian" party and "Canada First" had had plenty of time to use their influence at Ottawa.

It is time now to consider the three men sent with instructions by the Provisional Government at Red River to negotiate with the Canadian government. These men had left Red River in late March and made their way south, reaching St. Cloud, Minnesota, on April 6th. The trails were "frightful"[33] and Judge Black stopped to rest a few miles from Fort Abercrombie. Ritchot, Scott and De Salaberry--on his way home--went on without him. From St. Cloud the three travelled by train to St. Paul, and on to Chicago and Detroit. They had intended to use the most direct route through western Ontario and Toronto. However, in St. Paul they heard of efforts being made to arrest them or molest them when they reached Canadian territory. De Salaberry wired to Sir John A. Macdonald for advice and received the answer,"Avoid Ontario and come by Buffalo".[34] This they did, and travelling through Rome reached Ogdensburg on Monday, April 11th. There they were met by Gilbert McMicken, who had been sent by the government to escort them to Ottawa. On April 12th Ritchot met Sir George Cartier, who informed him of the agitation which had been caused by "a class of men who only sought to cause trouble for the government". Cartier hoped that the agitation would calm down, and assured Ritchot that

negotiations would begin as soon as Judge Black arrived. That same day Ritchot met the secretary of state for the provinces, Joseph Howe, and told him that discussions could begin as soon as Judge Black arrived. On the evening of the 12th rumors circulated that warrants for the arrest of Ritchot and Scott had been issued in Toronto, and that evening Scott was arrested.[35] Colonel Denison has described the efforts of "Canada First" to have warrants issued and Scott and Ritchot sent to Toronto.[36] On the morning of the 13th Ritchot was told that he was to be arrested, and after consultation with friends he walked to the court house, where the warrant was served on him. On the 14th Ritchot and Scott were brought before the judge, who declared that the Toronto magistrate had no jurisdiction over them, and that they ought to be set free. No sooner was this done than Ritchot and Scott were arrested on a new warrant arranged for by Denison.[37] The case was adjourned on several occasions, and it was not until April 23 that they were set at liberty on the grounds of insufficient evidence.[38]

It is difficult to understand what Denison and his associates of "Canada First" thought could be accomplished by having Ritchot and Scott arrested on the charge of aiding and abetting in the "murder" of Thomas Scott. Whether or not they succeeded in embarrassing the Canadian government is open to question. The government was already much embarrassed by the excitement caused by the "Canada First" agitation set in motion in early April, and meetings were still being held all across Ontario and a flood of resolutions was reaching the government. Denison, with his experience in the processes of the law,[39] may have had some idea of proving that, since Canadian courts had a certain jurisdiction in cases originat-

ing in Rupert's Land, the Macdonald-Cartier administration was in some way responsible for the sequence of events at Red River the previous winter and was neglecting its duty.[40] More than one person has wondered if the three delegates were not entitled to some form of "diplomatic immunity" as they came to negotiate on a matter of the importance, the future of the people of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory. Ritchot certainly shared this belief, and said so in his letter of the 20th of April to the Governor General, Sir John Young.[41] One thing is certain; the arrest of the two delegates brought about a delay of nearly two weeks in the negotiations leading to the passage of the Manitoba Act. Did this delay actually suit the Macdonald-Cartier administration? We must keep this question in mind as we examine the evidence available. For one is struck by the seeming passivity or indifference of the government to the arrival and presence in Ottawa of three men who had come hundreds of miles as a result of an invitation issued by them. Howe received Ritchot "with politeness" on April 12th, and did not ask him for his credentials. This enabled Macdonald, when questioned in the House, to say, on the 19th,

> No person has presented credentials as yet. Rev. Mr. Ritchot called on the Secretary of State for the Provinces and said he had come from Red River, but would defer submitting anything until the arrival of Judge Black.[42]

Why did Howe not ask for credentials then? From an administrative point of view would it not have been efficient to deal with each set of credentials as it arrived?

Macdonald met Judge Black personally on the 17th, a Sunday, and had a "general conversation". Judge Black "had not as yet been officially recognized".[43]

This meeting of Macdonald's with Judge Black led J. W. Taylor, the American special agent in Ottawa to observe the course of events, to speculate whether an effort would be made by the Canadian government "to separate Judge Black from the the other members of the delegation".[44] Judge Black was asked by the Select Committee of the Senate to appear before it on the 20th, but Judge Black declined.[45]

Christopher Dunkin, the minister of agriculture, called to see Ritchot on the 19th, and struck Ritchot as "very likable".[46] Evidently it was only a personal call. By the 20th Ritchot was sufficiently upset about the slowness with which developments were occurring that he appealed to the Governor General. On the 21st he wrote to Howe, informing him

> with firmness that I cannot understand the manner in which we are treated, considering that we have come at the invitation and consequently with the protection of the national honor.[47]

One can sympathize with Ritchot in his impatience. It was now nine days since Howe had received him "with politeness".

Perhaps in response to this last letter Ritchot was visited on the 22nd by Cartier and invited to a semi-official interview the next day with both Cartier and Macdonald. Ritchot and Judge Black were at this interview, which was the first Ritchot had seen of Macdonald. Scott's absence has not been explained. Ritchot noted in his diary that their instructions were still not "asked for".[48] It must be noted here that this interview of the 23rd was at eleven o'clock of the same day Ritchot and Scott were to appear in court. It cannot be argued that negotiations had to be put off because of pending appearances in court. And if it was possible for them to arrange to see Ritchot it should also have been possible for them to arrange to see Scott. Judge Black, of course, was

never arrested, being often referred to by the press as the "loyal delegate".[49]

Ritchot was never to have his credentials "asked for". He had to insist rather bluntly on some kind of recognition during the meeting of April 25th and it was not until April 26th that Howe gave them letters of recognition as delegates of the "North-West".[50]

Ritchot was annoyed to notice, too, that Cartier and Macdonald were attempting to open negotiations on the basis of the Bill of Rights drawn up by the Assembly of Twenty-four and that of the Convention of Forty. He could contain himself no longer. He said to them that they had been kept waiting for two weeks without receiving an official acknowledgment of any kind. He reminded Cartier of things that had been said when Cartier met him for the first time. Ritchot had said then that he was "ready to do everything that would help the government provided that it was not harmful to the success" of the delegates' mission. He then asked Cartier if that was not a true summary of what had been said, and if Ritchot had not behaved as he had said he would. Cartier had to agree. Ritchot then said that he was reaching the end of his patience. He was not prepared to begin negotiations until he knew where the delegation stood officially. In reply Cartier stated that the delegates were officially recognized in that, on the 12th, he had come to welcome them in the name of his colleagues, and that he and Macdonald were delegates of the ministry sent to hear them. It was only when Ritchot insisted on something in writing that Cartier promised that a written statement of their status would be made.[51]

At that point Ritchot began negotiations by saying that a general

amnesty was a sine qua non of any settlement. And at this point in his diary Ritchot made a very significant note: "I had made our observations on the dispatch of troops."[52] By the 25th of April it was general knowledge that there was to be an expedition to Red River.[53] Plans for the expedition had been proceeding for months, but only in April with the agitation begun by "Canada First" did a general discussion of the matter begin. Public opinion was by no means unanimous on the desirability of such an expedition, even in Ontario, and much of Quebec was solidly against it, it being seen there that such an expedition could only be viewed as punitive. As of April 25th, when negotiations began, Ritchot knew, and Macdonald and Cartier both knew that he knew, that troops would soon be on the way to Red River. It was obvious that, from that point on, negotiations would go forward with a gun pointed at the delegates. There is no doubt that Cartier and Macdonald knew this and knew the significance of it. There is light on this in a letter written by Wolseley to his brother Dick on the sixth of April, just a day after Wolseley had learned of his appointment as commanding officer of the Red River Expedition. In that letter he wrote,

> The government is anxious that everything should be done quietly for as they expect some vagabond delegates from Mr. Riel's government to go to Ottawa they do not wish it to appear that they are preparing for war whilst they are also professing to treat amicably.[54]

As of April 25th that very state of affairs existed. It explains adequately a number of things which are otherwise inexplicable.

Ritchot's annoyance and impatience must have turned to mystification when negotiations began concerning land. Ritchot had studied the British North America Act, and knew that in asking for control of their own land

the people of the province-to-be were only insisting on what the people of the four Canadian provinces already had. He may also have known that local control of lands and resources was a basic principle of administration throughout the British Empire. Moreover, it is certain that Ritchot had seen and discussed the "memorandum"[55] which de Salaberry and Thibault had brought with them when they came to Red River as special commissioners. In this document "members of the Canadian government" had answered what appeared to be the complaints that the people of Red River were making in their resistance to Canadian methods in bringing about the transfer. Point 5 of this document contained the statement that "under Confederation each province has the control of Public Lands and all monies arising from the sale of Crown Lands, mines, minerals, etc etc. In the United States the Federal Government takes all the money obtained by the sale of public lands."

What had changed between midwinter and the spring? Ritchot knew that there was little reason for difficulty in the negotiations. The demands of the people of Red River were basically in the spirit of the B. N. A. Act. One can imagine his astonishment, then, at his discovery that Macdonald and Cartier were not prepared to "grant" what any British colonial administrator would have considered as fundamental in the formation of a new province. They wished to depart from the basic principle of the British North America Act and withhold control over land from the province which was to be organized. What Cartier and Macdonald were proposing was illegal, unconstitutional and completely out of harmony with British colonial practice.[56] It is interesting to note here that when Ritchot and the other delegates made this intriguing discovery they already

had in their hands a "draft of a bill". Negotiations with the Red River delegates had gone on for only two days; they had hit upon a very controversial matter and, yet, they had a draft of a bill in their hands!

As Ritchot recorded in his diary,

> The ministers persisted in claiming control of the lands and offered one hundred thousand acres of land to be bestowed on the children of the Métis. Impossible to accept that. But after we reflect seriously on it we could perhaps yield control of the lands of the province on the following conditions, that is to say . . .[57]

Here Ritchot has described the crossing of a very important Rubicon. In Canadian history it marks the break with British colonial precedent, signalling the end of the Canadian federal system as originally designed, and the beginning of a revolutionary change which would make the Canadian government more of an imperial power than a federal power. For Ritchot its acceptance immediately meant that he must descend from a discussion of principles and haggle like a customer in an Algerian market for the setting aside of enough land to meet the immediate needs of his people in Red River. In a few hours he must decide what he thought a legislative committee of the new legislature would take weeks to do! Ritchot was a successful farmer in his own right,[58] and knew something of the problems that his people were facing as they abandoned their semi-nomadic, semi-agricultural way of life of the previous decades. The figure arrived at was 1,400,000 acres.[59] The understanding arrived at was that the distribution of these lands should be carried out under the supervision of the local legislature and under legislation ensuring "the continuance of these lands in the Métis families".[60]

How was Ritchot's assent to the radical changes gained? The prep-

arations for a Red River Expedition have already been mentioned. Why did not Ritchot send a telegram to Riel at this point in the negotiations, saying that it appeared that the Ministers had changed their position on the land question, and that the Métis should prepare to resist the Red River Expedition? In short, why did Ritchot and Scott not break off negotiations and return home? In the discussions of April 27th on the land question Ritchot had reminded Cartier and Macdonald that where he was concerned there was something more important than "making a settlement". It was also necessary to have it accepted:

> . . . that as far as I was concerned I neither could nor wished to charge myself with getting accepted those offers made by the ministers and accepted by Mr. Black, that if that gentleman wished and could get them accepted by the people, I would accept them willingly. Mr. Black said frankly that he could not get those arrangements accepted.[61]

It has to be pointed out that by this stage of the negotiations Judge Black had sided with Cartier and Macdonald three times in discussions about the form of government to be set up in Manitoba. Ritchot and Scott had insisted upon the formation of a province with a bicameral legislature.[62] When the discussions turned to the matter of the control of the land Black had to admit that the people of Red River would not accept Dominion control of the land.

Yet Ritchot and Scott decided to compromise on this issue. Why? There can only be one answer. They had already been given assurances on a matter which was considered to be of even greater importance and was their sine qua non. That sine qua non was the granting of a general amnesty, which had been dealt with the previous day. Cartier and Macdonald had begun by saying that it was not "within their competence", but

when told that "any arrangement would be useless without the arrangement embodied in that clause"--clause 19 of their instructions which asked for a general amnesty as a "sine qua non"--they changed their minds. They "told us that they would undertake to get the matter settled and that it was easy".[63] There is no doubt that this promise was made and at this time. There is no doubt, too, that Scott, whose maternal language was English, understood the promise to have been made just as much as Ritchot, whose maternal language was French. In a conversation with J. W. Taylor on May 1st--two days before the famous conversation involving the Governor General and Sir Clinton Murdoch[64]--Scott told Taylor that the "civil amnesty would be full and proceed from Canada: while the Imperial Government would assume the responsibility of a pardon for criminal offences . . .".[65] Furthermore, in a letter to Sir John Young dated June 30th, Sir George Cartier told the Governor General that

> The delegates relied upon these explanations and forthwith entered upon the negotiations which resulted in the passing of the Act relating to the Government of the Province of Manitoba.

"Without these explanations," Cartier went on,

> it is more than probable they would not have felt themselves justified in negotiating.[66]

Having decided to compromise on the question of control of the land, Ritchot and Scott sought some assurances concerning the "understandings" of May 2nd. Macdonald and Cartier promised an order-in-council giving "assurance of the carrying out of our verbal understandings"[67] concerning a committee to oversee the distribution of the 1,400,000 acres set aside for the children of the Métis. This was on May 5th. On May 19th, when Ritchot again spoke with Young and Cartier about the land question, Mac-

donald was very ill and Cartier was carrying the responsibilities of government alone.[68] Sir John Young "authorized Sir George Cartier to give [Ritchot] in writing the promise made to [Ritchot] to put in practice what had been promised on the subject of lands".[69] Nothing was done until the 23rd. Ritchot then met Cartier in his office and Cartier showed him the rough draft.[70] On the 27th of May Cartier gave Ritchot the result of his efforts. Ritchot handed it back "to get him to add some guarantees on the subject of the 31st clause of the Manitoba Act regarding the choice and division of lands that were to be distributed to the children. He promised [Ritchot] to see to it."[71] The result was the letter which is known to historians as Cartier's letter of May 23rd, 1870, and of which we shall hear more in due course. On the 28th Cartier read the final draft to Ritchot, and Ritchot accepted it as satisfactory. Cartier had it written out in good form and sent it to Ritchot with Taché.[72] Ritchot noted in his diary that same day that the "Fenians" were "withdrawing". During these last days of May Cartier's department had been pressing forward with arrangements for the Red River Expedition while at the same time directing the defense against the Fenians. It was a busy time for Cartier, since Macdonald was still very ill.[73]

A discussion of the promises made to induce Ritchot and Scott to compromise on the land issue has forced us to forget for a time the other very important "delegates" then in Ottawa. It is time now to return to them and find out how the Manitoba Act--with its most revolutionary clauses--was passed in such a short time.

During their negotiations on the Manitoba bill Cartier and Macdonald had repeatedly expressed concern about the difficulty of getting it passed

by the House.[74] This concern was firmly based in the realities of the situation, but the difficulties were not where the Red River delegates were led to believe they were.

The three Red River delegates were given the "draft of a bill" on May 2nd. They did not know that the same draft of a bill was also given to Lynch, Mair and Schultz and the others who had come from Red River to press their claims in Ottawa. They did not know that a meeting of these people was held in which they "unanimously agreed to oppose the act tooth and nail, Dr. Schultz appearing to be its most bitter opponent".[75] There were probably various reasons for the opposition of these men to the bill before the House. The one that received publicity at the time--and since--was that the Portage la Prairie settlement had been left out of the province-to-be. References to this matter can be found in the Commons Debates, in Ritchot's diary and in other documents.[76] It was Schultz's opposition, however, which frightened the Canadian Cabinet ministers into immediate and decisive action. If Schultz's opposition became common knowledge it was entirely possible that action on the bill would be held up. The bill could even be defeated if it became known in enough Ontario ridings that "Schultz of Red River"--the man who had left Red River with a price on his head--was against it. A remedy for this was found swiftly and in time. Schultz "agreed to receive $11,000 on account of the $70,000 he had asked for compensation".[77] The details of the deal leaked out in the following months, but it was not until February of 1871 that Sir Francis Hincks told the story to the House of Commons:

> When the Manitoba Bill was before the House a number of refugees were very strongly pressing their claims. He referred more particularly to Dr. Schultz. That gentleman was extensively engaged in business in that

> province, and he represented the utter ruin in which he had been involved by this insurrection. He (Dr. Schultz) had submitted a paper to him (Sir F. Hincks) which was signed by Dr. Schultz's creditors which amounted to $70,000, which might not be considered a very reasonable sum by many people.

Sir Francis had taken considerable trouble to look into Dr. Schultz's claims, and had ascertained that the Government was determined to honor those claims and the claims of the other "refugees". Then Sir Francis

> had taken the personal responsibility of giving Dr. Schultz an advance on his claim sufficient to enable him to obtain goods from his creditors at Montreal and he also advanced $300 to Dr. Lynch. He had done this believing that the sentiment of the House was in favor of giving these men compensation (Hear, hear) . . . .

Mr. Mackenzie asked what had been paid to Schultz and others. Sir Francis said that $11,000 had been advanced to Schultz's creditors and $500 to miscellaneous refugees.

Mr. Blake asked when the money had been paid. Sir Francis replied that

> The money was never paid by the Government. I alone am personally responsible for it to the Bank of Montreal (Hear, hear).[78]

There is evidence that Schultz's change of position on the Manitoba Act caused annoyance among his fellow "refugees". Immediately after the passing of the Act Charles Mair wrote to Schultz from Lanark:

> I felt annoyed in Ottawa at your recognition of the Manitoba Bill without concurrence, as it places me in a position of antagonism to you and Lynch. There were other points, moreover, which you should have remembered, or at least consulted upon with Mr. Setter or myself. I refer to Portage la Prairie . . . .

Mair did not seem to realize that there had been a financial deal. His annoyance seems to have been caused by the fact that he had been

"cast" "in the shade" while Lynch and Schultz had been able to "stand in the foreground". If there was any repetition of this sort of thing, Mair warned, he would be

> compelled to deal in self-defence with the history of transactions since Denis's [sic] call upon the Canadians after a different fashion from what I intended. Portage la Prairie we represent. Red River settlement is represented by you and Dr. Lynch.[79]

A few days later Judge Black told Sir Stafford Northcote that

> he had heard that Dr. Schultz had not only received large compensation for his losses but that he was to be appointed to some place of authority . . . His compensation may be accounted for by his having a good many influential creditors in Canada, who don't see any way of getting their debts paid except by getting him a grant from the public purse.[80]

We have followed the negotiations concerning the Manitoba Act to the point where the bill was passed by Parliament. Since the granting of a general amnesty was, for the Red River delegates, a sine qua non of these negotiations, it is appropriate that we should conclude by seeing what became of this general amnesty. As we have seen, Cartier and Macdonald began by saying that the affair was not within their competence, and concluded by saying that "they would undertake to get the matter settled and that it was easy".

The matter was not mentioned again until April 30th, when the delegates met with Cartier, Macdonald being absent. As has been noted, these discussions gave Scott the impression that there would be not one but two amnesties.

On May 3rd they had an audience with the Governor General, Sir John Young. Sir Clinton Murdoch, who represented the British government, was there too. Young told the delegates that in his proclamation of December

6, 1869, he had promised that "no one of those who had taken part in that unfortunate violation of the laws would be troubled, that in effect there would be a general proclamation of amnesty, that Her Majesty asked nothing more than to reestablish peace in the Dominions, that Sir Clinton Murdoch, special representative of Her Majesty to help settle the difficult question, knew fully the intention of Her Majesty on that subject".

Sir Clinton Murdoch added at this point that Her Majesty's government wished to "pass the sponge" over all the "facts and illegal acts which had taken place". Ritchot said that he had nothing in writing on this point. Murdoch replied that in dealing with public men such as these "it was not necessary to dot all the i's, that they must have a certain latitude, that it would be more advantageous for us to have it so, etc". Ritchot observed "that the people would not be saitsfied without having some assurances on the subject". Young then said that "everything would go well, that the settlers of the North West could be reassured, that no one would be troubled".[81]

The next day Cartier asked the delegates how they had found their interview with the Governor General and Sir Clinton Murdoch. They answered that they were "well enough satisfied".[82]

Days passed. The Manitoba bill was debated and passed. Parliament was prorogued. Still there was no news of action on the general amnesty. On May 17th at a dinner at Cartier's Ritchot spoke to Sir George about it, and received the answer that they would see the Governor General on May 19th.[83] On the 19th Sir John Young again mentioned the Proclamation of December 6, 1869. Ritchot again reminded him that that proclamation could not cover events which had occurred after that date. Young replied

that it would suffice. Moreover, he said, "Her Majesty was going to declare a general amnesty immediately, that [the delegates] could set out for Manitoba, that the amnesty would arrive before [them]". Ritchot replied that this was impossible. Then, as Ritchot recorded in his diary,

> His Excellency told me that in any event it would arrive before the lieutenant governor. That meantime he was going to give me assurance in writing the assurance that no one would be molested while awaiting the proclamatiom of the amnesty. That tomorrow he would send me the document. His Excellency told me that he was authorized to do so in virtue of a wholly special commission because at present he (the governor) had no jurisdiction over the North West, that the government of the Dominion had no jurisdiction in Manitoba.[84]

Ritchot received no "document". On May 23rd Ritchot talked with Cartier again about the amnesty.[85] The next day, the 24th, Cartier

> has me informed on behalf of His Excellency the Governor General that we should forward a petition to the Queen, that His Excellency would support it.

Ritchot at first refused to do this but eventually consented to prepare a petition, having been told that it was "only a matter of form". The Governor General "was a little embarrassed at the thought of presenting it himself lest he should compromise himself".[86]

On May 26 Ritchot prepared the petition with the assistance of Cartier and Mr. Taché. He then signed it in the name of himself and his colleagues.[87] The next day Ritchot had another interview with Cartier and Cartier expressed approval of the petition. In the evening of the same day

> Mr. Taché told me for Sir George that the petition [was] only a means of opening the negotiations to get the amnesty proclaimed, that if the government had not wished to support the petition he would not have drawn it up to get me to sign it, that in any case it [was] only a matter of form.[88]

Ritchot concluded the diary of his negotiations in Ottawa with a "General Note". Point 5 reads as follows:

> It is necessary to settle the question raised by article 19 of our instructions.[89]

Appendix "A"

Cartier's Letter of May 23, 1870

Department of Militia and Defence
May 23, 1870

Gentlemen--

Regarding the representations made by you respecting the fourth sub-section of Section 32 of the Act to establish and provide for the Government, of the Province of Manitoba in which it is stated that "all persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the transfer to Canada in those parts of the Province in which the Indian title has not been extinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same on such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Governor in Council"--I am in a position to give you the assurance of the members of the Government that as soon as the Government shall be able to grant the necessary deeds, no payment will be exacted from any of the persons mentioned in that sub-section, but they will be placed on the same footing as those mentioned in the 3 preceding sub-sections.

I beg to call your attention to the interview you had with His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th inst., at which I was present, and at which His Excellency was pleased to state that the liberal policy intended to be pursued by the Government with regard to the parties for whom you interest yourselves, was the proper one, and such as ought to be adopted.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient servant,
Geo. E. Cartier
Minister of Militia and Defence

P. S. You are at liberty to use this letter in such manner and whenever you think fit, in any explanations you may have to give in connection with the object for which you came as Delegates to the Canadian Government.--G. E. C.

To. M. Richot [sic] and Scott.

I have the honor to give you the assurance on my own part, as well as on behalf of my colleagues, with regard to the 1,400,000 acres of land reserved by the 31st section of the Manitoba Act for the benefit of the families of the Halfbreed [sic] residents, that the regulations authorised to be made from time to time by the Governor in Council respecting that reserve, will be such as to meet the wishes of the Halfbreed [sic] residents, and to secure in the most efficient and equitable manner the division of that extent of land among the children of the Halfbreed [sic] heads of families residing in Manitoba at the time of the transfer to be made to Canada.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen
Your most obedient servant,
Geo. E. Cartier
Minister of Militia and Defence

("Report--1874", p. 74)

Footnotes

1. Telegraph, April 6, 1870.

2. Denison, Struggle, p. 22.

3. Denison, Struggle, p. 25. Mayor Harman's proclamation concerning the meeting is in the Telegraph for April 6, 1870.

4. Denison, p. 22.

5. Denison, p. 26.

6. Ibid.

7. PAC MG9 E29 Vol. 26, Denison Diary for 1870, Denison left for Ottawa on April 7. He was in Ottawa from the 9th to the 28th.

8. Many Ontario newspapers for April, 1870, have accounts of these meetings. See, for example, the Chatham Banner for April 21, 1870. In this case McVicar and Campbell were the "returned refugees".

9. PAM MG12 E3, Schultz Papers, poster for a meeting at Blyth, Ontario, April 20, [1870]. An account of the meeting, which was attended by "about two hundred" people, may be read in the Seaforth Expositor for April 29, 1870, p. 5. The message on the poster gives an idea of the language used: "To afford Loyal People an opportunity of expressing their deep indignation at the vile crimes committed in Rupert's Land, by imprisoning and murdering British and Canadian subjects. The honor of England was never outraged with impunity, and never will be. Let Canada not be degraded, the honor of the country must be maintained. The blood of the Martyred Scott must not cry in vain for vengeance. Let Canada speak out now, and let the assasin Riel feel that a Canadian must be like an ancient Roman, free from injury wherever he goes. The men that went to Magdalla [in Abyssinia] can go to Red River. Come all Loyal Men to the meeting, this is the common cause of All Canadians."

10. Globe, April 7, 1870.

11. The Daily Ontario, April 7, 1870. Her "firmness of purpose" came from her "Saxon ancestry" while she had the "courage and devotion" "of her mother's race".

12. Denison, Struggle, p. 27.

13. Denison, Struggle, p. 28.

14. Denison, Struggle, p. 29. But a letter from Charles Mair to Schultz dated May 10 suggests that Mair did not acknowledge Lynch's right to speak for these men: PAM MG12 E3, Schultz Papers, Mair to Schultz, dated at Lanark, Ont., May 10, 1870.

15. The Ritchot Journal can be found in English in Morton (ed), Birth of a Province (afterwards Birth), and in French in Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Francaise (afterwards RHAF), Vol. XVII, No. 4, mars, 1964. See Birth, p. 133; RHAF, pp. 540-1.

16. Globe, April 30, 1870.

17. Globe, April 28, 1870.

18. PAM MG12 E3, Schultz Papers, letters to Darling and Jordan, Merrick & Company, etc.

19. Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 1871, debate of February 20, Sir Francis Hicks answering a question about refugee claims asked by Mr. Bodwell: "When the Manitoba Bill was passing through the House, the claims of Dr. Schultz, who had been ruined by the troubles, and those of others of similar experiences, had been brought before them. (Sir Francis here read a paper signed by Dr. Schultz's creditors, stating that should he be enabled to pay the amount owed them, they were prepared to furnish him goods to the extent of his ordinary purchases in the same form as before, and thus enable him to remain in business.)

20. Belisle, Louis-Alexandre, Références Biographiques, Vol. 5, p. 90; Repertoire des Parlementaires Quebecois, 1867-1978 (Quebec, 1980), p. 537.

21. Stephen and Lee (eds), The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XXII, Supplement, pp. 608-9.

22. PAM MG12 E3, Schultz Papers. A scrapbook has an account by the Ottawa Correspondent of the Quebec Journal. No date shown.

23. Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 1871, debate of February 20, Sir Francis Hicks answering a question about refugee claims asked by Mr. Bodwell: "Dr. Schultz stated that with $500 he would undertake to pay their expenses and send them back to the country"; R. C. Laurie, "The Saskatchewan Herald" in Canadian North-West Historical Society Publications, Vol. I, No. IV, Pt. 1 (1928), p. 4, ". . .Dr. Schultz . . . had secured a grant from the government for the purpose of defraying the expense of repatriating loyal refugees."

24. "Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the subject of Rupert's Land, Red River and the North-West Territory, 1870", pp. 28-32.

25. Birth, p. 79.

26. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, May 6, 1870.

27. "Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the Subject of Rupert's Land, Red River and the North-West Territory, 1870", April 14-25.

28. Denison said he was the sixth member. See Denison, Struggle, p. 15.

29. William Drever, Jr., was a Red River merchant. He had been a prisoner in Fort Garry for a short time in February, 1870. See Ottawa Citizen, April 26, 1870.

30. Peter McArthur had worked on the Snow road. He was with the group taken prisoner in the Schultz houses in December of 1869. See Manitoba Pageant, Autumn, 1973.

31. John Snow was superintendent of the Canadian road party, and a close associate of Schultz after going to Red River in 1868. See Ottawa Citizen, April 26, 1870.

32. Because of the way they were chosen it was not clear whether they were delegates of the Convention or of the Provisional Government. See Morton (ed), Begg's Journal, p. 99.

33. Ritchot's word was "affreux". See Birth, p. 132; RHAF, p. 540. Joseph-Noel Ritchot was born Dec. 25, 1825, at Assomption, Lower Canada, the son of Joseph-Isaac and Marie (Riopel) Ritchot. He was ordained as a priest in 1855 and served at St. Agathe des Monts until 1862, when he was persuaded to go to St. Boniface in the Red River Settlement. In 1866 he went to Qu'Appelle to establish a mission, and was there from July 29 to October 1 of that year. He paid a short return visit to this mission in 1867. Upon his return to St. Boniface he was assigned to the parish of St. Norbert, where he was at the time of the outbreak of the troubles in 1869 and where he was to remain for the rest of his life. He died at St. Norbert in 1905. A. G. Morice, Histoire de L'Eglise Catholique Dans L'Ouest Canadien, Vol. II.

Alfred H. Scott was born about 1840. In 1869 he was working at various jobs in Winnipeg. Sympathetic to the Métis cause, he was one of the first English-speaking people to join the Métis National Committee. He represented Winnipeg in the Convention of January, 1870, and took part in the Provisional Government. Chosen a delegate for the mission to Canada, he was sometimes referred to as representing the American party at Red River. Certain historians have suggested that he was a nonentity, but it is to be noted that Northcote described him as "impracticable", i.e., not "satisfied with what the Ministers propose". Scott returned to Red River in July of 1870. He died on May 28, 1872. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal; Morton (ed), Birth, "Ritchot's Journal", "Northcote's Diary"; Le Métis; Saskatchewan Archives, Storer Papers, P. G. Laurie's Diary, p. 6, Oct. 19, 1869.

John Black was born in Scotland in 1817. He went to Red River in 1819 to act as deputy recorder. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and rose to the position of chief trader. He resigned in 1852 and went to Australia. After his return to Red River he served as judge from 1862 to 1870. He presided over the

Convention of January. A member of the mission to Canada, he became known to the Ontario press as the "loyal" delegate. He never returned to Red River, but went to Scotland where he died in 1879.

34. Telegraph, April 13, 1870.

35. Birth, p. 134; RHAF, p. 541.

36. Denison, Struggle, pp. 31-2.

37. Ibid., p. 32.

38. Birth, p. 136; RHAF, p. 543.

39. Denison practiced law for many years.

40. Denison, Struggle, pp. 31-2.

41. "Je suis ici en vertu de la foi jurée, sous la garde de l'honneur anglais et de l'honneur canadien . . . par mon caractère de parlementaire j'échappe à toute juridiction civile ou criminelle." See J.-M. Jolys, Pages de Souvenirs de l'Histoire. La Paroisse de Saint-Pierre-Jolys au Manitoba, p. 38. Denison, of course, saw "underhand work" on the part of Macdonald. See Denison, Struggle, p. 32.

42. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. April 19, 1870.

43. Birth, p. 49, Taylor to Fish, April 19, 1870.

44. Ibid.

45. "Report of the Select Committee of the Senate on the Subject of Rupert's Land, Red River and the North-West Territory, 1870", April 20.

46. Birth, p. 135; RHAF, p. 542: "il se montra très aimable."

47. PAC, Secretary of State For The Provinces, 1870, Files 278-373, No. 193, Ritchot to Howe, April 21, 1870.

48. Birth, pp. 135-6; RHAF, pp. 542-3.

49. Telegraph, April 14, 1870.

50. Birth, p. 139; RHAF, p. 545: "On nous donna par écrit une réponse . . ." See "Report--1874", p. 70.

51. Birth, pp. 136-8; RHAF, pp. 543-5: "Ils promirent alors de répondre à notre demande par écrit."

52. Birth, p. 138; RHAF, p. 545: "J'avais fait nos observations sur l'envoi des troupes."

53. By April 25th, when Ritchot mentioned the troops, the provisions had been arranged for (March 11), the choice of Wolseley as officer commanding had been made (April 11), and the raising of a force arranged for (April 16). See Gunn and Tuttle, History, p. 439.

54. University of Alberta, Wolseley Papers on microfilm, Wolseley to his brother Dick, April 6, 1870.

55. USNARS, microfilm T24, Reel 1, Malmros to Davis, January 15, 1870. The text may also be seen in Begg's Journal, pp. 81-2.

56. This was seen at the time, of course, and arrangements were promptly made to have the British Parliament pass an Act, the B. N. A. Act of 1871, giving sanction to what had been done. For discussions of the technicalities see Bram Thompson, "The Constitution of Canada, Canada's Suzerainty Over the West" in Canadian Law Times, August, 1919, and "Our Bogus Dominion Land Code" in the same issue. See Also Chester Martin, "The First New 'Province' of the Dominion" in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 4, December, 1920. See also Chester Martin, "The Colonial Policy of the Dominion", in Transactions of the Roayl Society of Canada, Section II, 1922, pp. 35-47.

Where the spirit of the B. N. A. Act is concerned, it is instructive to trace the evolution of sections 92, subsection 5, and section 109 through the corresponding Quebec and London resolutions. Quebec resolution 43, subsection 7 reads as follows:

> The sale and management of Public Lands, excepting Lands belonging to the General Government.

The same "power" of a "Local Legislature" appeared in the London Resolutions as resolution 41, subsection 8, with identical wording. Section 92, subsection 5, of the British North America Act assigned to the "Legislature" of each "Province"

> The Management and Sale of Public Lands belonging to the Province and of the Timber and Wood thereon.

Section 109 of the B. N. A. Act touched upon property in lands, mines, etc. It stated that

> All Lands, Mines, Minerals, and Royalties belonging to the several Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the Union, and all Sums then due or payable for such Lands, Mines, Minerals, or Royalties, shall belong to the several Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in which the same are situate or arise, subject to any Trusts existing in respect thereof, and to any Interest other than that of the Province in the same.

The corresponding Quebec resolution, 56, specified that

> All lands, mines, minerals, and royalties vested in Her Majesty in the Provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, for the use of such Provinces, shall belong to the Local Government of the territory in which the same are so situate; subject to any trusts that may exist in respect to any of such lands or to any interest of other persons in respect of the same.

London resolution 55 was identical to this except for the omission of Prince Edward Island and for the use of the new terms "Ontario" and "Quebec" in the place of "Upper Canada" and "Lower Canada". (British North America Acts and Selected Statutes, 1867-1943, Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1943).

57. Birth, p. 140, April 27; RHAF, p. 548: "Les honorables ministres persistent à réclamer le contrôle des terres et offrent cent milles acres de terre à être remises aux enfants des Métis. Impossible d'accepter cela. Mais après que nous y aurons réfléchi sérieusement nous pourrons peut-être céder le contrôle des terres de la province aux conditions suivantes, savoir . . .". See also Ritchot's report to the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, New Nation, July 1, 1870.

58. Guillaume Charette, Vanishing Spaces, p. 170.

59. Birth, p. 143; RHAF, p. 552: " . . . les 1,400,000 acres de terre promises".

60. Birth, p. 143, May 2; RHAF, p. 549: " . . . toujours sous la surveillance de la susdite Legislature locale qui pourra passer des lois pour assurer le maintien de ces terres dans les familles des Métis".

61. Birth, p. 140, April 27; RHAF, p. 546: " . . . que pour moi je ne pouvais ni ne voulais me charger de faire accepter ceux offerts par les honorables ministres et acceptés par Mr Black, que si ce monsieur voulait et pouvait les faire accepter au peuple, je les accepterai volontiers. Monsieur Black dit naïvement qu'il ne pourrait pas faire accepter ces arrangements".

62. Birth, p. 138; RHAF, p. 545: "Mr Black trouvait cela bien; nous objectons." " . . . Mêmes objections de notre part, sauf Mr. Black." "Nous refusons. Mr. Black trouve que nous devons accepter."

63. Birth, p. 139, April 26; RHAF, p. 546: "Ils nous dirent qu'ils se chargaient de faire régler la chose et que c'était facile . . .". Note that Morton's translation of the previous sentence incorrectly gives "with" for "sans", which means "without".

64. Birth, pp. 144-6, May 3; RHAF, pp. 550-2. See also Birth, p. 101.

65. Birth, p. 57, Taylor to Davis, May w, 1870. Certain historians have suggested that Ritchot's imperfect command of English may have led him to believe that an amnesty had been promised. See also Bannatyne's deposition in "Report--1874", p. 125.

66. PRO CO42 687 8545, Cartier to Sir John Young, June 30, 1870. Ritchot had said he would "return to Red River". ("Report--1874", p. 70).

67. Birth, p. 147; RHAF, p. 552: " . . . l'assurance de l'exécution de nos conventions verbales."

68. Birth, Northcote's Diary, pp. 108 (May 7), 125 (May 25); Ritchot's Journal, p. 150 (May 11).

69. Birth, p. 154; RHAF, p. 558: "Il autorise Sir Georges à me donner par écrit la promesse de faire mettre en pratique ce qui a été promis au sujet des terres."

70. Birth, p. 155; RHAF, p. 559. Note that Morton has translated Ritchot's "brouillon" by using the word "jumble". It seems to me that in this context "rough draft" is more suitable.

71. Birth, p. 156; RHAF, p. 560: "pour y faire ajouter des garanties au sujet de la 31ème clause de l'Acte touchant le choix et la division des terres devant être distribuées aux enfants. Il me promet d'y voir."

72. RHAF, p. 560: "Sir George me lit l'ajoute à sa lettre de garantie. Je l'admets, il le fait écrire et me l' envoie par Mr. Taché." It should be noted here that the diary in Birth is defective for May 28, lacking six sentences, two of which have been quoted here. See Birth, p. 157. For the text of the letter see Appendix "A" ("Report--1874", p. 74).

73. Birth, p. 157; RHAF, p. 561: "Les Féniens se retirent." See also Birth, Northcote's Diary, pp. 125-6; Birth, Ritchot's Journal, p. 156; RHAF, p. 560: "Les Féniens donnent du trouble."

74. Birth, p. 140, April 27; p. 147, May 5; p. 148, May 6; RHAF, p. 546: " . . . que pour faire des arrangements il fallait céder quelque chose; p. 552: ". . . mais que pour le présent il serait impossible de faire passer notre bill si on en changeait la forme, qu'on aurait assez de misère à le faire passer tel qu'il est . . ."; p. 553: "Il est impossible de faire passer le Bill, s'il est changé en cela." In fact in all 9 votes in the House of Commons the government had a majority of 20 or more: House of Commons. Debates. 3rd Session, Vol. 1, May 9, 1870.

75. Supplement to the Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

76. House of Commons. Debates, May 2, 1870, columns 1309, 1311, 1319; May 3, columns 1352, 1353. See also Birth, Ritchot's Journal, p. 144, May 3, 1870. See also Birth, Taylor's letter to Fish, May 5, 1870. See note 79 infra. See also the New Nation, July 1, 1870, for Ritchot's report to the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

77. Supplement to the Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

78. The Manitoban, March 11, 1871, from the Telegraph report of the Feb. 20, 1871, debate in the House of Commons. See also Ottawa Free Press, February 20, 1871; Ottawa Citizen, Feb. 21, 1871; Globe, Feb. 21, 1871.

79. PAM MG 12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Mair to Schultz, May 10, 1870.

80. Birth, p. 126, Diary of Sir Stafford Northcote, May 26, 1870.

81. Birth, pp. 144-6; RHAF, pp. 550-2.

82. Birth, p. 146; RHAF, p. 552: "assez satisfaits".

83. Birth,p. 152; RHAF, p. 557.

84. Birth, pp. 154-5; RHAF, p. 559: "Son Excellence me dit que dans toutes les cas elle arriverait avant le lieutenant Gouverneur [sic]. Qu'en attendant elle (le Gouverneur) allait me donner par écrit l'assurance que personne ne serait troublé en attendant la proclamation de l'Amnistie, que demain elle m'enverra ce document. Son Excellence me dit que à l'heure qu'il est il (le Gouverneur) n'a pas de juridiction sur le Nord-Ouest, que le Gouvernement de la Puissance n'a aucune juridiction dans Manitoba." See also Birth, pp. 229-236, "The Question of Government in Red River, May, 1870, to August, 1870".

85. Birth, p. 155; RHAF, p. 559.

86. Birth, pp. 155-6; RHAF, pp. 559-560.

87. Birth, p. 156; RHAF, p. 560.

88. Birth, p. 156; RHAF, p. 560: "Monsieur Taché me dit de la part de Sir George que cette pétition n' [etait] qu'un moyen d'ouvrir les négotiations pour faire proclamer l'Amnistie, que si le Gouvernement ne voulait pas appuyer cette pétition il ne l'aurait pas dressé [sic] lui-même pour me la faire signer, que d'ailleurs ce n'[était] qu'une affaire de forme."

89. Birth, p. 160; RHAF, p. 564: "Il faudra régler les questions soulevées par l'article 19 de nos instructions."

Chapter Eleven
Charles Mair and the North-West Emigration Aid Society

The same group of men who engineered the "indignation" meetings of April, 1870, which so aroused Ontario public opinion concerning the execution of Scott and the plight of the "refugees" were, as we have seen, well represented in the council chambers of Ottawa before and during the negotiations leading to the passage of the Manitoba Act. At the same time they were setting in motion what Denison in later years called an "armed emigration" similar to what had taken place in the early years of settlement of Kansas and Texas.[1]

On May 2nd, the day the Manitoba bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir John A. Macdonald, Charles Mair was writing a letter outlining his proposal of a "party of immigrants after the German model". "None but men with some capital," Mair wrote, "should go to the North-West at present."

> Opposition will disappear with the presence of soldiery in Red River, and immigrants will have plenty of time to select land, build temporary shanties for themselves, and even to make hay, before the season closes.

Mair did not explain that immigrants would have to be squatters at first, since no land had been surveyed for settlement. He must surely have known this, especially since he was recommending as an area for settlement "the tract of country lying from between Lake Manitoba and the Assiniboine westward along the river on both sides", an area not touched by the surveys of 1869. "To push a band of immigrants through this section of the country," said Mair,

> it is not necessary to descend from Pembina to Fort Garry and thence ascend the Assiniboine to the point indicated. The speediest and easiest way of reaching

> it would be to cross the country from Pembina, or even from a point higher up, and follow the old trail directly westward to Portage la Prairie, fording Rivière Sale at the upper crossing, where the water is shallow and the bottom firm.

Mair did not suggest where the settler, after his long trip north from the end of steel in Minnesota, was to obtain supplies if he avoided Winnipeg.

> By this route . . . Fort Garry, Red River Settlement and its insurrectionary half-breeds, and everything else, would have been entirely avoided, and people who fear--however groundless those fears may be--for their lives and property, would travel in security and in peace of mind.

The Globe published Mair's letter on May 16th, less than a week after the passage of the Manitoba Act.[2] We cannot know at this time how much interest in emigration to Manitoba developed as a result of this letter. We do know that "Canada First" members were at work on the problem. Schultz wrote to Denison in late May that "Mair [was] at Lanark and [was] going into our Emigration scheme which I wish you would work up with him . . .".[3] Schultz had previously informed Denison that "Garrett [was] going to lecture and get up emigration".[4]

There must have been a certain amount of interest shown in the scheme because by July 19th Mair was able to advertise that he was "forming a party of Canadian Emigrants from Ontario to the New Territory". Applications would be received "until the fifteenth day of September next". "Ho for the Assiniboine!" the advertisement began.

> Terms of through passage to Fort Garry, conditions and statement of outfit, together with all other important information will be afforded upon application by mail. P. O. address, Perth, Ontario.[5]

The Manitoba Act had only come into effect on July 15th. No surveyors were in the new province and, needless to say, no preparations were

being made to receive immigrants.

As will be seen in due course, members of Canada First were busy with other affairs on July 19th when Mair's advertisement appeared. By August 3rd, however, they were able to give their attention to emigration to Manitoba, meeting at the Mechanics Institute in Toronto. John Haldan, the man appointed to be chairman, does not appear to have been a member of "Canada First", but most of the others mentioned in the press report were. Denison moved that an association be formed "for the purpose of assisting emigrants who desire to settle in the North-West Territories of the Dominion". Mair spoke in support of the resolution, followed by Schultz. Schultz made these points:

> . . . Red River was a desirable place to emigrate to: another was that there were numbers who wished to emigrate: and a third was that if not done by us it would speedily be done by others.

W. Howland seconded Denison's motion, and it was carried unanimously. J. D. Edgar then made a long speech outlining the principles of the organization being founded:

> Ontario had laboured long and hard to acquire that fertile region, and now that it was within her grasp, she must see to it that the land was peopled and settled by a population liberal and intelligent, and in sympathy with her own language and traditions. As Dr. Schultz had hinted there was a determined effort being made to import another element into the population, whose political and national sympathies would be a bar to progress, and to the extension of a great Anglo-Saxon Dominion across the continent. This attempt could be counteracted only by the people of Ontario and by such action as [was] proposed . . .

Efforts should be made, Edgar concluded, both to encourage Ontario's enterprising young men "to settle in our own Great West" and to "prevent English-speaking emigrants from passing through here to settle in the United States". Communications should be established with all the

Emigration Aid Societies in Britain for that purpose.

Edgar then moved, seconded by W. A. Foster, a series of resolutions intended to place the new society on a sound practical basis. Until the appointment of permanent officers, Hugh Scott was "empowered to open a book and take the names of persons who desire to become members of the Association". A committee was appointed to frame a constitution and by-laws.[6]

Neither Mair nor Schultz, it must be observed, is reported as reminding the meeting that no surveys were under way in Manitoba, and that, as things stood, settlers arriving there would either have to "squat" on unoccupied land or purchase land from those already established. If they talked privately of possible violence resulting from clashes over land this has not been recorded.

The North-West Emigration Aid Society of Canada produced its "Circular No. 1" on October 12, 1870. It contained the text of a letter sent to the Hon. Christopher Dunkin, Minister of Agriculture and Emigration, on September 22nd, and the text of Dunkin's reply of September 28th. It also contained comments on the Minister's reply. Both the letters and the comments are worthy of study, containing matters of intrinsic interest. The comments, in particular, reveal that the men of "Canada First" had grasped the essentially imperial implications of the Manitoba Act, and were eager to take advantage of them. In producing the Society's first circular they were pushing themselves forward into the basically imperial role of giving advice about the administration and use of land which only one or two of them had ever seen.[7]

The letter of September 22, 1870, had asked five questions:

> First. What quantity of land may a settler obtain?
> Second. Will he be entitled to a free grant, and if so upon what conditions? or will the government demand any, and what price per acre?
> Third. Have any townships been surveyed? and if so, in what localities?
> Fourth. Until surveys are made, will immigrants settling on unoccupied lands obtain thereby a prescriptive right to purchase, or to a free grant?
> [has] any organized system of transport VIA Lake Superior, Rainy Lake, and Lake of the Woods, . . . been adopted for the accommodation of emigrants next spring[?]

Questions three and four reveal that the lack of a comprehensive survey had indeed been discussed, and that these men well understood the implications, both of that lack of a survey and of what they were doing by encouraging the emigration of settlers to Manitoba at this time.

Dunkin answered the questions by "a reference

> to the assurances given on behalf of the Government when the Manitoba Bill was under discussion in Parliament to the effect that every practicable effort will be made by a liberal land-policy and otherwise, to further the development of the resources of Manitoba and the adjacent territories. The whole question of the best means to be taken to this end is still necessarily under consideration. But as soon as possible after the Government shall have received such reports from the Lieutenant-Governor as may enable it to act in this most important matter, it will not fail to make public its policy in respect of the various matters as to which your letter inquires.

It is difficult to see how Dunkin could have replied otherwise. By September 22nd Lieutenant-Governor Archibald had not been able to set in motion the taking of an "enumeration" which, as we shall see, was essential to his following of his instructions with regard to the lands of Manitoba.[8]

In its comments upon Dunkin's reply the Society regretted that no land policy for the North-West had been decided upon, "as a season has

been lost by the delay". It then went on to deal with what it called the "excuse for delay".

> The excuse for delay seems liable to the charge of unconstitutionality, because "all ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be, from and after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown, and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion" (Manitoba Act, 33 Vic., Cap. 3, Sec. 30). They are not subject in any way to the action of the local authorities, whose opinion and advice, the Minister informs us, he is waiting for.

"It will be regarded," the Committee's comment went on,

> as an abdication of the functions and the trust which Parliament has, for very good reasons, specially reserved to the Government of the Dominion, to submit questions respecting the terms on which the lands of the people of the Dominion are to be granted, to a newly organized local authority, swayed by contending factions, some of whom were recently in arms against the Government of the Dominion.

The Committee were careful not to remind its readers that Section 31 of the same Act had, at the insistence of the Red River delegates, reserved 1,400,000 acres of these ungranted lands "for the benefit of the families of the Half-breed residents", and empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to "select such lots or tracts . . . as he may deem expedient" and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families residing in the province at the time of the said transfer to Canada . . .". The Committee were, instead, coolly suggesting that the Minister disregard local considerations and advice as it set about determining a policy with regard to the lands of the new province.

It will be remembered that at one stage in the negotiations concerning the Manitoba bill Macdonald and Cartier had promised to "authorize by order in council the persons [the Red River delegates] would choose to

name . . . to form a committee charged with choosing and dividing . . . the 1,400,000 acres . . .".[9] The Red River delegates had originally urged that this distribution of lands to the Métis ought to be "under the supervision"[10] of the local legislature. The promised order-in-council had never materialized, it will be remembered, and in its place Cartier had given Ritchot his letter of May 23rd, 1870, in which the post script stated that

> the regulations authorised to be made from time to time by the Governor in Council respecting that reserve, will be such as to meet the wishes of the Half-breed residents . . . .[11]

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald was in a special position with respect to the "ungranted or waste lands" in Manitoba. He had been appointed "Administrator" of these "ungranted or waste lands" with instructions "to report to this Department . . . the regulations which . . . should be made . . . under the 31st section of the Act . . . for the selection of lands . . . and their division among the children of the half-breed [sic] heads of families residing in that province at the time of the transfer . . . together with the mode and conditions, as to settlement or otherwise, which you may consider desirable to embody in such regulations".[12] As Lieutenant-Governor, Archibald had instructions to "cause an enumeration to be made of the half-breed [sic] heads of families residing in the said Province at the time of such transfer and of their children respectively".[13] Such an enumeration was absolutely essential if the exact population of Half-breeds involved was to be known to those having to make decisions.

There can be little doubt that the special appointment of Archibald as "Administrator" of these "ungranted or waste lands" indicated that the

Canadian government intended to keep the spirit of the promises it had made to the Red River delegates. Circular No. 1 of the North-West Emigration Aid Society reveals that even before Archibald could make the necessary "enumeration" there were men lobbying the Canadian government to ignore such promises.

Appendix "A"

Meredith's Letter of August 4, 1870.

Office of the Secretary of State For the Provinces
Ottawa, 4th August, 1870

Sir,--I have the honor, by command of His Excellency the Governor General, to transmit to you, herewith, a copy of an Order of His Excellency in Council of the 2nd instant, together with a copy of the memorandum of the Honorable Sir George Et. Cartier, therein referred to.

I have also the honor to inform you that His Excellency has been pleased, in terms of the said Order in Council, to appoint you Administrator on behalf of the Government of Canada, of the ungranted or waste lands in that Province, vested in the Crown, and I have to request that as such Administrator you will have the goodness, at your earliest convenience, to report to this Department for His Excellency's information the Regulations which, in your opinion, should be made by His Excellency in Council under the 31st section the Act cited in the memorandum, for the selection of lands, to the extent thereof mentioned, from among the ungranted lands in the Province of Manitoba, and their division among the children of the half-breeds heads of families residing in that Province at the time of the transfer of the same to Canada, together with the mode and conditions, as to settlement or otherwise, which you may consider desirable to embody in such regulations.

I have &c.,

(Signed) E. A. Meredith
Under Secretary of State for the Provinces

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

Footnotes

1. See G. T. Denison, Soldiering, p. 179. See also G. T. Denison, Struggle, p. 43.

2. Globe, May 16, 1870.

3. Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Papers, Schultz to Denison, May 30, 1870.

4. Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Papers, Schultz to Denison, May 20, 1870.

5. Globe, July 19, 1870.

6. Globe, August 4, 1870. The Constitution is in Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Papers.

7. Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Papers. The Executive Committee consisted of the following: Hon. W. McDougall, A. McLean Howard, John Haldan, G. R. Kingsmill, G. M. Rae, W. H. Howland, K. McKenzie, Q. C., G. T. Denison, Jr., W. Arthurs, W. A. Foster, J. D. Edgar, R. Graham. Schultz's name does not appear in the list.

8. See Manitoban, October 15, 1870, for proclamations showing Archibald's steps in setting up his administration. It should be noted here that when the newspaper first appeared on that date its title was simply that, The Manitoban. From October 22nd to November 12, 1870, it appeared as The Manitoban and North-West Herald. Beginning Nov. 19, 1870, and all through 1871 and 1872 it was known as The Weekly Manitoban and Herald of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory. The plant was destroyed in the riot of September, 1872, and when the newspaper reappeared in November 30th it did so as The Manitoban, and so it remained.

9. Birth, Ritchot's Journal, May 5, 1870, p. 147.

10. Birth, Ritchot's Journal, May 2, 1870, p. 143.

11. For the text of this letter see Appendix "A" of the Chapter entitled "Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

12. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), E. A. Meredith to Archibald, August 4, 1870, p. 7. See Appendix "A" of this chapter for the complete text.

13. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), E. A. Meredith to Archibald, August 4, 1870, p. 4.

Chapter Twelve
The Provisional Government

Throughout the Insurrection the Canadian Government and those acting in its name took particular care not to seem to "acknowledge" or "recognize" as a legal entity the Provisional Government set up by the Métis. And, of course, strictly speaking, it was not. Neither was the gathering of the Barons at Stamford in Easter week of 1215. Neither was the group made up of Danby and his associates in 1688. Nevertheless, legal or not, the Provisional Government existed. When the legally constituted governments of the United Kingdom and of Canada and the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company had made decisions about the future of Rupert's Land and the North-West without bothering to consult the people, the people had resisted and set up a government of their own. That government was valid, viable and generally accepted in the Red River Settlement. Even those who professed not to recognize it had to admit that it existed. Donald Smith, who would not acknowledge it as legal, nevertheless visited Portage la Prairie on March 5th, the day after the execution of Scott, let it be noted, to persuade the people there to accept it.[1] Sir John Young, the Governor General, wrote to Macdonald, "The Gov't must I suppose be left in Riel's hands until the possession of the country can be taken by H M troops".[2]

Sir George Cartier, acting as head of government in late May and early June of 1870, found it hard not to acknowledge the Provisional Government and its delegate Father Ritchot. Ritchot told the Special Committee of 1874 about a conversation with Sir George near the end of negotiations:

> I then asked Sir George who was to govern the

> country, pending the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor, and if he was to name somebody to do so. He answered, "No, let Mr. Riel continue to maintain order and govern the country as he has done up to the present moment." He asked me if I thought that Riel was sufficiently powerful to maintain order. I said I thought he was. Then he answered, "Let him continue till the Governor arrives". He also inquired whether Mr. Riel would require that the Governor should take authority as his successor. I answered that he would not, that his government was only a provisional one, and that he would immediately withdraw when the representative of Her Majesty arrived. "Very well," said Sir George, "let him be at the head of the people to receive the Governor."

There were details to arrange concerning the arrival of the Expedition in Manitoba.

> He even told me that it would be desirable if the half-breeds [sic] would meet the troops and serve as guides. He asked me whether provisions for the troops could be found there at least for a fortnight or a month, until they could procure them from the states. I told him I thought so, but that the stores would be expensive.

Ritchot told Cartier that he had hoped to take to Manitoba a proclamation of amnesty with the Manitoba Act. Cartier replied by saying that what Ritchot had was

> equivalent to the proclamation of an amnesty, as an amnesty would arrive before any other authority in the North-West, and that meanwhile Riel was master and had nothing to complain of.[3]

Upon his arrival in the Red River Settlement in June Ritchot reported this conversation to Riel. Riel replied that he was not enthusiastic about "maintaining order under such difficult circumstances, . . . but that nevertheless he would continue".

In 1873, when the Red River Insurrection was safely over with and the question of the amnesty was being discussed in the correspondence

between Ottawa and London, Kimberley gave the view of Her Majesty's government as to what the situation was at Red River in 1869 and 1870:

> . . . the facts are that during the time of the disturbance the Territory of Rupert's Land was under the Hudson's Bay Company; that it was under the direct control of the Crown from the 22nd [of] June to the 15th [of] July of the same year; and that since that date it has been under the Dominion Government.[4]

When Ritchot's conversation with Cartier took place in May of 1870 the first of these states of affairs obtained. Let us examine the record to see what the Provisional Government was doing in these various periods. We have already done this for the period before delegates were sent to Ottawa to enter into negotiations there. Let us now examine its actions in the remainder of the first period that Kimberley discerned, bearing in mind that the Provisional Government was having to act simultaneously in matters now considered municipal, provincial and federal. We can make such a study because Alexander Begg was secretly keeping a diary of events.[5] Here and there this source may be checked against news items which appeared in the New Nation. For the last month before the arrival of the Red River Expedition we shall have to depend upon other sources.

In the month of March the Provisional Government was often involved in problems of internal security. A number of people were either put in confinement or released from it.[6] In the days immediately after the execution of Scott the situation at White Horse Plains continued to cause concern. Riel went there himself on March 7th, and on the 9th he told the Provisional Council, or Parliament, that he regretted having to keep a guard there. Such a guard was necessary to provide warning either that hot-heads at the Portage had again decided to break the peace or that the Sioux had decided to move. On the 17th a party of police which had been

sent to the Portage returned with three prisoners--Spence, McKay and Tait--to interrogate about goods taken from Lane's Post to Portage la Prairie. The police told of having found that women and children had been moved away--as though in expectation of war--and certain men had gone into hiding.[7] By the 21st of March Begg could report that "things are gradually settling down to the usual routine of affairs . . .". Murdoch McLeod, the last prisoner, was set at liberty on March 24th.

On the 25th there was an internal problem at the Fort. Some of the soldiers objected to Lépine's overbearing manner and went home. Lépine himself went home. Riel had to send a guard to bring him back, and he was reinstated at the Fort.

On the 30th a band of the Sioux--the ancient enemy of the Métis--were reported on the way from Portage la Prairie to White Horse Plains, and the Settlement was put on the alert. The guard at Lane's Post stopped them at that point.

Matters involving security did not prevent progress in other affairs, however. On March 5th Winnipeg was declared the capital of the North-West, and, in response to a petition, was given a separate representation in the Provisional Government. The Provisional Government met on March 9th, Riel reported to it, and a regular session, to begin on the 15th, was announced.

When the Council met on March 15th it was addressed by Bishop Taché. The Council then set a committee to work on a constitution for the Provisional Government. This committee met on succeeding days. Finally, on the 28th of March, the Provisional Council adjourned for a month, having appointed a committee to go on with the constitution, a committee to

review the old laws of the Hudson's Bay Company and adapt them for the use of the Provisional Government, and a committee to consider the hay privilege. It is worth noting here, incidentally, that the meetings which were held as a result of the work of this committee on the hay privilege saw the people of Red River doing something that the people of the area between Red River and the Rocky Mountains have never since had the opportunity to do. They discussed the way that they wished to hold their land.[8] These meetings were held by people who assumed, quite rightly, that their provincial legislature would have the control and management of its lands. As we shall see, neither the people of Red River nor any other people were consulted as to a rational way--all factors considered--to hold the agricultural lands of the west. The decision was made by order-in-council, as by imperial fiat, upon advice given by one who viewed the lands of the West as real estate and nothing more.

With the resignation of Major Robinson as editor of the New Nation,[9] the Provisional Government had to make arrangements for some way of continuing the paper's publication. No issues appeared between March 18th and April 2nd, when the first issue edited by Thomas Spence appeared.

In the latter part of March a crew was set to work repairing the floating bridge over the Assiniboine.[10] It was necessary to cut ice away from the bridge to save it from being taken out. This work went on for a number of days until the Assiniboine was cleared of ice.

Arrangements were being made to have a police force in Winnipeg.[11]

On March 31st the doctors of the Settlement asked the Provisional Government to hold an investigation into the qualifications of one "Doctor" Pillard. Doctors Cowan, Bird and O'Donnell were appointed to make

the inquiry, Captain Gay was appointed to act as interpreter, and the commission met. Pillard refused to answer questions, as it turned out, and continued to render his medical services to those who asked for them.[12]

On the death of Thomas Sinclair, Sr., a petty magistrate under the Hudson's Bay Company, the Council, on March 26th, appointed his son, Thomas Sinclair, Jr., to continue in the positions his father held.

In early April a regular force of four policemen was on duty in Winnipeg.[13] Policing was necessary on a wider front too. Indians who came as close as White Horse Plains were given presents and sent back to Portage la Prairie. People at the Portage sent a complaint concerning the behavior of the Indians there, and a guard was sent.[14] A guard had also to be sent to the lower Settlement to pacify the Indians. Riel must have smiled a wry smile at the receipt of both requests![15]

The parliamentary committees were at work on the constitution, the codification of the laws and the hay privilege.

Patrice Breland was sent to the interior with a proclamation to the effect that arrangements had been made with the Hudson's Bay Company for the resumption of business.[16]

On the 7th of April a proclamation was issued stating in general terms the aims and objectives of the Provisional Government. It was followed by another on the 9th, which announced that the Hudson's Bay Company was resuming business and circulating currency, that the public highways were open, that an amnesty would be accorded to all who would submit to the Provisional Government, and that the Provisional Government would deal severely with those who would "compromise the public security".

Shortly after this proclamation was issued Lane's Fort was returned to the Hudson's Bay Company.[17] That area continued to cause concern, however, and Riel visited it on the 14th with a guard of 6 men.

April 11th found the Provisional Government having to act in a bankruptcy case. A man named Burr was alleged to be about to leave the Settlement without first paying his bills. He was interrogated on the 14th and was allowed to return to Portage la Prairie.

An argument took place between Riel and O'Donoghue concerning the flag to be flown at the Fort. Riel insisted on the Union Jack.[18] Eventually J. C. Schultz's flagpole was dug up and removed to the Fort, and after a time both the Union Jack and the flag of the Provisional Government flew side by side.[19] This was true until the Expedition arrived.

Between the 24th and the 29th of April Riel and the Provisional Government were hosts to the Marshall party, which visited the Settlement with a view to promoting the interests of certain American railroads. Whether other matters, such as annexation to the American republic were discussed is not known. These visitors could well have attended sittings of the Provisional Council, which began its second session on the 26th and met each day that they were in the Settlement.

There is a different note in Begg's diary entries for May. This is true in spite of the fact that in a number of diary entries Begg remarks that the Settlement is quiet. On the 21st he wrote that "Taking it altogether the Settlement has been more quiet this season than it ever was before in the shape of drinking and fighting". He had previously noted on the 9th that the country was "free from martial law". On the tenth he wrote, "it is very noticeable that there is no boasting nor riding

over others shown by the French since peace reigned". However, in four successive entries beginning on the seventh Begg expressed concern for the Canadians residing in the Settlement. On the 9th of May Begg reported that "Canadians are beginning to feel more and more insecure from the report that Riel meant to keep them all as hostages". Fears were expressed on the 11th and 12th that Riel would not permit Mr. McTavish to leave on the steamboat "International" as planned. However, the "International" arrived on the 15th, McTavish visited Riel on the 16th and left on the "International" on the 17th.

To what can we attribute this change of tone? News came on the 3rd of May concerning the excitement which J. C. Schultz and his party, assisted by the "Canada First" organization, were creating in Ontario. Begg and those around him must have recognized as quickly as Riel that Schultz was attempting once again to drum up support in a move to upset the Provisional Government. The news of the arrest of Ritchot and Scott was published in the New Nation on the 6th. By the 14th of May, when the "Protestation des Peuples du Nord-Ouest" was prepared by the Provisional Government, it was known that an expedition was being sent to Red River.[20] It is in this context that Riel's difficulties with the Provisional Council, or Parliament, must be considered. The Expedition might be just forming in Ontario and Quebec but it was already speaking. In a very real sense the occupation of Red River by a military force had already begun. On two other occasions the Provisional Government had had to deal with rebellion on the part of the "Canadian" party under Schultz, and had been able to do so successfully. In May, once again, the same party was interfering in Settlement affairs. There was really

only one way to respond--if the Red River Insurrection was really either an independence movement or a movement to annex the Settlement to the United States as much of the Ontario press had insisted. The Expedition would have to be annihilated to a man as it made its way over one or other of the many portages of the Winnipeg River highway. A comparatively small force of picked men could do it, and a considerable number of Métis knew where to do it. However, this had never been the aim of Riel or Ritchot or Dugas or of any of those who had in one way or another provided leadership or ideas to the movement. It may well have been the aim of O'Donoghue and of others like Elzéar Goulet who had American citizenship. In May of 1870, and in June, July and August of 1870, these affairs were being discussed by the rough, practical men who had captured the Schultz houses party in December, faced the Schultz provisional government of February, and captured the Portage party on its way home.[21]

On the 6th, 7th, 10th, 11th, and 14th of May Begg mentioned the arrival of the winterers and the news concerning the smallpox. In their store in Winnipeg Begg and Bannatyne were in a position to know who were coming and who were leaving. On the 16th Begg wrote that a meeting of the winterers was to be held on the 17th, and that Riel was to speak. He also noted that some Canadians had left the Settlement to join the troops. Reporting on the meeting of the 17th Begg wrote that the winterers had received Riel coolly. The New Nation, however, said that they were well satisfied with Riel's address.[22] On the 19th Begg wrote that because of the smallpox scare the Americans were going to seize any furs that crossed the line. This would result in the furs being brought to Winnipeg instead. On the 23rd, when he reported that a "council" was held at White

Horse Plains, attended by Riel, O'Donoghue and the French councillors, Begg did not know what had been decided and the New Nation carried no report. It is not difficult to guess what must have formed the agenda at this council.

Begg wrote on the 18th that the news was of both the Manitoba Act--introduced in Parliament on May 2nd by Macdonald--and of the Red River Expedition. Then on five different days, the 24th, 26th, 27th, 30th and 31st, Begg mentioned the Expedition and the fact that there was bad feeling about it containing Canadian volunteers. On the 31st Begg was of the opinion that the feeling was dying away.

On several occasions, the 12th, 18th, 20th and 25th, Begg wrote that Captain Gay and his guard at the Fort were active. He also mentioned the Union Jack and the Provisional flag flying at the two flagstaffs. A large new provisional flag was put up on the 24th.

The Queen's birthday was celebrated on the 24th, and many races were run. On the 25th scouts were being sent out in different directions for "purposes unknown to the public".

In early June it was revealed that La Rocque, a former pilot of the "International", had been sent on a mission to St. Paul by Riel. He returned on the 1st, having made the trip from St. Cloud in only 7½ days. He is supposed to have brought a report that "Dr. Schultz was at Duluth" with 250 men, but the report was not believed and, of course, the newspapers carried no confirmation of it.

The return of the delegates, and particularly of Father Ritchot, was expected daily. Beginning on May 22nd Begg, on six occasions in May and seven in June, expressed anxiety about his return.

Bishop Taché paid a visit to White Horse Plains on the 2nd.

On the 13th a body of men was sent out to arrest a man named George, a brewer, who had shot Roderick Cook on the 11th. George was found and brought to jail. An inquiry was held on the 15th, and on the 16th George was released on bail. Cook, however, was improving and showing signs of recovering.

An attempt was made to arrest Ryder Larsen on the 14th, but he made his escape. Larsen, it was alleged, had shot a man named Johnson in a drinking party in December.[23] The coroner's inquest decided against Larsen, who made his escape. Larsen was among the first professional photographers in the North-West, having come to Red River before the Insurrection. The Archibald administration proved to be no more successful in bringing him to justice than the Provisional Government had been.[24]

Robert Tait was appointed sheriff on the 21st, to replace Henry McKenney, who had moved to Pembina and resigned the position.[25] On the 29th of June the Provisional Government began collecting back duties, having engaged LaRocque, the former pilot of the "International", for the purpose.

Begg noted in late June that several building projects were under way. W. H. Lyons was building a warehouse. A. G. B. Bannatyne had begun a large building, and John Sutherland, of Point Douglas, was planning a building. These two latter buildings would eventually be rented by Archibald for the use of the provincial government.

Father Ritchot arrived on the "International" on the 17th, and the rumor quickly went around that the general amnesty had arrived with him. This of course, proved not to be true. The Provisional executive met on

the 21st, but Ritchot was not able to meet with it on account of illness. A meeting of the Provisional Council--Begg now referred to it as the Legislative Assembly--was to have been held on the 23rd, but Riel was absent, conferring with Ritchot. As we have seen, Ritchot told Riel of his conversation with Cartier, and Riel expressed a lack of enthusiasm about "maintaining order under such difficult circumstances". Nevertheless, he agreed to continue to do so. The Assembly met, however, on the 24th, and heard Ritchot's report. It accepted the Manitoba Act--it is hard to see how it could have done otherwise unless there was a strong determination to resist--and a letter was to be sent inviting Mr. Archibald to come in immediately and assume the reins of government. Begg wrote that a general amnesty had been granted on the word of Sir Clinton Murdoch and Sir John Young, the Governor General. Begg wrote in his diary, "This 24th day of June therefore is the turning point in the affairs of the Settlement".

Begg's satisfaction with the turn of events is to be noted here. A partner of A. G. B. Bannatyne, he had been in a better position than most to understand the importance of a general amnesty to the people of the Red River Settlement. Bannatyne and Begg had been near the centre of events throughout the winter of the Insurrection, and both had, as we have seen, taken a leading role, on a number of occasions, in attempting to assist in a settlement satisfactory to all.[26] Both men knew that there was hardly a family in the Settlement that had not been involved in one way or another in the events of the previous winter. Had Begg's advice been asked on the matter, he would probably have replied that a general amnesty was desirable as a way of clearing the air in the Settle-

ment and elsewhere, and should be broad enough to include the Hon. William McDougall, who had as much as declared war on the Métis, and Col. Dennis, who had carried out McDougall's orders. In addition it should cover Farmer, Mair, Schultz and Setter, during whose ill-advised February rising the first blood of the Insurrection--that of Sutherland and Parisien--had been shed. As to the execution of Scott, the other leader in the rising, Begg would probably have pointed out the patience with which the Métis had put up with Scott's repeated acts of hostility and violence, and might well have agreed with Dugas that in a civil war those pretending to act as soldiers should remember the possibility of death.[27] These observations apply with regard to what Begg had confided to his secret journal by the 24th of June, 1870, or sent to The Globe as "Justitia",[28] not to what he later wrote after seeing what the carefully contrived demonstrations of April and July had done to public opinion in Ontario.[29]

No one, of course, had asked Begg for his opinion, and a general amnesty had not come with Father Ritchot who had sought one from those who had power to arrange for it. On the same day that Begg made his "turning point" entry he was forced to note that there was dissatisfaction with things among the English-speaking people. Three days later the dissatisfaction had a point of focus--the Manitoba Act. Across the river in St. Boniface and in Fort Garry there was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction which Begg had no way of noticing. The Métis were being very careful about public utterances, but there was dissatisfaction and anger among them too. On Sunday the 26th of June Bishop Taché announced from the pulpit that he was leaving for Canada by the next steamboat. On the 27th he went up to White Horse Plains, and when the "International" left

on June 28th Taché was on it.

What had happened?

Taché understood the importance of a general amnesty better than anyone in the Settlement, Ottawa or London. Like Begg he knew that almost the entire population had taken part, in one way or another, in the events of the previous year. And, of course, like Archibald, who came to realize the same thing, he saw that while the grant of limited responsible government that was implicit in the Manitoba Act was tantamount to the grant of an amnesty, the Act without the amnesty would leave the Métis people leaderless.[30] However, in June and July of 1870 a far more immediate problem was uppermost in his mind, one that, as a Canadian and as a Taché, he must do his level best to solve. Riel was under pressure from many Métis to treat the approaching Red River Expedition as a hostile army. While each mail from the East brought newspapers with editorials asking that the "rebels" be "punished", the danger of smallpox in the West brought more people back to the Settlement. On the 9th of June Taché had written to Sir George Cartier that

> Some speak of raising a large force to meet and molest the coming troops at some difficult point on their way hither; and other plans, perhaps still more dangerous, are also afloat.[31]

Taché could imagine the ambushes at certain portages, the damaged boats, and the bodies of dead young Canadians floating downstream. As Riel later reported the conversation Taché used words to this effect:

> Don't do that. I give you my word of honor that a general amnesty will be proclaimed before the installation of a Lieutenant-Governor here.[32]

Taché's report to Cartier was clear and precise:

> I solemnly gave my word of honor, and promised

> even in the name of the Canadian government that the troops are sent on a mission of peace; that all the irregularities of the past will be overlooked or forgiven; that nobody will be annoyed for having been either leader of member of the Provisional Government, or for having acted under its guidance. In a word, that a complete and entire amnesty . . . will surely be granted before the arrival of the troops, so that every one may remain quiet, and induce others to do the same . . . .[33]

Taché had another concern about what the future might bring if a general amnesty were not declared:

> It is rumored that Dr. Schultz is coming with a large party of supporters . . . We are perfectly aware of his former conduct, and it is not difficult to foresee what he may be in future, if not checked by proper authority.[34]

Taché's conversations with Ritchot left him feeling very uneasy, and when the mail brought no news of the promised amnesty Taché saw that there was no time to lose. As we have seen, he left for Canada on the "International".

Problems of security in July had to do with the Indians. The agents sent to the Indians by Dennis, under his commission as "conservator of the peace", had done their work well. As Joseph Dubuc of La Minerve wrote,

> The agents in question attempted to make them understand that they were the kings of the country, in consequence the sole masters and lords of the lands now occupied by the Métis; and that England, recognizing their sovereignty, had no other purpose in coming into the country, but to implore their high and most grand majesties to let England settle on their lands, while paying them, as legitimate tribute, enormous sums of money.[35]

In July of 1870 the Indians had come to collect, and it was probably fortunate for the Settlement in general that the Provisional Government

was in occupation at Fort Garry. The Indians feared and respected the Métis in a way that they feared and respected nobody else, and while Bishop Machray might attempt to influence the Governor General by writing to him about the Indian danger, he only showed his ignorance of the relationship that existed between the Métis and the Indians.[36] Riel and the Provisional Government were there, telling the Indians not to make war, not to allow themselves to become angry, but to accept advantageous treaties and take no violent decisions whatever without first consulting Riel, since he was in constant communication with Canada, and more in a position to know the truth than they.[37]

The policy of the Provisional Government was to conciliate the Indians and ask them to go away to their homes. Begg wrote on the 11th day of July, "A noticeable thing around the outskirts of the town this summer is the almost complete absence of Indians camped". Begg referred to Indians on 6 occasions: on the 2nd, 5th, 6th, 11th, 16th, 18th--"A large number of Indians are in. Riel has given them presents." Among the achievements of the Provisional Government not the least by any means is its success in dealing with the potentially disastrous situation created by McDougall's proclamation and Dennis's efforts in carrying it out.

It was known in July that the Canadians in the Settlement were up to something. Begg mentioned their activities on the 19th. They were gathering supplies at Monkman's in the lower settlement in preparation for a trip up the Winnipeg River to meet the Expedition.[38]

Guards at Pembina made some passengers get off a Smith and McLean flat boat and give an account of themselves.[39]

Land problems at Oak Point forced Riel and O'Donoghue to postpone a

meeting of the executive on Thursday, July 7th, and go out to Oak Point to settle them.

On July 13th Begg noted that a man named Sandy Harkness was arrested for getting drunk and being abusive. On the 23rd police closed Lennon's Saloon when a row occurred there.

The most remarkable event of the month of July was probably the Butler affair.[40] Begg referred to Butler on the 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, and thought that he had brought Wolseley's proclamation with him. He had not, as a matter of fact; the arrival of the proclamation on the same steamboat as Butler was coincidental. Begg was correct, however, in connecting him with the Red River Expedition.

Butler's visit is surely one of the most remarkable visits paid by a spy to Winnipeg or to any other Canadian village. It should be noted here that by July 20th Winnipeg was a Canadian village; the Order-in-Council of June 23rd had set July 15th as the date on which Manitoba became a Canadian province.

Butler, to make a long story short, had been sent to the North-West with a triple errand, two parts of which had been accomplished by the time he crossed into Canadian territory.[41] He was to pay a visit to the area around Duluth, Minnesota, and see whether he could hear any rumors of Fenian interference with the progress of the Red River Expedition. He heard none. He was to visit the supply houses in St. Paul, Minnesota, and make arrangements for supplies to be forwarded to Winnipeg in late August for delivery in early September. This had been done too, but not without word of his presence getting into the newspapers. Finally he was to pay a visit to the Red River Settlement and see whether Wolseley

could expect to meet with opposition.

In St. Paul Butler met Bishop Taché, then on his way to eastern Canada, who gave him a letter of introduction and assured him that all would go well with him at Fort Garry, since Riel and the Provisional Government were happy with the terms of the Manitoba Act.[42] Armed with this document Butler could easily have stridden into Fort Garry and had an audience with Riel or any member of the Provisional Government. He could have done these things, that is, if he had wished to. For Butler's behavior, once he had reached Canadian territory, forces us to ask what his motives were as he neared Fort Garry.

Was he determined not to appear to acknowledge the Provisional Government? Was he suffering from the same paranoia that seemed to afflict so many of those in the "Canada First" group and those who had associated themselves with it?[43] Or must Butler's visit be seen as foreshadowing events that were to come?

No one interfered with Butler at Pembina, where the Provisional Government maintained a guard which had stopped a number of people until they could explain themselves.[44] At Pembina, however, Butler heard rumors, which he chose to believe, about the intention of Riel to have him arrested at Fort Garry.[45] When the steamboat "International" entered the Assiniboine River to tie up opposite Fort Garry, Butler and his companion Drever jumped from the vessel, landed in the mud, and made their way up the bank and through the deepening darkness past Fort Garry.[46] This remarkable behavior was noticed by those at the gangplank and quite naturally aroused their suspicions. Runners were sent in pursuit. Drever was arrested, as could be expected under the circumstances. But-

ler, however, made good his escape. Not before a couple of days had passed did he return to Fort Garry. Then, when Riel asked to see him, he was to lay down certain conditions,[47] and was careful not to set foot in what was known as Government House.[48]

The interview with Riel took place in the Fort's recreation room.[49] As Butler recorded it in The Great Lone Land Riel denied that he was making active preparations to resist the Red River Expedition:

> I only wish to retain power until I can resign it to a proper government. I have done everything for the sake of peace, and to prevent bloodshed amongst the people of this land.[50]

It must be repeated here that in spite of the suspicion which his remarkable method of arriving had aroused Butler was not arrested nor molested in any way during his stay in the Settlement.[51] It is true that his companion was arrested and that Butler was pursued, but as Joseph Dubuc, correspondent of La Minerve, pointed out, their conduct upon arrival made this inevitable. The Provisional Government would have been lax in its duties if it had not sought to find out who the "mysterious stranger"[52] was. When he was informed that Butler was going to the Expedition Riel asked several questions about it and then brought the conversation back to what the Provisional Government had done for the "advantage of his country".[53] Butler must have known, as the men then camped at Monkman's in the lower settlement must have known, that the Provisional Government was making no arrangements to interfere with the Expedition.

On the contrary, while he was in the Settlement, Butler learned that Wolseley had written to the Hudson's Bay Company "urging the construction of a road between Fort Garry and Lake of the Woods".[54] If he learned that from McTavish--it was McTavish who arranged the meeting with Riel--he

must surely have learned from McTavish, as well as from Riel, of Riel's efforts to have Wolseley's proclamation printed and distributed.[55] Since a "couple of hundred copies" had been issued and circulated among the people Butler was most likely able to take a copy with him to show to Wolseley! An hour later Butler left Fort Garry and began his journey to meet the Red River Expedition. He made contact with the Canadians at Monkman's in the lower settlement.[56] We shall hear more of Butler in due course.

Remarkably enough, with the issuing of Wolseley's proclamation by Riel and the Provisional Government, Begg ceased to keep a journal. As W. L. Morton has pointed out there is no obvious reason for this. Begg was a man of letters, and later wrote books based upon what he had recorded in his journal. In a couple of years Begg was to be found editing a newspaper, devoting full time to writing a kind of public diary for the Settlement. Can one offer a conjecture here? Did Begg realize that in a very real sense Manitoba would from then on be at the mercy of decisions taken from afar?

We are fortunate in that in late July and early August Joseph Dubuc was writing regular columns for the Montreal newspaper La Minerve. Dubuc had arrived on June 17th with Father Ritchot. At Riel's invitation he had spent the first couple of weeks in Fort Garry,[57] in constant contact with the members of the Provisional Government and in an excellent position to see all that was going on. Then he moved over to St. Boniface, but maintained his interest in all that was happening and recorded it for La Minerve.[58] Since he disapproved of La Minerve's editorial policies on matters connected with the North-West and the Red River Insurrection he

signed his articles with his full name.

In early June he wrote of Riel's satisfaction with the Manitoba Act. Riel, he wrote, had no intention of retaining power. He wanted to retire to his mother's farm and resume his studies, while following the affairs of the country.[59] As we have seen he observed Riel's tactful dealings with the Indians. He deplored the tendency of The Telegraph and The Globe to publish rumors without checking into the truth of them. He mentioned time and again the concern felt about the fact that a general amnesty had not arrived.[60] The people at Red River were aware of the fanaticism that existed in a portion of the Ontario press, and knew too that the fanaticism had representatives in the Red River Expedition, now approaching by the old river highway of the voyageurs. Dubuc pointed out that the desire for the amnesty arose not from a feeling of guilt but from a desire to see peace and order reign in the country. This could not happen if men in the Expedition were intent upon revenge.[61] Dubuc wrote that the Provisional Government had had to temporize and was having to temporize before demands that measures be taken to resist the Expedition. There were many who did not trust the Canadian government in the way that Riel advised.

In early August Dubuc wrote that people were arriving from various parts of the country and asking to be allowed to act against the Expedition. He wrote that Riel needed all the prestige he had to be able to hold these people in check. He quoted Riel as saying, "What could be more magnificent than to see yourself surrounded by soldiers that you have to restrain?". Dubuc reported that accounts of an outbreak of smallpox had forced many Métis to return to the Settlement who would ordinarily be on the hunt.[62]

People in the Settlement were scanning the newspapers for news of the amnesty. The report from Toronto dated the 13th of July, for example, stating that the Governor General was about to issue a proclamation of amnesty, caused discussion. Why would the news come from Toronto, of all places? People were sure it must be a false alarm, and watched succeeding issues for confirmation or denial.

Dubuc noted that in response to the proclamation of Wolseley a number of men had gone out to work on the Lake of the Woods road.

A later despatch told of a couple of things which reassured Red River people. A letter had been received from Bishop Taché in which he had said fine words about Lieutenant-Governor-designate Archibald. Another rumor about the amnesty was published in the St. Paul newspapers. This time the report came from Ottawa, and was taken more seriously by the people.

News came to the Settlement of the death, in Liverpool, of Mr. McTavish, ex-governor of the Hudson's Bay Campany who had left the Settlement on May 17th. Both flags at Fort Garry flew at half mast.[63]

The New Nation for August 13th also carried news of the annual Hudson's Bay Company council, held at Norway House. Donald A. Smith acted as president. On June 15th Begg had mentioned Smith's by-passing Fort Garry on his way there. Begg guessed that Smith had judged it wise not to come by way of Fort Garry because of what he had said about the Insurrection in his report. Among other things in its report of the council's decisions, the New Nation mentioned that James G. Stewart, who had been chief factor at Norway House, was to have a furlough.

According to the New Nation sixty men were employed on the Lake of the Woods road.

Some time in mid-August Riel sent a group of men out to Lake of the Woods to welcome Lieutenant-Governor-designate Archibald and escort him into the Settlement.[64]

August 23rd saw the return of Bishop Taché, accompanied by Messrs Girard, of Varennes in the province of Quebec, and Joseph Royal of Le Nouveau Monde, the Montreal newspaper. Taché gave Riel the assurance that all would be well. That very evening news came that the Red River Expedition was only a few miles to the north of Fort Garry, and could be expected to arrive the next day. Riel called a meeting of his executive, and sent three messengers to meet the Expedition. The messengers did not return. In the night a heavy rain began to fall.[65]

In the months since the negotiations of April and May Riel and the Provisional Government had been "sufficiently powerful to maintain order".

Footnotes

1. The Beaver, June, 1941, "When The Métis Rebelled"; Smith's account is in W. L. Morton (ed), Birth of a Province, p. 37.

2. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Young to Archibald, April 7, 1870.

3. "Report--1874", pp. 77 and 81.

4. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Kimberley to Dufferin, July 24, 1873.

5. The diary may be consulted in Begg's Journal.

6. See especially March 7, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 20, 22 and 23.

7. Begg's Journal, March 19.

8. New Nation has the report of the debates.

9. Begg's Journal, March 19.

10. Ibid., April 1. New Nation, April 2, 1870; New Nation, April 8, 1870. According to Begg great quantities of ice came down as late as April 13th. Begg noted on the 10th that "several bridges" had been "injured from freshets" and it may be assumed that these bridges were repaired too.

11. Ibid.

12. Begg's Journal, Schmidt's Memoirs, No. XV, pp. 475-6.

13. Begg's Journal, April 1, 3.

14. Ibid., April 14.

15. Ibid., April 21.

16. Ibid., April 7.

17. Ibid., April 13.

18. Ibid., April 20.

19. Ibid., April 21.

20. For this "Protestation" see Begg's Journal, XXVI, pp. 524-7.

21. La Minerve, August 11 (Fort Garry, July 19), 1870; La Minerve, September 1 (Fort Garry, August 8), 1870.

22. New Nation, May 20, 1870.

23. New Nation, Jan. 7, 1870.

24. Manitoban, April 29, May 6, and July 1, 1871.

25. New Nation, May 13 and June 24, 1870.

26. See Begg's Journal for November and December, 1869, for examples.

27. George Dugas, Histoire, p. 160.

28. The series began to appear Dec. 2, 1869.

29. For example, The Creation of Manitoba.

30. See Taché's deposition in "Report--1874", pp. 8-67. See also Dom Benoit, Vie, Vol. 2, chapter XXXIV.

31. "Report--1874", p. 32.

32. See "L'Amnistie" in Le Métis, Feb. 28, 1874, reproduced from Le Nouveau Monde, Feb. 4, 1874.

33. "Report--1874", p. 32.

34. Ibid., p. 33.

35. La Minerve, August 11 (Fort Garry, July 19), 1870; AASB, T7811, Bannatyne to Taché, Aug. 6, 1870.

36. Begg's Journal, XXX, Machray to Sir John Young, July 16, 1870, p. 559.

37. La Minerve, Aug. 11 (Fort Garry, July 19), 1870.

38. PAM MG C2 Eleanor E. Kennedy Papers, Kennedy to Machray, Oct. 10, 1870.

39. Begg's Journal, July 8.

40. Newspapers carried many references to Butler: New Nation, July 23, 1870; St. Paul Daily Pioneer, Aug. 9, 1870; La Minerve, Aug. 13, 1870; Telegraph, Aug. 19, 1870; St. Paul Weekly Press, Aug. 25, 1870; "Narrative . . .", Part II, in Blackwood's Magazine, Jan. 1871, p. 72; Benjamin Sulte, "L'Expédition Militaire de Manitoba" in Revue Canadienne, July and August 1871; H. S. Riddell, "Red River Expedition of 1870", p. 122. It has to be observed that what he told the Telegraph does not square with other accounts of the same event.

41. Butler, The Great Lone Land (afterwards Great), pp. 37, 61ff.

42. Ibid., pp. 140, 135; La Minerve, Aug. 13, 1870.

43. Butler was acquainted with, if not a member of, that group. He visited Denison on the way to England from Canada in 1871. PAC MG9 E29 Denison Diary for 1871: "April 11, 1871--Captain Butler of the 69th called to see me."

44. Butler, Great, p. 114.

45. Ibid., p. 117.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p. 129.

48. St. Paul Weekly Press, Aug. 25, 1870.

49. Butler, Great, pp. 133-6.

50. Ibid., p. 134.

51. La Minerve, Aug. 13, 1870.

52. The term is Begg's. See entry for July 23.

53. Butler, Great, p. 135.

54. Ibid., p. 129.

55. Begg's Journal, July 22.

56. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, Aug. 9, 1870.

57. Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française, Vol. 20, 1966-7, No. 3, p. 438. Afterwards RHAF.

58. Ibid., p. 439.

59. RHAF, Vol. 20, 1966-7, No. 4, p. 630.

60. La Minerve, Aug. 20 (Fort Garry, July 30), 1870; Sept. 1 (Fort Garry, Aug. 8), 1870.

61. Ibid.

62. La Minerve, Sept. 1 (Fort Garry, Aug. 8), 1870.

63. New Nation, Aug. 13, 1870.

64. La Minerve, Sept. 17 (Fort Garry, Sept. 3), 1870.

65. La Minerve, Sept. 10 (Fort Garry, August 27), 1870.

Chapter Thirteen
The Red River Expeditionary Force[1]

As we have seen, the idea of the use of force in annexing Rupert's Land was "in the air" in Canada as early as September of 1869, and in succeeding months volunteers for action in the North-West were not slow in coming forward. The Canadian Government, too, was prepared to consider the arming with rifles of either a police force or a volunteer force of some kind. Preparations were made for the shipment of these rifles before either the stopping of the surveys by the Métis or their preventing of McDougall's entry into Rupert's Land. While it could be argued that these rifles were intended for the use of a mounted police force, and that the fears of the Métis had been aroused unnecessarily, the same cannot be said where letting of contracts for the building of boats to transport an expedition was concerned. This had been discussed in November of 1869, and the order-in-council appropriating money to purchase the boats was passed in January of 1870.[2]

It is clear, then, that the sending of an expeditionary force was Canadian government policy long before the Insurrection at Red River had assumed serious proportions. To state, as W. L. Morton did, that Archibald came in on the "bayonets" which had sprung from the blood of Scott is to ignore the available evidence.[3] Having said this, however, it is necessary to ask what the Canadian government's policy actually was, and whether the fears of the Métis were groundless, as we strive to come to an understanding of what happened before and during Archibald's regime in Manitoba. While this is difficult, it is not impossible, and, since much of what the boastful members of the Canadian party had said to the

Métis actually came true, it is important that we make the effort.

A cabinet committee set up to study the situation with regard to the Red River Insurrection reported to the full cabinet on February 11th, 1870, and requested the Governor General to ask the British government to send an expeditionary force to Red River in cooperation with the Canadian government. The Minute stated the matter clearly:

> It is obvious that the Expedition must be undertaken, organized, commanded and carried through under the authority of Her Majesty's Government. Canada has no authority beyond her own limits and no power whatever to send a Volunteer Force or to order her Militia on this, to her, a foreign service.[4]

The Minute acknowledged that a public meeting had been held at Red River. At this meeting letters given to Thibault, de Salaberry and Smith were read, and arrangements were made "for a conference of delegates to be elected by the people". The result of the conference was not yet known. The Minute acknowledged that the government of Mr. McTavish was "merely nominal", and "completely at the mercy of the disaffected classes". The Minute expressed the fear that the insurgent leaders would insist upon demands made in the Manitesto or Declaration of Rights, "several of which are altogether inadmissible". The Minute expressed the fear, too, that should the delegates insist on the "inadmissible" demands, they might return to Fort Garry "smarting under the sense of failure", and, "unless confronted by a Military Force and a strengthened Government, make violent appeals to the people and raise a second insurrection on a more formidable basis". The Minute did not specify which "demands" were "inadmissible".

The Minute stated that the insurgent leaders had already declared

themselves in favor of annexation to the United States, and their good faith concerning the sending of delegates to Canada was to be doubted. As for the United States itself, Senator Ramsay of Minnesota had already brought the Red River affair to the attention of Congress, and a recent letter from Mr. Fish to the British ambassador proved the feeling of the American government. There was, too, a widespread feeling, in Rupert's Land, but more especially in the United States, that Britain was no longer interested in her North American colonies. An expeditionary force would dispel this feeling, particularly if it was noised abroad "to the public mind on this Continent" that a larger expedition than the one envisaged was to be sent. The Fenian organization could also be counted on to strengthen the hand of the insurgents. The expedition should, the Minute noted, have the prestige lent by the presence of regular troops, and should be organized under a commander of reputation.

The importance of an early start in the spring was emphasized, to allow the expedition to reach Red River before materials could be taken into the Settlement over roads across the prairies. "Should by any unfortunate delay or accident the Expedition be postponed until the summer the insurgents would doubtless receive large and continuous aid and comfort from the American people." There was little hope of preventing this aid from crossing the frontier. This could cause "serious complications" between the American and British governments.

Contracts, the Minute reminded its readers, had already been entered into for the construction of the boats required for the transport of the expeditition, and no time should be lost "in settling the number and description of the Force, the officer to be entrusted with the command,

and in the preparation of the material and transport service."

The Committee felt that the Hudson's Bay Company, Canada and Her Majesty's Government should each contribute "towards the restoration of the Queen's authority in Rupert's Land. By the action of the insurgents that authority has been set at nought, the policy of England thwarted and her power defied."

The Governor General was requested to transmit a copy of the Minute to Earl Granville "in order that he may move Her Majesty's Government to take the matter into consideration for the purpose of immediate action". A copy was to be sent to Sir John Rose, too, to assist him in case he should be called upon to act as an agent in negotiations between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company.

The British government acted upon the request with some reluctance. There was concern that it might appear that the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement were being coerced into entering Confederation. A considerable correspondence ensued between Sir John Young and Granville, and between Sir John Young and Sir John A. Macdonald. A note of impatience crept into this correspondence. To Sir John Young's astonishment the Colonial Office was worried about the rights of Roman Catholics in the Settlement. As for Sir Clinton Murdoch, he was not helping matters by doubting whether his instructions gave him the power to assist in such an important decision.[5] On the tenth of April Macdonald expressed his impatience in a note to Young:

> The difficulty that I feel is this. Lord Granville says in his tel that if we accept the country, England

> will send her troops, but in his instructions to Sir Clinton Murdoch he says the troops are not to be used to force the people to unite with Canada,--in other words to be of no use. Now if we accept the country we are committed to its conquest and must go on. We can't return the country to Her Majesty or the H B Company again why should we agree to pay for troops that may be ordered not to act when they get to Fort Garry?

Having stated the nature of the difficulty Macdonald thought he was in a position to suggest a way out of it:

> My idea is that Sir C. Murdoch should convince himself that the majority of the people desire union with Canada and then procure a pledge from England by cable that the troops will be sent and used, if necessary when sent.[6]

Macdonald did not specify how Sir Clinton Murdoch was to "convince himself" that the majority of Red River people desired union with Canada. However, Murdoch evidently came to see matters in this light, and the consent of the Colonial Office was secured.[7] It must be observed, by the way, that Macdonald's remarks indicate clearly the light in which he saw the Red River Expedition. It must also be observed that all evidence suggests that it was the British government - and not the Canadian - which was concerned about the welfare of those who were to become Canadians in the following months.

Sir John Young must have had to do mental gymnastics as he read the speech closing Parliament on May 12 of 1870:

> The Military Expedition which it is necessary to send will gratify and give confidence to all loyal and well-disposed persons. Her Majesty's troops go forth on an errand of peace, and will serve as an assurance to the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement and the numerous Indian tribes that occupy the North-West that they have a place in the regard and counsels of England, and may rely upon the impartial protection of the British Sceptre.[8]

The Governor General's address was read in the Red River Settlement on May 23rd, the same day that Riel and O'Donoghue met with the winterers at White Horse Plains. No doubt the expression, "expedition de paix" played its part in the "cooling down" of feeling that Begg reported in his journal.[9]

While the Colonial Office had been testing Sir John Young's patience with regard to the sending of the Expedition the decision as to who was to lead it was giving concern to the government. Col. G. T. Denison thought at the time that the government favored Colonel Robertson-Ross,[10] but there is evidence that others were considered as well.[11] A well-orchestrated campaign, given impetus by the members of "Canada First", brought forward the name of Col. Garnet Wolseley with such vigor that he was chosen for the command.[12]

In some respects Wolseley was an ideal choice for the post. He had abundant military experience, having served in the second Burmese War, and in the Crimean War, where he lost the sight of an eye. He served in India at the time of the Mutiny, and in the China War in 1860. He described his experiences in the latter war in his book Narrative of the War With China in 1860. In December of 1861, at the time of the "Trent" affair, he was sent to Canada, and stayed to spend his time reading military history and preparing a manual for soldiers. During the American Civil War he and a London Times correspondent made a trip through the Confederate lines, meeting General Robert E. Lee in northern Virginia not long after the battle of Antietam in September of 1862. Lee became one of Wolseley's "heroes", the other being Charles "Chinese" Gordon.[13] It is to be noted, incidentally, that he did not make a similar visit to Union generals or

Union politicians.[14]

However, Wolseley's Irish Protestant background and upbringing made him prone to come under the influence of such men as Colonel G. T. Denison, for whom to be French-speaking and Catholic was tantamount to being guilty of treason.[15] Denison was with Wolseley both before and after Wolseley's appointment as commanding officer.[16] In February of 1870 he was at Wolseley's house for a week discussing with him information Denison had collected about the terrain and history of the area through which the Expedition would have to pass.[17] He was with Wolseley, it is to be noted, when the cabinet prepared its memorandum of February 11th recommending an expedition to Red River. Denison was in Ottawa again for some time in April,[18] and was in Col. Wolseley's office "a good deal".[19] When the Expedition was mobilized at Toronto Colonel Wolseley tried to persuade Denison to go with him, but Denison would not agree, saying that he was certain he would be needed in Ontario:

> I told him all his troubles would be in the rear, and that some bold man would be required in Toronto to fight the battle there.[20]

While Wolseley had his headquarters in Toronto he received a visit from Butler, of the 60th Rifles, then on his way to Red River on a mission of great importance to the Expedition. He had been asked by General Lindsay to go to Red River to see if the Expedition could expect to be opposed.[21]

The battle to which Denison referred had to do with the reasons for the Expedition itself. Once the negotiations were completed and the Manitoba Act was passed in Parliament, much of Canadian public opinion could see little reason to send a military expedition, and, as we have seen, the

situation at Red River required no expedition. The Provisional Government was widely accepted and was prepared to meet the Lieutenant-Governor-designate with open arms and assist in the establishment of a provincial government. Indeed, it is to be regretted that things did not work out that way. In Britain, too, there were those who could see that a military expedition could do no good and might, in fact, do harm to the long-term federal interest.[22]

Denison and "Canada First" were worried that something would occur to make the recall of the Expedition appear desirable, and Denison was determined not to leave the East where decisions were made. It must be remembered that Sir John A. Macdonald became seriously ill while the negotiations with the Red River delegates were under way, and from then on Denison's old enemy, Cartier, was serving as the head of government. It is interesting to note, and it cannot be coincidental, that there is in Wolseley's instructions a "15A" which reads as follows:

> During your advance from Toronto you will take no orders from any one except me and I shall not interfere with your arrangements, relying on and having the greatest confidence in your discretion.[23]

As it turned out, the only occasion when the recall of the Expedition was seriously considered came about as a result of Colonel Wolseley's misjudgment. Some explanation is necessary here. Wolseley's account of how the road from Thunder Bay to Shebandowan Lake had not been completed and was not ready for him to move boats over it is well known to students of the Red River Expedition. Wolseley told, too, how he sized up the situation and decided that, although he had been told that the Kaministiquia River could not be used, "owing to the dangerous nature of its rapids and the magnitude of its falls", he nevertheless set men to work dragging

forward the boats along the rocky channel of the river.[24] The disadvantage of this solution was that the boats took considerable damage from the rocks over which they were moved and, upon arrival, had to be repaired before they could be used.[25] Also, it was found that, since inexperienced men could not move the boats forward in this way, voyageurs had to be diverted from road work and set to work conveying boats up the rocky channel of the river.[26]

Wolseley did not tell his readers that this distasteful work resulted in the desertion of the Indians brought at great expense from Nipigon and the Grand Portage, and that the Fort William Indians deserted after a trip or two. Wolseley also did not mention that voyageurs began to ask him,

> Why do you keep us dragging boats over rocks where there is no water to float them, when a single wagon would accomplish more in a day than we can in ten? By using wagons you would have your boats in good order: whereas, by exposing them to such usage as this they are rendered unfit for the long journey yet before us.[27]

S. J. Dawson has told how he remonstrated with Wolseley, but Wolseley was adamant, so Dawson simply made the best of the situation. However, with many desertions, with road builders being used to carry boats, with supplies beginning to pile up at certain locations and remaining there, and with damaged boats having to be repaired, it began to be realized that the Expedition could not go through in time, and morale fell badly. Reports were sent to the East and in late June and early July newspapers began to carry the rumor that the Expedition was to be abandoned.[28] Luckily for the Expedition Lindsay, the Lieutenant-General Commanding, visited the area, going as far forward as Shebandowan Lake, and listening and observing as he went.

Dawson has outlined what was necessary and what Lindsay ordered:

> In this position the true plan [was] to set all the available force, both soldiers and voyageurs, to work on the unfinished section of the road, so as to have it completed by the time the boats should reach the Matawin bridge. But instead of adopting a line of action so obvious and judicious, the boats, on the advice of inexperienced persons, who, although living in the vicinity, had never been over the country through which the road passes, or had ever so much as seen Shebandowan Lake, were ordered to the rough and rocky roads of the river, while at the same time with exception of a few companies of the regular troops sent forward to aid in repairing the damage occasioned by the fire, the main body of the military force was maintained in inactivity at Thunder Bay, and there it in great part remained, until General Lindsay made his appearance and ordered a general movement forward.[29]

As we have seen, there was only one person who could give Wolseley orders which he must obey, and that person had to appear on the scene before the Red River Expedition could advance in time to return as planned. With a change of orders good men could do good work.

On June 30th, before leaving Prince Arthur's landing, Wolseley had another road on his mind. He sent a proclamation to the Red River Settlement, reminding the people there that his was an errand of peace, and calling upon all loyal and well-disposed people to help him in carrying them out. Copies were sent to the Protestant and Roman Catholic bishops and to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Garry. They were at the same time requested by letter to take measures toward pushing on the work on the road to the Lake of the Woods, a road which was already partially made. As has already been observed, Riel and the Provisional Government acted promptly on Wolseley's request, and work on that road went forward more quickly with the help of larger crews of men.[30] Wolseley explained, however, that he considered this as a ruse.

> It was never anticipated that this road could be completed in time for us to use it, even should there be no hostilities; but it was considered advisable to impress Riel with the idea that we intended advancing by that route, so that, in case he was bent upon fighting, he would frame all his calculations upon a wrong basis, and make his preparations along it for our reception.[31]

In the meantime, back in Toronto, Col. G. T. Denison was working to ensure that a conspiracy of some kind did not succeed in recalling the Expedition. So certain was he that someone wished to recall it that he had

> written to Colonel Wolseley and warned him of the danger, and urged him to push on, and not encourage any messages from the rear. Letters were written to officers on the expedition to impede and delay any messengers who might be sent up, and in case the troops were ordered home, the idea was conveyed to the Ontario men to let the regulars go back, but for them to take their boats and provisions and go on at all hazards.[32]

Denison admitted that letters written by him may have served to delay or impede the progress of Mr. Archibald, the Lieutenant-Governor-designate, to his new post in Manitoba.[33] More of this, however, in its place.

One of the most remarkable episodes in the history of Toronto was soon to unfold, showing the lengths to which the members of "Canada First" were prepared to go as their religious fears and bigotry led them to see a Jesuitical plot in every move the government made.

As we have seen, Bishop Taché left Red River on June 28th, having in mind to press for the issuing of a general amnesty so that the transfer to Canadian rule in the North-West might be peacefully accomplished.[34] Taché reached Ottawa about the 11th or 12th of July.[35] Cartier was in Montreal, and Macdonald was ill and could not attend to business. Taché

went to Montreal, where he had "many interviews" with Cartier.[36] Cartier confirmed what Ritchot had reported about the negotiations and about the amnesty, and Taché was shown copies of letters which were then on their way to Red River. In one of these Howe had notified him that the amnesty he had promised to the people rested on his own responsibility, since the question of amnesty rested not with the Canadian government but with the Queen. "It would have been better," Howe wrote, "that the amnesty question should not have been discussed, but that it should have been left to be settled between the Queen and the people of Red River".[37] Howe had not seen nor heard what Taché had seen and heard in the Settlement.

Sir George Cartier said that there was nothing more to be done but wait for the amnesty. "We are waiting for the proclamation every day," he said, "and if you remain for a few weeks it will arrive before you leave."[38] Cartier was speaking the truth. He had every reason to believe that such was the case.

Cartier then insisted that Taché go with him to Niagara to see the Governor General, Sir John Young. "You will see the Governor General," he said, "and he will give you the same assurance." Taché did not wish to do this, since he had other business to attend to, but Sir George insisted. Cartier told Taché to be in Ottawa the next Monday, and that on the Tuesday they would proceed to Niagara along with Mr. Archibald, the Lieutenant-Governor-designate, who was to be sworn in. Taché went to Ottawa, but Sir George said he was not ready; they would leave on Wednesday instead. In the meantime word of Cartier's assurances to Taché had somehow leaked out and accounts appeared in the press. Cartier and Taché took the boat at Prescott, and when they arrived at Kingston telegrams

were handed to Cartier stating that there was a great excitement in Toronto, and that the people were preparing to insult Cartier because he was travelling with the "traitor" Taché.[39]

On July 18th, Haliburton, a member of "Canada First", by chance saw Sir John Young at Niagara, and in a conversation with him learned that Archibald, Cartier and Taché were to meet him there in a few days.[40] Haliburton, of course, suspected a plot, and telegraphed a warning to John C. Schultz, then in London, Ontario, and Schultz in turn sent word to Denison. Denison called a meeting of the "committee" for the 19th, and arranged at once for a public meeting to be held on the 22nd in Toronto. The newspaper the Leader of the 19th of July had a despatch from Ottawa dated the 18th in these words:

> Bishop Taché will arrive here this evening from Montreal. The Privy Council held a special meeting on Saturday. It is stated on good authority that Sir George Cartier will proceed with Lieutenant-Governor Archibald to Niagara Falls next Wednesday to induce His Excellency to go to the North-West via Pembina with L.-G. Archibald and Bishop Taché. On their arrival, Riel is to deliver up the Government to them, and the expedition troops will be withdrawn.[41]

The next day the same paper had an article which ended as follows:

> So far as the expedition is concerned we have no knowledge that there is any intention to recall it, but we would not be surprised if the physical difficulties to be encountered should of itself [sic] make its withdrawal a necessity. How much better than incurring any expense in this way would it be for Sir John Young to pay a visit to the new Province, there to assume the reins of government on behalf of the Queen, see it passed over properly to Mr. Archibald who is much respected there, and there establish a local force instead of endeavoring to forward foot and artillery through the almost impassable swamps of the long stretch of country lying be-

> tween Fort William and Fort Garry. Should the government entertain such an idea as this and successfully carry it out, the time would be short indeed within which the public would learn to be grateful for the adoption of so wise a policy.[42]

Denison had already written to Wolseley, warning him of "the danger" and urging him to push on. Letters had gone to officers to impede and delay any messengers who might be sent up.[43] Now Denison and the committee swung into action in Toronto. A hostile demonstration was planned, and arrangements were made to burn Cartier's effigy at the station when Cartier and Taché arrived. News of this leaked out, and Lieut.-Col. Durie, district adjutant-general commanding in Toronto, tried to arrange for a guard of honor to protect Cartier, who was, after all, Minister of Militia. Lieut.-Col. Boxall of the 10th Royal Regiment, when spoken to on the subject, said he had a previous engagement for that evening near the station, the nature of which would make it impossible for him to appear in uniform. Denison was told about this, and went to see Durie. As Denison has told the story, he informed Durie that he had "heard of the guard of honor business", and asked him if he thought the guard of honor would intimidate Denison's committee. Denison then told him that if they heard any more of it they "would take possession of the armoury that night, and that we would have ten men to his one, and if anyone in Toronto wanted to fight it out, we were ready to fight it out on the streets".[44] Durie told Denison he was threatening revolution. Denison said, "Yes, I know I am, and we can make it one. A half continent is at stake, and it is a stake worth fighting for."[45]

Durie telegraphed to Sir George Cartier not to come to Toronto by railway. Cartier and Taché got off the train at Kingston. Taché went to

Niagara by way of the United States. Cartier took the steamer for Toronto, arrived at the wharf in the morning, transferred to the Niagara boat and crossed to Niagara Falls. Denison and committee, meanwhile, planned a huge demonstration for the 22nd, the purpose of which was to protest against any planned withdrawal of the Expedition, to urge the punishment of the "rebels" and protest against the granting of any kind of amnesty, and, in case of the withdrawal of the Expedition, to organize an "armed migration" to the Red River Settlement.[46]

We must now pause and ask some questions about this incident. We have seen how Denison, an avowed "loyalist" and descendant of Loyalists, would entertain treason when it suited him. But how was it possible for him to make such a threat and be taken seriously? Who "would take possession of the armoury that night"? How would it be possible for Denison and his committee to have ten men to [Durie's] one" and "fight it out on the streets"? The answer to this is that Denison had available a great many young men who had already had a great deal of practice at this sort of thing, and that he was quite prepared to make use of them. Here we must look at the "Young Britons".

Violence was a disease in Toronto and in much of Ontario in the 1870's. Its roots lay in the Irish problem, and in the thousands of young Irish immigrants who had brought it to Canada with them. Newspaper police court accounts tell of street brawl after street brawl, or "rampant rowdyism", of the "Young Britons" and of the "Orange and Green riots".[47] The Telegraph for October 31st, 1870, complained that the "peace of the city has been outraged during the last six months by a series of street rows" involving the "Young Britons" and the "Young Irish".

The police should make special efforts to bring it under control, The Telegraph said. The Globe asked "Who were these youths wearing Orange favors that created a riot during the progress of the Caledonian Society's games, and did their best to break Captain Prince's head when he interfered with them? What sort of character do the peaceable people of Fort Hope give to the Society that lately made its annual excursion to their quiet town? Not exactly one consistent with Alderman Medcalf's charitable views of the youthful fraternity."[48]

In September of 1870 the "Young Britons" resented the newspaper criticism they had received, and held an indignation meeting to express their innocence. The Globe had a long editorial on the meeting:

> But the Young Britons by their late meeting have publicly challenged criticism and must not be surprised if now and henceforth they enjoy a monopoly of public attention and notice whenever their conduct seems to merit it. As to the statement that the offenders recently fined were not 'Young Britons', it was publicly refuted by two of them present at the meeting. But really no such proof is wanted to fix such charges upon the Association. If we desire to know what spirit actuates it, we have only to turn to the speech of Captain Bennett, District Master of the City Orange Lodges, and observe the cheers with which his evil advice was received by his audience.

The Globe editorial pointed out that sensible persons, when provoked, "are generally content to treat the provocation with contempt, and if assaulted in person, possess sufficient moral courage to rely on the protection of the law .

> But what says Captain James Bennett to these willing disciples in the rowdy act?: "He would tell them, as the District Master of the City of Toronto, that at any time they were attacked never to mind taking their assailant to the Police Court, where, perhaps, he would get but scanty justice, but just to have satisfaction there and then", whereat arose 'tremendous cheering'.[49]

Captain James Bennett, District Master of the city Orange Lodges, was a member of the "Canada First" group. He was present at the indignation meeting called by Denison's committee,[50] and seconded a motion made by J. D. Edgar. Bennett produced "the rope", about a yard long, with which, it was alleged, Scott's hands had been tied at the time of his execution.[51] In his address to the meeting he spoke of the troubles at Red River as being simply Roman Catholicism versus Protestantism.

There were seventeen Orange Lodges in Toronto in 1870, with a number, not known, of "Young Briton" affiliates.[52] In his position of District Master of the city Orange Lodges, Bennett could communicate with them easily, and assuring attendance at a meeting or a demonstration was just a question of sufficient time to get the word around. The wording of some of the placards used to advertise the July 22nd meeting is suggestive of the intended audience: "Orangemen! is Brother Scott forgotten already?"; "Men of Ontario! Shall Scott's blood cry in vain for vengeance?"[53]

It must be presumed that if Denison and the "Canada First" committee were able to summon these "Young Britons" to a meeting in July they had been able to do the same thing in early April when "Young Britons" were needed to welcome Schultz and his fellows, and a few days later when they were needed to frighten Ritchot into travelling to Ottawa by way of the United States.[54] There is no reason to believe otherwise.

There is no reason to doubt, either, what the effect of such demonstrations was. We have Bishop Taché's deposition before the Select Committee of 1874:

> On Saturday morning I left Buffalo and went to Niagara . . . Sir George looked very uneasy. He told me indignation meetings had taken place in Toronto, and had given His Excellency a good

> deal of uneasiness. Sir George further stated that His Excellency seemed to be reluctant to speak upon these matters. I said: "I may go back now: you know I had no desire to come here." Sir George, however, said: "You must see the Governor." After waiting a little Sir George came back and said the Governor was ready to receive me. On going to His Excellency's room I found him standing near the door. He showed great reluctance to speak about these matters. Before I opened my mouth he said: "I suppose you did not come here to talk about politics?"

Taché replied: "I am satisfied that you are aware of the nature of my journey. I started from Montreal, not according to my own wishes, but at the request of your own Minister. I suppose Sir George told you what I came about?" He replied: "There is a great deal of trouble connected with these matters, and I do not like to speak about them." Taché said that in that case he was willing to withdraw. Young showed Taché a chair, and began to talk about the Red River affairs.

> Naturally I drew His Excellency's attention to the question of the amnesty. After again expressing his reluctance to speak upon this question, he pointed to his proclamation of 6th December, which was lying open on the table, and said: "Here is my proclamation; it covers the whole case." He also said, "See Sir George Cartier; he knows my views upon the subject, and he will tell you all." I then left His Excellency. Sir George saw him, and I then had an interview with Sir George.

Taché reminded Cartier of the importance of sending some information to the Red River Settlement, because the newspapers were denying that an amnesty would be granted:

> I knew perfectly well this would cause uneasiness and anxiety at Fort Garry, and provoke some bad result.

Together Taché and Cartier prepared a telegram leading the people at Red

River "to understand that the promise that had been made had not been changed". The telegram was addressed to Father Lestanc.[55]

Both Sir John Young and Bishop Taché knew that the proclamation of December 6, 1869, did not "cover the whole case". Events had occurred after that date which markedly altered the nature of the case. According to Taché, before he left Sir John Young the Governor General asked him to put into writing some of the remarks Taché had made to him.

The indignation meeting had taken place on the 22nd. The interview with Sir John Young was held on the 23rd. On the 23rd Taché left Niagara and stayed at Hamilton. That same day he wrote the requested letter. It summarizes events nicely:

> Three men lost their lives during the troubles,-- the first I may say accidentally, since Parisien, who shot [Sutherland], was not sound in mind. Parisien himself, arrested before the sad event by the so-called "Loyal Party", was afterwards killed by them, or rather left for dead, and in fact died in consequence of the horrible treatment they had inflicted on him. No mention is made of the death of these two men, but instead, some of those who most largely contributed to the death of the latter, thinking thereby to display their loyalty, loudly called to revenge the last victim, the unfortunate Thomas Scott. Any one acquainted with the events is less astonished at the death of Scott than at the fact of there being but one victim in insurgent quarters. This fact clearly proves that the armed party was neither blood-thirsty nor actuated by a revengeful spirit.

Taché then alluded to the promises of a general amnesty given by him to the Provisional Government:

> The promise of an amnesty has largely contributed to obtain the result secured: had I not been convinced myself that an amnesty would be granted: had I not brought the people to partake of my conviction, the mission entrusted to me by the Government of Your Excellency would certainly not be crowned with the success obtained.

Taché listed the reasons he felt secure in promising a general amnesty:

> Guided by what I had heard at Ottawa; by this Proclamation of Your Excellency of the 6th of February; by the letter of Sir John A. Macdonald, dated 16th February; alarmed by the danger of desperate resistance and of foreign intervention; persuaded that Our Gracious Sovereign would easily pardon Her subjects that had erred because too highly provoked; seeing 'irregularities on all sides',--I thought myself justifiable in giving a positive and solemn assurance that a complete pardon would be granted.

Taché then went on to make a rather telling observation about the recent indignation meeting:

> If an indignation meeting called by the 'loyal inhabitants' of Toronto is sufficient to give a direction to the settlement of affairs at Red River, every one will easily admit that it is impossible for us to expect liberal measures, or even the most elementary justice. I easily understand the pressure brought upon the authorities at Ottawa by such demonstrations, inspired by party spirit, rather than by 'horror of crime', but I appeal to the tribunal of Our Gracious Sovereign . . .[56]

Sir John Young's own account of the events at Niagara has survived, and it gives little indication that Taché's "remarks" or his letters putting those "remarks" in "writing" had any influence on the Governor-General. On the 6th of August Young wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald giving an account of what had been decided with regard to Archibald's going to Manitoba:

> I was quite against his going through the United States to his destination, even in the best of company [sic]--Indeed the Paeans in the papers which announced that he was to do so, that an amnesty had been granted, that the expedition was to be stayed on its way--and a visit paid me here by Sir G[eorge] C[artier], Bishop Taché and Archibald to announce all these 'faits accomplis' gave me for a week a very bad gastralgia--the euphonious name of a pain in a very

> useful part of the body against which according to Roman story the McInters [?] once revolted-- However things went off better and more quietly than I expected--None of the events I apprehended came to pass--and though Taché was evidently chagrined, Cartier seemed all right and Archibald was well pleased. Now I hope Riel & Co will run away and give the U[nited] States the permanent aid of their virtue and ability.[57]

Young did not finish the letter immediately. On the 9th of August he added to his letter to Macdonald saying that he had received a letter from Bishop Machray dated July 16th

> urging the speedy advent of the troops and saying the vast majority of the English and even French halfbreeds [sic] and all the Indians are weary of Riel and Co and will rise against him if the troops do not quickly come to keep the peace.[58]

That he was impressed by what Machray had said is indicated by the fact that he forwarded a copy of it to the Colonial Secretary with this comment:

> It gives a very different version of the state of affairs and feeling at Red River from that which has been furnished to us from other quarters and shews how necessary it was that the Expedition should be sent in the interest of peace and good order.

Meanwhile, on August 9th Wolseley was at Fort Frances, and would leave that place on the 10th. He had arrived there on the 4th of August, and proceeded to make arrangements both for the guiding of the brigades across Lake of the Woods and for the movement of the troops down the Winnipeg River. On the 4th of August, at Rainy Lake, he had met Butler, then "twelve days out" from Fort Garry, with news from that place to the 24th of July, and of his conversation with Riel.[59] The 5th saw the arrival of Monkman, the English Half-breed who had assisted J. C. Schultz in

his long winter traverse of the country from the Lower Settlement to St. Paul the preceding winter. Monkman had met Wolseley at Prince Arthur's Landing in June and had agreed to go to the Settlement and return with news. Monkman informed Wolseley that six large Hudson's Bay boats had been sent up the Winnipeg River by Mr. Boyd and the party of Canadians, accompanied by the Reverend J. P. Gardiner.[60]

These events showed conclusively that no effort was being made, or would be made, by anyone to prevent the Expedition from navigating the Winnipeg River. Wolseley's trip down the Winnipeg River was something like travel along a modern highway: every portage had its name dating from the days when it was the main highway from Canada to the North-West. Wolseley knew from his studies in February what everyone who travelled the route came to know: the Winnipeg River was where the Expedition would have met resistance if there was to be resistance. The green Volunteers might crack jokes and sing songs about how they would deal with Riel if he "meant fight"; Wolseley was under no such illusion. The correspondent of The Telegraph, at a pause on a portage on the 14th of August, marvelled at the number of excellent places to ambush an expedition such as the one he was with:

> . . . I am convinced that it has been well for us that our mission was a 'mission of peace'. For I am of opinion--and almost every officer in the detachment agrees with me--that a hundred determined men with a couple of guns, could not only have, over and over again, sent our boats to the bottom, but have kept the whole detachment at bay, and in fact have caused its return . . .[61]

At Fort Alexander the Expedition found Donald A. Smith waiting to accompany it to Fort Garry.[62] And, while he is not mentioned by any of the official sources, James G. Stewart also joined the Expedition, either

at Fort Alexander or as the Expedition made its way through the Lower Settlement. He was on furlough from service with the Hudson's Bay Company.[63]

There may be something symbolic in the way these two men approached Fort Garry. Smith, of course, was in Wolseley's party, and would be asked by him to assume civilian authority until the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor-designate. As for Stewart, he seems to have been able to appear to join the Expedition. Then at a certain moment he was able to elude its advance guard, and rode into Fort Garry in time to warn Riel that his life was in danger. Riel replied to the effect that the Expedition was supposed to be a peaceful one, whereupon Stewart replied, "As a friend I advise you to get out immediately".[64] Stewart's action gives support to the view that among the Company's lower echelons there was anger with recent Company policy and support for the Provisional Government.

As the Expedition moved through the rain towards Fort Garry its behavior hardly resembled that of an "errand of peace". People of the Lower Settlement who had made their way by design or accident within the Expedition's lines were taken prisoner.[65] The Expedition did not pause to send emissaries forward to make contact with the Provisional Government. Instead, every effort was made to conceal the approach of the Expedition. Couriers sent out by Riel were arrested and detained.[66] As it moved closer to Winnipeg it threw out skirmishers, limbered up guns behind a couple of country carts, formed a company into a rearguard, and passed around the flank of the village. Wolseley sent forward some of his staff to see if any gates were open.[67] Huyshe says that the troops marched in by the

Assiniboine gate, but one participant later told of battering down a gate and rushing in over the fallen timbers, "expecting a hand-to-hand conflict".[68] In their over-enthusiasm some of the men began to loot the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company.[69] Others looted the house Riel had used as headquarters.[70] Three of the Provisional Government councillors--men who could have spoken for the regime just ending--were placed under arrest, as was Mr. Champagne, whose crime was that of being present in the Fort.[71]

Since the civil disruption occasioned by this unusual behavior had results which lasted throughout and beyond the Archibald administration we have to ask how we can explain it. Certainly the explanation is not to be found in Wolseley's instructions. As we have seen, the officials of the Colonial Office, mindful of centuries of British experience in the control of military forces by the civil authorities, had warned against the sending of such an Expedition at all. There is, or course, no doubt that the circles in which Garnet Wolseley had moved in the East had seen the Expedition as punitive, but how did he dare to make policy of such an attitude? It is likely that the answer is to be found in Sir John Young's letter to Macdonald of August 6th:

> I have told General Lindsay who will instruct Wolseley that the Canadian Gov't has never recognized Riel's Provisional Government but only the Delegates as appointed by the general convention of the people before poor Scott's life was taken.[72]

Wolseley must have been pleased to receive this from the Queen's representative in Canada. For him it was a declaration of war on the Provisional Government.

Footnotes

1. There is considerable literature on the subject of Wolseley and the Red River Expedition. The sources used in this study include the following published and unpublished works: Huyshe, Capt. George Lightfoot, The Red River Expedition, Macmillan & Co., Toronto, 1871; Low, Charles Rathbone, A Memoir of Lt.-Gen. Sir G. J. Wolseley, Richard Bentley & Son, London, 1878, 2 vol.; Preston, Adrian, The South African Diaries of Sir Garnet Wolseley-1875, A. A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1971; Rawley, James A., The American Civil War: An English View, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1964. The periodical literature includes these works: Dawson, S. J., "The Red River Expedition of 1870" in Volunteer Review, in weekly instalments beginning June 26th and ending August 21st, 1871, is a useful corrective; S. B. Harman, "Twas 26 Years Ago: Narrative of The Red River Expedition", Toronto Mail and Empire, May 30, 1896; Riddell, Lt. H. S. H., "The Red River Expedition of 1870" in Journal of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, March 15, 1871; Sulte, Benjamin, "L'Expédition Militaire de Manitoba", in Revue Canadienne, July and August, 1871; An Officer of the Expeditionary Force, "Narrative of the Red River Expedition" in Blackwood's Magazine, Dec. 1870, Jan. 1871 and Feb. 1871. It is assumed that this was written by Wolseley, and is cited hereafter as "Narrative". Captain J. Dundas' "Journal of the Red River Expedition", on microfilm, was made available by the Scottish National Library.

2. Construction of boats for the Expedition was public knowledge by April, 1870. See PAM MG3 B9 McVicar Papers, McVicar to Polson, April 3, 1870.

3. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 144.

4. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 101, Minute of Council, Feb. 11, 1870.

5. Ibid., Young to Macdonald, April 11, 1870.

6. Ibid., Macdonald to Young, April 10, 1870.

7. Ibid., Granville to Young, telegram received in Ottawa, April 23, 1870.

8. Canada. Senate. Debates, May 23, 1870, p. 236.

9. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal, May 23, 1870, p. 375.

10. Denison, Struggle, p. 33.

11. Preston, op. cit., p. 46.

12. Huyshe, op. cit., p. 24; Denison, Soldiering, p. 174; Denison, Struggle, pp. 33-4; The Ottawa Times of April 7 and the Toronto

Leader of April 8 had excerpts from the Montreal Herald, indicating that "rumor had it" that Wolseley was going to be selected leader: "We believe that this appointment is a very judicious one." The Daily Leader for April 12, 1870, had an article stating: "It is reported on good authority that Col. Wolseley will take command of any force which it may be deemed necessary to send out to the North-West."

13. Sir W. F. Butler, The Light of the West, p. 97, had a statement by Wolseley about Gordon.

14. Rawley, op. cit., p. ciii.

15. The reader is invited to compare Denison's attitude, as expressed in the two books cited with that of the "Narrative".

16. Denison, Soldiering, p. 174.

17. Ibid.

18. PAC, Denison Diary for 1870, MG9 E29 Vol. 26: "I was in Ottawa from the 9th until 28th."

19. Denison, Soldiering, p. 174.

20. Denison, Soldiering, pp. 176 and 179; See also Struggle, p. 34.

21. Sir W. F. Butler, Great, pp. 30-1 and 168.

22. Preston, op. cit., p. 46. His reference is to "Correspondence Relating to the Recent Expedition to the Red River Settlement with Journal of Operations", C. 298, MILITARY PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, cxiii, 1871, which this writer has not seen.

23. PAC RG9 IIA1, Instructions issued to Wolseley, May 26, 1870.

24. See "Narrative", Part II, pp. 52ff. Wolseley told in this same part of the "Narrative" of the one occasion when the United States showed any "feeling" about the Red River affair and, for a short time, refused the use of the canal at Sault Ste Marie.

25. S. J. Dawson, "Report on the Red River Expedition" in Volunteer Review, July 10, 1871.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid. It should be noted here that an abridged version of this report appeared in the Thunder Bay Sentinel of Sept. 21, 1882, and was reprinted by the Canadian Library Service in 1967. The portion from which these quotations are taken was evidently omitted before publication in the Sentinel.

28. Denison, Soldiering, p. 177; Denison, Struggle, pp. 34-5; Huyshe, op. cit., p. 81.

29. S. J. Dawson, op. cit., August 7, 1871.

30. "Narrative", Part II, pp. 71-2. The proclamation was received by J. H. McTavish at Fort Garry and handed to Riel on July 22 (Begg's Journal, p. 391). McTavish went throughout the Settlement with the notice that help was wanted, but only "French half-breeds offered". (Dawson, op. cit., July 31, p. 492).

31. "Narrative", Part II, pp. 71-2.

32. Denison, Soldiering, p. 177; Denison, Struggle, p. 37.

33. Denison, Struggle, p. 48.

34. Begg's Journal, June 28, 1870, p. 385.

35. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 36.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., p. 39.

38. Ibid., p. 40.

39. Ibid.

40. Denison, Struggle, pp. 35-6.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p. 37.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Denison, Struggle, p. 37; Telegraph, July 23, 1870.

47. Both the Globe and the Telegraph published numerous short accounts. For a good general study of the matter see chapter seven, "The Orange Order in Toronto" in Gregory Kealy, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1882, U. of Toronto Press, 1980.

48. Globe, Sept. 21, 1870. Medcalf was a leading Toronto Orangeman. See Russell, V. L., Mayors of Toronto, Vol. 1. 1834-1899, p. 78.

49. Globe, September 21, 1870.

50. Denison, Struggle, p. 43.

51. Meanwhile, if George H. Young, the son of Rev. George Young, is to be believed, the rope that tied Scott's hands was in the empty coffin at Fort Garry, waiting to be exhumed when the supposed grave was examined in the fall of 1870. See Saskatchewan Archives, George H. Young, Historical Paper No. 1, "Notes of 1869-70", p. 22. The account of the meeting is in the Telegraph, July 23, 1870. See also Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona, p. 263.

52. C. J. Houston and W. J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 49.

53. Denison, Struggle, p. 42.

54. See the Globe, April 7, 1870, for the April 6 meeting. See also Denison, Struggle, p. 25.

55. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, pp. 40-1.

56. Ibid., pp. 41-2.

57. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 76, Young to Macdonald, Aug. 6 & 9, 1870.

58. Machray to Young, July 16, 1870. See Begg's Journal, pp. 558-561.

59. Butler, Great, pp. 167-8; Huyshe, op. cit., p. 141; Journal of M. Bell Irvine, p. 83.

60. Huyshe, op. cit., p. 155; Dawson in Volunteer Review, July 24, 1871; Captain J. Dundas, "Journal of the Red River Expedition", Aug. 9, 1870; Robert Machray, Life of Robert Machray, p. 211; Journal of M. Bell Irvine, p. 99.

61. Telegraph, Sept. 8, 1870.

62. Ibid.

63. New Nation, Aug. 13, 1870.

64. Some historians have written as though there is a problem about the identity of this man. However, both Dubuc of La Minerve and Royal of Le Nouveau Monde recorded his arrival at Fort Garry. Dubuc (La Minerve, Sept. 10) referred to him as "un bourgeois d'un des forts de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson", while Royal (Le Nouveau Monde, Sept. 10), misspelled the name as "Stuart".

65. R. G. MacBeth, Making, p. 86; R. G. MacBeth, Romance, p. 161; Journal of M. Bell Irvine, p. 116.

66. La Minerve, Sept. 9 and Sept. 10, 1870.

67. Huyshe, op. cit., p. 195; Low, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 65.

68. Huyshe, op. cit., p. 196; Sun River (Montana) Sun, June 12, 1884.

69. Telegraph, Sept. 10 (Fort Garry, Aug. 27), 1870; Sulte, op. cit., p. 40.

70. Queen's University Library, Redvers Buller to Henrietta Buller, Aug. 24, 1870; Journal of M. Bell Irvine, p. 119.

71. La Minerve, Sept. 10, identifying them as "Poitras, Dauphiné and Pagé"; Le Nouveau Monde, Sept. 10, 1870; Telegraph, Sept. 8, 1870; Wolseley's report to Lindsay as quoted in Rev. George Young's "Reminiscences" in Christian Guardian, June 28, 1893. See also Riel's "Memoir", Le Métis, Feb. 28, 1874.

72. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 76, Young to Macdonald, Aug. 6, 1870.

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A Thesis

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in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

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in the

Department of History

by

Neil Edgar Allen Ronaghan

Winnipeg, Manitoba

c 1986 N. E. Allen Ronaghan

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Chapter Fourteen
The Smith Regime

One of the most interesting fictions of Canadian history is the Smith regime in Manitoba--between August 24th, when the troops of the Red River Expedition under Wolseley occupied Fort Garry, and September 6th, when Archibald's commission was read at the levee.[1] The events of this fourteen-day period are fascinating, allowing us to shine a light into some dark places and find some unexpected things lurking there.

As we have seen, it had been expected that Lieutenant-Governor Archibald would arrive at Fort Garry at or about the same time as the troops of the Expedition. No. 16 of Lindsay's instructions to Wolseley was as follows:

> The Lieut[enant]-Governor will probably arrive at Fort Garry soon after you are established there. He will be in the same relative position with respect to the Officer Com[mandin]g H. M. Troops and who is placed in command of the Dominion Force as the Lieut[enant]-Governors of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec are as regards myself and will have no control over you, which can only be exercised by the Governor General through the Lieut-[enant] General Commanding.[2]

Numbers 17 and 18 of Wolseley's orders recognized the difficulties to communication posed by the long stretch of wilderness north-west of Lake Superior:

> As however the Territory [sic] of Manitobah [sic] is cut off by distance from immediate communication with the Governor General, should the Lieut[enant]-Governor require exceptional military duties of you, he must furnish you with a requisition in writing, detailing the object and you will use your own discretion as to the course you may think it necessary to pursue.
>
> Should any difference of opinion arise between the Lieut[enant]-Governor and yourself you must act

upon your own discretion and report it officially.

Archibald did not arrive at Fort Garry "soon after" Wolseley "was established there". He did not arrive until the evening of September 2nd.[3] There was no one to furnish a "requisition in writing", no one with whom to have a "difference of opinion". Wolseley was in a position of complete supremacy where his military force was concerned. It is curious that no one has suggested that he ought to have faced a court martial upon his return to Ottawa because of the way he and his troops behaved at Red River.

Number 1 of Wolseley's instructions reminded him that his was "an errand of peace" which "will serve as an assurance to the inhabitants of the Red River settlement and the numerous Indian tribes that occupy the North West that they have a place in the regard and Counsels of England and may rely upon the Imperial protection of the British Sceptre".

In the absence of a Lieutenant-Governor why did Wolseley not either act as acting Lieutenant-Governor or declare martial law? Why did he not use his troops to give to the "inhabitants of the Red River settlement" the "Imperial protection" so explicitly mentioned in this first of his instructions?

The answer probably is to be found in Wolseley's disobedience of the 24th article of his instructions:

> The Imperial character of the Force with entire freedom from all sectional feelings should be maintained.

As we have seen, far from maintaining the "freedom from all sectional feelings" of the Force, Wolseley had allowed himself to come under the influence of such men as Denison while in Ottawa, both concerning the object of the Force under his command and concerning the department which

was responsible for organizing and provisioning that Force. Where the Force was concerned Wolseley clearly saw its object as being punitive.[4] Where the department was concerned Wolseley saw such men as Cartier as unpunished rebels whose actions were at best incompetent and at worst bordering on treason. He did not hide these attitudes when in Manitoba in August and September, and in December of 1870 and January and February of 1871, when in Britain, he allowed himself to express in print and at length his feelings concerning the officials in the militia department.[5] He stated that he did not assume the position of acting Lieutenant-Governor, as the "most influential people" requested, because to have done so would have been illegal. The Hudson's Bay Company were, he insisted, the rulers "de jure" of the country, and yet the Manitoba Act, as he well knew, had been in effect since the 15th of July. As for martial law, Wolseley stated that to have proclaimed it would have been unwarrantable because the "rebels had bolted without firing a shot".[6] This is rather convoluted reasoning. His was an "errand of peace" and yet the "rebels" had robbed him of his opportunity to give the people the "Imperial protection of the British Sceptre" by not firing a shot!

A declaration of martial law would, in practice, have meant closing the saloons in Winnipeg or at least declaring them to be out of bounds to the soldiers and voyageurs. It would also have meant the maintenance of military discipline while the troops were at Fort Garry. His failure to do this instantly made people recall that Riel had kept order during the New-Year's season of 1869 and 1870 by the simple expedient of asking the saloon keepers not to sell liquor during that season.[7]

In Wolseley's proclamation of June 30th, sent to the Settlement and

published in the New Nation, Wolseley had stated that

> The Force, which I have the honor of commanding, will enter your Province representing no party either in religion or politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and all creeds.
>
> The strictest order and discipline will be maintained . . . .[8]

Events following August 24th made a mockery of Wolseley and his proclamation. Contemporary accounts speak of the "disgust" with which the leading citizens of the Settlement greeted the news that Wolseley had no civil authority. The correspondent of the Telegraph wrote as follows on this subject:

> For listen to what a clergyman said to me today [27th], to reply to a question on my part, relative to the lack of any display among the populace. "Can you wonder at it, ["] said he. ["] Colonel Wolseley has arrived it is true, but who is he? What is he? Whom does he represent? What has he done for us? All he has done has been to reinstate the Hudson's Bay Company in power. That is all, and this I tell you, that had the English people known that Colonel Wolseley was to come in so impotent, they would not have sent a man; they would not have lent an ox nor a horse; they would not have moved their little finger to assist him.["]

The Telegraph correspondent reminded the clergyman that Colonel Wolseley had reasserted British authority and that the Hudson's Bay Company had been reestablished only for a day or two. Then he asked "What then could you look for? Was it martial law you coveted?"

> "Anything, anything but the Hudson's Bay rule--and in fact we must agitate for another revolution. Archibald must be kept out of the territory until the Manitoba bill is repealed."[9]

One of the chief complaints of the "loyalists" who came into Fort Garry immediately after the Expedition arrived was that no one would issue

a warrant for the capture of Riel. As the Telegraph correspondent wrote,

> When some of the young English lads almost went down on their knees and almost wept to obtain a warrant for Riel's capture, and the Colonel could not give it; and everybody else either could not or would not give it, it was almost enough to kill loyalty. All Wednesday 24th passed, and so did Thursday and Friday, and no warrant could be obtained from anybody, and I don't know that a warrant has even been issued up till now.[10]

At a meeting at St. James Parish during the election campaign in November of 1870, only three months after the event, a Mr. McPherson asked Donald Smith about his actions at this time. "When Colonel Wolseley came here," McPherson began, "we got out a warrant, and wanted Mr. Smith to issue it. He did not do so. Why did he not go to work and bring the guilty partners to justice?" Smith's answer is instructive:

> Well, after the birds had flown, there was a warrant brought up here--an irregular warrant--one that was no warrant. It did not rest on me to keep the peace of the country or take hold of these people, after the 16th of July [sic] and this was the 24th of August. But, however, at the instance of a number of people we sought for men to act as special constables. A number of people--there might have been 30 or 40--came up to Fort Garry, and on my appearance, one, followed by the others, came up and said--"Mr. Smith we would like to know how this thing is to be done. If it is to be a chicken-broth affair we do not care to have anything to do with it. But if we are to go out there and shoot these men we are ready to go." I ask any gentleman if that was not simply asking me for a warrant to commit murder. It was not a warrant to take them dead or alive--but one to shoot them down.

"Mark the sequel," Smith went on,

> The very person who had the warrant--who considered that he had been wronged--went away and in the evening came back to me and said, "You must have been surprised that I went away so rudely, but seeing the manner in which these people spoke, I knew you could not listen to them for a moment". The following morning he returned and repeated the same thing to

> me. As there was doubt at the moment, as to the warrant issued by myself, a magistrate was sent for to issue a warrant. He threw up his commission. Another was asked to issue it and he resigned. But, though I did not know that I had anything to do with the matter, I refused to accept the resignation and a warrant was immediately issued.

At this point a Mr. Garrett asked, "Did you resume functions as Governor?" Smith's answer was "No". Garrett then asked, "What right had the magistrates?" Smith replied, "The Act said that magistrates were to remain in office as before."[11]

No one has ever suggested that Donald Smith was not well versed in the legal technicalities of anything he was ever involved in. Smith was on solid ground here and he knew it. Section 6 of the Rupert's Land Act was specific on this point:

> All Public Officers and Functionaries holding office in Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, at the time of their admission into the Union, excepting the Public Officer or Functionary at the head of the administration of affairs, shall continue to be Public Officers and Functionaries of the North-West Territories with the same duties and powers as before, until otherwise ordered by the Lieutenant-Governor, under the authority of this Act.

Section 36 of the Manitoba Act removed all possible doubt:

> Except as hereinbefore is enacted and provided, the Act of the Parliament of Canada passed in the now last session thereof, and entitled an Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united to Canada, is hereby re-enacted, extended, and continued in force until the first day of January, 1871, and until the end of the Session of Parliament then next succeeding.

Not only was he not empowered to act, he was, like McTavish in the previous season, specifically prevented from acting. The magistrate who "threw up his commission" was, strictly speaking, acting illegally. There was no Lieutenant-Governor present to accept his resignation. In refusing to

accept the resignation of the second magistrate, Smith and the others around him, including Wolseley, were simply acting in the spirit of the Act. Accordingly there could not be, and there was not, anything like a Smith regime in Manitoba. If the fourteen-day period before Archibald's arrival must have a name it would be more appropriate to call it "Wolseley's Anarchy".

The anomaly of the situation was seen and commented on at the time by the correspondent of La Minerve, Joseph Dubuc, who had come to Red River with Father Ritchot, arriving in June:[12]

> Disorder reigns in the town and in the vicinity since the arrival of the troops. People get drunk, people quarrel, people fight and nobody intervenes . . . Colonel Wolseley says that he did not come here to act as a policeman . . . Was he going to bring back to life the defunct government of Assiniboia, that is, the government of the Hudson's Bay Company? . . . This former government no longer has its reason for existence, especially since the country has been effectively transferred to Canada. Nevertheless it has been a question of making it rise from its ashes . . . Is it the defunct government of Assiniboia . . . Is it a provisional government that has been formed . . . They're always talking about issuing warrants against Riel and his colleagues . . . Now, if it is a provisional government in what is it more legal than the other? The government of Riel represented the wishes of the people since it was the people who organized it, while this one is established by military force . . . there is only one remedy, the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor with the amnesty. If there is no amnesty no one can foresee how things will turn out.[13]

Wolseley's ineptitude in refusing to maintain order in the new province was paralleled by his ineptitude in carrying out his instructions where the disposal of his forces was concerned. These instructions gave him a certain discretion in this matter. Article No. 14 was as follows:

> You will make all necessary arrangements for having the Militia Force during the Winter, the expense of

> which will be borne by the Dominion Government. You will also take into consideration the possible contingency of a portion of the regular force remaining there.

Wolseley decided to send all of the regular force back to eastern Canada. This meant that both regiments remaining in the province were raw volunteer units lacking the training, steadiness and discipline of units of the regular force. A company of regular troops left at Fort Garry would have been an example to the Volunteer companies in residence with it, and would have been of great assistance to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Article 19 of Wolseley's instructions gave this instruction:

> After your first arrival it is very desirable that the Force should be encamped and kept together, and that you should keep a certain force under arms daily on duty and at a later period recommend the distribution of the Force for the winter in the manner you think best in a military point of view.

Wolseley's decisions in this regard were, to say the least, remarkable, and force one to wonder what the man's motives were as he used his discretionary powers in carrying out his instructions. The Quebec Rifles had been brought up to strength by enlistments from English-speaking parts of Quebec and from Ontario. There were, nevertheless, a significant number of men in the regiment who were either French-speaking or bilingual.[14] This regiment Wolseley chose to station at Lower Fort Garry, in the most English-speaking part of the entire settlement. The Ontario Rifles were solidly English-speaking. They were stationed at Upper Fort Garry, in close proximity to two of the most French-speaking parishes, St. Boniface West and St. Boniface East!

Had they been stationed at Lower Fort Garry, the anti-French, anti-

Catholic attitudes of a number of men in several companies of the Ontario Rifles would have had no opportunity for expression. They could have passed the winter relatively harmlessly among people of their own language and religious persuasion. On the other hand, had the Quebec Rifles been stationed at Upper Fort Garry, the French-speaking and Roman Catholic Volunteers of the regiment would have passed a more agreeable time. Catholics would have been able to attend mass at St. Boniface Cathedral. Each French-speaking Volunteer could have been a link between his regiment and the surrounding population. A great deal of useful nation-building could have gone on. The Métis people of the southern parishes could have come into Winnipeg or Fort Garry and learned that Canada was indeed a country where two languages were spoken and where the Métis could continue to play a vital part.

There can be no doubt that Taché saw this at the time, as there can be no doubt that Archibald came to realize it when he learned the demographic facts of the new province. As it was, however, Wolseley's decision, as we shall see, sentenced the Ontario Rifles to become that worst of all military phenomena, a poorly-behaved army of occupation, and the Quebec Rifles to a winter of useless and frustrated alcoholism. Wolseley had wanted to be named Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and had lobbied for it.[15] Nothing more clearly reveals his utter unsuitability for that position than the way he exercised the discretionary powers granted him in his instructions.

That he coped no better with civilian affairs on a particular and daily level is illustrated by an event recorded for us by the New Nation. On Thursday night, September 1st, the pontoon bridge over the Assiniboine

was cut. Two men had been seen crossing it not long before.[16] One would have assumed that the securing of such a bridge--on the main road into the Settlement from the south--would have been of particular concern, and that sentries would have been posted at both ends of the bridge. Another event involved Ryder Larson, a man long sought by the Provisional Government for his part in the death of a man named Johnston in December of 1869. Larson surrendered himself to Wolseley, but Wolseley said he could take no action in the case, and Larson remained at large.

The cutting of the Assiniboine bridge was not the only nocturnal event recorded by the last issue of the New Nation. Father Kavanagh, parish priest at White Horse plains, was returning home in the dusk from Winnipeg when he was accosted by someone on horseback a couple of miles from the village. There was the report of a revolver, and the mysterious rider disappeared at a gallop. Kavanagh's horse reared and the priest was thrown to the ground. The horse was caught by a member of the Bourke family, who lived nearby.[17]

This incident was not the last to disturb the area west of Winnipeg. In the parish of Baie St. Paul, west of White Horse Plains, lived an elderly man called by the Métis "Wabishka" Morin. Morin lived alone on a property he had developed there. On Saturday, September 3rd, Morin was visited by seven men who tore down portions of fences, threatened his life, and left, taking with them things that had caught their fancy.[18]

When Joseph Royal reported the event on the 6th of September it was known that Archibald had arrived and that he had not brought with him an amnesty for all those involved in the insurrection of the previous winter and in the Provisional Government. Royal reported that many of the people

who felt compromised or threatened had gone to the border country near Pembina, and, unless an amnesty was declared, would only come back to get their families and leave for the West. The departure of the Métis people, begun earlier in the season with the news that the Red River Expedition would not be opposed,[19] was continuing.

The movement was noticed by others also. The Manitoba News-Letter for September 20th reported a correspondent from White Horse Plains as saying that

> a good many of Riel's "loyal men" are selling their claims dirt cheap and fleeing from the wrath to come, and asking why don't some of the new arrivals come into the locality and buy farms while the "truly loyal" are scared? Thanks to this hint they will do so.[20]

One cannot refrain from asking oneself at this point if there was not some sort of campaign under way at this time to dislodge the Métis people from their holdings along the Assiniboine and Red rivers. A correspondent of the St. Paul Weekly Press came to that conclusion at that time and, calling it a "reign of terror", stated that

> its purpose [is] driving out by threats or actual violence all the French half-breed [sic] population, all American citizens, the Hudson's Bay Company and Governor Archibald.[21]

Unfortunately further documentation of what was going on in the countryside is difficult, if not impossible to obtain. About the vicinity of Winnipeg and Fort Garry, however, there can be no doubt. The correspondent of The Telegraph wrote on the 3rd of September, the day after Archibald's arrival,

> . . . I do not feel safe. Certainly I would not take any money and walk between Fort Garry and Winnipeg after ten o'clock; and when one sees maddened half-breeds [sic] firing off their revolvers at midday

> on the open streets, and staggering, reeling, frantic Indians tearing their blankets and brandishing their rifles, and maddened, blinded Christians (save the mark) ready in their demoniac rage to clutch any one by the throat, and miserable, dirty squaws drunk and delirious even in their drunkenness with all the cunning and ferocity of the tiger--a sense of safety is rather hard to realize. I do not believe that any village was ever in so short a time so thoroughly demoralized as Winnipeg, since our arrival--for Riel with all his faults--kept up an excellent police force.[22]

When this was written Wolseley was still in the Settlement, Archibald had arrived, and, while the last of the Regulars had left, all but one of the companies of the Ontario Battalion had arrived.[23] Archibald does not appear to have pressed for the taking of special measures to restore some kind of order in the vicinity, reasoning, one may assume, that if the population had somehow survived the previous ten days it would no doubt live through the next. While Archibald must take some share of the responsibility for the events of early September, 1870, it is difficult to envisage what he could have done, given the situation then existing. He was well advised to set to work, advertising the levee and seeking information as to affairs in the new province.[24] It is significant that Wolseley, making preparations for alterations to Fort Garry to accommodate the Volunteers, had not gone to Smith for the official approval required for the expenditure of money, but had waited for Archibald to arrive before making decisions.[25]

There were others, too, who, while taking part in the fiction of the Smith regime, came to know what the facts of life were.

The Rev. George Young is probably as responsible as any writer for the development of the legend of the "murder" of "poor Scott", a legend which treats that individual as an obscure, but loyal, young Irishman who

was singled out, for no apparent reason, to be executed on March 4th, 1870. Young prepared the account either on or before the 6th of September, when it was given to the correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, then in Winnipeg. The broad lines of his account are essentially the same as in the one he later gave in Manitoba Memories. Characteristics of this account are the following: the story of Scott's asking Riel to allow the women and children to leave the house where the Schultz party was surrounded; the idea that Scott was not part of the Schultz party when taken prisoner; the idea that Scott was never taken in arms; the suppression of his key role in the Portage rising; a denial that Scott entered the Coutu house on his way to join the Schultz party at Kildonan; a denial that Scott was guilty of violent behavior while a prisoner; a denial of the Courrier de St. Hyacinthe statements about Scott's reactions to Young's prayers; the emphasis on the cruelty of the execution.

Young stated that he wrote the account because among Scott's last words were the request that Young "make a true statement". We have to ask ourselves, however, if this was Young's motive for making the statement so long as six months after the event, when the statement could have been made at any time during that interval. It must be noted that Young's story was published in the Telegraph of September 22nd, and was probably read in the Red River Settlement about October 10th, allowing the same time for the Telegraph to reach Red River as the manuscript had taken to reach Toronto. At that time Archibald and his advisers were attempting to implement a policy of "letting bygones be bygones". Having a story of Scott's "murder" appear in October was not calculated to assist that policy.

A meeting had been held on the evening of the 5th of September. It was resolved to present the following to Donald A. Smith:

> Sir: A large meeting of the comrades and loyal friends of the late Thomas Scott, who was so barbarously murdered outside the walls of Fort Garry, on the 4th March, 1870, was held last night. After mature consideration they deemed it their duty to approach you, as the acting chief magistrate of the Province, and to ask to be allowed to receive at your hands his remains, so that they may give to them a Christian burial, which surely, at least, is due to him, who died for his Queen and Country. A committee appointed by the meeting will be at the Fort at half past nine tomorrow to receive the remains.[26]

If Smith was annoyed at the somewhat peremptory tone of this communication, there is no record of it. He met the committee at the time it had specified. The Telegraph reported that

> Mr. Smith declined to give any of his reasons in writing, but informed the deputation that he doubted their right to make any such demand, not being relatives or in any way connected with the deceased. Moreover he disavowed holding in any manner ex-office [sic] or otherwise executive power: that he had no knowledge himself of the whereabouts of Scott's grave, and that he was not aware of any other person possessing this information. That he though acting as Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and president of the Council of Assiniboia--soon to cease--had no control over the premises where Scott's body was said to have been deposited. Moreover that some legal proclivities must necessarily precede the delivery of the body, and that the peculiar circumstances of the case and occasion rendered it prudent to defer any further action being taken at the present time.[27]

It may well be that Young, or others acting with him, had divined that there lay at hand the resources needed to force the hand of the one in a position of authority in such a way that an attempt to find the remains would be permitted, and the Scott legend strengthened. In any event it was Young who produced an article for publication in the Telegraph.

While the so-called "Canadian" party was thus preoccupied with perpetuating the memory of "poor Scott", an effort was being made to resuscitate the old Council of Assiniboia. One of Archibald's first acts upon his arrival at Fort Garry was to have a notice inserted in the New Nation announcing a levee for the 6th of September, at which the Lieutenant-Governor's commission would be read. The New Nation[28] had noted that no efforts were being made to present an address of welcome to Archibald. The approach of Wolseley's force as a hostile army and the presence of the Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry precluded any such address being presented by any representative of the Provisional Government. J. J. Hargrave, the old Council of Assiniboia's secretary, had issued a circular on the 29th of August and a meeting was held which was attended by Donald A. Smith, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, the Bishop of St. Boniface, Robert MacBeth, John Sutherland and William Fraser. An address was "agreed to unanimously". Letters were sent to other members of the Council asking their concurrence.[29]

On the day of the levee Colonel Wolseley and Mr. Hargrave stood at Archibald's right. On his left stood Bishops Machray and Taché. When the commission had been read the address "agreed to" was read by Donald Smith, according to the report appearing in the Telegraph. Then the following members of the old Council of Assiniboia were presented by Smith, acting as President, Northern Council:

> Right Rev. Bishop of Rupert's Land, Right Rev. Bishop of St. Boniface, Thomas Bunn, Esq., Robert McBeath, Esq., William Fraser, Esq., Paschal [sic] Breland, Esq., Solomon Hamelin, Esq. Members of the Council not present were: James McKay, Esq., John Inkster, Esq., Maximilian Genthon, Esq., William Dease, Esq., Roger Goulet, Esq., Magnus Barnstow [sic] Esq., Henry Fisher, Esq.

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald then made his reply, thanking them for their kind welcome. "Your assurance that I may," Archibald began,

> in the administration of the affairs of this country, rely upon the assistance of the gentlemen who constituted [sic] the late Council of Assiniboia, an assistance, the value of which I do not understate, gives me encouragement to hope for some measure of success in the government of the country. Of this, at least, let me assure you. My whole time and any ability I may possess, shall be devoted without reserve to the one object of promoting the best interests of this vast territory, and I shall endeavor to act in such a way that the approval with which, as you have kindly reminded me, my nomination as Governor has been generally met, shall not be found to have been wholly undeserved.

"No body of men," Archibald went on, "can have had a better opportunity than yourselves of fairly estimating the feeling of the population,

> and it gives me great satisfaction to receive your confident assurance that, notwithstanding the events to which you allude, you can vouch for the loyalty of the inhabitants of the country, and for their readiness to support a just administration of the laws. With these feelings pervading the body of the population, we may look with sanguine hope to the maintenance of order, to the establishment of good laws, and to a rapidly increasing prosperity.[30]

It will have been noticed that among the members of the "late" Council of Assiniboia was Thomas Bunn, Esq. Thomas Bunn had played a prominent part in the events of the previous winter. He had been chairman of the mass meetings of January 19th and 20th. He had served as secretary of state of the Provisional Government.[31] Probably no one present at the levee was in a better position to estimate "the feelings of the population". According to the Telegraph Bunn's presence at the levee at Fort Garry was indirectly the cause of "considerable excitement" in Winnipeg. While the levee was being held parties were busy distributing placards.

According to the Telegraph

> The placards were of the following character:--"Tar and feather Tom Bunn"; "Who consorted with murderers?--Tom Bunn"; "Catch the Secretary if you can, and arouse the people". The fact appears to be that Tom was simultaneously a member of the Council of Assiniboine [sic] and of the Provisional Government, and if he happens to be caught tonight, I fear Tom will have something to do with a barrel of tar lying not very far away. Tom was at the reception today.[32]

The correspondent of the Telegraph quite properly noticed the absence of the President of the Provisional Government from the levee, as well as that of Lépine and O'Donoghue. These were the people who Cartier had informed Ritchot should govern the country until the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor. According to all the criteria by which civilized governments the world over are judged, these three had governed the Settlement well during the spring and summer of 1870. They had been acknowledged in dozens of ways, both by the people of the Settlement and by foreigners, as the only viable government at Red River, and the settlement had known peace after the dramatic events of the previous winter.

The three men were not at the Lieutenant-Governor's levee because an Imperial army, supposed to be a "mission of peace", had come into a new Canadian province behaving as an invading army, sending out no emissaries to the Provisional Government, but rather approaching Fort Garry in a hostile manner, making prisoners of peaceful farmers and councillors, breaking down the gates of Hudson's Bay Company property, looting, and destroying personal possessions. The officer commanding had then refused to use his troops in such a way as to give the people such advantages as the presence of a military force could give in the preservation of order and property, pending the establishment of a proper civil government by

the new Lieutenant-Governor.

The legacy of this so-called "mission of peace" was to be Archibald's chief problem in the days to come.

Footnotes

1. See, for example, G. F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada, p. 142; G. F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, p. 159; W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 144.

2. PAC RG9 IIA1 Vol. 30, Instructions issued to Wolseley, May 26, 1870. See report of the Select Committee, 1874, p. 44, Taché's deposition: "General Lindsay said [to Archibald] 'You must hurry your departure in order to arrive before the troops because Wolseley will be embarrassed as no provision has been made for the government of the territory in case he arrives before you."

3. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870.

4. Adrian Preston, Sir Garnet Wolseley's South African Diaries, p. 46.

5. NLC, News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870; Blackwood's Magazine, "Narrative . . .", Part I, Dec. 1870, p. 715; Part II, January, 1871, p. 49. See also AASB, Ta 0693, Taché to Wolseley, Sept. 8, 1870. Wolseley's attacks did not cease with his article in Blackwood's Magazine. He returned to the charge with his The Story of a Soldier's Life in 1903. His remarks drew a response from Martin J. Griffin (Parliamentary Librarian of Canada) in the London Times Literary Supplement, Dec. 4, 1903.

6. Blackwood's Magazine, "Narrative . . .", Part III, Feb. 1871, p. 179.

7. Ibid.; W. L. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal, Dec. 29, 1869, pp. 245-6.

8. PAC, RG7 G21 Vol. 2 (Part 2); New Nation, July 23, 1870; Capt. J. J. Bell, The Red River Expedition", in The Canadian Magazine, 1899 (no. 1), p. 247.

9. Telegraph, Sept. 10 (Fort Garry, Aug. 27), 1870.

10. Ibid.

11. Manitoban, Dec. 11, 1870; See Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine, p. 51, evidence of the Bishop of Rupert's Land: Smith assumed the command as administrator of the Hudson's Bay Co. . . not aware that [he] took the oath of office." Smith later identified the man who said, "You must have been surprised . . ." as Thomas Lusted. See his account in Beckles Willson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, p. 144. Smith answered "no" to Garrett's question. But see Willson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, p. 105, and Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, p. 258.

12. La Minerve, June 15, 1870.

13. La Minerve, Sept. 10 (Fort Garry, August 27), 1870.

14. Blackwood's Magazine, "Narrative . . .", Part I, Dec. 1870, p. 713. See the comment of Le Nouveau Monde, Sept. 17 (Fort Garry, Sept. 3) 1870: "On comprend que les officiers du second bataillon préféreraient cantonner ici [Fort Garry] mais l'autorité militaire a cru prudent d'en agir autrement."

15. University of Alberta, Wolseley Papers, Reel 1, No. 10, Complete Letters of Garnet Wolseley: letter to brother Dick, April 6, 1870; to his mother, May 14, 1870; see also Sir George Arthur, The Letters of Lord and Lady Wolseley, letters of April 25 and 27, 1870. See also Adrian Preston, Sir Garnet Wolseley's South African Diaries, p. 46.

16. New Nation, Sept. 3, 1870. For reference to Larson see News-Letter, Apr. 29, 1871.

17. New Nation, Sept. 3, 1870; Globe, Sept. 27, 1870; News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870.

18. Globe, Sept. 27, 1870; Le Nouveau Monde, Sept. 23, 1870.

19. PRO CO 537, Bishop of Rupert's Land to Sir John Young, July 1, 1870: "Many of the French have left and are leaving."

20. USNARS Microfilm T24, Reel 1, News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870.

21. St. Paul Weekly Press, Oct. 6, 1870.

22. Telegraph, Sept. 16 (Fort Garry, Sept. 3), 1870.

23. Ibid.

24. New Nation, Sept. 3, 1870.

25. Volunteer Review, July 31, 1871, p. 493, Wolseley to Dawson, Sept. 5, 1870: "The Lieutenant-Governor authorizes me to add that he concurs in this opinion."

26. Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870.

27. Ibid.

28. New Nation, August 27, 1870.

29. PAM MG 14 B30 Colin Inkster papers, Box 2/2 File 32, J. J. Hargrave to John Inkster, August 31, 1870.

30. Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870.

31. Begg's Journal, pp. 265, 341.

32. Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870.

Chapter Fifteen
The Lieutenant-Governor Arrives

Adams George Archibald[1] was born in Truro, Nova Scotia, May 3, 1814. He belonged to the group often known as the "pre-Loyalist Yankees of Nova Scotia", his ancestors having left New Hampshire in 1762 to settle lands left vacant by the expulsion of the Acadians. He was educated at Pictou Academy, where he studied under Thomas McCulloch,[2] the Academy's founder. He studied law in chambers at Halifax. He was called to the Bar of Prince Edward Island in 1838 and to that of Nova Scotia in 1839, beginning a practise in Truro. He married Elizabeth, the only daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Burnyeat,[3] an Anglican clergyman. A Presbyterian, Archibald retained his interest in that church, even though Mrs. Archibald and the daughters were Anglicans. The Archibalds had three daughters and one son, George Adams, whose accidental death at the age of 14 caused a sorrow in Archibald from which he never fully recovered. 1851 saw him elected to the Nova Scotia House of Assembly where, as a Liberal member for Colchester, he took an active part. In 1856 he became solicitor-general in the Young government. He attended both the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences in 1864 and the London Conference, which completed the terms of Confederation. He became secretary of state for the provinces in Macdonald's first cabinet. Archibald was defeated in the election in which Dr. Tupper was the only Nova Scotian supporter of Confederation to be elected. In 1869, however, Archibald was once again elected to represent Colchester, and in 1870 he took a part in the debate in the Manitoba bill then before the House.[4]

Archibald had shown himself to be a man of independent mind. In Nova Scotia he had supported the principle of free education when it was

unpopular.[5] At the Confederation conferences he had spoken in support of the idea that the local legislatures should have power to legislate on matters not expressly assigned to the general legislature.[6] When he first arrived in Ottawa he hired a tutor to assist him to improve his conversational French.[7] When Macdonald would have kept him in his cabinet even though he had lost his seat in Nova Scotia, Archibald refused the invitation.[8] According to his own statement he had not paid particular attention to the Red River affair before being asked by Sir George Cartier to be Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba,[9] but his short speech on the Manitoba bill rose far above the level of most in its understanding of the basic issues. "These people are in armed insurrection," he said,

> We wish to know what the difficulties are, we invite them to send delegates and they send them on our invitation. The question is not whether the conduct of these people has been right or wrong. We want to know what it is they complain of, and they send these men to tell us.[10]

If the choice of lieutenant-governor could alone make for the success of Canadian government policy in Manitoba, the selection of Archibald should have ensured that success. Unfortunately there were other factors which had to be taken into consideration.

As we have seen, there seems to have been considerable concern in certain quarters as to which route Archibald was to follow to Manitoba and at what time.[11] If there was a government policy on the point it is difficult to establish what it was.

In late June or early July Archibald made a trip to New York in company with his private secretary, Mr. Hill, to buy books for his Manitoba library. In so doing he escaped the heat of Ottawa, travelling the river route by way of the St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain, and the Hudson River,

and returning the same way. On July 13th he wrote from Montreal to Lady Young, in Halifax: "It is not yet decided when I shall leave. It is of no use if I am to follow the track of the troops to be too soon in the way."[12] As we have seen, he was in Niagara for discussions later in July with Cartier, Taché and Sir John Young. At that time or shortly after it was decided that he would not go through Minnesota--as some news reports had it--but by way of the Canadian route.[13]

Archibald and Hill left Ottawa on August 8th, and travelled by way of Toronto and Lakes Huron and Superior, arriving at Fort William on the 13th.[14] He had a letter from Edward Hopkins in Montreal to John McIntyre, Hudons's Bay Company agent at Fort William, with instructions to assist with Archibald's canoe and outfit in preparation for the rest of his journey.[15] As we have seen he made excellent time, and does not seem to have been detained in any way by mischief resulting from Denison's letters.[16] At Fort Frances he was serenaded by men of Company No. 7 of the Ontario Rifles, then stationed there. Archibald did not stay long at Fort Frances.[17] It appears that he considered entering Manitoba by means of the Lake of the Woods Road. He reached the north-west corner of Lake of the Woods on the evening of the 16th. Here he and his party sought in vain for traces of the road which would make unnecessary the "circuitous route by the Winnipeg River".[18] He also saw no sign of the party of Métis whom Riel had sent to welcome him and accompany him into the Settlement.[19] Continuing on their way, they reached Fort Alexander on August 31st. In crossing Lake Winnipeg Archibald and his party caught up to and passed the "last Brigade of the Quebec Battalion" and "met several companies of the regulars" on their way back to the East.[20] We are indebted to the correspondent of the Telegraph for details of his arrival at Fort Garry on

September 2nd:

> The Governor has arrived . . . He landed from a canoe last night after eight o'clock, opposite Fort Garry. As the troops which had been ordered to be in waiting had dispersed, and the guns had been taken into the Fort at dusk, no manifestations took place. Governor Smith, Col. Wolseley and others congratulated him on his safe arrival and almost immediately he disappeared inside the fort. He came by water all the way from Fort William, and made the journey in eighteen days, which is perhaps the quickest on record. He was accompanied by Capt. Nagle and his Secretary, Mr. Hill, while Mr. Pether had charge of the canoe. Nothing of any importance seems to have occurred on the journey up. A levee has been announced for Tuesday, the 6th inst., at which the Governor will read his commission as Lieut.-Governor of the North-West and of the Province of Manitoba, but until then nothing of a political character will be done.[21]

Archibald's position as he set about organizing a government was not enviable. An examination of this position is both necessary and instructive, and several factors stand out prominently.[22] For a majority of the people of the new province the enforced absence of their acknowledged leader and the failure of the Lieutenant-Governor to bring with him the promised amnesty meant that the Manitoba Act was a mockery. There could be no responsible government while Riel and hundreds of the province's French-speaking Métis leaders and heads of families did not dare come into Winnipeg or Fort Garry because of the presence there of the Ontario Rifles. The lack of an amnesty, moreover, had a similar effect on a large number of English-speaking people in the lower and western parishes who had taken up arms against the Provisional Government and felt themselves responsible for the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien. No more than the French-speaking Métis were these people prepared to come forward and give their cooperation to the new order.[23] On the other hand, a third group of people in these same parishes led by Schultz, Lynch, Lusted and Young,[24] members

of the tiny "Canadian" party who had remained in the Settlement or returned to it, were prepared to press themselves forward, seeking appointments and asking for warrants to arrest any of Riel's party that they could find. Concentrated in Fort Garry-Winnipeg, this group was in a position to use the Ontario Volunteers to terrorize anyone whom such men as James Farquharson might point out as a "provisional". For these people the Manitoba Act and its grant of 1,400,000 acres to the Métis was an abomination and must be repealed.[25] When they found that their leader was not to be asked to form a government and be the premier of the new province, these people became bitter opponents of Archibald and everything he stood for. This was to happen soon.[26] A fourth group, those of the French-speaking Métis who had thought that the Riel party had become unnecessarily radical, were reluctant, in the early days of September before the drowning of Goulet, to come into prominence in any way. A few "loyaux" in a sea of "provisoires", they were soon to discover that the "Canadian" party, and especially the Volunteers, did not ask a Métis about his stand of the previous winter before dragging him with a rope or beating him with their belts. The events of the first few months of the Archibald régime forced these people to join the leaderless "provisoires". Finally, another legacy from the McDougall-Dennis initiative of the previous winter, was the body of Indians who gathered in the Lower Settlement and refused to disperse until someone in authority had spoken to them and given assurances of the Canadian government's intentions to treat with them. Conciliation of this group was one of Archibald's first tasks, one for which he had had little preparation.[27]

Archibald had much to learn in early September of 1870. Probably the first fact--and the most disappointing for him--was that true responsible

government was impossible because of the presence of the Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry, and the power and safety that the regiment gave to the violent "Canadian" party. Schultz was not slow to claim responsibility for their being there and, as will be seen, he was quick to make use of them and keep things in a state of agitation. Archibald may well have considered calling together the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, with or without Riel, and he could easily have done so.[28] Most of the members were near at hand. Dauphinais, Pagé and Poitras had been arrested and later released by Wolseley's forces when they took Fort Garry. Alfred Scott had been dragged by the heels in the mud during the so-called Smith régime, and Thomas Bunn had attended the levee on the 6th of September. Three other members attended the levee held at St. Boniface the next day. There was nothing in Archibald's instructions to prevent him from following this course, and, of course, it would, under ordinary circumstances, have been the best one to follow.[29] In doing so he would have been serving the best interests of both the people of the province in general and of the Métis people in particular. At this critical moment in their history the province's people needed a leader who knew their problems, and at the same time they were prevented from having one by what must be called an army of occupation. Archibald's own liberal beliefs, moreover, called for such a policy. A conversation with Wolseley, however, must have revealed the inadvisability of this plan. Furthermore, Archibald soon came to know that because of the presence of these troops he could not guarantee the safety of the members if he called them together in either Winnipeg or Fort Garry.

The second thing that Archibald learned was probably that Bishop

Taché knew more about the Settlement than anyone else who dared to come into Fort Garry.[30] Archibald desperately needed an adviser. There is evidence that he considered calling Riel out of exile and asking him to form a government.[31] There is evidence, too, that Riel--as he had good reason to--expected to be called upon,[32] especially after the drowning of Goulet and other incidents began to force the "loyaux" and the "provisoires" to come together as a single party.[33] But for the presence of the Volunteers this would have been the correct decision. Riel had the confidence of a majority of the province's people and could easily have formed a government.[34] In the event, Archibald was forced to turn to Bishop Taché for information and advice as to how to proceed,[35] and it was here that Archibald made his fatal mistake. The man who had the confidence of the tiny "Canadian" party and of the Volunteers was much nearer at hand than Riel, nearer even than Taché, for that matter. J. C. Schultz clearly expected that an appointment would come his way, and when Archibald sent for him Schultz must surely have thought that his time had come.[36] Archibald's failure to oblige him in this regard made Schultz an inveterate opponent of the régime. Archibald had not paid much attention to Red River affairs before the Manitoba Act was brought before the House of Commons, but he had paid enough to know of Schultz's part in the affairs of the previous winter, and a few minutes with Taché sufficed to confirm his opinions. If he did not want civil war in Manitoba he must pass Schultz by. Archibald thus made the same type of mistake in not appointing Schultz that Riel made in consenting to the Métis court's decision to execute Scott. Statecraft demanded one thing, but Dominion government policy--sensitive always to Ontario opinion--required something else.

Archibald could come to only one conclusion. A functioning government

with widespread popular support had been scattered by the hostile approach of the Red River Expeditionary Force. The presence of an army of occupation meant that--if he was to stay in Manitoba--he must temporize, must dissemble, must somehow proceed as best he could, laying aside all the principles of responsible government learned by the English-speaking peoples since the execution of Charles I. He must, in short, become a despot, as Macdonald had advised, but a despot who did not even have at his command the loyal support of an armed force. Why did he not return to Ottawa and insist that, unless the army of occupation was removed, he could not act? The answer is probably that he saw that he had no choice. Taché had told him that the Métis--a quiet, loyal, law-abiding people--would eventually give him their support if he showed his pacific policy, but that they would never give their support to Schultz. If civil war was to be avoided Archibald must stay.[37]

Archibald's predicament--and that of the people of Manitoba--can be seen in his first appointments and in what he said about them. "Thinking it was now time to organize a Government," he wrote to Howe, "and that I had become sufficiently acquainted with the people to form some idea of the material out of which this could be formed, I have chosen a man representing each section of the population here, and appointed them Members of my Executive Council. Mr. Alfred Boyd," he went on,

> is a merchant of good standing here. He is a man of fair abilities, of considerable means, and very popular among the English half-breeds [sic]. He was chosen by the Parish of St. Andrew's (the most populous parish in the Settlement), as a delegate to the Convention last winter. While highly esteemed among the English party he is not obnoxious to the French. I have appointed him Provincial Secretary.[38]

Archibald was less than candid in the reasons he gave for the appoint-

ment of Boyd. In appointing him Archibald was taking a long step toward appeasing those who had participated in the February counter-movement. Boyd had, it was true, been a delegate to the Convention of Forty, where he had refused to vote when Riel was elected President of the Provisional Government. However, his place at Redwood had sheltered the Portage party for a time in February, and the St. Andrew s men had held a mass meeting there shortly afterwards. Moreover, he had assisted in sending the six Hudson's Bay boats up the Winnipeg River to meet the Red River Expeditionary Force.[39] It is likely that, in appointing Boyd, Archibald purchased time for himself to show his conciliatory intentions, and made a military coup inadvisable. That Boyd did not have the confidence of a majority in the Settlement was to be shown in December of 1871, after a little more than a year of the Archibald administration.

Of his other appointee Archibald wrote as follows:

> Mr. Marc Amable Girard is a French Canadian, from Varennes, below Montreal, who has recently removed here. He is a notary by profession, has been Mayor of Varennes, and is a gentleman of some property, and of good standing, and seems to be the nominee of the French party. I have appointed him Provincial Treasurer.[40]

Girard was acceptable to the Métis population because he was Roman Catholic and spoke French, and because of Bishop Taché's assurances that he would work for the interests of the Métis people. A newcomer to the province, he had in early September very little appreciation of the concerns of the people whose representative he was supposed to be.[41] Archibald's choice of these two advisers bought him time in which to make the necessary plans for the organization of the new province, but left the majority of the people of that province leaderless.

Footnotes

1. Biographies of Archibald are neither numerous nor definitive. These used here include the following in chronological order of their appearance: "In Memorian": "The Honourable Sir Adams G. Archibald", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, IX, 1895; Elizabeth Parker, "Manitoba's First Lieutenant-Governor", in Dalhousie Review, January, 1931; F. A. Milligan, "The Establishment of Manitoba's First Provincial Government", Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, (afterwards HSSM), Series III, No. 5, Winnipeg, 1950; M. S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba, U. of Toronto Press, 1963; R. S. Craggs, Sir Adams George Archibald, Truro, N. S., 1967; C. B. Fergusson, "Sir Adams G. Archibald", in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 36, 1968; Richard S. Bowles, "Adams George Archibald, First Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba", HSSM, Series III, Number 25, 1968-9; Bruce F. Donaldson, Adams G. Archibald, Historic Resources Branch, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, 1979. See also Oxford Campanion to Canadian History and Literature. An account of the pre-Loyalist beginnings in Nova Scotia including the Archibald family, is to be found in J. M. Murphy, The Londonderry Heirs, Black Printing Co., Ltd., Middleton, N. S., 1976. Some useful information is also to be found in Cobequid Chronicles: A Brief History of Truro and Vicinity, University Women's Club of Truro, 1975.

2. In view of Archibald's interest in education, McCulloch's own The Stepsure Letters, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1960, is of interest. There is a biographical note on McCulloch.

3. C. R. Dunphy and H. W. MacPhee (eds), St. John's Church, Truro, Nova Scotia, 1973, gives useful information on Truro and has several important references to Burnyeat.

4. Canada. House of Commons. Debates, May 7, 1870, Columns 1421 to 1426.

5. R. S. Craggs, op. cit., pp. 42-3.

6. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 46, pp. 17990, 17993-4; Pope, Confederation Documents, pp. 27, 85.

7. The New Nation, June 10, 1870.

8. The correspondence is in the Macdonald Papers, Vol. 514-515. The Cabinet post of secretary of state for the provinces remained vacant from May 1, 1868 to Nov. 15, 1869. See Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation: July 1, 1867-April 1, 1973, (Ottawa, 1974), pp. 1-6.

9. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, May 15, 1874, p. 134.

10. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. May 7, 1870, column 1423.

11. See, above, chapter "Red River Expeditionary Force".

12. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Young Letters, Archibald to Lady Young, July 13, 1870. Archibald had served in Sir William Young's cabinet, and while in Manitoba corresponded with both Sir William and Lady Young.

13. See, above, chapter "Red River Expeditionary Force".

14. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870.

15. PAC MG29 D10, McIntyre Papers, Hopkins to McIntyre, Aug. 5, 1870.

16. See, above, chapter "Red River Expeditionary Force".

17. PAC MG29 E34, John Andrew Kerr Papers, Diary of J. A. Kerr.

18. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870.

19. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 135.

20. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870.

21. Telegraph, Sept. 16, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 3).

22. The following discussion is based upon a study of reports published during September and October, 1870, by the Globe, the Telegraph, La Minerve, Le Nouveau Monde, of Archibald's letters, especially to Howe and Cartier, and of Archibald's deposition before the Select Committee of 1874.

23. There seems to have been an impression abroad that Archibald intended to make arrests of those responsible for the death of Sutherland and Parisien. The Telegraph reported a Church of England clergyman as saying: "I defy Governor Archibald to issue a warrant for me, or any man in my parish, for any crime whatever. He might issue his warrant, but it would be of no avail, for the people would rise as one man and defend the party to be arrested. If we cannot have justice for the past, we won't allow justice to have any sway with the present." Telegraph, Oct. 18, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 1). The Telegraph correspondent summed up by saying, "The English people are not doing their duty".

24. For Lusted's part see Beckles Wilson, Lord Strathcona--The Story of His Life, pp. 144-5.

25. Telegraph, Sept. 10, 1870. It is likely, but cannot be proved, that the clergyman referred to was Rev. George Young.

26. Archibald called for Schultz some time before the 10th of September,

and spoke to him "in the presence of Col. Wolseley and others". "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 138.

27. Archibald visited these Indians on September 13. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), p. 15, Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.

28. The first of Archibald's instructions stated that he would "be guided by the Constitutional principles and precedents which obtain in the older Provinces, and with which it is assumed you are sufficiently familiar". C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), p. 4.

29. The fourth and fifth of Archibald's instructions concerned the division of the province into 24 divisions and the calling of a Session of the Legislature. Long before he was able to follow these instructions he was under pressure from the English to call "Parliament". Telegraph, Oct. 13, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 30).

30. Archibald saw Taché on Sept. 3, the day after Archibald arrived. Taché agreed with him that they should look "rather to the future than to the past". "Report--1874", Archibald to Cartier, Sept. 3, 1870.

31. "Report--1874", pp. 137-9. Archibald leaves no doubt that the deciding factor was the fact that even if there had been an amnesty he could not have guaranteed the safety of Riel, Lépine and O'Donoghue. See also C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), pp. 15-6, Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.

32. Telegraph, Oct. 18, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 1). Riel wanted Captain Gay for his provincial secretary. See also Riel's letter to Smith in Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, p. 260.

33. Globe, Oct. 5, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 17).

34. Riel had support among the English-speaking population. See Globe, Sept. 28, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 10). Archibald's statements before the Select Committee leave no room for doubt here: "In fact the whole of the French half-breeds [sic] and a majority of the English, regarded the leaders in these disturbances as patriots and heroes; and any Government which should attempt to treat them as criminals would be obliged to disregard the principles of responsible government." ("Report--1874", p. 151).

35. Taché assisted Archibald in a number of ways, even financially. Some of their numerous notes are in the Archives de l'Archevêché de St. Boniface. See, for example, T7937, Sept. 12; T7975, Sept. 14; T7986 (not dated); T8022, Sept. 29.

36. See note 26.

37. Archibald took a week to come to this decision. On September 10 he referred to his "present reluctant inactivity". C. S. P. 1871 (No.

20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870. his delay was noted by the Globe, Sept. 28, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 10).

38. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept 17, 1870.

39. Begg's Journal, pp. 285 and 308; Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine, Murray's testimony, p. 55; Ibid., McPherson's testimony, p. 44; Ibid., Charles Nolin's testimony, p. 74; Volunteer Review, July 24, 1871, S. J. Dawson's "Report on the Red River Expedition", p. 476.

40. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870. Girard had arrived with Taché and Royal in late August. See Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 106, Riel to Taché, Sept. 30, 1870.

41. Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 106, Riel to Taché, Sept. 30, 1870.

Chapter Sixteen
Schultz Returns to Red River

At the beginning of the Archibald regime the members of the "Canada First" committee had plenty of cause for satisfaction. They could point to some solid achievements in what they saw as their struggle against the treasonable tendencies of a portion of the Dominion government. While they had not been able to prevent Macdonald and Cartier from receiving and negotiating with the Red River delegates, they had managed to have the two "rebel" delegates, Ritchot and Scott, arrested and rearrested, and the news of these arrests had served to help awaken the general public.[1] It was due to their efforts that much of Ontario was enraged about the "murder" of "poor Scott", and this had successfully diverted attention from the blunderings and killings associated with the counter movement at Kildonan.[2] They had reason to believe that Dr. Lynch's letters and his interview with the Governor General, Sir John Young, had been crowned with success, since no amnesty had yet been issued to those involved in the troubles at Red River. They were, of course, correct in that assessment, and no amnesty was to be issued during the Archibald regime. Astonishingly enough, Young had given Lynch's arguments in the matter more weight than those of his own minister, Cartier, long a minister of the crown and at that time acting prime minister.[3] Haliburton, Denison and Schultz had, they thought, proved their ability to enlist the aid of the masses in their efforts to change government policy. "Indignation meetings" had been particularly dramatic, and the Dominion government had, it appeared, been forced to have Archibald follow the Red River Expedition to Manitoba rather than follow the much easier route through the United States.[4] The commanding officer of that Expedition could be said to have carried out "Canada First"

policy rather than the more pacific policy insisted on by the Colonial Office.[5] Lastly, the groundwork was being laid, by the North-West Emigration Aid Society for the migration to Manitoba in 1871 of dozens of Ontario families.[6] The results of these efforts would not be visible until the spring, but Denison and Mair could derive satisfaction from the letters arriving at the Society's offices of Church Street.

What could be done in the East had been done. The next moves would have to be made by Schultz and Mair and others whom they could enlist in Manitoba. What the "Canada First" committee thought those moves should be can only be guessed at, since no forthright statement of them is known to exist beyond Denison's remarks about an "armed emigration",[7] but it takes no great stretch of the imagination to divine that they had to do with at least the opening of an immigration office in Winnipeg[8] and the settling of an Anglo-Saxon population on the lands--occupied or unoccupied--of Manitoba.

Schultz had had a very long and productive spring and summer in the East. For someone whose fortunes and business had been "destroyed" he did a great deal of travelling during the more than four months he was there.[9] He had conferences with Cartier in Ottawa and requested a seat in the Senate.[10] As we have seen, he was able to see to it that his credit rating was reestablished among the business men of Montreal.[11] While he took part in the effort to prevent the issuing of an amnesty, both his motives and his methods were different from those of the eastern members. He explained matters to Cartier in early June, when "extraordinary rumours" circulated that an amnesty was to be proclaimed:

> I feel that in justice to the people of Red River in fairness even to myself I must not leave Canada till it is distinctly understood how the loyal portion of

> the settlers and particularly the English are to be classed in the coming economy. ON IT WILL DEPEND WHETHER I GO TO RED RIVER AT ONCE AND QUICKLY OR WHETHER I GO IN AFTER THE TROOPS HAVE ARRIVED THERE [emphasis mine].[12]

Schultz had been among the first to ask for the issuing of an amnesty for those who took part in the counter movement at Kildonan where Sutherland and Parisien were killed,[13] and at the "indignation meeting" in Toronto in April he had spoken for a policy of letting bygones be bygones. "Nothing was to be gained by looking at the past, it was better to look forward to the future", he was quoted by the Globe as saying on that occasion.[14]

There were, however, many reasons for taking a sober second thought, and in his letter to Cartier we can catch a glimpse of the metamorphosis which took place in the minds of Canadian and British politicians as they discussed the desirability and the expediency of issuing an amnesty in the face of an aroused and influential segment of Canadian public opinion.[15] Schultz knew very well that those who, like Taché, were asking for the announcement of an amnesty rightly had him and his followers in mind as much as anybody.[16] Schultz well knew, too, that very shortly after he had spoken in Toronto the Provisional Government had declared an amnesty to "all those whom political differences led astray for a time". "Amnesty," the statement had gone on, "will be generously accorded to all those who will submit to the Government, who will discountenance or inform against dangerous gatherings."[17]

In his travels in the East, however, Schultz came to realize that the two deaths at Kildonan had been forgotten, so poorly had that aspect of the counter movement been reported. All the talk was of the "murder" of "poor Scott", and of how the Métis leaders ought to be considered as apart

from their temporarily misguided followers, who had acted, so this reasoning went, not from policy but under duress or on the spur of the moment. Only Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine, went this argument, should be considered in this matter of the "murder" of "poor Scott". They had planned it and forced their reluctant followers to carry it out. Schultz was not one to discourage this line of thinking.[18]

Schultz crisscrossed Ontario, meeting with his "Canada First" associates, meeting with businessmen in Ottawa and Montreal, and speaking to meetings of sympathizers. He was the "chief sufferer", the "suffering loyalist" who had lost his all for the Canadian cause in the North-West.[19] Here and there he dropped remarks about going west ahead of the troops and arranging with the Indians for a peaceful passage through their territory.[20]

In early July he took a business trip to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he stayed at the Merchants' Hotel.[21] In order for him to reopen his businesses in Manitoba he had to arrange for shipments of goods to be sent from St. Paul to Winnipeg just after the arrival of the troops and well before the onset of winter. Evidently he had received some information as to how he and the English were to figure in the "coming economy" of Red River, because instead of going on to Winnipeg, as he could well have done, he returned to Ontario to go west again "after the troops".

As we have seen, Schultz was in London on July 18th and was instrumental, with Denison, in calling the great "indignation meeting" which so disturbed Cartier and Sir John Young.[22]

Early August found Schultz and a party of men on board the "Algoma" bound for Prince Arthur's Landing. He had been joined by Dr. Lynch,

Walter Lynch, J. J. Setter, Mr. Geddes, Mr. Ferrier, Mr. Cousins and P. G. Laurie, who was soon to take the editorial chair of the Manitoba News-Letter. The correspondent of the Toronto Telegraph made the ninth person in the party. At the Sault Schultz had purchased a canoe. He had it christened "The Loyalist" and the party left Prince Arthur's Landing on the 9th.[23] They reached Fort Frances on the 21st of August and left it on the 22nd.[24] It may be assumed that in the days following they made their leisurely way along the old voyageur highway down the Winnipeg River that the troops of the Red River Expedition had followed a few days before. There is evidence that Schultz, at least, and most likely the others, stopped for a time with "Mr. Prince and his band" in the Lower Settlement.[25]

A comparison with Archibald's time in making the same trip is instructive. The Schultz party, as we have seen, left Prince Arthur's Landing on the 9th of August. Archibald left there on August 14th. Schultz reached Fort Frances on the 21st of August and left it on the 22nd. Archibald arrived at the same place on the 23rd and left it on the 24th. Five days behind Schultz at Thunder Bay, Archibald was only two days behind him at Fort Frances! Archibald arrived at Fort Garry on September 2nd.[26]

Schultz was in Winnipeg on September 6th. Where had he been in the several days before that?

We are forced to pose this question because of what two sympathetic observers, the correspondents of the Globe and the Telegraph reported at the time. The Globe was the more circumspect:

> There is no doubt about it, and there is no use denying it, Dr. Schultz is the coming man in Red River--provided always that he wishes to "come".

The same day, September 6th, the correspondent of the Telegraph was more

forthright:

> Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch and others, have arrived here and already their vigorous and not unnatural detestation of Riel, and those connected with him, has commenced to work . . . Dr. Schultz is likely to be the most active member of what may be called the anti-French party, and remembering the sufferings and animosity with which he was pursued by Riel, one cannot wonder at the fact . . . The fear arising from that fact is that he may be led into some action which will do harm to himself and the interests which he espouses . . . It is very probable that some rough-and-tumble work will take place here, for a Nemesis is stalking abroad here, and the friends of Riel are in a perilous state . . . .

"Pickets", the Globe reported the same day, "are out tonight, owing to some rumoured intention as to burning the houses of some obnoxious people . . .".

The Globe had confirmation of the Telegraph report of the campaign against Thomas Bunn:

> Since the levee this afternoon placards of a character calculated to disquiet certain persons resident here have been posted about Winnipeg. One is a picture of a man hanging, with the assertion written underneath that this is the proper fate of Thomas Bunn . . . Another placard asks, "what should be done with the consort of murderers?" . . . It is asserted that a tar barrel and a liberal supply of feathers have been got together . . . .[27]

There seems little doubt that the "anti-French" party had decided not to let bygones be bygones, and that by early September Schultz was regarded as the leader of that party. It seems certain, too, that he cannot personally have had anything to do with the incidents which took place west of Winnipeg a few days earlier and after the arrival of the Expedition. Nor does it seem likely that he had anything to do with the dragging by the heels in the mud of Alfred Scott, Red River delegate to Ottawa and member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.[28] However, the reward offered by Schultz's father-in-law James Farquharson for the capture of Riel,

Lépine and O'Donoghue may be viewed in a different light. The reward was first mentioned by the Globe correspondent on September 2nd, when Schultz was most likely in the Settlement.[29] If it is true, as La Minerve reported, that Archibald prevented the publication of an announcement of this reward in the New Nation, one of his first acts after his arrival was to forestall the efforts of the "anti-French" party to get this message to readers throughout the Settlement.[30]

Schultz's route to Winnipeg led him through parishes which had given support to the February counter-movement. It is reasonable to assume that, arriving in the Settlement just before Archibald, Schultz conferred, in addition to Henry Prince, with such people as E. H. G. G. Hay, Donald Gunn, Jr., Joseph Monkman, John Tait and others who had served on the "general council for the force".[31] This group would have experienced a sense of satisfaction as they heard the report which was current in the Settlement at the time and which was to appear in a Telegraph report:

> They [the French Métis] are said to be moving off, and some have it that they are concentrating in various localities. Fear, I think, is the chief cause of their moving . . .[32]

Footnotes

1. See, above, the chapter "The Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

2. Dension's account of the beginning of this campaign is in his The Struggle for Imperial Unity, pp. 25ff.

3. The best published account of the part played by Dr. Lynch and Sir John Young is probably that of G. F. G. Stanley in Louis Riel, pp. 141-7.

4. See, above, the chapter on the "Red River Expeditionary Force".

5. Ibid.

6. See, above, the chapter "The North-West Emigration Aid Society".

7. Denison, Soldiering, p. 179.

8. News-Letter, June 17, 1871; Le Métis, June 22, 1871; Manitoban, June 24, 1871; Liberal, Jan. 19, 1872.

9. William McTavish did not believe that Schultz had lost so heavily as he claimed, and McTavish was in a position to be able to ascertain the truth. See the Globe , June 25, 1870, from the New York Sun, June 24, 1870: ". . . If the Canadians would take the trouble to learn the truth about him and his pretended loss of property in their behalf, they would drop him at once."

10. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 103, Schultz to Cartier, May 20, 1870.

11. See, above , the chapter on "The Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

12. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 103, Schultz to Cartier, June 7, 1870.

13. New Nation, Feb. 18, 1870.

14. Globe, April 7, 1870.

15. Taché became aware of this trend of thought when he met Sir John Young at Niagara in July. See Dom Benoit, Vie, Vol. 2, p. 106.

16. Ibid.

17. Begg's Journal, April 19, 1870, p. 355; New Nation, April 15, 1870.

18. See the news item and editorials in the Globe and the Telegraph beginning in early April of 1870, and continuing throughout the spring and summer.

19. PAM MG2 C2, Eleanor Kennedy Papers, Eleanora Campbell to Mrs. Kennedy: "Schultz is creating a real sensation [.] [I]t is a pity so many believe him but that confirms my opinion that the real thing is not known."

20. Ottawa Citizen, April 26, 1870.

21. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, July 7, 1870.

22. See, above, the chapter "The Red River Expeditionary Force".

23. Telegraph, August 17, 1870.

24. PAM MG14 C23 Box 3/6, Diary of Charles Napier Bell for 1870.

25. PAM MG12 E3, Schultz Papers, Letter 112, Schultz to Archibald, Sept. 6, 1870.

26. Archibald's movements may be traced by reference to C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), the Diary of Charles Napier Bell mentioned in note 24 and PAC MG29 E34, Diary of John Andrew Kerr for 1870.

27. Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6); Globe, Sept. 22, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6).

28. Globe, Sept. 9, 1870 (Fort Garry, August 26).

29. Globe, Sept. 19, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 2).

30. La Minerve, Sept. 17, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 3).

31. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

32. Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6). The migration was reported again three days later--"they are going off by the hundred . . . ."

Chapter Seventeen
"A Large Body of Indians"

According to one of Archibald's instructions he was supposed to "open communications" with the Indian bands "occupying the country lying between Lake Superior and the Province of Manitoba".[1] As it turned out Archibald had no difficulty in opening communications with the Indians; they opened communications with him. Archibald's account of his meetings with the Indians is instructive in several ways. "On my way here," he reported, "I met a great many of the Saulteaux Indians, and at the Indian Mission on the Red River a number of Swampy Indians with their Chief Prince. In the course of the journey," Archibald observed,

> I could not fail to be impressed with the great embarrassments which a hostile feeling on the part of the Indians could have thrown in the way of the passage of the troops and we have reason to congratulate ourselves that they have proved loyal to the crown and resisted the attempts which were made to seduce them from their allegiance.[2]

Archibald was here expressing the standard view of the "loyal" party at Red River that the Provisional Government had tried to enlist the aid of the Indians in opposing the Red River Expedition but had failed. As we have seen, the Provisional Government had done its very best to avoid any Indian participation in the Insurrection. On the 3rd of September Archibald had only had the chance to meet "the part of the population opposed to Mr. Riel and the Provisional Government".[3] Archibald reported that he "had promised to take an early opportunity of seeing a large body of Indians who are assembled in the neighborhood of the mouth of Red River, at a place called the Indian Mission. Since leaving there, Henry Prince, the Chief, has written to press an early fulfilment of that promise."

> I learn from the people of that neighborhood that, until the interview is over, the Indians will not disperse, and that it would be better at once to see them.[4]

The message from Prince was relayed to Archibald by John C. Schultz.[5] Whether Archibald had any misgivings about this turn of events has not been recorded. While Archibald knew that the Indians, having remained at peace with the Expedition, felt that the time had come for some kind of treaty, it is not clear how much he knew of what had been done the previous winter in a clumsy attempt to buy their allegiance. In any event, in the early part of September Archibald had plenty of reason to rue the day that a decision had been made to send agents among these Indians in a futile attempt to get them to go to war with "the French". Like Riel in July, Archibald in September found that the Indians simply would not return to their ordinary pursuits until they had been given presents and more presents and told that some sort of treaty would be made with them.[6] Much of the "excitement" that existed in the lower Settlement--and this is the part of the Settlement that Archibald saw first--was due to the fact that these Indians had been in the vicinity for months, insisting that they had been "loyal" and saying that it was time they were settled with. Many a good housewife could see her precious store of flour disappearing daily as the Indians had to be fed. The people in Winnipeg were not anxious to have the Indians come there either, because there they would get "supplies of intoxicating liquors" which resulted in a "great deal of drunkenness and quarreling amongst them".[7] Something had to be done.

Archibald visited the Indian Mission on September 13th. Because of inclement weather the meeting was held in the school-room. Archibald

thanked them for their loyalty, told them that the question of their claim to the land of the Settlement would be duly considered at a later date, cautioned them against the use of liquor, and advised them to make a speedy departure for their hunting grounds, both because they were unable to make their living while remaining idle and because they were in great danger of catching the smallpox. When Prince replied he agreed with the Lieutenant-Governor on all of his main points:

> he and his people were the most loyal and at the same time the poorest people in the Territory; that the lands about which so much had been said belonged to his people. On this point he was very emphatic--that he quite agreed with the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject of the pernicious influence of liquor, and would recommend that no spirits should be allowed to be sold in the country; that he also agreed with him on the subject of his people departing for their hunting grounds, but would suggest that to do so, it was necessary they should have some ammunition, and there was no ammunition in his camp . . . .

Archibald said in reply that he would leave an order at the Lower Fort as he passed on his way up for a certain quantity of ammunition to be placed at Mr. Prince's disposal. After this assurance the meeting came to an end.[8]

Two days later, Archibald reported, "another large body of Indians gathered at the Upper Fort, also wishing a pow-wow--which of course had to be granted, and with the usual termination".[9]

These events are of importance and must be looked at carefully, because it is in this context that the negotiations with the Indians of the North-West began. Both Archibald and Riel found themselves confronted with a situation created by agents of McDougall the previous winter. Archibald's predicament was the more difficult. He had had no experience

in dealing with Indians himself. He could not call upon the experience of the people in the Provisional Government who knew how to deal with the Indians because these men were in enforced exile. The Métis were related to the Indians and the Indians respected them. Had Archibald been able to call upon Riel, for example, and give him an appointment as minister in charge of Indian affairs, the whole course of relations with the western Indians would have been markedly different.

Reference has been made several times to the "agents" who had been in contact with the Indians during the previous winter. Here we must pause for a time and give our consideration to these "agents".

There are three questions that we must ask: Who were these agents? Who authorized them to speak to the Indians? What were these agents supposed to say to the Indians? There is evidence to assist us.

In August of 1870 the identity of one agent and two of those giving authorization was evidently public knowledge in the Red River Settlement. In St. Paul, and on his way to Canada, A. G. B. Bannatyne wrote to Bishop Taché:

> People getting and are anxious[:] the Indians expecting large presents on account of the promises made them through Schultz, Denis [sic], McDougall. A commission ought to be hurried forward to settle with them.[10]

In July, and but recently arrived in the Settlement, Joseph Dubuc, writing for La Minerve, had to be content to say that "les agents" were "Haut Canadiens". As we have seen, he was able to write at some length about the Provisional Government's attitude toward the Indians.[11]

Also in July, Alexander Begg wrote in his journal of Settlement speculation that Wemyss Simpson, member of Parliament for Algoma, was to be appointed an Indian commissioner. Speculation was right about the

man, but he was not appointed until 1871.[12]

Reports published in The Globe concerning the "indignation meetings" in Toronto had informed readers that Schultz and Monkman had conferred with the Indians on their long winter march from the Lower Settlement to Duluth. Schultz bragged at the meeting that he had been with the Indians "in their camps" and knew of their "loyalty".[13]

A few days before the "indignation meeting", in late March, William McDougall wrote a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald,

> I enclose you a telegram received today from Mr. Monkman, the man I employed to visit the Indian tribes between Lake Winnipeg and Fort Frances east of Lake of the Woods. By referring to the instructions given him you will understand the importance of the information he now communicates.

"I send this to you instead of Mr. Howe," McDougall went on, "as I was told the latter gentleman said that he would have given five hundred pounds to have had Monkman's instructions intercepted. I observe that the Committee very properly withheld these instructions from the public, but nevertheless one day they will see the light and become an important fact in the history of this question."

> You will remember that YOU SUGGESTED [emphasis mine] to me in one of your confidential letters communication with these Indians.

McDougall concluded by saying that Monkman was waiting for instructions as to what to do next.[14] Macdonald sent a telegram to Monkman, then at Duluth, saying

> Please come to Ottawa for instructions.[15]

Having ascertained who suggested "communication" with the Indians, let us now look at what McDougall, through Dennis, had told Monkman to say to the Indians. As we do this we must bear in mind that Dennis's

letter was written on December 16th, 1869. Of the men enrolled by Dennis in his capacity of "Conservator of the Peace", some had gone home and others were in prison in Fort Garry. The first Provisional Government had just been proclaimed. In Ottawa the decision had recently been taken to send de Salaberry, Thibault and Smith to Red River. It must also be remembered that McDougall had himself seen very little of the territory which he was to govern.

Dennis's letter to Monkman informed him that it was McDougall's request that Monkman "proceed on a mission to the various bands of the Chippeway tribe in the Country between Red River and Lake Superior and between Lake Roseau on the south and Lake Saul[sic] and the waters emptying into the East side of Winnipeg on the north", and explain to the "chiefs and warriors" the gross conduct of the "French halfbreeds [sic]" who had "insulted" McDougall and driven him "out of the country".

Monkman was to inform the chiefs that McDougall had "made arrangements", before being turned back by the French Half-breeds, "to hold a Grand Council in the Spring, at which he hoped to shake all the Chiefs by the hand" and "make treaties with them to last forever, by which treaties the Indians would get paid for all their lands which might be required for settlement--and no steps were to be taken by him to sell their lands until the rights of the Indians were ascertained and acknowledged and satisfied by treaty".

Certain points are worthy of comment. At the outset it is doubtful whether McDougall had already "made arrangements" for such a Council. How he expected to have at hand by the spring of 1870 the information necessary for the required negotiations is not clear. McDougall did not even

know that either his government or prospective settlers would be interested in the land in question, much of which was marginal farmland or bush and Precambrian Shield. Then, at a stroke of the pen, he lifted the scattered family groups of Indian people to the status of entities with whom "treaties" must be made. Furthermore, these "treaties" were to last "forever". Surely this was expecting far too much of fallible human nature, both European and Indian.

McDougall's reasons for using this extraordinary language were soon made clear. He needed allies. An expedition to Red River would have to pass through the area described by Dennis. The people in that area occupied a country that had strategic importance for him. He decided to "communicate" with them. McDougall had read of the American "treaties" with the Indians. He had even participated in a bit of treaty-making himself. The language he used was the language of the relationships between Europeans and the Indians of the eastern United States and Canada. It was hardly appropriate for either the region or the people between Lake Superior and Red River. Military expediency--and not long-term policy--was in December of 1869 setting the tone of European-Indian relationships.

Why McDougall needed allies was soon made clear. "You will say that the Lieutenant-Governor has sent you to inform the Chiefs of all these things, and that it may be that the Queen will want them to help her soldiers to make war upon the French in the early spring."

McDougall realized that he would have to suggest some reasons why the Indians should join in a war. "The French," McDougall had Dennis write, "take no notice of the Indians or their rights." They "claim the whole country as theirs and don't recognize the Indian title to any part

of it." If the French sent "messengers to them for aid," Dennis wrote, the Indians were to "close their ears and to refuse to listen to them." Monkman was to assure the Indians that "the Queen takes the liveliest interest in Her Red Children, and desires that they should all be treated kindly and justly". "She frowns," Dennis went on, "upon any of Her servants and representatives who cheat or injure them, whenever she hears of their bad conduct."

Then Dennis came to the point. In case of war "next spring" the Queen would "want her Chiefs and Warriors to meet them and show them the shortest road, and help them over the Portages etc and then accompany them over to the Red River country if required to fight the rebels".[16] Joseph Howe was quite right in wishing to intercept this message before it was able to do any harm. However, as things turned out, the harm it did was not in the direction that McDougall had in mind.

In July of 1870 Joseph Dubuc reported to La Minerve that the Indians were unwilling to act against the Métis. Mr. Deschambault, an old employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, had attended one of the numerous meetings held by the Indians that summer before the arrival of the Expedition. He asked a chief if the Indians intended to attack the Provisional Government and the Métis. "No," replied the chief, "we don't want to make war on the Métis, and for two reasons. First, they are our relatives, and besides we're afraid of them."

Dubuc wrote of Indians coming in from Lake of the Woods to speak with Riel at Fort Garry. They had seen the Expedition, which was on its way. "Should they attack the Expedition?" they asked. Riel told them not to go to war. However, "if advantageous treaties were proposed, they

should accept them . . .".[17]

Two months later, when Métis knowledge of their Indian "relatives" could have been of great use to Archibald in his conversations with the Indians about "treaties", Riel and his associates were in hiding. The hostile approach of the Expedition had sent them there. The presence of the Volunteers at Fort Garry and the failure on the part of two governments to issue a general amnesty meant that they could not come out of exile. The men who had, in effect, countermanded McDougall's declaration of war were not present to give useful advice as the foundations were laid for Canada's policies with regard to her western Indians. Accordingly, haste and ignorance would characterize the negotiations when they were undertaken.

Footnotes

1. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), E. A. Meredith to Archibald, August 4, 1870, p. 8. It should be noted that there are, for some reason, two sets of instructions, those on p. 8, and those on pages 4-6. The one we are concerned with here is instruction 1 on page 8.

2. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870.

3. Ibid.

4. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870.

5. PAM, MG12 E3, Schultz Papers, Box 16/19, Schultz to Archibald, Sept. 6, 1870.

6. See, above, chapter entitled "The Provisional Government".

7. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870.

8. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870; Globe, Sept. 30, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 13).

9. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.

10. AASB, T7811-7813, Bannatyne to Taché, August 6, 1870.

11. See, above, chapter entitled "The Provisional Government".

12. Begg's Journal, entry for July 6, pp. 387-8 and for July 18, p. 390.

13. Globe, April 7, 1870.

14. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 102, McDougall to Macdonald, March 26, 1870.

15. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 102, Macdonald to Monkman, (telegram), March 29, 1870.

16. PAC, RG6 Volume 319, document marked (A7), J. S. Dennis to Joseph Monkman, Dec. 16, 1869.

17. La Minerve, Aug. 11, 1870 (Fort Garry, July 19). This was reproduced in Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Française, XXI, 1967-8, pp. 114-7. An earlier letter, written and signed by Dubuc and published in La Minerve, is also to be found in this issue of RHAF. It also deals with Riel's treatment of the Indians.

Chapter Eighteen
Schultz and the Beginning of the "Reign of Terror"

There are several versions of what happened on the morning of September 6th, when Schultz and some companions invaded the home of Thomas Spence, editor of the New Nation, terrifying his wife and family.[1] While accounts vary as to the number of men that Schultz brought with him and as to the number of pistols that were pointed at Spence,[2] all agree that Schultz pulled the bedclothes from Spence's bed and horse-whipped the New Nation editor, stating that he was doing so because of an insult to Mrs. Schultz that Spence had uttered while Schultz was imprisoned in Fort Garry the previous winter. One account says that Schultz gave Spence a revolver and that Spence made no use of it. Another insists that Schultz shook hands with Spence after horsewhipping him. The Telegraph does not mention damage to the New Nation's printing machinery, while the Globe says only that "the band then descended into the office, chased away the workmen, and threw all the material out of doors". The report published by La Minerve stated that an essential piece of the New Nation press had been removed and that this piece was of such an essential nature that it could not be manufactured by any local blacksmith. There is every reason to believe this report, since it is corroborated by other sources and by what we know of subsequent events.

It will be useful here to trace briefly the history of the two commercial presses then in Winnipeg. As we have seen, the Nor'Wester had been published since 1859, part of that time under the ownership of Schultz and part of the time under the ownership of Bown but under the influence of Schultz. During the troubles of 1869 Coldwell and Ross

undertook to found a competing newspaper, the Red River Pioneer, and a press was brought into the settlement for the purpose. The first number was partly printed when the press was seized by the National Committee of the Métis.[3] During the month of December, 1869, there were two presses in Winnipeg but no publishing newspaper, the Nor'Wester having also been seized and placed under guard.[4] Coldwell and Company sold the Red River Pioneer press to H. M. Robinson,[5] and a new newspaper began to appear on January 7th, 1870, the first issue containing the front and back pages of the defunct Red River Pioneer dated December 1st, 1869! All during the life of the New Nation in 1870 the old Nor'Wester press lay idle. The New Nation continued to appear until September 3rd, and it was this newspaper that published the announcement of Archibald's first levee.[6] But for Schultz's attack on Spence and the removal of a portion of the New Nation press, that newspaper would, no doubt, have continued its publishing career.

Between September 3rd, when the last issue of the New Nation appeared, and September 13th, when the Manitoba News-Letter made its first appearance, then, the Red River settlement was once again without a newspaper. The Nor'Wester press was sold at auction on September 16, 1870, for thirty-seven pounds ten shillings.[7] It seems remarkable that Schultz could use the press for the first issue of the Manitoba News-Letter before he owned it, unless it is remembered that Dr. Bown, the former proprietor, was a very close associate of Schultz.

There is no doubt that possession of a newspaper was part of the strategy worked out in Ontario during the previous summer in conversations with Colonel Denison. On board the "Algoma" near Thunder Bay in August

Schultz had written to Denison reporting that

> Bown's printer Laurie joined me at the Sault and we are now in a position to revive the Nor'-Wester . . . print moral sentiments or anything you damn please . . . .[8]

Simple possession of a newspaper, however, was evidently not all of the strategy, as least as Schultz saw it. It was, he felt, necessary to see that the New Nation press was put out of action, leaving his own newspaper in a monopoly position, at least for a time. No one knew better than Schultz which piece to remove from the New Nation press to render it useless, unless it was his printer Laurie, to whom reference has already been made. When the New Nation printers went to use the press they discovered that an essential piece was missing.[9]

It must be emphasized here--and it is something upon which we must reflect as we pursue our studies of the period--that the correspondents of the Globe and of the Telegraph, St. John and Cunningham, said nothing about this damage to the New Nation press, leaving this to the Le Nouveau Monde and La Minerve correspondents, Royal and Dubuc, to do--if it was to be reported at all. It was not possible to use the New Nation press until mid-October, and when that press produced the first issue of the new newspaper The Manitoban, it contained this statement:

> It may be known to some of our readers that a few weeks ago the press, with which The Manitoban is printed, was made the subject of a piece of vandalism unworthy any man connected with the press in any capacity. The lever, the most delicate and complicated part of the press, was ruthlessly broken out and stolen. To repair the injury we telegraphed to New York for a new lever, but, meantime, a few of the Ontario Rifles tackled with the difficulty and mastered it. Everybody said it could not be done, but it was. "Major" Maloney took it in hand, but he having become unwell, it was taken up by Privates George Lindoff (from

> Brampton) and Christopher Robinson, mechanical engineers. In a very short time the whole thing was finished, and the press is now in comparatively good working order. Those who desire it may look into the office and see what a few sharp lads can do with a chisel and hammer.[10]

It is not difficult to guess why the Toronto newspapers, having lionized Schultz during his tours of Ontario in the spring and summer, reported the horsewhipping, but made no mention of the removal of the lever.

John Christian Schultz was not the only one interested in the fate of the New Nation press in early September of 1870. Louis Riel was in hiding in the southern part of the settlement, and was very curious about that press's use. John Bruce paid Riel a visit on September 4th, and agreed to take a letter to Joseph Dubuc, then living at St. Boniface. In this letter Riel asked about the New Nation, evidently with a view to asserting a claim to it, either on behalf of himself or on behalf of the Métis people. Dubuc was under the impression that the Manitoba government had taken possession of the newspaper, leaving Mr. Spence in the editorial chair, and said so in his reply to Riel.[11] As proof he stated that the government had paid the printers on September 3rd, the day that the New Nation published the announcement of Archibald's levee. Dubuc went on to tell Riel that it would be extremely unwise for him to appear at Fort Garry or Winnipeg. Riel could be seen by "traitor" Métis or lukewarm Métis who could betray him. Dubuc did not think that Riel should stay hidden forever, but that he should wait some time before coming out of hiding. "The English are compromising themselves horribly," Dubuc wrote. "Each day some new misdeed strengthens your cause and alienates the honest people."[12] The amnesty could arrive, Dubuc went on,

and change everything. In the meantime it appeared that Archibald was well disposed toward the Métis cause. According to Dubuc Archibald "desires and waits for the amnesty as much as anyone". Dubuc had evidently heard of Schultz's horsewhipping of Spence. "Most of the officers," Dubuc wrote, "are indignant about Schultz's conduct, and about the feelings of the English population in general."[13] Dubuc said that Spence had been assaulted twice, and had asked for, and received, the protection of the government. Then, in a postscript, Dubuc wrote that he had just been informed that he had been wrong in thinking that the Manitoba government had seized the New Nation. It was Robinson who wanted to resume control of it.[14] However, it was true that the government had paid the printers on Saturday, September 3rd.

It is probable that at this point Riel was comtemplating the establishment of a newspaper to espouse the Métis cause. Certainly such a newspaper--in English or in French or in both languages--was needed by the Métis people. But Dubuc could see that conditions in the settlement's centre would not permit Riel to begin such a project, even if he could obtain the use of the press. Whether it was the government or Robinson who had wanted the use of the New Nation press made no real difference. Dubuc's advice to Riel was "Don't come now".[15] When this advice was followed immediately by the sentence about the officers, Dubuc's inference was abundantly clear. While the score of officers at Fort Garry might be "indignant" at Schultz's conduct there were several hundred others at Fort Garry who thought differently.

The French-speaking population would have to wait nine long months before their cause was served by the establishment of a French-language

newspaper, and when it was established no ex-member of the Provisional Government would be at its head.[16]

Footnotes

1. Spence had had warning and had sought protection: AASB, T8025, Spence to Taché, "Thursday morning". Reports of the incident may be found in the following: News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870; Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870; Globe, Sept. 27 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6); La Minerve, 28 sept. (Fort Garry, 10 sept.); Le Nouveau Monde, 8 oct., 1870.

2. The News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870, said that there were "two witnesses". Other reports said "four" and some "six".

3. Begg's Journal, Dec. 2, 1869, pp. 197-8.

4. Ibid.

5. New Nation, Jan. 7, 1870, article entitled "History of the Red River Press". Note that Morton appears confused on this point. Cf. Begg's Journal, p. 85.

6. New Nation, Sept. 3, 1870.

7. News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870; Telegraph, Sept. 27, 1870, gives the price paid.

8. Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Papers, Schultz to Denison, Aug. 8, 1870.

9. La Minerve. 28 sept., 1870 (Fort Garry, 10 sept.): "Lorsqu'on voulut ensuite se servir de la presse on s'aperçut qu'une pièce essentielle en avait été enlevée. La partie qui manque ne peut être suppléée par aucun ouvrier du pays"; Le Nouveau Monde, 8 oct., 1870 (Fort Garry, 10 sept.): "Un morceau de la presse est disparu depuis cette célèbre matinée et n'a pas pu être retrouvé . . . M. Spence a même dû, devant les menaces qui lui étaient faites, quitter tout à fait sa maison, s'éloigner du bourg de Winnipeg et aller habiter la rive droite de la rivière."

10. Manitoban, October 15, 1870. Maloney was "invalided home" in May of 1871 (News-Letter, May 13, 1871). PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 35, states that George Lindhoff [sic] was an "armourer sergeant". Private C. Robinson belonged to No. 6 Company.

11. PAM, Dubuc to Riel, 6 sept., 1870.

12. Ibid.: "Les anglais se compromettent horriblement."

13. Ibid.: "La plupart des officiers sont indignés de la couduite de Schultz, et des sentiments de la population anglaise en général."

14. Ibid.: "C'est Robinson qui a voulu s'en emparer." Note that G. F. G. Stanley appears not to have seen this postscript. Cf. Louis Riel, chapter 9, footnote 40. There is no reason to assume

that Robinson, if in charge of the paper, would not have allowed Riel to publish a "manifesto". It seems rather that Riel was interested in laying claim to the newspaper. The text of the beginning of the letter is as follows: "J'ai vu ce soir Mr [sic] Bruce qui m'a remis de ta part ma note à propos du New-nation. Je ne vois pas trop ce qu'il y aurait à faire, ou plutôt je vois qu'il n'y a rien à faire. On a beau avoir droit; contre la force il n'y a pas de résistance. Les gens du gouvernement se sont emparés, dès les premiers jours de leur arrivée, de tout le matériel du New-Nation, sous prétexte qu'ils ont droit de s'approprier tout ce qui a appartenu au Gouvernement Provisoire, à cause des sommes qu'ils auront à rembourser. Samedi dernier ce sont eux qui ont payé les imprimeurs. En sorte que, de fait, le New-Nation est en leur possession. Je crois que je ne serais guère écouté, même avec l'autorisation que tu m'envoies, à le réclamer. Ils ont laissé Spence à la rédaction . . ."

15. Ibid.: " . . . mais je m'intéresse assez à toi pour te dire: ne viens pas maintenant."

16. Le Métis began publication in May of 1871.

Chapter Nineteen
The Death of Elzear Goulet

Of all the events of the first months of the Archibald régime the best known is the death of Elzéar Goulet. There are so many accounts of this event in the general histories of the period, some written long after the event, that any one attempting to find out what really happened is embarrassed with conflicting details.[1] Nevertheless the effort is well worth the trouble.

To begin our study we are well advised to choose the account of Archibald, written the 17th of September, only four days after the event, in his report on the matter to Howe, the Secretary of State for the Provinces. Archibald had paid a visit to the parishes at the lower end of the settlement that day, and heard of the incident on his return to Fort Garry. He wrote as follows:

> A man by the name of Elzéar Goulet, who is said to have been one of the men of Riel's party and one of those who sat upon the so-called court martial in the case of Scott, made his appearance in the town of Winnipeg, was recognized in a drinking saloon and pointed out, when he began a retreat in the direction of the River about half a mile distant. He was immediately chased by three men and when he came to the River rushed in and tried to make his escape by swimming. His pursuers are said to have rushed after him, and Goulet, before he reached the other side sank and was drowned. His body was found next day and taken as I understand to the house of the American Consul, the deceased being an American citizen . . . I gave directions immediately that steps should be taken to investigate the circumstances connected with the death . . . The inquiry is still in progress . . .[2]

Henry M. Robinson was American vice-consul at the time. In his report to the assistant secretary of state Robinson stated that the money found upon Goulet's person, $11.28, had been applied on the funeral ex-

penses. Robinson had notified the Lieutenant-Governor of Goulet's status as an American citizen and had received assurances that there would be an investigation and that the guilty parties would be punished.[3]

A rumor went around Winnipeg at the time that Volunteers had threatened Robinson with violence as he went about arranging for the transfer of the body to St. Boniface.[4] This rumor was stated to be "without foundation" by the Manitoba News-Letter[5] and published as fact in the St. Paul Press.[6] Robinson did not mention threats in his report, but in view of the fact that contemporary reports speak of a "reign of terror" in the Red River settlement at the time we have at least to record the report.

Cunningham, the Daily Telegraph correspondent, prepared an article on the Goulet affair which provides insight as to the state of affairs then existing. Cunningham had met Goulet in St. Boniface on the forenoon of the day before his death. Goulet had asked him when he thought the amnesty would come. Cunningham denied that there was need for an amnesty and said, "Go to your home: work on your farm, and nobody will trouble you. I think you are better without an amnesty than with one."

"But," Goulet objected, "I want to go over to the other side of the river. I have business to do." He feared that if he went over to the other side the Volunteers would insult him and beat up on him.

"By no means," Cunningham answered. "Any French half-breed [sic] ought not to harbour any such ideas. There should be no 'cross the river' at all." He was sure not one of the Volunteers would molest Goulet. "Well," said Goulet, "I will go over."

Cunningham, unaware of the part that Goulet had played in Scott's execution, remarked that he would like to interview Riel. Goulet had

said that he would take him to see Riel and see him safe back. Cunningham objected that he couldn't go just then, because he wanted to go down to the Stone Fort where the Lieutenant-Governor was to meet the Indians. Goulet said he would wait for him. He would put off his departure for Pembina and take Cunningham to see Riel when the Stone Fort meeting was over.

Cunningham never saw Goulet again. Upon his return from the Stone Fort he heard of Goulet's drowning. Goulet had told his friends that Cunningham had said there was no reason to fear so he would go over to Winnipeg. He had gone over and had been pointed out by an "old gentleman" as the "Goulet who shot Scott". The rest of the story has already been told in general terms.

Naturally there were those who said that Cunningham had "enticed" Goulet to the other side of the river, where he had "fallen into the snare set for him". Cunningham's feelings may be imagined. He promptly put it on record that he had not "decoyed" Goulet "to the other side of the river". He denounced lynch law, and called attention to dangers inherent in the situation:

> Goulet was one of the most influential of all the half-breeds [sic]. He was an American citizen, and belonged to a most influential family: that his death will be attributed to the soldiers, two of whom were mixed up in the affair, is certain, and the results no one can tell.

Cunningham finished his article with several ominous observations:

> Threats are made of constituting Vigilance Committees; parties have been formed to make raids on certain half-breed [sic] localities; petitions of the most extraordinary character are being got up and numerously signed, to the Governor, making the most extraordinary demands . . . suffice it to say that my candid opinion is that one party here are

> resolved not only that the Manitoba Act shall be repealed, but that Governor Archibald shall not rule in Manitoba.[7]

Cunningham's fears about the involvement of the United States were groundless. Robinson accepted Archibald's word that everything possible was being done. He does not seem to have seen the chaos in Manitoba as an opportunity for American intervention. There was no call for action on the part of the American government, either from Robinson or from Taylor, who arrived later on in the fall. When Taylor did reopen the Goulet case the following May it was only to suggest that Great Britain should pay an annuity to Goulet's widow and family, "who are quite destitute at Pembina". He had been informed, Taylor reported, "that no measures to arrest and punish his assassins . . . have been or will be taken."[8]

Taylor was well informed on this point. At the close of the investigation into the causes of Goulet's death the magistrates had disagreed about the issuing of warrants. Upon Judge Johnson's arrival in Manitoba, Archibald showed him the papers concerning the investigation. Johnson replied that the evidence was 'not sufficiently strong" for him to say that the justices ought to issue their warrants.[9] The matter was left at that.

As we have seen no one was brought to justice in the Goulet affair. Many inferences have been made as to the reasons for this. No doubt the magistrates were sincere and honest men. No doubt Judge Johnson ruled impartially on the strength of the evidence.

There is, nevertheless, evidence of interest to us in the accounts of the hearings themselves. First let us examine the official record as contained in the lawyer's report to Archibald.[10]

Twenty subpoenas were issued. Two informations and eleven depositions were taken in writing and seven persons were examined verbally. The lawyer met with "some difficulty" in the fulfillment of his duties. Some persons did not wish to testify. Proper interpreters could not be found, so McConville took it upon himself to translate. It was difficult to hire a clerk to record the testimony. One, after writing a half day, did not return, "and could not be found". Another, after writing for two days, "would not continue". McConville does not say so in so many words, but it is clear that he ended up being the court's lawyer, translator, and and clerk all at the same time. Then he suggested that he and the magistrates should meet to read all the depositions and informations. This was done in the rooms of the Government of Manitoba, then being rented in the house where the New Nation had formerly been printed. Then Mr. Hamelin and Mr. MacBeth were left alone and came to the conclusion given above.

Now let us look at the unofficial record. Once again we are indebted to Cunningham of the Daily Telegraph who attended the hearings. Cunningham commented on the age and inexperience of the two old magistrates. Once the oath had been administered they seemed not to know how to proceed. After five days of hearings "almost nothing" had come out concerning the case, and Cunningham noted how the investigation was "hindered", if not "wilfully obstructed" by some of the witnesses. For example, a young man swore that he saw a party of eight or ten pursuing Goulet. When the Crown attorney asked for names of those in pursuit the young man "without waiting for permission" absented himself from the court for twenty minutes. On his return he objected to the question, objected to

the Court, and denied their right to put such a question, or to sit as a Court at all. Then he quoted from a pamphlet which in Cunningham's opinion was of no value at all. The two old magistrates seemed "scared almost out of their wits, more especially by the readings of the extracts from the pamphlet". They were "not quite sure whether they were magistrates at all". It was "just possible that they were acting illegally, and if they did act illegally, the consequences might be something serious". A whole day was spent on this matter. It was the next day before the young man could be induced to answer. Now, for some reason, the magistrates "became more courageous" and "told the witness that he had better answer it". Then the witness, "with the broadest grin imaginable, answered the question".[11]

What can one make of this? What can one say about a court where a witness on the stand absents himself without permission? Who suggested to the young man that he question the validity of the questioning, the right of the court to ask the question, and the right of the court to sit at all? Who supplied the pamphlet? And what was in the pamphlet which "scared" the magistrates? One suspects that there was interference with the court by a person or persons who had managed somehow to make their identity known to the court even when not present in the court.

Who could such persons be?

It seems reasonable to eliminate any Métis leader. Goulet was a Métis, and the Métis were eager to have justice done.

It also seems reasonable to eliminate any of the men who, while of the English-speaking community, had worked with the Provisional Government. This eliminates people like Thomas Bunn, A. G. B. Bannatyne and James

Ross, some of whom were known to be, in any case, not in the community at the time.

Who does this leave us with? Most likely it narrows down to leaders of the so-called "loyal" party or to men interested in ingratiating themselves with the Volunteers and the voyageurs, some of whom were believed to have been in the mob pursuing Goulet.

It may be coincidence only, but on the very day that Cunningham penned his article for the Telegraph an issue of the Manitoba News-Letter appeared which accused the Court of Inquiry of using "the greatest diligence" to show that Goulet met with foul treatment.[12] "Not a tittle of proof" said the News-Letter, "had been adduced to sustain the assumption. On the contrary Dr. O'Donnell is his testimony very clearly proved that no mark of violence existed on the body". "This," the News-Letter went on, "may safely be said to close the case, for if the authors of the numerous rumors so industriously circulated during the past week cannot be discovered, there is no probability that there is any foundation for them."

Clearly there is no sympathy with Goulet here; he is not even "the unfortunate Goulet" in this account. And clearly it is all right for a mob to chase a man into a position where he can drown himself.

It may also be coincidence, but a previous issue of the News-Letter, also published while the Court was sitting, presumed to predict what the Court would find:

> We are informed by very creditable eyewitnesses of the affair that no Volunteer had anything whatever to do with the matter, and we understand that ample evidence will be adduced at the inquest to substantiate this view of the case.

As for the Volunteers, for whom Winnipeg was temporarily out of bounds, the News-Letter saw them as being very badly used indeed:

> We are inclined to think that the Colonel is rather too severe on the Volunteers, and should have heard both sides of the story before carrying the matter to such an extreme.

The News-Letter did not explain how Goulet's side was to be heard.[13]

In Cunningham's account of the Goulet affair mention was made of an "Old gentleman" who pointed out Goulet as the "Goulet who shot Scott". As we have seen the magistrates disagreed as to whether a warrant could be issued against this man. The statement of one magistrate cancelled out that of the other, and Judge Johnson concluded that the evidence was not "sufficiently strong" to issue a warrant for his arrest. Remarkably enough, it is possible, if it were necessary, to conjecture who this man was, from the several accounts which mention him without giving his name. Winnipeg was a village of 241 people in September of 1870, and an "old gentleman" would be well known and easily identifiable by any of the people who lived there. Another informant has stated that this old gentleman had been "imprisoned by Riel" during the preceding winter.[14] Still another informant, Hugh John Macdonald, son of the prime minister, has stated that the old man was "famous for telling fairy tales and stirring matters generally" . . . "The more level-headed citizens . . . treated the statement . . . as a fabrication".[15] There was one citizen of Winnipeg so famous for his stories about Jamaica and Demerara (British Guiana) that during the preceding winter the New Nation was able to allude to him in the knowledge that local readers would know exactly who was meant. The allusion was as follows:

> We hear rumors of Jamaica and Demerara being annexed

> to the new republic [at Poplar Point, High Bluff and Portage la Prairie], but we should advise against it as being likely to promote discord.[16]

James Farquharson, the father-in-law of John Christian Schultz, was born in Scotland and lived in Jamaica and British Guiana before coming to Red River in 1864.[17] He was 50 years old and living in the Schultz household in 1870.[18] In February of 1870 Riel "would not take Farquharson's oath as he said he had twice already broken his oath--they pushed him out of the Fort".[19] In 1872, when Farquharson was with a group of men who took part in the election riot Archibald described him as "a well known blackguard who has been in every row since I came here". Farquharson, wrote Archibald, was known as "old Depravity".[20]

But it is not necessary to conjecture about the identity of the person who pointed out Goulet, and, by inference, the persons who would be interested in influencing the Court. Judge Johnson's summary of the information about Goulet's death is clear and to the point:

> The circumstances immediately preceding his death are, that on the 13th of September, at the village of Winnipeg about three in the afternoon, several persons probably to the number of a dozen were at a public house or drinking saloon kept by one Montechamp [sic]. Some were inside the house, and some about the door. Among the persons present, those identified [included] Robert Mulligan James Farquharson and two soldiers of the 1st Ontario Rifles named Saunders and Madigan, besides Montechamp [sic] and and the deceased.
>
> Montechamp [sic] was at the door of the house talking to Goulet, when Farquharson arrived, and asked him if that was the man who shot Scott?? Montechamp [sic] answered--No. Farquharson then asked--"Is that Goulet?" and some one answered Yes--Goulet then went into the bar-room followed by Farquharson very much excited and calling out "Catch hold of him"--
>
> Goulet left the house by a side door, and was pursued

> by several persons, among whom were the two soldiers, Saunders and Madigan, James Farquharson and others who are not named. The soldiers were seen by Captn McDonald[21] [sic] who called them back; and they obeyed at least for a time. Farquharson, it is positively sworn, did not proceed as far as the river and some minutes must then have elapsed before the unfortunate man took to the water: for he was met alone on the road, by a witness (Boudreau) of whom he enquired if there were any means of crossing the river. He appeared very much frightened, and said he was being pursued and feared for his life. Immediately after this the two soldiers, Saunders and Madigan must, according to the depositions have returned to the pursuit for they and a man named Campbell were seen on the shore, while Goulet was in the water. Campbell cried out "There he is" we have got him [sic] and threw something at him, which was seen to fall into the water. Goulet was seen to take off his coat and throw it ashore where it was afterwards found. He then swam some distance, and disappeared. His body was soon afterwards recovered and identified. The deceased, no doubt was impelled by terror to take to the water.
>
> The task of determining to what degree his pursuers, or those who instigated the pursuit are amenable to criminal proceedings is very difficult, from the imperfect way in which the depositions have been taken. If the parties implicated were intent on killing Goulet, his death, if an immediate and unavoidable consequence of that intent, and if the pursuit for effecting it, would be chargeable upon them all as murder.--
>
> The persons against whom such a charge could possibly be made are Farquharson (who according to one witness only) called out to the people in the house "to kill him" and Saunders, Madigan, and Campbell who, pursued, and who if they shared that intent are all equally guilty.[22]

We cannot know whether Farquharson offered money to the two Volunteers to persuade them to return to the pursuit of Goulet, but we have to consider the possibility in view of the fact that it is known that they returned to the chase after being ordered by one of their officers to desist. Farquharson had made headlines a few days earlier, before the arrival of Archibald and in the Smith régime, by offering a reward of

twenty pounds each for the capture of Riel, O'Donoghue or Lépine.[23] It is not unreasonable to assume that, with Goulet in sight, Farquharson broadened his offer to include him. It is certain that a correspondent for the St. Paul Press reported that the people in Red River settlement seeking revenge were saying, "There are nine more whom we want to serve in the same manner". It is certain, too, that the same correspondent linked Goulet's death with "the man who lately shot the White Horse Plains Catholic priest".[24] In that incident Father Kavanagh of White Horse Plains was "met by an individual on horseback" on the night of the 24th of August. A gun was fired, Kavanagh's horse reared and Kavanagh was thrown to the ground.[25]

One of the numerous accounts of Goulet's death, Col. S. B. Steele's,[26] differs from the others in one very important respect. Steele tells about being "out on fatigue" the same day that Goulet drowned. The Volunteers were taking the boats out of the Assiniboine and placing them on skids near the camp.

> Suddenly two travel-stained horsemen, one on a black horse the other on a grey, rode up to us and asked if we had seen a man named Elzéar Goulet who, one of them stated, had commanded the firing squad which shot Thomas Scott. As we could give no information they wheeled quickly and rode off at full speed towards Winnipeg. The same night it was reported in camp that they had found Goulet seated on a bench at the Davis House, a hotel in the village, and when they had accosted him he had taken flight towards the Red River, pursued by his accusers.

Steele's account is the only one which gives a hint as to how the incident appeared to the Volunteers at Fort Garry.

> The next day our commanding officer, misled by reports made to him by interested parties who wished to put the blame on the military to save others, paraded us in camp and fiercely attacked us, accusing us of being a

> lot of hot-headed fanatics who had aided and abetted the death of Goulet. No doubt he believed the report, for it came to him from persons in high places, but they were persons who would not hesitate to make political capital out of the circumstance, and, able staff officer though he was, he took no steps to inquire into the charge, which, had he done so, could easily have been disproved. He believed the words of enemies in disguise, and the evilly-disposed persons to whom Colonel Wolseley had referred in his farewell order to us, were thus fortunate enough to have the blame shifted from their shoulders to ours. Thus for party reasons, we were branded throughout the eastern provinces as a band of murderers, and when the papers from Ontario and Quebec arrived and were read in barracks, there was a strong feeling of indignation which it required a steady hand and tactful mind to keep within bounds. As a matter of fact it never died out so long as the regiment lasted, and was carried into civil life.[27]

Who are these "interested parties", one wonders, these "persons in high places", these "enemies in disguise"? Did Steele know, or did he simply guess that someone had used his regiment for his own purposes? Whoever Steele had in mind was seen to be working for "party reasons". What could those "party reasons" be? One cannot do more than guess at this point. Here one can only observe that, whether it deserved it or not, the regiment with which Steele was serving at the time of the Goulet affair, the 1st Ontario Rifles, has gone into oblivion, along with the 2nd Quebec Rifles.[28]

It is to be noted that Steele maintained that no Volunteer had had anything to do with the pursuit of Goulet. It is also to be noted that, while Steele was present when the two horsemen asked if anyone had seen Goulet, he was not present when Goulet was pursued, and only learned about that incident "the same night" when it was "reported in camp".

Steele's remarks about "interested parties" and "persons in high places" make it imperative that we shift our gaze for a moment from those

who "incited" to those who "pursued". Since we cannot examine the testimony of those who testified before the two magistrates the best we can do is to examine what was said at the time and later by those whose business it was to report the event.

The first account was probably that of the News-Letter, published on September 13th, the same day as Goulet's drowning.[29] This stated that "some voyageurs" had pursued Goulet. The News-Letter of the 17th, however, denied that any voyageurs had been involved. In another column it mentioned the rumor that some Volunteers had pursued Goulet and stated that "no Volunteers had anything whatever to do with the matter".[30]

In his despatch of September 16th to the State Department Acting Consul Robinson referred to "a mob of Canadians and soldiers" as having chased Goulet.

Archibald reported to Howe on the 17th that "three men" had pursued Goulet. The authors of the "Memorial and Petition to President Grant",[31] written after the St. Norbert meeting, used the words "a band of these marauders in uniform". The Globe correspondent, also writing on the 17th, referred to "two volunteers", gave the account of Captain Macdonald calling the one man back and telling him to bring the other with him, and then specified "the buglers"[32] as being involved in the chase. The correspondent of Le Nouveau Monde, writing on the 18th, used the words "poursuivi par quatre individus, dont deux soldats du bataillon d'Ontario". Cunningham, of the Telegraph, on the same day wrote "some eight or a dozen".

Hugh John Macdonald, the officer who ordered the two Volunteers to desist, later referred to "a large party of soldiers" as having taken

part in the chase. Tennant, who wrote many years later of his experiences in the Ontario Rifles, specified "Ontario volunteers" as having chased Goulet. On the other hand Steele, who also wrote many years after the event, referred to "a crowd of people, among whom were two of our buglers. No other soldiers were present and neither of them took part in the chase".

As the event receded into history accounts tended to become less precise. Writing in February of 1871 Bishop Taché referred to Goulet as "poursuivi par des brigands du Haut-Canada". Consul Taylor, in complaining to his superior about the lack of action in the matter, referred to "a mob".

Writing in 1880, however, Tuttle specified "some volunteers belonging to the Ontario Battalion" as having chased Goulet. Begg referred to "a large number . . . among who were some volunteers". O'Donnell, who came to Red River in 1869 but whose account did not appear until 1909, wrote of "a few men whose hatred overcame their judgment". Bryce in 1906 wrote that "several soldiers of the Ontario Battalion" chased Goulet. Schofield described Goulet as "stoned to death by the soldiers".[33] MacBeth, whose father had been one of the magistrates conducting the investigation in 1870, referred to "an excited crowd" in a 1905 history, but used the term "some soldiers" when writing in 1920.

With all respect to Steele there can surely be little doubt of the participation of a considerable number of soldiers in the incident. Winnipeg was a village of 241 people in September of 1871.[34] The Ontario Rifles consisted of at least 326 men, counting officers, enlisted men and men of the Regular Service temporarily attached to the regiment.[35] At

the time of Goulet's death Captain Cooke's company had not been sent to Pembina,[36] and Captain Scott's company had recently arrived from Fort Frances.[37] The regiment was at full strength at Fort Garry. The regiment had little to do at any time, and nowhere to go but Winnipeg when on leave. True, there were such jobs as moving the Expedition's boats out of the Assiniboine in preparation for the winter. Steele was helping to do this the day that Goulet drowned. Once in winter quarters, however, there would be little for the men to do but housekeeping jobs. Few of the men can have been so lucky as Charles Napier Bell was later on in the fall when he obtained a working pass and worked for Alexander Begg. That gentleman set him at work copying a manuscript for submission to a publisher.[38] Even after the departure of Captain Cooke's company for Pembina in late September the Volunteer population of 278 outnumbered the civilian population of 241 men, women and children. As the Red River Settlement went into the fall and winter season of 1870-1871 we must consider all events at the centre of that Settlement as having a backdrop of Ontario Volunteers.

* * *

The Goulet family knew that Elzéar suffered from a heart condition, and believed that he must have suffered a heart attack, either before he entered the water or while he was trying to swim the Red River. He was a strong swimmer and had swum the Red many times before.[39]

The body was recovered on the 14th, the day after he drowned, and removed to the residence of his brother-in-law,[40] where people came to view the remains on the 15th. The correspondent of Le Nouveau Monde described the scene:

> It was nearly night. Groups of men surrounded the house, talking in low voices, saddling or unsaddling their horses. Some had come a long distance. The country women with their big black shawls thrown over their heads arrived silently one by one. There lay the body of the poor victim.

Women on their knees wept or prayed at the entrance to the mortuary chamber. Two Sisters of Charity, one of them the sister of the deceased, tried to console the bereaved or quieten the feelings of anger aroused by the sight of the dead man.[41] It was reported that in the night one of the former leaders of the Métis came to pay his respects to the dead. He did not, however, attend the funeral service.[42]

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald was represented at the funeral by his private secretary and by an officer of the 2nd or Quebec Battalion, both of whom could speak French.[43]

* * *

When the Ontario Volunteers arrived at Fort Garry several of them were sick, one almost at the point of death, as a result of the rigors of the long advance from Thunder Bay. This situation was called to the attention of Bishop Taché, who wrote to Colonel Wolseley, volunteering the services of the Sisters of Charity, or Grey Nuns. Wolseley accepted the offer and, beginning on the 3rd of September,[44] the Sisters made daily trips across the river to Fort Garry to care for the unfortunate Volunteers, two being chosen each day to do the errand. They found the one Volunteer nearly naked, lying with his head on an overcoat rolled up.[45] They brought clothing, blankets and medicine. Rest, care and cleanliness did their work well, and in the following days the men got better and returned to their companies. The one Volunteer responded to

care very slowly, and the Sisters were still caring for him on the 25th of September. Before his departure Colonel Wolseley went over to St. Boniface to thank the Sisters, as did Captain Butler and the regiment's doctor.[46]

Elzéar Goulet's sister was one of these Sisters of Charity. On the day of Elzéar's funeral it was the turn of this Sister to go over to Fort Garry to look after the sick Volunteer. She sought out a companion and asked her to take her place. "I'll go willingly tomorrow," she said, "but I can't do it today. I'm not strong enough for that."[47]

Some time later several of the Volunteers thanked the Sisters of Charity by donating a carpet to the little chapel of the Académie Sainte Marie in Winnipeg.[48]

* * *

Elzéar Goulet's body was buried in the family plot in the St. Boniface cemetery, and is memorialized on the same grave marker as his parents and his son Roger. The inscription makes no reference to the manner of his death, reading simply

> Décédé à St. Boniface le 13 Septembre, 1870,
> à l'âge de 34 ans. Requiescat in pace.[49]

* * *

With the funeral safely behind them the Métis immediately turned to the problem of what to do about their situation, which many of them were finding intolerable. Ever since the arrival of the Red River Expedition there had been nocturnal raids on settlements and attacks on individuals, especially in the White Horse Plains area. Now the death of Goulet simply confirmed what had been feared. It was not safe for a Métis to be

seen near Fort Garry where the Ontario Volunteers were. A meeting was held near St. Norbert. Archibald learned about this meeting almost immediately, and reported to Howe:

> I have learned, upon unquestionable authority, that on Saturday night last about ten o'clock, a body of armed men, amounting to forty or thereabouts, held a meeting on the side of the Highway at "La Rivière Sale". What the object was I have not been able to ascertain, but part of the people came from White Horse Plains, about sixteen miles from this spot,--part from Pembina; and I have reason to believe there were among them L'Epine [sic], and some others of the Provisional Government.[50]

It was most likely at this meeting that it was decided to volunteer the services of the Métis in the formation of a police force for the Settlement. The most immediate outcome of the meeting, however, was the preparation of "The Memorial and Petition of the People of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, British America, to His Excellency U. S. Grant, President of the United States".[51]

This is not the place for a discussion of the fate of this document, but one observation can appropriately be made here. No action was taken by President Grant as a result of receiving it, abundant proof, if proof were needed, that there was no interest in American administrative circles in meddling in Manitoba affairs in the way that certain expansionist Minnesota politicians were advocating. Goulet was an American citizen, and his death could easily have been used as a pretext for taking action of some kind.

* * *

As we have seen, Judge Johnson was of the opinion in December of 1870 that the evidence was not sufficiently strong for him to say that the

justices ought to issue their warrants.[52] Opinion on this point was not unanimous, particularly in British Colonial Office circles. "It is a case requiring attention," summarized one Colonial Office Minute paper,

> as it might easily give rise to difficulties or at least unpleasantness with the United States. An American citizen is denounced in a Canadian drinking saloon, chased by several men (two of them soldiers) and drowned in trying to escape from them by swimming across the river. It is thought by Judge Johnson that the occurrence partook rather of the nature of "drunken mischief" than felonious intent to kill--that would in England be a question for the Jury; a man must be tolerably frightened before he takes to the water as this man did and if people act in such a way as to cause him to do so, and his life is lost in so doing, the fact of their being drunk (even if it be proved) is no such excuse as would prevent their being put upon their trial. It is, however, evidently a case for the Law Officers--as there is a difference of opinion among those who have investigated it in Canada.[53]

Lord Kimberley expressed the opinion "that there was evidence enough to send the case for trial",[54] and the information about it was sent to the Law Officers for an opinion. When the Law Officers had studied the case they reported that "measures should be taken for prosecuting a person who was known to take a prominent part in pursuing Elizear [sic] Goulet . . .".[55] This decision was communicated to Lord Lisgar by Kimberley on March 9, 1871:

> If no evidence is forthcoming which would justify a conviction of any offence known to the law still the Govt will have done all in their power to vindicate the administration of justice and accordingly I am of opinion that legal proceedings should be taken as suggested by the Law Officers.[56]

Why was no arrest ever made?

Tuttle, writing in 1880, answered the question by saying, in effect, "because there was an army of occupation at Fort Garry which sought re-

venge for the shooting of Scott".

> It would appear from the evidence that the ends of justice were made somewhat subservient to necessity in this case, for there was no doubt but that the death of Goulet was caused by these three men--who belonged to the Canadian or "loyal" party--but it was felt that in the excited state of public feeling to have made any arrest would, in all probability, have precipitated a conflict between the two nationalities and religions which would have been far more disastrous than the rising of the previous winter; it was, therefore, deemed more expedient to defer any action in the matter until popular feeling should have become more quiet . . . It must be remembered the majority of the volunteers [sic] were Protestants, and a large proportion of them Orangemen who made no secret of their desire to "avenge the murder of poor Scott;" that they had neither the training nor steadiness of regular troops and that many of those who had been imprisoned by Riel . . . were very anxious to avenge their wrongs and incite the volunteers [sic] to a rupture with the French party now that the English party was the stronger of the two . . . [57]

It is well to let Tuttle have the last word until more evidence has been considered.

Footnotes

1. See, for example, A. Begg, History of the Northwest, Vol. II; Dom Benoit. Vie de Mgr Taché, Vol. II, pp. 113-4; G. Bryce, History of Manitoba, p. 165; Gunn and Tuttle, History of Manitoba, pp. 463-4; R. G. MacBeth, Romance of Western Canada, p. 164; R. G. MacBeth, The Making of the Canadian West, p. 90; Hugh John Macdonald, in Centennial Nor'Wester, July 15, 1970; Dr. J. H. O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, pp. 69-70; F. H. Schofield, Story of Manitoba, Vol. 1, p. 299; Col. S. B. Steele, Forty Years in Canada, p. 35; J. F. Tennant, Rough Times, pp. 66-7.

2. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870. Elzéar Goulet was born in 1836, the son of Alexis Goulet and Josephte Siveright. Abbé J. B. Thibault, Vicar-General at the College of St. Boniface, was his godfather. He married Hélène Jérome dit St. Masse in 1859 and they had six children. Through both birth and marriage Elzéar was connected with the leading families of Red River. Joseph Rolette, Sr., was Hélène's guardian. Elzéar's sister Sarah married Elzéar de la Gimaudière, a cousin of Louis Riel and member of the Provisional Council of 1870. Another sister Guillelmine married Miles McDermott, the son of Andrew McDermott. A brother Roger was a member of the Council of Assiniboia. At the time of the Insurrection Goulet was named Lieutenant-General of the troops at Fort Garry under Ambroise Lépine, the Commander-in-chief. Goulet took part in the court-martial which sentenced Thomas Scott to death. Goulet met his death on Sept. 13, 1870, and was buried in St. Boniface Cemetery. See L.-A. Prud'homme, "La Famille Goulet" in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, 3e série, 1935, Tome XXIX; See also Morice, Dictionnaire Historique . . . See also Winnipeg Telegram, July 18, 1911 (article by Hugh John Macdonald); Winnipeg Free Press, August 3, 1911 (article by Roger Goulet).

3. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Robinson to Davis, Sept. 16, 1870. The reader will note that Robinson gave the wrong date, Sept. 12, for the event.

4. NLC, News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.

5. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870.

6. St. Paul Press, Oct. 6, 1870.

7. Telegraph, Oct. 4, 1870.

8. USNARS T24 Roll 1, Taylor to Davis, May 18, 1871.

9. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), p. 52. Note that the date of the letter is incorrectly given as Sept. 7. It should be Dec. 7.

10. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), pp. 52-4, McConville to Archibald, Sept. 27, 1870.

11. Telegraph, Oct. 11 (Fort Garry, Sept. 20, 1870). See also Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 15, 1870.

12. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870.

13. NLC, News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.

14. Gunn and Tuttle, History, pp. 463-4; Begg's Journal, pp. 302, 306, 308.

15. Hugh John Macdonald, Centennial Nor'Wester, July 15, 1970.

16. New Nation, Jan. 21, 1870.

17. Daily Free Press, obituary notice, Nov. 2, 1874; Schofield, The History of Manitoba, Vol. III, p. 7.

18. Manitoba Census of 1870.

19. Begg's Journal, Feb. 15, 1870, p. 308.

20. PAC Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 13, 1870.

21. This point is corroborated in the Globe account of Oct. 5, 1870. Capt. Macdonald called one man back and said to bring the other man with him.

22. PRO C042/689 722 (Copy), Judge Johnson to Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Dec. 6, 1870. The Public Archives of Canada's file is missing.

23. Globe, Sept. 19, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 2).

24. St. Paul Weekly Press, Sept. 29, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 15).

25. Telegraph, Sept. 10, 1870 (Fort Garry, Aug. 27); New Nation, Sept. 3, 1870.

26. Steele, Forty Years in Canada, p. 34.

27. Steele, op. cit., p. 35.

28. Letter, dated Oct. 8, from W. A. B. Douglas, Director, Directorate of History, Department of National Defence: "These two units were disbanded in 1871 and have not been perpetuated." The reader will note that a number of regiments organized before 1870 are perpetuated in modern regiments. See The Regiments and Corps of the Canadian Army, prepared by the Army Historical Section, Department of National Defence, pp. 57, 59, 61, etc.

29. News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870.

30. NLC, News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.

31. See Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XX, March, 1939, p. 427.

32. There is a difficulty here. D. Madigan, #209 of Co. No. 5 is listed as a bugler, but E. Saunders, #190 of Co. No. 4 is listed simply as a private. (1st Ontario Rifles Muster Roll, PAC IIB2, Vol. 35).

33. Schofield deals with the matter twice. This reference is in Vol. III, p. 145.

34. PAM MG14 C23, Diary of C. N. Bell.

35. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 25, "1st Ontario Rifles--Muster Roll" dated Jan. 31, 1871; PAC RG9 IIF7, Vol. 2, "Pay List of Captain Cooke's Company" dated Jan., 1871.

36. USNARS Microfilm T24 Roll 1, News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1871.

37. NLC, News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.

38. PAM MG14 C23, Diary of C. N. Bell. Bell began work Nov. 10, 1870.

39. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 5, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 18).

40. Ibid. It should be noted that the correspondent used the spelling "de la Jumonière".

41. There is a tradition that Goulet died from a wound on the right temple inflicted by a stone thrown from the shore. As we have seen, certain historians have asserted this as fact. The authors of the "Memorial and Petition" used the expression "stoned to death while in the water", CHR, Vol. XX, March 1939, p. 427. This tradition may have begun with this viewing of the remains.

42. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 5, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 18).

43. Ibid.

44. PAM microfilm MG7 D2 M221, Sisters of Charity MS Chronicles, p. 463.

45. Globe, Sept. 27, 1870, from Le Nouveau Monde, Sept. 23, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 6).

46. PAM microfilm MG7 D2 M221, Sisters of Charity MS Chronicles, p. 469.

47. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 5, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 18).

48. PAM microfilm MG7 D2 M221, Sisters of Charity MS Chronicles, p. 469.

49. Author's observation. The grave marker is near the north side of the cemetery and not far from the street which parallels the river.

50. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 21, 1870.

51. The text of this original is in the Taylor Papers, Taylor to Fish, Nov. 16, 1870. The text of the altered version is in CHR, Vol. XX, March, 1939. A discussion of the circumstances accounting for the alterations is in J. P. Pritchett, "The Origin of the So-called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871" in CHR, Vol. 10, 1929.

52. See note 9.

53. CO/42 702 722, p. 160, dated Jan. 27, 1871.

54. Ibid.

55. CO/42 702 722, p. 269, dated March 4, 1871.

56. CO/42 702 722 pp. 270-271, dated March 9, 1871.

57. Gunn and Tuttle, History, pp. 464-5.

Chapter Twenty
To Organize a Government[1]

As we set about examining Archibald's steps in organizing a provincial government in Manitoba we must take note of the circumstances under which he worked and of the constitutional limitations on him.[2] We must also keep in mind that his opponents were not bound by any constitutional or other limitations.

Archibald had been provided with a set of instructions on the 4th of August. The first said that he was to be guided "by the Constitutional principles and precedents which obtain in the older Provinces". The 8th instructed him to "give your Advisers the full exercise of the powers, which in the older Provinces have been wisely claimed and freely exercised".[3] It was not long, however, before Archibald realized that there was an unwritten instruction implicit in the circumstances. This instruction could be stated succinctly as "You will govern without a premier" or, more starkly yet, "Govern without Riel". There can be no doubt on this point.

Manitoba had officially been a province for over two months when Archibald issued his proclamation of the 17th of September.[4] Riel and his executive had obeyed Cartier's instruction to Ritchot for nearly six weeks of the province's existence before the Red River Expedition's hostile approach had forced them into hiding. Archibald's proclamation assured

> all our faithful and loyal subjects of our said Province that it is our determination to suppress all disorders and disturbances of Our peace from whatever quarter the same may come, and to secure to all Our faithful subjects of Our said Province protection in the peaceful possession and enjoyment of their rights and property . . . .

"We do hereby require," the Proclamation went on, "and enjoin Our said subjects to return to and engage in their usual occupations and pursuits, relying on this Our assurance that

> No person or persons shall be allowed to take the law into his or their own hands, or proceed against any of our subjects in any other way than in due course of law.[5]

This proclamation was studied with interest by a number of Her Majesty's subjects then resident in Manitoba. Marc Girard, one of Archibald's first appointees, later told of a conversation he had with Louis Riel at the church at St. Norbert. Girard was sworn in the same day that the proclamation was issued, and regarded it

> as being to a certain extent a promulgation of amnesty, because it invited the whole people without any exception to behave as good subjects, and to assist in maintaining order. At that time there were apprehensions of trouble in the Province. It was a few days after the death of Goulet, and there was a good deal of excitement.

The proclamation was published on Saturday the 17th of September. Girard spent that night at the residence of the Curé at St. Norbert. The following day, Sunday, he met the people at the church door and addressed them, explaining the proclamation to them. To his surprise he met Riel among the people. Girard had supposed that Riel was out of the country, and felt his position as a new minister "a delicate one as regarded him". Riel asked Girard to tell him, as a Minister of the Crown, if he was excluded or not by the Proclamation. Girard told him

> No, you are not excluded; and I would like to have a sufficient force to protect you. But for the sake of your country and your friends absent yourself for a while from the country, and be sure that as soon as the Government is strong enough WE WILL RECALL YOU that you may take the PLACE TO WHICH YOU ARE ENTITLED [emphasis mine].

Girard said that he meant Riel's "place either as Minister or Representative in the Government of his country". Then Girard explained his term "sufficient force":

> When I used the phrase as to "sufficient force" I meant that WE COULD NOT COUNT ON THE MILITARY FORCE THAT WAS THERE FOR THAT PURPOSE, [emphasis mine] by reason of their feeling on that subject.

There can be no doubt that having to say this must have caused Girard great embarrassment and acute shame. It must have caused Riel great chagrin to hear this, since he well knew that no one had been a more "faithful and loyal subject" than he had for the past many months. In one sentence Girard had acknowledged that Riel was entitled to a place in the province's government. In the next he had admitted that though the constitutional head of Manitoba was in the office of the Lieutenant-Governor, the power to "suppress all disorders" and to "secure" "faithful subjects" "in the peaceful possession and enjoyment of their rights and property" was not in that office. The power to create disorder with impunity and prevent citizens from enjoying their rights and property lay in another place in the province.

According to Girard, Riel "went away immediately".[6] He could have done nothing else, having just learned from a minister of the Crown that what he and the other Métis had feared was true: Archibald could not guarantee anything. As we have seen, by the time Girard spoke to Riel the Métis had already met to discuss their predicament and to decide upon a course of action. Archibald may already have had on his desk requests from them for the formation of a police force. In the days following the conversation Riel and his fellow ex-leaders of the Provisional Government conferred to prepare the "Memorial and Petition" to President Grant

of the United States. The tone of this document becomes more understandable when it is considered in this light.[7]

Girard stated that, when he reported the conversation with Riel to the Lieutenant-Governor, Archibald "neither approved nor disapproved". Nothing Archibald could say would have altered things and he knew it. While the Volunteers were at Fort Garry he would not have the last word.

There is no reference to a police force in Archibald's instructions, although section 16 read as follows:

> You are aware that the unsettled state of things in the North West has compelled the Queen's Government to despatch a military force into that Country with a view to protect Her Majesty's subjects from the possible intrusion of roving bands of Indians by whom they are surrounded, and to give stability to the Civil Government which it will be your duty to organize.

By the third quarter of September Archibald was under no illusions on the efficacy of that military force.

It was general knowledge that some kind of police force was necessary if peace was to be maintained in the province. A problem was involved, however, and it gave Archibald pause. Those arrested would for the most part be Volunteers,[8] and some nimble dodges might have to be resorted to to keep the Volunteers from feeling that they had received unfair treatment. At any given moment they dominated the situation, and could do as they pleased.

Pressure on Archibald to establish a police force began to come from the Métis population about the time of the drowning of Goulet. Along with the request for a force came the offer of the services of a number of Métis.[9] The force as envisaged at first would have consisted of thirty Métis in uniform, of whom ten were to be mounted police. Le Nouveau

Monde looked for good results from this plan, but there were problems. In the days before the Provisional Government, when a police force became part of the life of Winnipeg-Fort Garry, the employment of a police force was only for a day or two at a time, and the men were paid at the rate of ten shillings a day.[10] The Métis volunteers could not see why they should not be paid at the same rate, and they stipulated that they should be allowed to live at their homes.[11] The problem was looked at from all angles and, in view of the fact that no member of the English-speaking community had volunteered to serve, it was decided instead to ask the commanding officers of the two batallions to release a number of men to be hired for police service. This was done.[12] Captain Villiers of the Quebec Rifles was chosen to be Commanding Officer, and Lieutenant de Plainval of the same regiment was appointed to be Deputy Chief of Police. The force consisted of twelve men at first, but by early October nineteen were listed as members of the force.[13]

It was necessary to house this new force and provide stables for the horses. One of Archibald's first acts in Manitoba had been to rent rooms in "the house formerly known as the establishment of the 'New Nation'". It was here that the magistrates had conducted the hearings in the Goulet case.[14] Now Archibald had to find a place for a police court and barracks. Mr. Sutherland's new store was purchased by the government for this purpose.[15] It is believed that this was the first building owned and occupied by the government of the province of Manitoba. Another house, the one then being built for A. G. B. Bannatyne, and the future home of the provincial legislature, was rented by the Manitoba government. Still unfinished, it was to be prepared for occupation by Mr. Ellwood.[16]

In acting promptly to set up a police force Archibald had shown his willingness to meet the demands of the Métis people, and had gone far toward laying a foundation of popular support for his administration.

Archibald's instructions said nothing about the smallpox epidemic which raged among the western Indian tribes in the spring and summer of 1870, and which, as we have seen, forced many of the Métis to return to the Red River in the summer, when they should have been on the plains. Archibald had, however, heard of the epidemic, and, before he left Ottawa, arranged with Dr. Grant of that city for a supply of smallpox vaccine to be sent to Manitoba.[17] Pressure from the province's people forced Archibald to take steps to contain the spread of the disease,[18] and it was here that he got his administrative knuckles rapped for the first time. Archibald was, he knew, Lieutenant-Governor of the afflicted area, and he tried to take action as soon as possible. As he later explained, his own books and papers had not arrived in the province when it was necessary to take action, and he could not find anyone who could lend him a copy of the act outlining the government of the western territories under his jurisdiction. Relying upon his memory he plunged ahead to do something effective before the disease could reach Manitoba. His first step was to appoint a council with whom he could confer to map out a plan of action. When he heard of this council Macdonald wrote to Archibald:

> We are completely at sea here as to the authority under which you think you have a right to make the appointments and--hence the laws. We do not know of the existence of any Executive or Legislative Council with you except the Council of Assiniboia . [19]

Macdonald did not appear concerned about the success of the campaign against the smallpox.

Archibald explained that he had taken care "that no Gazette, or other public notice of the appointments should issue",

> and to this day, except the three gentlemen themselves, nobody knows who are the Council, or by whom or how the appointments were made.[20]

Acting in concert with the Board of Health and this three-man council for the Territory Archibald developed a four-phase plan for the containment of the smallpox epidemic. Most immediate in its necessity was the destruction of any buffalo robes or furs which had been brought into Manitoba from infected areas. Hand in hand with this went preventing the importation of such furs and robes by stationing officers at the border of the province near Rat Creek. A vaccination program was set in motion, vaccine to be provided for anyone who could be induced to accept it. The vaccine was to be taken west by Captain W. F. Butler, who was still in Manitoba, and by Captain A. R. Macdonald, a doctor of No. 6 Company, Ontario Rifles, who was given leave from the regiment to take this special assignment.[21] Archibald spoke to Butler on the 10th of October concerning the mission,[22] and we must assume that he was negotiating at that time for the release of Macdonald.[23] Butler left on October 24th,[24] Macdonald on the 27th.[25] Archibald's measures were not taken a moment too soon. Several sets of furs brought into Manitoba had to be destroyed,[26] and just west of Rat Creek Butler noticed a newly-made grave where a victim of the smallpox had been left to die by his companions only a few days before. Left lying there for three days, the body was buried by a French missionary.[27]

Irregular though Archibald's council may have been, the steps taken by it saved the province of Manitoba from the ravages of a smallpox epi-

demic. The part of Butler's and Macdonald's assignment which concerned control of the liquor trade in the North-West had a more checkered success. The fourth phase of the program involved the collection of information. While Macdonald was to give emphasis to the control of smallpox, Butler was to find out all he could about the Saskatchewan country as far as the Rocky Mountains. It was hoped that the information he brought back would assist in the formulation of a government policy for the North-West.

One of Archibald's instructions stated that he was to "cause an enumeration to be made of the Half-breed heads of families residing in [Manitoba] at the time" of the transfer. The purpose of this enumeration was to enable Archibald to "select, under the provisions of the 31st Section of the Act . . . lots or tracts . . . from among the ungranted lands . . . of the province . . . and divide the same among the children of the Half-breed heads of families residing in the province at the time of the transfer . . .".[28]

Some points about this instruction require some discussion. This was not necessarily a census of all the people of the province, but rather of Half-breed "heads of families" and their children. Obviously, such an enumeration, while not a proper census, could be made at the same time as a census. Also, this enumeration was not an enumeration of these "heads of families" and their children as of September of 1870, when Archibald arrived to assume his duties. Rather it was to be an enumeration of these people who were residing in the province at the time of the transfer, that is, on the 15th of July, 1870. In a very real sense the task was impossible, and many in the Settlement were to misunderstand its

purpose. As we have seen, in any typical year the Half-breed population--and especially the heads of families--were continually on the move, especially in the summer. Men were on the long freight haul to St. Paul, Minnesota, or to Fort Edmonton. Others were at work in the brigades on the rivers of the North-West. Still others were out on the plains in search of buffalo. 1870, however, was not a typical year. The smallpox epidemic had struck the Indian tribes, forcing many Half-breeds to change their plans in an effort to avoid the plague. Also, those who had disagreed with Riel's pacific policy with regard to the approaching Expedition--Gabriel Dumont was one of these--had left the Settlement in June or July, and were somewhere on the plains.[29] How could an enumeration distinguish between those who were "resident" or "non-resident" two months before the enumeration was arranged for? Archibald was face to face with the same conundrum that had confronted the Métis committees who had struggled with the task of drawing up lists of rights to present to the government at Ottawa: what area should be included in the demand for self-government? In the light of the nature of the economy of Rupert's Land and the North-West it was absurd to try to deal with it in any other way than as an organic whole. A Half-breed on the trail near Fort Carlton, or Fort Abercrombie, or on the Grand Coteau near Dogden Butte, or at Portage La Loche, was as much a citizen of his country as one on a farm in the Red River Settlement. Or so the rough men of the various committees of 1869 and 1870 had thought. Creating a province out of a tiny corner of this vast territory just because that was where the Red River Settlement was just did not make sense. Nevertheless a "province" had been created there, and Archibald was having to make the arrangement

work.

Clearly the only solution was to try to look at the problem in the same way that Father Ritchot was looking at it in May of 1870.[30] He had wanted to endow each Half-breed family with a piece of land of its own in the one area that was common to the movements of all the Half-breed people, the Red River Settlement. Ritchot's hope was that this piece of land would be there for the Half-breed family when the buffalo-hunt failed, or when there was no longer employment on the freight hauls to St. Paul, to Edmonton, or on the canoe brigades. "Why only the Half-breed heads of families?" Archibald must have asked himself as he studied his instructions on the long trip to the Red River Settlement. A few days in the Settlement, constantly being pressured by the demands of the "loyal" or "Canadian" party, was sufficient to educate him as to what the Half-breeds could expect if these people were to have their way, and why it was that fears had been aroused among the Half-breed population in the first place.

There is evidence that Archibald set to work with a will, pressing those working with him on the project to complete their work as soon as possible.[31] It appears that he had spoken to Bishop Taché[32] about the best way to proceed in the matter and had received advice on it before he made his first appointments for general government purposes.[33] It is certain that when the Manitoban appeared in October the broad lines of the approach to the problem had been adopted and the men to carry out the work appointed.[34] Difficulties of one kind or another, however, impeded progress, as a study of various progress reports shows. The News-Letter for September 20th asked "when the census [was] to be taken and the writs

for the election issued". "The public mind," according to the News-Letter, was "restless and dissatisfied", and demanded "active measures at once". Archibald was by that time, of course, at work on the project. La Minerve reported that by October 8th the province had been divided into five districts for enumeration purposes and the persons to do the work appointed. The enumeration itself was to be begun "in a few days", the newspaper said.[35] However, the same newspaper reported nearly three weeks later that the enumeration "[was] to begin today". It optimistically predicted that the work would probably be finished "in a couple of weeks".[36] What was causing the delay? No doubt the answer cannot now be known for certain. It is likely, however, that parish records, particularly those of the White Horse Plains area, were having to be examined to ascertain which of the "heads of families" used St. François Xavier Est and St. François Xavier Ouest AS HEADQUARTERS. Archibald, in his report, singled out the area as one that had caused problems, and a letter published in the Globe complained that the "floating population of French prairie hunters are all enumerated . . . ."[37] "It is a well-known and shameful fact," the writer continued angrily, "that Riel's own name is on the voters' list." As we shall see, the issue of the enumeration was to remain alive throughout the Archibald administration.[38] There is evidence, too, that the enumerators received active opposition. A report published in the Globe stated that a candidate for election to the Legislative Assembly had visited homes in the Portage la Prairie area and instructed supporters not to answer questions for anyone else. When the enumerators came, these people would not answer questions. Thus delays were caused.[39] Certain enumerators hit upon the expedient of saying that

they were magistrates, finding that this was the only way these householders could be induced to answer questions. However, the enumeration was at length completed to Archibald's satisfaction, if not to the satisfaction of the "Canadian" or "loyal" party.[40]

There is irony in the fact that at the same moment that an enumeration was taking place which was intended to endow the Half-breeds of Manitoba with land, a full-blown exodus of these people was taking place. Although we can never know the exact dimensions of this migration of 1870, there are scattered indications which may be of help in assessing it. Métis tradition has it that three groups of Métis left Manitoba in 1870, and that one group headed for the area known today as Willow Bunch, Saskatchewan.[41] Writing much closer in time to the event, the recently-founded newspaper Le Métis stated in 1872 that 32 families had left Red River in the autumn of 1870 and had gone under the leadership of Père Moulin to St. Pierre Mission at Reindeer Lake, which had been founded a few years earlier.[42] There is no doubt that at the time it was going on the movement of people caused concern to Taché, Ritchot and the others who, in the enforced absence of Riel, had to act as leaders of the Métis in temporal as well as religious matters. Writing while Archibald was setting the machinery in motion for the taking of the enumeration, the correspondent for Le Nouveau Monde expressed these concerns as follows:

> One of the first objects of the policy of the government will have to be to have the people return to their homes, for we count no fewer than one hundred and fifty heads of families and others whom the lack of an amnesty has forced to move away. A larger number is ready to do the same, however little the crisis continues . . . .

"If by any bad luck trouble should break out," this correspondent continued, "we would see in a few days a thousand families . . . prepare their

vehicles, wagons and carts, and shove off, that is, disappear into the prairies, driving their herds of horses and cattle with them. Once [gone],"

> BAD LUCK TO THE REST OF THE COLONY [emphasis mine]. And all that will be before the freeze-up and at the time of the elections.[43]

This is the proper place to make the observation that by December 9th, when Archibald reported to Howe, the enumeration made necessary by the 31st section of the Manitoba Act was complete. Had there been a committee of a local legislature with power to carry out the appropriation of lands, as Cartier and Macdonald had once promised, the Half-breed lands could have been dealt with in a matter of weeks.[44] An area equal to only 60 townships of the kind that Archibald was to recommend, laid out in parts of the province desired by the Half-breeds according to the system of "metes and bounds" would have sufficed.[45] However, this was not to be. A decision had been made unilaterally in May of 1870 which meant that a distant, basically imperial body was to outline the system by which these lands were to be appropriated.[46] This system would not be drawn up until the first part of 1871, and when drawn up it would insist upon a type of survey which the Half-breeds did not want and for the making of which the required surveyors would not even be sent until the late summer of 1871. The insistence on the use of this survey broke the spirit of the letter which, as we have seen, Ritchot had received from Cartier in lieu of the promised order-in-council.[47] By the time the surveyors did arrive, serious demographic changes had taken place in Manitoba and the North-West Territory.

There was, in addition, a very compelling reason why the Half-breed

land appropriation could not be completed in the winter of 1870-1871. Hundreds of Half-breeds were afraid to come near the Red River Settlement. The absence of an amnesty and the presence of an army of occupation meant that these people would not come to the centre of their province to make a claim to land to which they were entitled under the provisions of the Manitoba Act. Leaderless, confused, lacking an advocate in the places where decisions were made, they were, in the fall of 1870, becoming a dispersed people.

In thus commenting, we have anticipated events a little. In December of 1870 Archibald most likely did not know of the existence of the letter written by Cartier. Certainly his instructions made no mention of it. These instructions were contained in the two letters from E. A. Meredith, the under-secretary of state for the provinces. With the enumeration behind him, and with the provincial election campaign moving toward its climax Archibald turned to the completion of duties outlined in these instructions: "You will also please to report as to such lands in the Territories as it may be desirable to open up at once for settlement, transmitting such sketch or plan as may be necessary, with an estimate of the probable cost of survey . . ."[48]

This is the appropriate place to note that, while events had forced changes in government policy since Howe had given McDougall his instructions in late September of 1869, government policy with regard to the lands of the North-West was substantially unchanged. Instruction No. 7 in Archibald's second list is the same in all basic essentials as No. 10 in McDougall's.[49] We are forced to make this observation as we strive to assess what was being done by the ministry when it prepared the "memoran-

dum" which de Salaberry and Thibault had taken with them when they visited the Settlement in December of 1869. It will be remembered that this "memorandum" contained the observation that "under Confederation each province has the control of Public Lands and all monies arising from the sale of Crown Lands, mines, minerals, etc., etc."[50] Manitoba had become a "province", but it was not a province like the others in this very important respect. Archibald, moreover, was not a Lieutenant-Governor like the others, being, in addition, "Administrator . . . of the ungranted or waste lands in that Province vested in the crown". As "administrator" he was to report to His Excellency both "such lands as it may be desirable to open up at once for settlement" and "Regulations" which in his opinion should be made concerning the 1,400,000 acres referred to in Section 31 of the Manitoba Act.[51] In thus enacting, Parliament had made of the Canadian Cabinet a kind of imperial council having the last word over a vast extent of territory which most of that council had never seen. Moreover, it is to be noted that there is no provision for consultation with local people or with a local legislature. Ritchot was quite right to be annoyed with the ministers as he tried to negotiate in the spirit of the B. N. A. Act. By December of 1870 and early 1871, Macdonald and Cartier had plans under way to make legal and constitutional what had been done in April and May of 1870. More of this in its proper place.

Three and one-half months in the Red River Settlement had not given Archibald much opportunity to see for himself the ungranted lands of Manitoba. He had a general idea of the Settlement along the Red River and as far up the Assiniboine as Lane's Post, which he had visited with Wolseley and others soon after his arrival.[52] In addition, the fine

weather had permitted him to take daily horseback rides with Mrs. Archibald and Lily in various directions from Fort Garry.[53] He had not, however, visited Portage la Prairie. He certainly knew that, for the most part, the Settlement hugged the rivers in such a way as to make of it a more or less elongated community with a branch to the south and its natural centre at Fort Garry. As he set to work on what became a very long despatch, Archibald knew that it was important to settle the land question as soon as possible.[54] There was no time to lose. Taché had said that the Métis were uneasy about the delay. The Manitoba News-Letter had published news items to the effect that "emigrants" were on their way to Manitoba, and the issue for the 5th of November had published a letter from a correspondent intimating that "emigrants" were being told that "no Englishman would be allowed to take up a claim on the south side of the Assiniboine river". "It is evident," the letter went on, "that a feeling exists among a portion of our French friends that they are to hold all that section of country lying between Pembina and the river Assiniboine."[55] In a footnote to this letter the editor of the News-Letter fired the opening gun in a newspaper war that was to go on throughout Archibald's stay in Manitoba:

> The management of ungranted public lands in the North-Western [sic] Territories is "vested in the Crown and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion". There can be no question that the very best "purpose" to which the Government of the Dominion could put them would be to proclaim them free for settlement, and publish the regulations under which they may be taken up. The neglect of the Dominion Government in this matter is culpable in the extreme and merits the severest condemnation.[56]

The News-Letter was on solid ground in thus quoting from Section 30 of

the Manitoba Act. It was perfectly accurate, too, in its estimate of the importance of having the regulations drawn up and published at an early date: "There are hundreds in Canada only awaiting this to be done to move in bringing with them capital, energy and skill . . ." The News-Letter had begun its career as unofficial land office and information centre. It did not, however, remind its readers that there was a matter--the 1,400,000 acres of Section 31--which should have priority. There was no French-language newspaper to express the concerns of the Métis people, and the men who should have been pressing for action in the matter were in enforced exile.

Archibald began by making an analysis of the various legal classifications of land and land tenure then existing in Manitoba and an estimate of the acreage in each. He estimated that the area of the province was 7,700,000 acres.[57] Of this, a tract of land on either side of the Red and Assiniboine rivers was covered by the 1817 "deed" between "certain Indian chiefs of the Cree and Saulteaux tribes" and the Earl of Selkirk.[58] This "deed" was some 409,000 acres in extent. About 1820 the Hudson's Bay Company had surveyed 899 lots along the Red River, both above and below Fort Garry. At a later date similar surveys were made along the Assiniboine, where 617 lots were laid out. The area covered by these two surveys was 150,000 acres, more or less.[59] This left about 206,000 acres outside the Company surveys but inside the deeded area.[60] Concerning those who were settled on these lands--Archibald singled out the settlers at Portage la Prairie, High Bluff and Poplar Point--he had this to say:

> In point of fact they are squatters within the limits of the Released Tract but without the limits of the

> Company's survey. No clause of the Act touches their case.

"Besides these again, who are without,

> there are within the Company's surveys many men in possession of lots on which they have squatted without the Company's Sanction. The claims of these men are unprovided for by any clause in the Act.

"On the other hand," Archibald continued,

> the claims of squatters on ground outside the Tract of the extinguished Indian title, are recognized and their rights to grants declared by the 4th subsection of the 32nd clause.

Archibald found it illogical that the legislation had created a distinction against one class of squatter, and in favor of another,

> a distinction which rewards the men who hazarded the public peace by taking possession of Indian lands, and punishes those who confined their intrusions to the property of white men who could take [care] of themselves . . .[61]

"The Language of the clauses," Archibald concluded, "creates a distinction that probably did not exist in the mind of the Legislature.

> I assume that the intention of the Act was to give an assurance to all those, who up to the time of the arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company held under them and to all others who at the time of the transfer were in actual occupation of any land within the Province, that their possession should be assumed as proof of right and might at their option, be converted into a title in fee.

Archibald, in summing up, pointed out that the tract covered by the "deed", some 406,000 acres, could be treated as "removed from the disposal of the crown". An allowance for the area of lakes and morasses, for necessary Indian "reserves", and for a grant of land for Catholic churches made by the Earl of Selkirk came to a total of 297,680 acres. The Half-breed grant of 1,400,000 acres and the Hudson's Bay Company's

"1/20 of the Domain", a further 350,000 acres, must be added to this. The crown lands of Manitoba, then, came to about 5,250,000 acres.

This is probably the place to note that Archibald had made use of the word "reserves" with respect to the Indians. He must have known that "reserves" were part of Canadian government policy where the Indians were concerned.

Archibald had already commented on the legalized mutual duplicity which was the "deed" with the Indians, pointing out that the Indians continually shifted their ground when complaining about what had been done when the 1817 "deed" was signed:

> They say at one time, that the chiefs never executed such a deed. They say at another time that if the Chiefs did sign a deed they did not intend to sign one to this effect, that they never sold their rights but merely lent the land for a season and even then did not lend according to the Boundaries set forth in the deed . . . At another time they say that the chiefs who pretended to sell, had no right, as they were not chiefs of the tribes in actual occupation.

It seemed to Archibald that the Indians had not, indeed, been "ingenuously dealt with". As evidence he cited the fact that the Indians were living on land on which they had surrendered their rights! "So that," Archibald wrote,

> if the deed is to be credited, they gave up their rights, not merely to the margin of the River, above their Reserve, but also to the very lands which they had laid aside and have always occupied for their own special use.

On the other hand it appeared that the chiefs had "annually received" the payment of one hundred pounds of tobacco called for as payment for the use of the land.

It would appear that Archibald knew what government policy was where

the Indians were concerned and approved of it, even though it had been developed in another area, with other Indian people who lived on different land subjected to different climatic factors. There is no hint in Archibald's report that he had talked with anyone at Red River who advocated a different approach to the problem of how to deal fairly with the western Indians. It is to be doubted whether the Red River Métis, had they been consulted, would have recommended that their cousins, who had always made much of their living by following game, should suddenly be required to settle upon "reserves" if they were to fulfill their end of the contract. Decades of experience of living side by side with Indians was evidently of little or no interest to the Canadian government or its representative in Manitoba. In December of 1870 men who had this experience were not encouraged by the general state of affairs to come to the Fort and volunteer their information or ideas.

Archibald then turned to the question of how the crown lands were to be surveyed. He assumed that the "general principle sanctioned in the Minute of Council of the 23d September, 1869" would be retained. This general principle meant that the lands would be surveyed in "rectangular Blocks numbered consecutively, with subdivisions also numbered consecutively, from 1 upwards in each Block". Archibald thought, however, that Dennis, in deviating from the American "system of 6-mile townships" had not "acted judiciously". It will be remembered that the survey begun in Red River in 1869 was that of a 64-section township. Archibald argued that the United States had used the 36-section township ever since it passed its first law concerning the land in the territories in 1796. That survey was in use in all the American Midwest and would exist "side by

side" with the system adopted in the Canadian territories. Archibald did not see any good reason for not "making ours somewhat analagous to theirs". "The system has been adopted by the most practical people in the world, and after 74 years experience remains unchanged. Why," asked Archibald, "should we change it?" Archibald disaproved, too, of the "allowance" made for roads in Dennis's survey. Archibald was of the opinion that those who enjoyed the benefit of roads should "bear the burden" of making land available for them and building them. It was a waste of good land to make such an "allowance" for roads.

It is curious that Archibald seems not to have given consideration to recommending another mode of survey, at least for Manitoba. He had lived for several months among another "practical people" who had, moreover, experienced conditions in the North-West at first hand, something the Americans had not. There were many in the Settlement who could have told him that there were many good reasons for not adopting a "rectangular" survey of the kind recommended by Dennis. Had Archibald consulted with Riel he would have been told that one of the reasons for the Insurrection was the Dominion government's apparent intention to "survey our lands, without any regard to former surveys, anciently established landmarks, rights or claims whatever . . .".[62] Riel would likely have told Archibald that the rectangular survey, while it might have certain very useful characteristics, was ill-suited to an agricultural occupation of the North-West. If a talk with Riel was considered out of the question, Father Ritchot could have advised Archibald from the vantage point of experience gained along both the Qu'Appelle river and the Red.[63] Whether Ritchot returned to Fort Garry after having been snubbed by Wolseley is

not clear,[64] although it is to be hoped that he did, and that he gave Archibald the benefit of his experience with the Métis people. He could have told Archibald that chief antagonists to happy existence on the prairies are solitude and isolation, and that lands ought to be laid out in such a way as to enable a family to communicate with neighbors relatively easily. Probably several systems ought to be used, taking into account the lay of the land, the proximity of a river valley or a coulee, and the suitability of the land for cultivation or grazing purposes.[65] Lacking any such counsel thoughtfully given by those in a position to advise, Archibald fell back on his own experience and training. As a lawyer much of his experience in Nova Scotia had to do with conveyancing, and he recognized that the rectangular survey made for much greater ease in describing land and giving title to it. His recommendation of the American 36-section township was accepted, with the Dennis recommendation for "road allowances" incorporated into it. As a result, every lovely coulee or river valley, every high hill or ridge, every landmark or locality sacred to the Indian people, had lines run through it and was treated by the settling peoples as so much real estate. After all, for Archibald, who had never seen most of it, it was a "tabula rasa". If the lands were there to be bought and sold the most practical lines to be drawn on the landscape were straight ones, lines to be drawn to the horizon with only the occasional jog where "correction lines" were necessary if the homesteader was to be guaranteed his 160 acres "more or less". Much of the monotony of the western scene derives from this decision. Had a committee of the Manitoba legislature been permitted to make recommendations things might have been different in many ways.

There is irony in the fact that, whereas the original Dennis plan would at least have given the Canadian West its own form of survey, the interruption caused by the Red River Insurrection resulted in the adoption of a form of survey almost indistinguishable from its American counterpart when viewed from the air.

A week after he wrote his "observations touching the disposal of the Crown Domain in this Province" Archibald turned his attention to the question of the "Land reserved for the Half-breeds". It was his duty now to "select under the provisions of the 31st Section of the Act, and under the Regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor General in Council, such lots or tracts . . . and divide the same among the children of the Half-breed heads of families". There would be no "regulations" until he made recommendations to the cabinet. With the provincial election campaign only three days from its end Archibald set to work. Archibald began by noting that, according to the enumeration there were 10,000 Half-breeds in the province, and that, given the appropriation of 1,400,000 acres, each Half-breed would be entitled to 140 acres. He pointed out that there were difficulties of interpretation in the language of section 31 of the Manitoba Act. These he discussed at some length. Examining the section in the light of what he had learned since coming to Manitoba, he decided that the intent of section 31 was to "confer on every Half-breed resident in Manitoba at the time of the transfer . . . a right of participation in the Half-breed Reserve". The enumeration showed that while 36 townships would be required to meet the requirements of the French Half-breeds, 24 would be required for the English. The question arose as to how to make the appropriation.

Archibald knew that the French preferred to have their lands laid off in a block:

> It is only because the French Half-breeds, and their leaders treat the question, not as ONE OF BUSINESS [emphasis mine], but rather as one of Race, and Creed and Language and because they are unwilling that their people should form part of a mixed community, that they prefer having the lands to which they are entitled laid off in a block.

Archibald had probably had conversations with Taché--possibly with Ritchot--and knew the wishes of these men. Whether, by late December, he knew that Ritchot was responsible for the existence of the clause concerning the 1,400,000 acres is not clear. It is also not clear whether he had yet learned of the existence of Sir George Cartier's letter of May 23rd. His phrasing of the point of view of the French leaders suggests that he did not know either fact. Ritchot's nine years of working with the Métis people had taught him that these people only needed time to evolve, to learn, to adapt to the new order of things. He had tried, in the only way he knew of, to make sure that they had a chance to do it. Success now depended on the cabinet deciding to honor the assurance given in Cartier's letter to Ritchot.

Archibald now dealt with what he believed to be the wishes of the English Half-breeds:

> As far as the English Half-breeds are concerned, I think they would prefer to have the liberty of selecting their lands where they may think fit. Looking at the question from a BUSINESS [emphasis mine] point of view, they are right.

Archibald proceeded to show how the policy embodied in section 31 of the Manitoba Act was in collision with "all the tendency of modern legislation". Section 31 stated that the lands were to be granted to the child-

ren of the Half-breeds" in such mode and on such conditions as to settlement or otherwise as the Governor General in council shall from time to time determine". The French, Archibald pointed out, wished the land to be "so tied up as to prevent them, for a generation, from passing out of the family of the original grantee". Archibald emphasized that more than one-third were under ten years of age, three-fifths were under twenty. "The effect, therefore, of any such arrangement as that suggested would be, to render absolutely inalienable, for a long period of time, a large portion of the Reserve."

> Take a neighborhood where this Policy obtains. Much of the Reserve is owned by children. Nothing can be done till they come of age, even then, they cannot sell. The land must descend to their children after them. It would not become alienable till the third generation.

"The effect," Archibald suggested, "would be to lock up a large portion of the land of the country, and exclude it from improvements going on in localities where land is unfettered." Had Ritchot been able to be present and respond to Archibald at this point he would have said, "Precisely. This is what the Métis need. They need time. They are going to find out that the buffalo are disappearing and that they must change their way of life. They can do it. They've changed much since I've been in the West. They just need time." Ritchot, of course, was not present, and Archibald went on to develop his point:

> The whole tendency of modern Legislation, not only on this side of the Atlantic, but beyond it, is to strike off the fetters which clog free traffic in Land. There is no State in the Union, and no Province in the Confederation, as far as I know, that has not abolished "Estates in Tail".[66]

"All the tendency of modern legislation," Archibald explained, "is in

the line of abandoning the feudal ideas respecting lands and bringing Real Estate more and more to the condition of personal property and abolishing restraints and impediments on its free use and transmission." At this point Ritchot could well have replied as follows: "What you're saying is very true. I know it to be true in the province of Quebec, and I expect it's true in Ontario too. But these people have not had the centuries to evolve in that our farmers of New France and France and Britain have had. These are a people who need time." We cannot prove it, but Ritchot likely spoke in these very terms to his friends in Ottawa while the negotiations with Cartier and Macdonald were moving toward the 1,400,000-acre compromise.[67]

Archibald moved closer to his recommendation:

> It does not seem to me that it would be wise in the case of Manitoba to reverse a Policy, approved by the Common Sense of the World, and in accord with the habits and thoughts of modern life.

"So far as the advance and settlement of the country is concerned, it would be infinitely better to give the Half-breed a title in fee to his Lot." Archibald's next words described a situation which had caused no end of anguish to Ritchot and the other clergy as they contemplated the impending changes in the order of things:

> He might make a bad use of it. In many cases he would do so. He might sell it for a trifle. He might misuse the proceeds. Still the land would remain, and in passing from the hands of a man who did not know how to keep it, to those of a man who had money to buy it, the probabilities are all in favor of the purchaser, being the most thrifty and industrious of the two, and the most likely to turn the lands to valuable account. Suppose therefore the worst to happen that can happen, suppose the men for whose benifits [sic] the land was intended should not know how to value the boon conferred,

> still the land would find its way into the hands of other settlers, It would be cultivated and improved. One individual might take the place of another, Thrift might come into the place of improvidence, but the country would be no loser by any number of such changes . . . My strong conviction therefore is that whatever is given under the Half-breed clause, should be given absolutely .

"Even then you will have to tie it up for a long time. Three thousand five hundred of these half-breeds [sic] are under ten years of age. For eleven years to come you withdraw 490,000 acres from the market, 1500 more of them are under 15 years of age--You have 210,000 more acres which cannot be disposed of for six years to come.

> Is this not clog enough to impose upon the transfer of these lands? I am inclined to think it is, but I am bound to inform you that I apprehend my views will not be in unison with those of the leading men among the French Half-breeds or their Clergy.

Archibald was thorough in his discussion of the application of the terms of the Act. "But not only has the Governor General to decide on the mode of granting, he has also to fix, the 'conditions of settlement[68] and [sic] otherwise' which are to be annexed to the Grant.

> An absolute deed, entitling the party to convey, carries with it a corrective against the land remaining unsettled. Those who do not occupy, deriving no benefit from their ownership, will, as a class be ready to convert their land into something they can use and will be sure to sell.

"But," Archibald continued, "if the other principle should obtain, and you decide to tie up the lands by restraints upon alienation, then it occurs to me you should render settlement a condition anterior to and a sine quâ non of, a Grant. You should withhold a Patent till the condition is complied with. You should retain unappropriated portions of the Lands reserved for the Half-breeds, and grant them, only when the applicant had

brought himself within the conditions of Settlement, which by the act is impliedly intended, as preliminary to his right."

> If this course were taken, a great many of the Half-breeds WOULD NEVER APPLY AT ALL [emphasis mine]. One thousand of them, are at this moment living on the Prairies. They are hunters by profession, not farmers. Where the Buffalo go, they go. They could not bear the restraints which cultivation of a farm implies. They would rather forfeit their lots, than settle on them, if by settlement was meant, some degree of cultivation and improvements on the Lots.[69]

Archibald had yet to spend his first winter in the Settlement. He did not know the seasonal movements of these people. He did not realize that most of the people he was referring to were on the plains because there had been no amnesty and a hostile army was in occupation at Fort Garry. He had said that they could not bear the restraints implied in the cultivation of a farm. He most likely did not know that what he had written would guarantee that they would not have the chance to try.

Appendix "A"

Ritchot's Letter to Cartier written May 18, 1870

"Sir-

Nous étions convenus, comme vous le savez, de laisser le choix et la division des terrains devant être divisés entre enfants des Métis à la Legislature locale, vous avez jugé à propos pour de bonnes raisons, je n'en doute pas, de remplacer ce mode de division par la 27ième* clause qui laisse le choix et cette division au Gouverneur en Conseil.

Sur nos réclamations et observations, Sir John et vous avez promis de faire autoriser, avant notre départ, par le Gouverneur en Conseil, un comité formé d'hommes que nous vous proposerons nous mêmes, pour choiser ces terres et en faire la division aux enfants des Métis. Sir John a alors proposé de nommer Monseigneur Taché pour l'un des membres de ce comité. Dans ce cas L'Eveque de Ruperts Land pourrait aussi être choisi avec quelques autres citoyens pour former ce comité.

J'espère que vous pourrez arranger cela avant notre départ.

Le 4ième alinéa de la 28ième clause qui a rapport aux terres possédées dans la partie de la Province dans les quelles les titres des sauvages n'ont pas été éteints doit aussi être arrangé avant notre départ.

Dans notre arrangement ces terres ainsi possédées devraient aussi être laissées gratis à ceux qui les possèdent actuellement. Sir John et vous vous avez promis qu'il en serait ainsi et que c'était déjà entendu avec les Honorables Ministres. La mesure est de la plus haute importance pour nous.

Les questions soulevées par la 19ième** clause de nos instructions

surtout l'amnistie sont de la plus haute importance. J'ose espérer Sir, et le passé m'est ma garantie pour l'avenir, que vous pourrez nous procurer avant notre départ, toutes les garanties promises par Sir John et vous, au sujet de ces questions de haute importance.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Sir, Votre obéissant serviteur,

J. N. Ritchot"

* An explanation is needed here. There is in Volume 101 of the Macdonald Papers a working draft of the Manitoba Bill, greatly underlined, crossed out and written in the margin. In this version section 31 of the Manitoba Act as passed--the section concerning the 1,400,000 acres--is numbered 27. Section 32--"For the quieting"--is numbered 28. When this is remembered Ritchot's letter makes perfect sense.

** This reference, of course, is to the amnesty.

Appendix "B"

No. 10 of the instructions issued to McDougall reads as follows:

"You will also please to report as to such lands in the Territories as it may be desirable to open up at once for settlement, transmitting a plan of such survey as may be necessary, with an estimate of the cost of survey, a statement of the conditions of grants of land and settlement. The Plan should show the number of Townships it is proposed to lay out at once, the size and situation of the Townships and the size of the Lots, making the necessary reservation for Churches, Schools, Roads and other public purposes."

No. 7 of the second set of instructions issued to Archibald reads as follows:

"You will also please to report as to such lands in the Territories as it may be desirable to open up at once for settlement, transmitting such sketch or plan as may be necessary, with an estimate of the probable cost of survey, a statement of the conditions as to settlement or otherwise, suggested for grants of land, such sketch or plan to show the number of Townships it is proposed to lay out at once, their size and situation, and the size of the lots, making the necessary reservations for churches, schools, roads, and other public purposes."

Footnotes

1. The phrase is from Archibald's letter to Howe, C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), pp. 15-16, Sept. 17, 1870. This was eleven days after his first "levee".

2. Studies of various aspects of Archibald's administration are to be found in several places. M. S. Donnelly's The Government of Manitoba touches upon it several times, but is careless about indicating the sources. F. A. Milligan, "The Establishment of Manitoba's First Provincial Government", is useful, if unnecessarily kind to J. C. Schultz. In his M. A. thesis Milligan took the commonly accepted but erroneous view that the "military force" lent "strength to his authority and to that of his successor". Archibald's own summary of the first year of his administration, first printed in the Manitoban, is in "Report--1874".

3. Archibald's instructions are to be found in C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), E. A. Meredith to Archibald, August 4, 1870. It is not clear why there should be two sets of instructions, making a total of 21. See pages 4-6 for one set, and page 8 for the other. Five of the instructions are common to both sets.

4. Section 1 of the Province of Manitoba Act makes reference to "the day upon which the Queen. . .shall by Order in Council in that behalf, admit Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada". The Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union, at the Court at Windsor, the 23rd day of June, 1870, gives the date as "from and after the 15th day of July, 1870".

5. The proclamation is in C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), pp. 16-17. See also News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870.

6. Girard's account is in "Report--1874", p. 179.

7. "Memorial and Petition" is in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XX, March 1939, pp. 421-8.

8. See Le Nouveau Monde for October 15, 1870, and for February 3, 1871: "Le rôle de cette gendarmerie a été presqu'exclusivement d'arrêter les voleurs, les ivrognes, les turbulents et les meurtriers dont fourmillent certaines compagnies du premier bataillon." The Manitoban for Sept. 16, 1871, showed that of 198 who appeared in court in the first year, 14 were "females", 47 were "French", 12 were "Indian" and 139 were "English". Arrests of Volunteers are hidden in the latter figure.

9. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 8, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 2): "Il y a huit jours." The News-Letter for Sept. 20, 1870, stated that applications would be received until Sept. 24.

10. Globe, Oct. 18, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 2); Hargrave, Red River, p. 427.

11. Globe, Oct. 18, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 2).

12. Manitoban, Oct. 15, 1870: "To the Gentlemen resident in the Parishes of St. Andrew, . . ."

13. Manitoban, Oct. 25, 1870; Globe, Oct. 18, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 2).

14. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), McConville to Archibald, Sept. 27, 1870.

15. Globe, Dec. 15, 1870, from the News-Letter and Manitoban to Nov. 26, 1870.

16. New Nation, Sept. 3, 1870.

17. News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.

18. News-Letter for Sept. 17, 1870, reported that Archiblad had asked Dr. Beddome of the Lower Settlement to investigate reports of smallpox at Portage la Prairie. Smallpox was mentioned again in the Sept. 20 and Oct. 15 issues. See also PAC Macdonald Papers, MG26A Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 6, 1870.

19. PAC Macdonald Papers, Macdonald to Archibald, Nov. 18, 1870. The council consisted of Bishops Machray and Taché and Marc Girard: Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 428.

20. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 6, 1870.

21. News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870; Oct. 22, 1870.

22. Sir W. F. Butler, Great, p. 197.

23. Dr. O'Donnell was also mentioned in connection with this assignment. See News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.

24. Butler, Great. Note that Butler gives the date as Oct. 24 on page 200, and Oct. 25 on page 355. See Willson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, pp. 116-9.

25. Manitoban, Oct. 29, 1870.

26. See the account of the destruction of the furs of a Mr. Fulcher in the News-Letter, Oct. 25, 1870, and Manitoban, Oct. 29, 1870. See also PAM MG14 C23 Box 1, Diary of Charles Napier Bell, Oct. 22, 1870: "I was told that my buffalo robe came from the smallpox region, so the Dr. gave me orders to burn it. So it was burnt. The Governor is going to pay me." The doctor referred to here was Dr. Codd. See PAC RG9 IIB2 Vol. 33, folder "Regimental Courts Martial".

27. Morice states, however, that this missionary was Father Lestanc, and that he took care of the victim, a young Métis, before he died. See Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Dans l'Ouest Canadien (afterwards Eglise Catholique), Vol. II, pp. 326-7. See also Dugas, Légendes du Nord-Ouest (1912), pp. 25-34.

28. This instruction is in C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), p. 5.

29. A. G. M. Morice, Dictionnaire Historique Des Canadiens et Des Métis Français de l'Ouest (afterwards Dictionnaire), p. 100.

30. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, Ritchot's Journal for April 27-May 2, 1870, pp. 140-3. See also RHAF, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Mars 1964, 546-9.

31. PAM MG10 F1 Box 6, Note written on memorandum sheet and unsigned, but probably written by Roger Goulet: "Governor Archibald said to hurry up that census in order to give land and scrip to the half-breeds . . ." Goulet was one of the enumerators.

32. Dom Benoit, Vie, Vol. II, p. 128.

33. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870.

34. Manitoban, Oct. 15, 1870.

35. La Minerve, October 26, 1870 (Winnipeg, Oct. 8).

36. La Minerve, November 16, 1870 (Winnipeg, Oct. 29).

37. PAC RG15 Vol. 228 No. 1155. See the Globe, Dec. 31, 1870 (Winnipeg, Dec. 10).

38. Liberal, June 8, 1872.

39. Globe, Dec. 15, 1870 (Winnipeg, Nov. 25).

40. PAC RG15 Vol. 228, No. 1155, Archibald to Howe, Dec. 9, 1870.

41. Isabelle Eaglesham, The Big Muddy Valley, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society, 1970, p. 14.

42. Le Métis, March 20, 1872; Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, p. 1138, gives the number of these families as "une quarantaine".

43. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 8, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 20); see also Telegraph, Sept. 28, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept 15).

44. Morton (ed), Birth, Ritchot's Journal, May 2, 1870, p. 143; see also RHAF, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Mars 1964, p. 549.

45. PAC Archibald to Howe, Dec. 27, 1870; PAC RG15 Vol. 228, No. 796.

46. It will be useful to recapitulate the story here. Section 31 of the Manitoba Act states that "under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor-General in Council, the Lieutenant-Governor shall select . . . such lots or tracts . . . and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads of families . . .". On May 2, 1870, Ritchot wrote in his journal as follows: "The land will be chosen throughout the province by each lot and in several lots and in various places, if it is judged to be proper by the local legislature which ought itself to distribute these parcels of land to heads of families in proportion to the number of children existing at the time of the distribution." On May 5 Ritchot recorded being "displeased" "fundamentally" when he saw the text of the bill. He spoke to his colleagues and they complained to Cartier and Macdonald. It was then that Cartier and Macdonald promised the order-in-council. Nothing was done for many days. On May 18 Ritchot recorded in his journal that he wrote a letter to Cartier. This letter is in the Macdonald Papers, and bears directly on the matter: "Nous étions convenus . . . de laisser le choix et la division des terrains devant être divisés entre enfants des métis à la Législature Locale . . ." [See Appendix "A"]. Ritchot eventually received, instead of an order-in-council, Cartier's letter of May 23, 1870.

47. See Appendix "A" of the chapter "Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act": ". . . the regulations . . . will be such as to meet the wishes of the Halfbreed residents . . ."

48. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), p. 8, Meredith to Archibald, August 4, 1870.

49. PAC MG24 B29 Vol. 9, Howe to McDougall, Sept. 28, 1869. See Appendix "B" for the texts of the instructions.

50. Begg's Journal, pp. 81-2, footnote 2.

51. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Cartier's memorandum of July 29, 1870 and E. A. Meredith's letter to Archibald, Aug. 4, 1870.

52. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 10, 1870.

53. PANS, Young Papers, Archibald to Young, Dec. 20, 1870: "We have been up to a week or ten days ago riding daily, 5, 10 or 15 miles, over the prairie . . ."

54. PAC RG15, Vol. 228, No. 797, Archibald to Howe, Dec. 20, 1870. It is 55 pages long, including appendices.

55. It is possible that this is a reference to the pre-1869 "convention" reported in Courrier de St. Hyacinthe, Jan. 11, 1870 (Red River, Dec. 15, 1869).

56. Globe, Dec. 7, 1870, quoting from the News-Letter for Nov. 5, 1870. No original copy of this issue of the News-Letter is known to exist.

57. His calculations are in Appendix "A" of his report.

58. The text of this deed is Appendix "B" of the report.

59. Appendix "D" deals with these surveys.

60. The calculations are in Appendix "C".

61. "Care" seems to be implied here, and someone has written it in the margin of the original.

62. Riel and Lépine had already so informed President Grant in their "Memorial". See CHR, Vol. XX, March 1939, p. 423.

63. Morice, Eglise Catholique, II, pp. 107-8.

64. Taché protested to Wolseley on Sept. 8 (AASB, Ta 0693, Taché to Wolseley, Sept. 8, 1870). See also Globe, Sept. 28, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 10).

65. For one point of view in this matter see W. L. Morton, "Agriculture in The Red River Colony", CHR, Vol. XXX, Dec. 1949.

66. Estates in tail are estates where ownership or inheritance is limited in some specified way.

67. See W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, Ritchot's Journal, pp. 157-160.

68. The proper word is "or".

69. PAC Department of Interior Records, RG15 Vol. 228, No. 796, Archibald to Howe, Dec. 27, 1870.

Chapter Twenty-one
Manitoba's First Orange Lodge

The Orange Order is a fraternal organization which began in 1795 in County Armagh in Northern Ireland:

> A politic-religious society, the Orange Order holds as its claims the defense of Protestantism, and the twinned insistence of loyalty to the British monarchy and maintenance of Canada's constitutional arrangements with Britain. King William III, Prince of Orange, is its central symbol, his defeat of James II at the Battle of the Boyne River in Ireland on 12 July 1690, its central myth--the victory of combined protentantism and constitutional monarchy. Annually, on the "Twelfth" of July Orangemen throughout the world parade in commemoration of the events of 1690.[1]

The roots of the Orange Order are to be found in County Armagh and in the context of constant strife between Protestant and Catholic groups. In that county opposing groups were known as the Defenders, Catholics, and the Peep o' Day Boys, Protestants. After one notoriously bloody clash between the two factions, the Orange society was founded in the village of Loughall to better coordinate local Protestant defenses. The three founders of the secret Orange society were local innkeepers Dan Winter, James Sloan and Janes Wilson, who were also active Freemasons. The ritual, passwords and secret signs of middle-class masonry were blended with the more belligerent and lower-class nature of the Peep o' Day boys. The activities of the Orange society during its first year differed little from those of its predecessor. The wrecking and burning of Catholic homes and linen looms, beatings and shootings, summarized by the authorities as the "Armagh outrages", forced many Catholic families to leave the area.[2] These activities clashed with the ideals of a respectable fraternity and created tensions among those leaders wishing to cultivate a more disciplined image.

> The fundamental explanation for the expansion of the order rests with the suitability and appeal of Orangeism to the Protestant Irish psyche. 'Orangeism' was simply a term, a convenient label for the established views of a protestant and planted minority perceiving itself perpetually beseiged by a catholic majority.[3]

Orangeism was carried from Ireland after 1795 to most British colonies, but nowhere outside Ulster did it find the widespread acceptance it found in Canada. There it was comfortably accommodated within the framework of a Protestant, British and Tory society which had refused to join the United States and was in an uneasy association with a French and Catholic province. By 1870 there were more than 900 lodges in Ontario and Orangeism had reached all but twenty-five of the more than four hundred settled townships in the province.[4] The behavior of lodge members depended largely upon the area in which they found themselves. In many areas the Orange lodges served a useful social purpose, providing a core around which community activities could take place.[5] In other areas, particularly if predominantly Irish Catholic areas lay nearby, the Orange lodges reverted to the activities of the Peep o' Day Boys, and violence resulted.

One of the first results of the presence of the Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry was the organization of an Orange Lodge. A meeting was held on September 18th, 1870, on board the steamship "Jessie McKenney", anchored in one of the rivers, probably the Assiniboine.[6]

There is a difficulty about the details of this lodge's organization. Writing before 1920, James S. Tennant claimed that Johnson E. Cooper,[7] an Irishman from Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, "carried from Toronto to Fort Garry the charter of the first Orange Lodge established in Manitoba".[8]

Another source, however, and one which would seem to be authoritative, stated in 1935 that Thomas Hickey, a private in the Ontario Rifles, was the bearer of Orange warrant No. 1307, the first formal warrant of the prairies.[9] The muster roll of the Ontario Rifles, dated January 31, 1871, does not list a Thomas Hickey, so it must be presumed that he had left the regiment before that time. Curiously enough, the name of Thomas Hickey is not given in the membership list of LOL 1307, given by Houston and Smyth, while that of a William Hickey is given both in the membership list[10] of the lodge and in the regiment's muster roll for January 31, 1871.[11]

Of the ten men listed as the first members of LOL 1307, Fort Garry, Manitoba, September 18, 1870, eight are listed in the regiment's muster roll.[12] A ninth, Albert Vandervoort, is known to have been with the Ontario Rifles in October of 1870.[13] It has not been possible to identify the tenth, Robert Culham.

The Lodge was forced to carry out initiations twice a week,[14] and by February of 1871 there were at least one hundred and ten members.[15] According to one source, J. C. Schultz was a member, but his name does not appear among the first members.[16]

News of the organization of the lodge does not appear to have been given to the press, although it must be pointed out that The Manitoban had not begun to appear at that time, and three of the four issues of the Newsletter published immediately after the organization meeting do not exist in any known collections.[17] It should be pointed out here that The Manitoban for December protested that one of these three issues, that of October 1st or No. 6, was a "wanton attack on the Catholic church and

a slander against the Catholics of the country".[18]

Lacking further documentation on the activities of the lodge immediately after its organization, we shall leave discussion concerning it to the appropriate place.

Footnotes

1. Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 3.

2. Ibid, pp. 10-11.

3. Ibid, p. 12.

4. Ibid, p. 38.

5. Ibid, p. 6.

6. Ibid, p. 58. However, see R. B. Hill, History, p. 587. Hill gives "Monday, Sept. 19".

7. PAC RG9 IIB2 Vol. 35, "1st Ontario Rifles, Muster Roll", gives "Private J. Cooper, Reg. No. 162, Co. 4".

8. J. F. Tennant, Rough Times, p. 101.

9. Houston and Smyth, op. cit., p. 58.

10. Ibid., p. 59.

11. PAC RG9 IIB2 Vol. 35, "1st Ontario Rifles, Muster Roll" gives "W. Hickey, Reg. No. 220, Co. 5". Hill gives "W. Hickey", p. 587.

12. The "Muster Roll" has, in addition to Hickey and Cooper, the following: R. S. Hinton, Reg. No. 106, Co. 3; R. Albertson, Reg. No. 139, Co. 3; W. D. Derry, Reg. No. 217, Co. 5; W. Fargay, Reg. No. 255, Co. 6; W. McKee, Reg. No. 272, Co. 6; Stewart Mulvey, Ensign, Co. 4.

13. Manitoban, Oct. 29, 1870; News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.

14. Houston and Smyth, op. cit., p. 59.

15. Houston and Smyth, op. cit., p. 58; Hill states that there were upwards of 260 members" in 1872.

16. Ibid.

17. Those for Sept. 24, 27, and Oct. 1. That for Sept. 20 makes no mention of the meeting.

18. Manitoban, Dec. 10, 1870.

Chapter Twenty-two
Disorder With Impunity

We found in another chapter that the power to "suppress all disorders" and to "secure" "faithful subjects" "in the peaceful possession and enjoyment of their rights and property" was not in the Lieutenant-Governor's office, where we would expect to find it and where, presumably, the Canadian government, in sending the Red River Expedition, had placed it. We noted then that the power to create disorder with impunity lay somewhere else. It is now time to look for that place.

Luckily we do not have to look in a haphazard manner, having been left certain clues. We have now to examine those clues and find how much credence we can give to what they suggest. We have seen, for example, that the Telegraph and the Globe both pointed to J. C. Schultz and Dr. Lynch as men to watch as Red River affairs unfolded. We have seen Schultz's willingness to use violence as he sought to put one newspaper out of action and gain control of another. We have learned of the offer of Farquharson--Schultz's father-in-law--to give a reward for the capture of Riel, O'Donoghue or Lépine. We have learned of Farquharson's part in the pursuit of Goulet, and we have seen that an influence appeared to be working behind the scenes to thwart the efforts being made to see that justice was done in that case. We know that justice was never done in that case. We have seen Farquharson's part in the brutal beating of Cyr, and we have Archibald's word for it that Farquharson was involved somehow in every "row" that had taken place during his administration. As we shall see, the name of J. C. Schultz shows up much too often in Archibald's letters to the prime minister--and always in a certain context--for us to give him the benefit of the doubt. If he--or someone else--was in a position to use

the Volunteers for a purpose other than the suppression of "all disorders" we have to find out how this was done.

It is time for us to look closely at the News-Letter, the little newspaper that was issued twice a week from mid-September of 1870 to the end of June, 1871. Since the reader will notice that each issue announced that the "publisher" was P. G. Laurie, we must first of all establish beyond doubt what Schultz's connection with the News-Letter was. Donald Smith is of assistance here. Immediately after the arrival of the Red River Expedition there was controversy in the Settlement about whether certain Provisional Government documents had been destroyed by the Hudson's Bay Company officials. Smith prepared a statement on the matter and sent it to the newly-established newspaper then circulating in the Settlement. The letter never appeared in print. Years later J. C. Schultz rose in the House of Commons to deny that he had ever suppressed the letter, as had been alleged. Smith wrote to Laurie for assistance. Unfortunately Smith's memory was not as perfect as it could have been and he accidentally gave Schultz a perfect opportunity to lie about the matter. In his public statements and in his letter to Laurie Smith used the word Liberal[1] instead of the proper one, News-Letter. Laurie answered as follows:

> Your letter of September, 1870, to the editor of the Liberal, denying the Company's officers finding or destroying Provisional Government documents, was suppressed by Mr. Schultz, THE PROPRIETOR [emphasis mine], after being set up by me as an editor.[2]

Clearly the many newspaper editors who saw the News-Letter as Schultz's mouthpiece were not misinformed.

As we have seen, the last issue of the New Nation appeared on September 3rd. After Schultz's attack on Spence and the removal of the press's lever, it was impossible to use the New Nation press until the first issue

of the Manitoban was published on October 15th. In this interval the News-Letter was the only newspaper published.

The News-Letter appeared twice a week, and the occasional supplement was published. Our study of this newspaper is made more difficult by the fact that, of ten issues known to have been published before the Manitoban appeared, only five original copies are known to exist. Of seventeen issues which came off the press between October 15th and the end of 1870, only 8½ originals are known to exist in all collections. However, when it was Manitoba's only newspaper, editors in St. Paul, Toronto, Montreal and sometimes even New York quoted from it, often verbatim. Accordingly, it is possible to piece together a portion of what was going on in Manitoba in September and early October of 1870.

In beginning our study we cannot do better than use an item that was published in the October 8th issue:

> We have received a copy of some resolutions passed at a meeting of the residents of Winnipeg touching the recent removal of the News-Letter press by the Government which will receive attention in our next issue. We have soon to be able to announce the arrival of a press which has been for some time on the way, and one which the power OF THE STATE [emphasis mine] cannot take away.[3]

This selection is typical of much News-Letter journalism. There is an interesting innuendo about which we would like more information and there is an intimation that it will be touched on in the next issue. The "next issue", that of October 11th, exists, and contains no reference whatsoever to the affair.[4] We are left to conjecture that the Manitoba government "removed" or "took away" the News-Letter press, earning thereby the disapproval of the "residents of Winnipeg", who have met and passed "resolutions". One thing is certain. If the Archibald administration did,

indeed, "remove" the News-Letter press, the action did not result in the loss to the public of one issue of the News-Letter. Extracts were made from the News-Letter's two previous issues by the Toronto Globe, the Montreal Witness and by the St. Paul Daily Pioneer. If we can believe the numbering of the News-Letter, it appeared regularly and without any break until mid-November, when the issues of November 12th and 15th failed to appear. It is reasonable to conclude that, since Schultz had seen to it that the New Nation press was temporarily inoperable, Archibald or his secretary had had to arrange with Laurie or Schultz for the publication of one or more proclamations including, for example, that of September 17th, to which reference has been made. These gentlemen may or may not have been cooperative, and we can only observe--lacking any other evidence from any other source--that these proclamations actually were printed, presumably on the News-Letter press. The proclamation of September 17th certainly appeared in the News-Letter.[5]

The first issue of the News-Letter--that of September 13, 1870--set a pattern from which the editor never strayed very far. Several types of material appeared regularly. There were items guaranteed to ingratiate the News-Letter with the Volunteers. Most numerous in the early issues were the items intended to direct hostility toward the members of the late Provisional Government and its sympathizers. There were items intended to cast suspicion upon the actions of the Manitoba government and of the Hudson's Bay Company, coupled with the suggestion that the Manitoba government was really run by the Hudson's Bay Company. The News-Letter specialized in rumors. "It is rumored . . ." was a favored opening. The first issue published a rumor that Ambroise Lépine was assembling "an army"

for "annihilating the Ontarians".[6] Having begun with a rumor the News-Letter went on to write as though the Provisional Governments adjutant-general had thrown down a challenge to the Volunteers:

> . . . should any of the gentlemen who ran the machine here last winter be at all anxious for a little affair, they may rest assured that they will find the boys wide awake and ready at all times to give them a little of that punishment which they so richly deserve.

While dealing with "richly deserved" punishments the News-Letter published a short report of the "well merited chastisement" received by Thomas Spence, late editor of the New Nation, and went on to suggest that the police court in Ottawa had record of him.[7]

Another item stated that a "prominent honorable" had "run the gauntlet on the day of the levee". "Molasses," the News-Letter specified, "was substituted for tar", but " the Burd[8] had flown and could not be found". Evidently Thomas Bunn was not the only member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia to meet with the "anti-French" party's disapproval.

In another item the News-Letter cast a wide net for the benefit of its new readers:

> Among the late departures, some of which were quite hurried, we note that of Hon. Mr. Bannatyne,[9] Hon. Mr. O'Lone,[10] Hon. Dr. Bird, Hon. Mr. O'Donoghue,[11] His Excellency President Riel, Mr. Alex. Begg,[12] Mr. Lennon,[13] Mr. Eck[14] and others.

A special item was reserved for A. G. B. Bannatyne, the postmaster. "Pussy," the News-Letter reported, had reached Scotland, where he intended to stay till the "storm blows over".[15] When he returned he would no doubt "purr and fawn as usual". There was, asserted the News-Letter, "dissatisfaction" at the postmaster's absence from the Settlement.

The News-Letter was careful not to use names when it referred to a

"prominent" Hudson's Bay Company "gentleman" who caused Provisional Government correspondence "to be burned". As we have seen, this allegation would one day be referred to in a speech in the House of Commons many years later.

Pointed treatment was given to Alexander Begg, who, the News-Letter reported, "left somewhat hurriedly after the arrival of the troops", and was going to give a "course of Temperance Lectures in Canada [sic]". The "Hon. O'Lone", the News-Letter added, who left "somewhat hurriedly" would "certify again" to Begg's "sobriety". This statement is worthy of explanation for several reasons. In late July of 1870 the Telegraph had published at St. Paul report of the state of affairs at Red River given by James Stewart, an associate and sometime employee of J. C. Schultz. Stewart had stated, among other things, that "Justitia" Begg had "been on a 'burst' ever since the departure of his wife to Canada".[16] A group of twenty-three Winnipeg businessmen, incensed at this attack on their friend and neighbor by one of the Schultz party, placed an advertisement in the New Nation regretting this "reflection" on their fellow "townsman" and declaring Stewart's statement about Begg's conduct to be "false and without foundation".[17] One of those whose names appeared in the list of signatures to this testimonial was Hugh F. O'Lone. The writer of the article in the News-Letter could just as accurately have cited J. H. Ashdown or Archibald Wright, "Canadians" whose names also appeared in the list, or others, but O'Lone, a member of the Convention of November and a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, also owned a saloon, and the point would not be lost on the Volunteers. It is to be noted that it was in July public knowledge that Begg was the writer of the "Justitia" letters to the

Globe. As such, Begg, the historian of the Insurrection, was potentially much more dangerous to the Schultz party than any mere member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. Another point must be underlined too. The New Nation advertisement was published on August 6th. Both Schultz and Laurie were then on their way to Red River, and would not have seen the advertisement until the newspaper it was in was nearly a month old, if then. The fact that the allusion was made in the News-Letter indicates that someone like Stewart, Mrs. Schultz or Farquharson, who had been in the Settlement in July and August, was assisting in the general effort to intimidate and blacken the names of "provisionals" and their sympathizers.

By the time the young Volunteer had read the first issue of the News-Letter he was ready to ask many questions about the rumors and innuendoes it contained. Who was Pussy? Who was Begg? Why had they been given special attention by the News-Letter? There were those who would make it their business to answer these questions.

The death of Elzéar Goulet gave the News-Letter an excellent chance to ingratiate itself with both the Volunteers and the voyageurs of the Red River Expedition who had remained in the Settlement. The News-Letter had appeared late enough on September 13th to contain a brief notice of the drowning of Goulet. In the second issue--that of the 17th of September--the News-Letter apologized for having reported that Goulet had been recognized and chased by "some voyageurs":

> This, we have since learned, is incorrect, as none of the voyageurs belonging to the Expedition were in town on that day, and we regret that our information--received just as we were going to press--led us to cast a reflection upon the good behavior of as fine a set of men as the voyageurs have proved themselves to be.

By the time this appeared in print the Volunteers were smarting under the

disapproval of their Commanding Officer. The entire regiment had been paraded and given strict orders not to participate in any party or political matter whatever, and Winnipeg had been declared out of bounds to them. In the section of the newspaper entitled "Military Matters" the News-Letter commiserated with the men and stated that the Colonel was "rather too severe on the Volunteers, and should have heard both sides before carrying the matter to such an extreme".

> It is quite likely that when the result of the investigation now pending is made known that we will again see the military among us.

The News-Letter hinted at influences at work in the Settlement when it made its parting shot:

> Owing to the late accident, and perhaps to SOMETHING ELSE [emphasis mine], the private shooting irons of the Volunteers are to be taken from them.[18]

The News-Letter had definitely assumed the role of "friend of the Volunteer" when the issue of September 20th made its appearance. The News-Letter had noticed "and with some surprise, that the Volunteers are in the habit of purchasing large quantities of the general articles of food in the town and elsewhere". It appeared, "upon inquiry", the News-Letter reported, that the men were "supplied with what is called the 'Volunteer rations' which, it seems, is much less than that given to the regular soldier". "We must confess," the News-Letter commented,

> That we do not understand this particular part of military economy, inasmuch as the men here seem to be capable of utilizing as much food as those of any regular regiment that has ever come under our observation.

"If the disparity of food is intended as a set-off against the greater pay of the Volunteers as compared with that of the regular soldier, it

would seem to be a slight injustice to the former, particularly where the necessaries of life are so expensive as they are here, and it is quite probable that the men would be more satisfied with more grub and less money."

The inquiry into the death of Goulet was still being held, and the News-Letter referred to it in two places. In one the News-Letter was glad to be able to refute a "statement" to the effect "that the acting American Consul had been threatened with violence". "Designing men," the News-Letter commented, "seem bent on maligning the citizens of our little town."

In the other reference the News-Letter brought into question the impartiality of the Court of Inquiry then in session:

> Although the greatest diligence and tact has [sic] been displayed by [the Court of Inquiry] in their search after evidence to shew that he met with foul treatment, not a tittle of proof has been adduced to sustain this assumption.

"On the contrary, Dr. O'Donnell in his testimony very clearly proved that no marks of violence existed on the body. This," the News-Letter concluded,

> may safely be said to close the case, for if the authors of the numerous rumors so industriously circulated during the past week cannot be discovered, there is no probability that there is any foundation for them.

This, so far as is known, is the last word of the News-Letter on the matter. As such it is worthy of careful reading and thorough consideration. Goulet's was the third death for which the Schultz or "Canadian" party was responsible, and one that involved the Schultz household directly. It is understandable that a sentence like the last one should have

been used to throw a smokescreen around it. Whether these circulating "numerous rumors" could be "discovered" or not was beside the point. James Farquharson--and this point was established beyond doubt by the special tribunal set up by Archibald--had incited two young men to pursue and kill a man who, since they were soldiers, should have been receiving their protection.[19] What is more, this fact was common knowledge in the community at the time. It was, furthermore, a fact known by the son of the Prime Minister.

The News-Letter made reference to Dr. O'Donnell, whose duty it had been to carry out the post mortem examination of Goulet. Nearly forty years after the incident Dr. O'Donnell published his own thoughts on the subject:

> The men who drove Goulet to his grave were of no credit to either party, and were a class having no standing in the community, and should have been severely punished, but they were not legally dealt with, which stands to the discredit of those who were parties to the outrage.[20]

Is it not strange that men who had no "standing" and "should have been severely punished" were not punished? It seems to this writer--with all respect to Dr. O'Donnell--that the opposite was true, and that in some very real sense those who incited and pursued had a rather special standing in the community and were, in fact, above the law. They were in a position, to use a phrase which has been used above, to create "disorder with impunity".

Immediately after the death of Goulet, Marc Girard realized that the Volunteers could not be counted on to guarantee Riel's safety in the Settlement, even though he might have the confidence of a majority of the Settlement's people. If Girard thought that Schultz had the power to

create disorder with impunity he did not say so, not, at least in what he later told the Select Committee in 1874. As for Archibald, it was not to be until December of 1870 that he would write to Macdonald in these terms:

> Mr. Schultz came up with the troops--he made many people believe that they were brought up by him. He had gone down to Canada for them, and they were here to do his bidding.[21]

At this point--in late September of 1870--we must be content with the observation that the Schultz household, if not the place we are seeking, certainly had the qualifications to be viewed as that place.

A type of veil falls over our study of News-Letter at this point because the originals are missing for the issues of September 24th, September 27th, October 1st and October 4th, and we must be satisfied with quotations from it made by other newspapers. In this way we learn that the issue of September 27th contained the address made to the Ontario regiment by Col. Jarvis when he left to attend a court case in New York. Jarvis "trusted that the men would continue to behave themselves as heretofore, and encourage all classes of the community to look upon them as their natural protectors".[22] After a certain date immediately before September 27th the men of the Ontario regiment were under the command of Col. Casault of the Quebec Regiment.

There is evidence to suggest that in some of these issues the News-Letter became more strident in tone and more explicit in its suggestions. If we can believe the Manitoban the News-Letter in this period enlarged the scope of its attacks to include the Hudson's Bay Company and then the Catholic church and the Catholics of the country.[23] It is certain that eastern newspapers were becoming concerned about the News-Letter's influence at Red River. The Montreal Gazette published an editorial entitled

"Mob Law" in its issue of November 12, 1870, deploring the language of the News-Letter. It quoted from the News-Letter of October 4th:

> We learn that Mr. Begg, who last winter made himself infamous by the letters which he sent to Canada signed "Justitia", has had the hardihood to propose coming back here: and we learn also that opinion is divided as to wether [sic] he should be tarred and feathered on his arrival or whether he should be ridden on a rail. Now we do not countenance any such unlawful methods of showing the strong public opinion which exists against him here, but we do think that Mr. Begg would have shown more wisdom had he staid [sic] away, at least for a time, from the scenes of exploits which have earned him the title of Renegade Canadian.

The News-Letter's campaign against all "provisionals" came to a climax with its issue of October 11, 1870. Lists of Archibald's appointments of a number of officers were included in that issue. There were lists of enumerators, petty justices, and magistrates. A sheriff and a coroner had also been appointed. Not unnaturally, the list included names of people who had held office under the Provisional Government. Archibald would have been hard put to it to fill the offices of the new province without including someone who had worked with that government. However, a careful examination of the lists also showed names of men who had served with the "general council for the force" that had gathered at Kildonan in February of 1870. Included too were names of men who had been in one or more of the assemblies of the previous winter. Schultz took umbrage at the names of John Bruce, A.G. B. Bannatyne, Pierre Delorme and William Tait. In an editorial entitled "Unpopular Appointments" the News-Letter stated that these appointments were an "insult to every loyal man in the country". Probably what caused the greatest anger of all, however, was the conspicuous absence of the name of J. C. Schultz from any list. At any rate, in the same issue appeared a long letter by someone who signed himself "Spot".

The writer was assumed by many in the Settlement to be none other than J. C. Schultz, and internal evidence suggests that Schultz did, indeed, write it.[24] The letter is worthy of study.

Prominent in the first part was an explicit policy statement:

> It would be superfluous to recapitulate the infamous proceedings of the late rebel scoundrels--their robberies, the indignities inflicted on the settlers, and the murder of Scott, are, I should say, indelibly imprinted on your memories: AT LEAST THEY ARE ON MINE [emphasis mine] and I don't mean to forget and forgive. All that about peace at any price and letting bygones be bygones is simply bosh and arrant humbug.

"Spot" believed that a premium was being placed upon "rebellion and robbery; so the 'bygone be bygone' business is merely used to tickle your weak minds, while the Jesuitical policy is to its fullest extent carried out in the appointment of their own creatures to perpetuate their rotten systems".

> John Bruce, ex-President of the late rebel government!! Gods and little fishes![25]

"B[ut] why the d___l," asked "Spot", "have they neglected 'Justitia'? Surely his services to Riel and the H. B. C. deserved recognition. And [w]here is our friend Bunn? In the name of all that is mysterious why is he shelved? Here are two pillars of the late rebel government under a cloud. Is it that they are doubtful now that the confiscated liquor is played out that they will not be useful? Alas poor Yorick!"

"Spot" suggested sarcastically that a deputation ought to be sent to "Riel, O'Donohue [sic] and Lépine, inviting them in with the rest of the skedaddlers". "And," "Spot" went on, "there is our friend Father Richot [sic]. Can there be no use made of his blood and thunder talents?"

The last part of the letter incited the readers to take action: "Will

you submit to this injustice. If you do, blame yourselves:

> if the powers that be WILL [emphasis his] be ruled by priests, with a leaven of the H. B. C., you have the remedy in your hands,

"so you had better bestir yourselves--let your voices be heard in the thunder of the mass meetings. The elections are coming on. Throw off the supineness that has been your bane hitherto--appoint men in whom you have confidence to agitate for you--let the slow coaches stand aside and give place to men of different metal . . . But above all 'stand not upon the order of your going--but go at once' into the business."

"Spot" did not suggest in print how men who were forbidden by the Queen's Regulations to take part in politics were to follow these instructions. There were those nearby who would offer suggestions on that point.

Appendix "A"

Lists of Archibald's appointees as published in the Manitoba News-Letter of October 11, 1870.

Census enumerators: 1. William Logan, Joseph Dubuc. 2. Roger Goulet, Thos. Sinclair. 3. Charles Begg, Joseph Nolin. 4. Thomas Norquay, Pierre Lavallee. 5. Patrice Brelan, J. J. Setter.

Petty Justices--Upper Settlement: James McKay, Pascal Brelan, Charles Barron, Pierre Falcon, David Spence, Wm. Tait. Middle Settlement: A. G. B. Bannatyne, Solomon Hamelin, Wm. Dease, Alban Fidler, John Bruce. Lower Settlement: Donald Gunn, John Fraser, Donald Murray, Edward Hays.

Sheriff - John Sutherland

Coroner - Curtis M. Bird, M. D.

Magistrates - Mr. Boyd
Mr. Girard
D. A. Smith
Donald Gunn
R. McBeath
Sol. Hamelin
John Fraser
And. McDermott
Roger Goulet
Wm. Henderson
Pierre Delorme
Thos. Sinclair
Jas. McKay
Chas. Nolin
Wm. Dease
J. B. Desautels
Thos. Truthwaite
Pascal Brelan
Chas. Begg
Albyn Fiddler
John Bruce
Pat. Brelan
J. J. Setter
George Klyne
Geo. Gunn
Narcisse Genton
W. B. Hall
Narcisse Marion
Wm. J. Watt
Jean Magher

Footnotes

1. The Manitoba Liberal began publication in July of 1871. It was owned by the Manitoba Printing Co., according to a statement in the Liberal for Jan. 26, 1872.

2. Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, pp. 263-264.

3. PLM, News-Letter, Oct. 8, 1870.

4. PLM, News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870.

5. USNARS microfilm T24 Reel 1, Taylor Papers, News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870.

6. PLM, News-Letter, Sept. 13, 1870.

7. See, above, the chapter entitled "Schultz and the Beginning of the Reign of Terror".

8. The reference is to Dr. Curtis J. Bird, member of the Convention of November, 1869, the Convention of January, 1870, and member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. He was to become a member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

9. Bannatyne was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

10. Hugh F. "Bob" O'Lone was a member of the Convention of November and of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

11. O'Donoghue was a member of the Convention of November, the Convention of January, and of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

12. Alexander Begg was a partner of A. G. B. Bannatyne in a store business in Winnipeg. He was the author of the "Justitia" letters to the Globe in 1869 and 1870.

13. John Lennon, a saloon-keeper, had been a partner of Hugh F. O'Lone in the operation of a saloon (Nor'Wester, Aprl 10, 1869). He sold out to O'Lone in April of 1869. In partnership with Cosgrove he ran a saloon from January to June of 1870 (New Nation, July 10, 1870). He was originally from New York. He supported Alfred Scott's election to the Convention of January (Begg's Journal, p. 280).

14. Henry Eck also supported Alfred Scott's election to the Convention of January (Begg's Journal, p. 280).

15. Bannatyne had left Red River to join his wife in Scotland in July of 1870.

16. Telegraph, July 21, 1870.

17. New Nation, August 6, 1870.

18. NLC, News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870.

19. Farquharson, Schultz's father-in-law, was living with Schultz. See PAC Macdonald Papers, MG26A, Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 11, 1870: "Schultz's father-in-law, one Farquharson, who lives in the house with Schultz . . . ." There is a problem about Farquharson. He had been taken prisoner on the 9th of February, 1870. Begg recorded on February 13th that Farquharson was not "careful with his tongue". He was released on Feb. 15th: "Riel would not take [his] oath as he said he HAD TWICE ALREADY BROKEN HIS OATH [emphasis mine]." He claimed for twelve days imprisonment. Did he lie about his incarceration or had he been confined earlier? While no other list has his name, that of George Dugas' Histoire, page 115, has, at the top of the list of those taken in the Schultz houses, "John Fergusson", (beau-père de Schultz)". Although the name John is incorrect, "Fergusson" could easily be Dugas' rendering of Farquharson. Indeed, it is hard to understand how Farquharson, who lived with his son-in-law, could have avoided being taken with the rest.

20. O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, p. 70.

21. PAC, Macdonald Papers, MG26A, Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 11, 1870.

22. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, Oct. 9, 1870; Globe, Oct. 11, 1870; Montreal Daily Witness, Oct. 11, 1870.

23. Manitoban, Dec. 10, 1870.

24. One could argue that Schultz, feeling keenly his rejection in not being appointed premier, saw an affinity between himself and the unwanted "damned spot" of Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking speech in Act V, Scene 1 of Macbeth and chose the pseudonym "Spot" for himself. Be that as it may, the writer clearly likes to show his familiarity with Shakespeare's plays, making reference to both Hamlet and Macbeth in the lines quoted. "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once" is from Act III, Scene iv, where Lady Macbeth tries to hurry the Scottish lords out of the banquet hall at Forres. "Alas poor Yorick" is from Hamlet, Act V, Scene 1. Schultz could have studied these plays at Oberlin College at Oberlin, Ohio. See Manitoban, Nov. 12, 1870; Manitoban, Feb. 11, 1871.

25. John Bruce was the first president of the Provisional Government. However, Edward Hay had been a member of the "general council for the force". George Klyne was a loyal Half-breed and had been a prisoner of the Provisional Government. The same was true of William Dease. J. J. Setter was an associate of Schultz. Pierre Delorme had been a

member of the Convention of January, and a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. For Bannatyne, see note 9. William Tait was a member of the Convention of November and of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. See Appendix "A" for a full list of Archibald's appointees.

Chapter Twenty-three
The Search for Scott's Body

There is evidence to suggest that, in October of 1870, Archibald had to give in to an ultimatum issued by Schultz and party that warrants be issued for the arrest of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine or some kind of violence would take place. One does not make such a suggestion lightly. Let us examine the evidence.

As we have seen, an immediate outcome of the drowning of Elzéar Goulet was the preparation of a "Memorial and Petition of the People of Rupert's Land . . . to His Excellency, U. S. Grant, President of the United States", presumably by Riel and O'Donoghue. The outline of the events of the fall of 1870 given in this document seems chronological in other respects but places the issuing of warrants out of order if it is the warrants issued by Smith to which reference is made. Until further evidence becomes available we will have to assume that this break in the chronological order of events is just another slip made by angry men writing in enforced exile.[1]

Were several sets of warrants issued for the arrest of these men? Archibald, in a letter to Cartier dated October 14th, 1870, said:

> . . . 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.[2]

What did Archibald mean by "in such a way as that no secret will be made of it"? Did he mean publication of an announcement to that effect in the News-Letter? On the 14th of October the first issue of the Manitoban was still being prepared for the press. The Manitoba News-Letter for October 15th evidently[3] published a statement to the effect that

> the Lieutenant-Governor . . . has issued orders for the arrest of Riel, O'Donohue [sic] and Lépine if they enter the province again . . . instructs Captain Villiers . . . to shoot them in their tracks if they resist . . . .

The News-Letter referred to the matter again in its issue of the 22nd of October:

> His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor recently distinctly stated that among the first orders issued to the police force one was that if Riel, O'Donohue [sic] or Lepine crossed the line they were to be taken and shot; and that if the commander of that force failed to do one or the other he was to lose his position. This does not look much like mercy for the scoundrels.[4]

It does not sound like the action of Adams George Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, either, but the report of the News-Letter was published as far away as Toronto, where the Telegraph stated that

> the Lieutenant-Governor has issued warrants to Captain Villiers . . . for the arrest of Riel and his fellow scoundrels.[5]

The Manitoban was being prepared for the press when Archibald wrote to Cartier. That newspaper contained no announcement similar in nature to that published in the News-Letter. And no subsequent issue contained either confirmation, denial or editorial comment on the News-Letter's statement. The issue of October 25th, the first to appear, reported that the police force had been "augmented". The issue of October 29th described the mounted constabulary force.

J. W. Taylor made a remark in his report to Davis of November 22, 1870, which is of interest to us as we examine this problem. In his outline of the situation in the settlement at that time he pointed out that "more than half of the population [were] sullen and dissatisfied. I refer to the French." In another paragraph he stated that "the extreme

Canadian party are already in opposition of Governor Archibald". Taylor stated that he apprehended no outbreak on the part of the French because Archibald seemed "disposed to conciliate the adherents of the late Provisional Government". "Its first President," he went on,

> has been appointed a Magistrate and important positions have lately been given to two other colleagues of Riel.

"Great deference," Taylor went on, "is paid to Bishop Taché,

> who conceals with difficulty his chagrin at the deception practised upon him by the Canadian ministers. Indeed at one time, there was a prospect that the dissatisfaction of the Ontario Orangemen with Mr. Archibald's policy, might lead to tumults which would make the Governor the prisoner of the Canadian volunteers: but he seems to apprehend no such danger at this time.[6]

These are strong words. In what way did this "prospect" manifest itself? And why did the Governor--surrounded by Volunteers in Fort Garry--"apprehend no such danger" at the time Taylor wrote? Could it be that Archibald had received--and given in to--an ultimatum concerning warrants for the arrest of the "provisional" leaders then in exile? If we cannot identify the manifestation at this point it may be possible to date it. By the time a letter written by someone using the pseudonym "Spot" appeared in the News-Letter of October 11th, 1870, Archibald's list of appointments had become public knowledge. One of those appointed was John Bruce, "ex-President of the late rebel government", who had received the position of magistrate for his locality. Both "Spot" and the News-Letter bristled with anger and indignation. "We have received the answer to the petition for poor Scoot's body," reported the News-Letter,

> and for justice to the murderers at last. We are given to understand that if we wanted justice we should have joined the police force, and if we want

> Scott's body we may take it, although it is doubtful whether we have any right to it. Poor Scott! It only needed to have added Riel and O'Donohue's [sic] name to the Gazette appointing ex-President Bruce a magistrate to complete the thing.[7]

As for "Spot" the language used in his letter to the editor had one purpose only: to incite someone to action. "A premium is being given on rebellion and robbery . . ."; "Now, I ask, men of Manitoba, are you satisfied with this state of affairs? Is this to continue? Will you submit to this injustice? If you do, blame yourselves . . ." "But above all 'stand not upon the order of your going--but go at once', into the business."[8]

Since Archibald wrote to Cartier on October 14th, we are safe in assuming that an ultimatum--if there was one--was given between October 11th--the date of the News-Letter--and the 14th, when Archibald prepared his letter.

The News-Letter for April 29th, 1871, published this retrospective comment about the search for Scott's body in October of 1870:

> When Archibald was requested to allow a search to be made inside of the Fort for Scott's remains he refused to allow but six of Scott's fellow prisoners within the wall to participate in the search, pretending to be afraid of them as a turbulent set of fellows. On that occasion he volunteered the remark that he had given orders to the chief of police to arrest Riel, O'Donoghue and Lepine . . . and if they resisted they should be shot down.[9]

According to the Manitoban that search for Scott's body was made on "Thursday forenoon" on October 13th. No copy of the first News-Letter published after that date has survived. All that is known about what was reported by it comes from newspapers which copied its reports from time to time.[10]

The Manitoban's account of the event was straightforward, giving the details of where the digging was done--"inside of the quadrangle" [of the Fort]--and "a few paces in front of the north end of the store". The digging was directed by the Rev. George Young, a member of the committee which had assumed the task of giving Scott's body proper burial. Also present were: Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, Rev. Black, Rev. Fletcher, Dr. Codd, J.C. Schultz, Dr. Lynch, J. McTavish, representing the Hudson's Bay Company, and two members of the Toronto press, Cunningham and St. John.[11] The Manitoban made no mention of the presence of Volunteers, but the Irish Canadian reported that "a large crowd of volunteers [sic] off duty" witnessed the event along with "a number of sympathizers anxious to catch a glance of the remains of the martyred victim of liberty".[12] Scott's body was not in the coffin, of course, as students of Manitoba's history are well aware. None of the accounts published give any hint of unusual incidents taking place, nor is any mention made of Archibald's statement with regard to Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine.[13]

Thirty-four years after the event, however, an ex-Volunteer gave a story to the Kingston Whig which supplied details not to be found elsewhere. "I was paymaster-sergeant," wrote J. N. Dingman. "J. F. B. Morice was paymaster . . . [we had] an office in the main building of the fort."[14] Dingman recalled how first Donald Smith and then Archibald had opposed the suggestion that Scott's body should be exhumed by a committee[15] and buried in a cemetery, stating that such action was a prerogative of Scott's family rather than of a committee.[16] "This opposition . . .," wrote Dingman, "simply 'fired' the men of the battalion to know the truth, with or without permission . . . ." Dingman went on,

> . . . permission was reluctantly granted on the understanding that Gov. Archibald should have a guard of two companies of the battalion placed in in and about his house in case of an uprising. Rev. George Young, Methodist Minister, was heart-and-hand with the boys because he realized that quietness would never be obtained, and possibly disturbance of a very serious character enacted, if the men were not allowed to proceed in the way they wanted to. Accordingly the day was set, the two companies detailed to guard the governor's house. Pick-axes, crow bars, sledges and shovels were procured . . .

Dingman told how Young paced out a certain distance and marked a spot where the men should dig. He felt sure "we would find underneath the box in which Scott's body was placed, but he was afraid we would not find the body in it now.

> The reverend gentleman made a short impassioned address to the men exhorting them to calmness and moderation no matter what the result of their search might be and then said, "Boys, dig". You may well imagine the intense excitement that existed as the digging went on. The sentries left their post. The two companies supposed to be on guarding the Lieutenant-Governor's house left it to take care of itself and the Governor. Every man in and around the fort was as near to the spot where the boys were digging as they could possibly get. Many a man was perched on the shoulders of comrades, and all were eager to have a hand in throwing out the dirt.

"At last," Dingman continued, "about six feet from the surface the top of the box was exposed with about one quarter of the cover off.

> The silence was most painful. For a full minute we all stood uncovered, when Mr. Young said, "Boys, off with that cover and end once for all this horrible suspense." No quicker said than done, only to find the box full of earth and shavings of some kind. It was carefully lifted out and proved to be a fruit tree box about 5 feet 8 inches long . . .

Did "excitement" turn to frustration and anger[17] when it was realized that the whereabouts of Scott's body were not known? Did any of Scott's

"fellow prisoners"--both Schultz and Lynch were present--step forward at this point to suggest to the men that Riel and O'Donoghue and Lépine were doubly guilty or "murder", not having given Scott decent burial? Did a hot-head somewhere in the crowd make a suggestion? Did the assembled Volunteers create a "tumult" which would only become "quietness" when the Lieutenant-Governor--virtually a "prisoner" at that moment--had agreed to "issue orders" for the arrest of Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine?

We cannot be certain, although the evidence seems to point to that possibility.[18]

It is certain that Bishop Taché wrote to Archibald about the News-Letter report. That a note of testiness crept into Archibald's reply to his friend and adviser may be seen in the following extract from it:

> I have not seen the News-Letter report but I may say that I have issued no orders for the arrest of anybody. I have said--and that is quite enough to account for a notice such as you speak of in Manitoba--I have said openly without any kind of disguise that I am determined to preserve order and that my police shall on peril of disapproval arrest any man against whom a warrant issues whether his name is Mr. Schultz or John O'Donoghue and of course I mean what I say.
>
> If with this explanation you consider this deplorable news I shall regret it exceedingly. I certainly should not be likely to keep order long if I were to announce that warrants might be issued against anybody but should be expressed only against some.
>
> If the men to whom you refer are mad enough to destroy their own friends as well as themselves by coming into the country and exciting passions that [should] slumber. If they wish to render it impossible for me to do justice to half the population then on their own heads be the consequences.[19]

It is to be noted that Archibald said nothing to Taché about what had prompted him to make such a statement.

Footnotes

1. "Memorial and Petition of the People of Rupert's Land . . ." in CHR, Vol. XX, March, 1939, p. 427. Note that this document gives the dates "24th day of September to the 17th of October" when, obviously the dates "24th day of August to the 17th of September" are meant.

2. "Report--1874", p. 149, Archibald to Cartier, October 14, 1870.

3. No copy of this issue of the News-Letter is known to exist. The New York Herald for Nov. 7, 1870, quoted from the News-Letter.

4. News-Letter, Oct. 22, 1870.

5. Telegraph, Nov. 4, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 21).

6. USNARS microfilm T24 Reel 1, Taylor to Davis, Nov. 22, 1870.

7. News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870.

8. Ibid. "Spot" was assumed to be a pseudonym for J. C. Schultz. See the Manitoban, Feb. 11, 1871.

9. MSHS, News-Letter, April 29, 1871.

10. In this case the New York Herald, Nov. 7, 1870. See note 3 above. The New York Daily Tribune also occasionally copied from the News-Letter.

11. Manitoban, October 15, 1870.

12. The Irish Canadian, November 2, 1870. The Globe for October 29, 1870, reported that "a number of volunteers off duty and some civilians" were present.

13. See Telegraph for October 29th and November 1, 1870; Globe, October 29, 1870; La Minerve, Nov. 2, 1870. The correspondent for La Minerve was not present at the time, if one can judge from the published account. See also Young's own Manitoba Memories, pp. 151-2.

14. United Church Archives, Toronto, Rev. George Young biography file, letter by J. N. Dingman to Kingston Whig, March 4, 1904.

15. The committee consisted of Rev. Young, Mr. McArthur and Dr. James Lynch. Dr. Lynch wrote to Rev. John Black on Oct. 12, 1870, asking him to be present for the exhuming "tomorrow". PAM MG7 C12, Rev. John Black Papers, Lynch to Black, Oct. 12, 1870.

16. Concerning the petition of Sept. 28, asking for permission to exhume Scott's body, and for Archibald's reply, see the Manitoban for Oct. 15, 1870.

17. Note that Beckles Wilson in The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal uses the phrase "disappointed rage" at page 263.

18. Dingman took his discharge shortly after this event; see the Manitoban for October 29, 1870, and the News-Letter for Nov. 1, 1871. It should be noted that Mrs. Archibald and Miss Archibald were not present. They arrived on October 15. See the Manitoban for Oct. 22, 1870.

19. AASB, T8065, Archibald to Taché, Oct. 17, 1870.

Chapter Twenty-four
"Fires, Assaults and Threats"[1]

Part of the revealed wisdom of the 1860's where the Red River Settlement was concerned was that "troops" should be stationed at Fort Garry. In August of 1869 Denison wrote to Mair to say that his own name had been mentioned in regard to a "corps of Mounted Rifles which it was thought might be necessary to organize for the protection of the Red River Territory as well as for the maintenance of order in it".[2] As we have seen, the Canadian Cabinet had discussed in November of that year the building of boats for an expedition to Red River. The order-in-council authorizing payment was passed in January of 1870.[3] The only specific recommendation that Donald Smith made after he returned to Ottawa from his mission to Fort Garry was that "there should be a strong military force in the North-West as early as possible". The reason he gave was that the "minds of the Indians, especially the tribes in the Saskatchewan country, have been so perplexed and confused that it would be unsafe to trust to their forbearance". How Smith had learned in mid-winter at Fort Garry what was on the minds of the Indians in the Saskatchewan country he did not explain, and it is to be noted that when he submitted the recommendation on April 12 plans for the Red River Expedition were well under way and Smith must have known about them.[4]

In September of 1870 Denison of "Canada First", Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian Cabinet all had their wish. Troops were indeed in the new province of Manitoba stationed at both Fort Garry and the Lower Fort. In late September Captain Cooke's company were sent to the border post at Pembina.[5] No troops were sent to Portage la Prairie, whose people had requested them.[6] No troops were sent as far

west as Lane's Post or White Horse Plains, where disturbances had occurred just after the arrival of the Expedition.[7] When Cooke's company was sent to Pembina there was more than a suggestion that their immediate purpose there was to ensure that J. C. Schultz's flatboats of goods, arranged for the previous July, should pass safely into Canadian territory.[8] It needs to be remembered, however, that at each place where troops were stationed in the winter of 1870-1 Hudson's Bay Company buildings existed which could be made habitable as barracks without too much difficulty.[9] It is to be noted, incidentally, that French-speaking citizens of the Settlement wondered at the time why the 2nd Quebec Rifles, stationed at the Lower Fort, could not have been stationed at Fort Garry instead, where French-speaking and Roman Catholic institutions were near at hand.[10]

If Canadian government policy was to have a force in occupation in the new province, what was its purpose there and how well did it achieve that purpose? We are forced to ask these questions both because of what is known to have been said at the time and because of what has been said and written in more recent times.[11] Now it is to be observed that while much had been said about the need for an expedition to Red River, little had been said about the need for a force to remain in occupation there. The confidential paper of February 11, 1870, had spoken of "a Force sufficient to vindicate Her Majesty's Sovereignty and the authority of the law". Elsewhere it had mentioned the need "to quell the insurrection and restore peace and order".[12] Wolseley's instructions were not public knowledge, but the Governor General had spoken of the Expedition as being on "an errand of peace", and this had been reported in the press. In the proclamation issued at Thunder Bay on June 30, 1870, Wolseley had used

the words "our mission is one of peace", and this had been published in the New Nation. However, as we have seen, Wolseley and his Expedition had not behaved like a "mission of peace" when they had entered the Settlement. Moreover, he did not make things clearer when, on September 9th, he prepared a message for delivery to the militia regiments of the Expeditionary Force. It was read to the men of the Ontario Battalion on parade on Sunday, September 11th by the adjutant, Captain W. J. Parsons. In the first three paragraphs Wolseley outlined the achievements of the Expedition in words which would have done credit to any commander. Then in the fourth paragraph he dropped his bombshell:

> Although the banditti who had been oppressing the people fled at your approach without giving you an opportunity of proving how men capable of such labors could fight, you have deserved as well of your country as if you had won a battle.

Then almost as though he did not realize what he had said to men who had been part of a "mission of peace", Wolseley went on: "Some evil-designing men have endeavored to make a section of this people believe that they have much to dread at your hands. I beg of you to give them the lie to such a foul aspersion upon your character as Canadian soldiers by continuing to comport yourselves as you have hitherto done.

> I desire to warn you especially against mixing yourselves up in party affairs here: to be present at any political meeting, or to join in any political procession, is strictly against Her Majesty's Regulations--a fact which I am sure you have only to know to be guided by.

The immediate effect of such a conundrum of a message to troops may probably be gauged by the fact that when the message appeared in print in the second issue of the Manitoba News-Letter, the same issue contained comment on the drowning of Goulet.[13] That this was not a coincidence may

be seen in the fact that complaints and observations concerning the Volunteers were soon expressed in print and in private letters. On the 27th of September the correspondent of Le Nouveau Monde wrote as follows:

> As long as we don't have an effective and energetic police force, and especially as long as the Volunteers remain in the country, the good will of the government and of the authorities will be powerless in establishing the confidence of the people of Red River.[14]

And Donald Smith, in a letter to Sir Stafford Northcote, had this to say:

> The greatest danger now lies in the temper of many of the volunteers [sic], who are keen Orangemen, and who enlisted chiefly with a desire to avenge themselves upon the French for the murder of Scott . . . [they] have evinced upon every occasion the utmost animosity against the French population generally. This sentiment is returned, and individual collisions are frequent, a spark might kindle the flames anew; but so far we have been spared any scenes of flagrant violence.[15]

With Goulet's death by drowning just a few days in the past one wonders what Smith would have considered "flagrant violence".

It is not easy to arrive at an assessment of how the Volunteers behaved during the months of the Archibald régime before the provincial election. For a short time the Settlement was without a newspaper. Then for about a month the Manitoba News-Letter, printed by P. G. Laurie but owned by J. C. Schultz, had the field to itself. There was no French-language newspaper until May of 1871. The correspondent who wrote a letter published in the St. Paul Daily Press was probably describing the situation of the fall of 1870 as well as that of early 1871 when he wrote that the newspapers would "not or dare not give the facts".[16] As for the correspondents of more distant newspapers, the Globe in January of 1871 insisted that "the advent of these volunteers [sic] brought peace and security of life and property to the whole settlement".[17] Statements

made by Manitoba historians, too, have confused the issue. An example is this statement from Gunn and Tuttle's History, ". . . the winter passed in peace and quiet". . . "Nouveau Monde and Globe tried their best to spread ill-feeling by exaggeration and misrepresentation of the conduct of the volunteers [sic]. . . ."[18]

The incident involving a Métis named Landry is a case in point. According to a letter written on November 8th at Pembina, Landry had been knocked down and kicked by soldiers--from 12 to 15 of them--stationed near Fort Garry on "Sunday last", "November 5th". A rope was tied around his neck and he was dragged several hundred feet. The letter said that the intention of the soldiers was to hang him. Landry had been a supporter of the Provisional Government. His companion, Romain Nault, was also brutally knocked down and kicked. The account, written in French, was not translated and published in the St. Paul Press until December 1st.[19] The Globe, in the meantime had published on November 30th a story about a group of soldiers of the 1st Battalion who "tied a rope" around an unnamed Half-breed's neck. It is not clear whether the unidentified man was Landry or a man named Rivard, who, according to the same St. Paul Press report had a rope tied around his neck because of having been "a friend of Riel". The story about Landry was published in Le Nouveau Monde on February 3rd, 1871. This account gave the added detail that Landry--an old man--was setting out for the north with one of his sons and a hired man. Landry would have been strangled, said this report, if his son had not succeeded in calling the police. The soldiers said they wanted to avenge the death of Scott. As noted above Le Nouveau Monde was later to be criticized for publishing such reports, but there seems

little reason to doubt that, in this case at least, it was simply reporting the truth. Neither the Manitoba News-Letter nor The Manitoban reported the affair at all.

Early November was a bad time for those who had sympathized with or supported the Provisional Government. A St. Vital citizen, according to the same St. Paul Press letter, went to the Fort on business. An employee there pointed him out to the soldiers "who took great pains to surround him and examine him", in order, they said, that they might "attend to him on another occasion".

According to the St. Paul Press letter Winnipeggers were not safe even in their own homes. Andrew McDermott, father-in-law of former Governor McTavish, had his home invaded at eleven o'clock one night by soldiers of the Ontario Battalion. The soldiers attacked one of the servants and beat him brutally. Two young girls, frightened, wanted to call the police, but the soldiers threatened to burn the house if anyone complained. McDermott, the letter said, was not the only one who had been so favored.[20] This story gains credibility when it is remembered that the Telegraph, in mid-September, reported that threats had been made against Bishop Taché and the Roman Catholic institution in Winnipeg. The Telegraph correspondent interviewed Taché and learned that one of Taché's "priests had been shot, several of them had been insulted, and he had been forced to bring his nuns, who kept school, over the river".

> "But why?" said I.
> "Because," said he, "it has been threatened that our house would be burned and murder committed."[21]

Those making the threats were not identified by either Taché or the Telegraph correspondent.

About the same time that this threat was made, the large two-storey house being built for James Ross burned to the ground. Unoccupied and still in the process of construction, the house stood by itself a little distance away from the main street. Foul play was immediately suspected. The correspondent of the Telegraph investigated the affair as thoroughly as he could and decided that it was, indeed, the work of an incendiary. When the fire was first noticed the house was on fire at both ends. A gentleman looking out of his window at twelve o'clock that night saw a light that blazed brilliantly for a short time and then went out. Fifteen minutes later the whole house was ablaze. Several of the Volunteers helped local citizens try to put out the fire but had no success.[22] It was soon remembered that Ross had been a member of the Convention of Twenty-four in November[23] and a member of the Convention of Forty in January.[24] Then in February he had accepted the post of chief justice in the Provisional Government.[25] Not in the Settlement at the time of the fire, Ross learned about it on his way back from St. Paul.[26] Archibald arranged for an investigation of the affair, but no charges were laid.

Another incident happened at about the same time. On Friday, September 16th, Edmund Turner, was chased and threatened. The Manitoba News-Letter reported it in an interesting way:

> Young Turner, one of the ex-sovereign people had the cheek to visit Fort Garry yesterday, and was threatened with a little corporal punishment as a reward of merit for deeds done in the body last winter.[27]

In their efforts to escape, Turner and his companion ran to the Lieutenant-Governor's residence and asked for protection. Archibald arranged for an escort of Volunteers to see them safely on the ferry to St. Boniface.

Turner had been a guard at Fort Garry, and had given evidence at the trial of Thomas Scott. The pursuers were not identified, but must be assumed to be persons familiar with the events of the previous winter.

A few days later a young man named Cyr was brutally beaten, according to a news item published in Le Nouveau Monde. This time the attacker was identified as an "individual who lives with Mr. Schultz".[28] This individual can be readily identified as James Farquharson, Schultz's father-in-law, who, as we have seen, was involved in the Goulet affair and, according to Archibald, was involved "in every row since [Archibald] came here". It may well be that this Le Nouveau Monde report provides the clue to what was happening while the Ontario Rifles were at Fort Garry. The young men from Ontario had no way of knowing who had done what during the months of the Provisional Government. Farquharson, unlike his son-in-law, had been in the Settlement throughout the winter, had even been imprisoned for a time, and was acquainted with most of the participants, French-speaking and English-speaking alike, in the events of the previous winter. Such a man was invaluable to anyone with a motive for keeping a community in a state of unease and disorder. But more of this in its proper place.

A different type of incident involving the Volunteers seems to have happened on November 16th. The Varieties Club of the 2nd Battalion presented a dramatic performance in the barrack room of No. 7 Company at Fort Garry. The Lieutenant-Governor, Lady Archibald and Miss Archibald honored the troupe with their attendance, and many people had come as far as fifteen miles to attend the performance. As the Manitoban reported it, "Mr. Cruiskelly's clog dance brought down the house, and brought the

entertainment to an abrupt conclusion". According to the Montreal Daily Witness version of the story,

> The Colonel very summarily closed the proceedings when the first act was scarcely through, alleging as his reason for so doing that the house was overcrowded.

What had happened to bring on this response on the part of the Colonel? Had there been demonstrations of some kind among the men? The Witness report of the sequel does little more than stimulate our curiosity:

> The manager, fancying that the audience might possibly think he or other members of the Club had some hand in thus closing at once, announced that the performance on the following evening would be free to all comers. As the first night was a complimentary one, admitting free the Governor, the officers and the volunteers [sic] with their respective friends, by this announcement a stranger might be at a loss to know how the $60 or $80 expended over scenery, transport, hotel bills, etc., was to be paid; but a fund was at once started, headed with $5 by the Governor. This fund is likely to exceed the expense by a long way.[29]

The Manitoban concluded its account in this way: "Many of the audience went away disappointed, but no blame attaches to the troupe for not carrying out the programme--the public must recollect they are soldiers and must obey orders."[30] This was a strange conclusion to a dramatic performance, leaving us wondering what unreported event had taken place.

The same issue of the Montreal Daily Witness had another story about the behavior of the Volunteers:

> In hauling up the Hudson Bay boats, just before the river froze up, the chorus, instead of being "Heave Ho", or "Heave Up", was "Sour Bread" or "Dish Water". This was continued the whole of the time we were hauling 8 large boats out of the water and on to the bank, although the Major was superintending us at one time.[31]

This is the proper place to mention an uncorroborated report that was

published in Le Nouveau Monde, once again concerning Company No. 7:

> Recently, Colonel Jarvis having ordered the men of Company No. 7, stationed outside the fort, to return to the barracks, the soldiers mutinied and, before leaving their quarters, broke everything, benches, lamps, chairs, tables, etc.[32]

Private Jones, of Company No. 7, was court-martialled on November 16th for "disrespect to Sergeant-Major Coyne", and sentenced to "168 hours of imprisonment". The record gives no more details than these.[33]

The Manitoban, silent on trouble in Company No. 7, published news of events involving the Taits. Like James Ross, Robert Tait had been elected a member of the Convention of Twenty-four in November of 1869[34] and a member of the Convention of Forty in January of 1870[35]. He was one of those who voted for the establishment of a Provisional Government.[36] In June he had been appointed sheriff by that government.[37] His hay--500 loads of it--was mysteriously destroyed by fire at night on Sunday, December 18th. The only clue was a set of footprints. The stacks were far from any house, and one-half mile from any road.[38] Robert's brother, David, was pulled from his buggy under cover of darkness, and he and his two companions--employees of the mill--were beaten and left for dead on Friday, December 16th. Tait didn't dare provide information to the police despite the fact that a soldier's képi was found in the buggy and a regimental number in it could be clearly seen.[39]

Remarkably enough, the Manitoban dealt fully with the death of James Tanner at Poplar Point on November 30th. It may be that since there was no apparent involvement of the Volunteers the editors deemed it safe to publish news of the tragic event. Whatever the reason, this event--second in fame after the death of Goulet--was dealt with by the

Manitoban in two consecutive issues.[40] Strictly speaking the event belongs in a treatment of the provincial election campaign, but certain aspects of if make it appropriate to deal with it here.

Tanner was an American citizen. Accordingly James Wickes Taylor, the American consul at Winnipeg, was interested in the incident, and reported it to the State Department. His résumé of the identity of Tanner and of the accident is of use to us here:

> . . . James Tanner was educated quite thoroughly at a mission school in Mackinac. He became a Methodist missionary . . . speaking the Ojibwa [sic] and cognate dialects perfectly. His knowledge of English and French enabled him to address assemblies in both languages . . . During the Sioux Massacre in Minnesota, Tanner and his two sons served faithfully as scouts and were engaged in the defense of Fort Abercrombie . . . Tanner . . . has lately resided on the Assiniboin [sic] river thirty miles west of Fort Garry. During the . . . canvass for members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba his name was mentioned . . . as a candidate of the Government party.

"At a public meeting," Taylor went on, "he acted as interpreter and gave his views with much effect, moving a resolution of confidence in Governor Archibald, which was carried. The meeting was orderly, but as Mr. Tanner was getting into a waggon to return home after adjournment, the horse was frightened by several persons suddenly appearing from an angle of the fence, with cries and waving of their cloaks. The animal ran. Mr. Tanner was thrown violently to the ground and his neck was broken, causing instant death . . ." Taylor pointed out that, although born an American citizen, Tanner "had given much evidence of a desire to be known as a British subject". "This occurrence," Taylor concluded, "and other incidents of the recent election have led me to consider carefully the question how far native born Americans, much more naturalized citizens or

aliens who have declared an intention to become citizens of the U. S., if they identify themselves with the political action of the community, can afterwards claim the rights of American citizens . . ."[41] Taylor was clearly not prepared to regard the accident as any kind of international incident.

An investigation was held into the accident, and four persons, including Dr. Lynch, gave evidence. The verdict was that

> the said horse was caused so to run away, wilfully and maliciously by two persons unknown to the Jury, thereby causing the death of this said James Tanner.[42]

There seems little reason to question this verdict. Unlike some other public meetings held during the election campaign, there was no suggestion that any Volunteers were present either during or after the meeting, although the Manitoban reported that some of "Dr. Lynch's supporters" attended and that "considerable noise" was made by "certain parties". All that could be determined about the two "persons unknown" was that one was taller than the other and that, while one wore moccasins, the other wore boots. It was quite possible that the pranksters had intended to play their trick on John Tait, the owner of the horse, and that Tanner had been accidentally killed when he fell out of the wagon. Tait, after all, had also fallen out, but was not injured in so doing.

The Manitoban reported the meeting fully, and the proceedings are of considerable interest. In taking the chair George Gunn had referred to "disorderly" meetings elsewhere. He hoped St. Anne's would maintain its good reputation. James Ross deprecated the attempts that had been made at other meetings to cut off free speech. He went on to discuss the changed state of affairs in Manitoba. He declared himself a supporter of

Mr. Archibald's government.

James Tanner spoke for a homestead law and for the construction of a highway to the East on British territory.

Dr. Lynch disagreed with the previous speakers where the Archibald régime was concerned. There was no census and no election. Archibald had two irresponsible advisers and the Hudson's Bay Company was the real ruler. A rebel, John Bruce, had been given an appointment.

Matthew Cook suggested that Mr. Tanner explain certain things in the Indian language, and Mr. Tanner did this. He then made a long speech approving of Archibald's conduct. In so doing he reminded the meeting that his own son had joined the Portage party in February and got himself imprisoned for his efforts.

There was then a lively exchange between Tanner and Dr. Lynch as to who were the "rebels" the previous winter, Lynch insisting that the French were the rebels. Tanner pointed out inconsistencies in Lynch's reasoning, Lynch having said on the one hand that the Hudson's Bay Company was the legally constituted authority and on the other that the Company was as much in the rebellion as Riel and his party! The real "rebels", Tanner said, were those who took up arms to make good the usurpation of Canada. At this point John Macdonald, a Canadian, said, "Oh, of course, we were the rebels". Tanner then moved that the meeting go on record as supporting the Archibald administration. Matthew Cook seconded the motion. Lynch spoke again in opposition, James Ross in support. The motion was put and carried.[43]

Several observations may be made concerning the Tanner affair. The meeting was orderly, and achieved an objective. There was no proven par-

ticipation of Volunteers in the accidental death of Tanner after the meeting. The meeting gave evidence that, in spite of the divisions of the previous winter, households like Tanner's were quietly deciding to give their support to men like James Ross--who had worked with the Provisional Government for the previous winter--in their efforts to construct a base of support for Lieutanant-Governor Archibald. The "Canadian" party on the other hand--here represented by Dr. Lynch--could see no good in either Archibald or his advisers. It must surely be, however, that the most serious aspect of the incident was the loss to the community of a talented and outspoken man with the ability to speak to the three groups in the Manitoba of 1870.

There is, however, a postscript to the affair which must cause us some unease as we make our decision about it. As we have seen, the meeting was held on November 30th. The Manitoban reported on it in its issues of the 3rd and 10th of December. The Manitoba News-Letter report has not been preserved, but there was one, and the wording of it made the Manitoban editorialize as follows:

> . . . in the case of the lamented James Tanner . . . the News-Letter had not one word to say against its rowdy friends for resorting to such extremes. Instead of blaming them outspokenly and firmly, it actually speaks approvingly of their attempt to do to Mr. Ross what had been done to Mr. Tanner . . . .[44]

On January 4th, with the provincial election over, the News-Letter accused the Manitoban of telling "lies" concerning Tanner and then attempted to put the blame on James Ross in a rather unexpected passage:

> Dr. Schultz was 40 miles from the spot where poor Tanner met his fate, and seeing [sic] that fate was entirely owing to the vicious machinations of Riel's late chief justice.[45]

To conclude, a word about the dangers of life in the Settlement will be in order. The men of the two Volunteer regiments had survived a march of over three months length covering more than six hundred miles, rain, hot sun, black flies and the back-breaking work of dozens of portages and had reached Fort Garry without a fatal casualty. True, there had been a revolver accident at a portage that had hospitalized Private Butcher, at Fort Frances,[46] and in September the Sisters from the Convent in St. Boniface were still coming to Fort Garry to nurse men who had succumbed to illnesses of some sort.[47] The first months at the two Forts took a far different toll.

The men of the Quebec Rifles were hardly settled in their barracks at Lower Fort Garry when trouble occurred. A corporal named Marshall and another named Rolph were on their way back to the Lower Fort from Fort Garry by rowboat when an altercation began. Marshall drew his knife and stabbed Rolph in the breast. Rolph was hospitalized. Marshall was tried by court martial and spent the next month in prison, not being released until in November.[48]

The September 17th issue of the Manitoba News-Letter reported that Private W. Dunbar of the Ontario Rifles had wounded himself in a revolver accident. The same issue of the News-Letter reported the death of Private Michael Donnelly of the Quebec Battalion. He was found dead in his bed on September 14. He was believed to have died from abuse of liquor.[49]

Corporal Youngston of the Quebec Rifles was drowned on October 5th when he fell out of a rowboat on his way back to the Lower Fort. Youngston had come up from the Lower Fort in charge of a squad of prisoners to be left at Fort Garry. It was believed that both he and his companion

in the rowboat were under the influence of liquor when the accident happened. His companion was unable to see him and pull him back into the boat. The river was dragged in an effort to find the body but it was not until the following June that the body was recovered.[50]

Quarter-Master Sergeant Massey of the Ontario Rifles died in late November. No public announcement was made of the cause of death, but barrack companions believed that he had died of "delerium tremens".[51]

Another barracks fight took place at Fort Garry in December and left two men in hospital. The incident has been well described in S. B. Steele's Forty Years in Canada:

> I had just come off guard and was resting on my cot . . . Jack Kerr . . . was busy polishing the huge Carron stove when [Private Joseph Case] came upstairs, dressed in review order without his rifle, conversing with some of the men. There was a long table beside him on which lay several sheath knives which had just been cleaned. The cook . . . came in and began skylarking with Kerr, who made a black streak across his nose with the brush he was using on the stove. W[illiams] laughed at this and the other man . . . said to Kerr,

"You could not do that to me." "Oh, yes, I could!" replied Kerr, and

> sprang at him with the brush, making a motion about a foot from his face, but without touching him, nor did he mean to do so, as the fellow was in review kit . . . the other seized one of the long sheath knives and, rushing at Kerr, drove it into his thigh . . . Kerr . . . seized the huge tongs, used for the big stove, and brought them down with full force on his assailant's head . . . His comrades in the room below . . . dashed up the outside stairway . . . and . . . made for Kerr like madmen . . . I . . . met them with my rifle clubbed and drove them downstairs by sheer force . . . When Dr. Codd arrived he sent them to hospital . . . .[52]

A court martial was held at which six witnesses gave evidence. It may be that it was felt that both men had suffered enough, since the court martial record does not make clear what punishment, if any, was decided

on. Company No. 7 had once again distinguished itself.

The stationing of troops at Fort Garry and at the Lower Fort did not bring peace and order to the province of Manitoba.

Footnotes

1. The phrase is Bishop Taché's. In a letter written on Feb. 2, 1871, he said, "On a eu des incendies, des assauts, des menaces à profusion." Dom Benoit, Vie de Mgr Taché, Vol. 2, p. 114.

2. QUL, Mair Papers, Denison to Mair, August 11, 1869.

3. See, above, the chapter "The Red River Expeditionary Force".

4. George McVicar learned about the Expedition's boats at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on April 3, 1870. PAM MG3 B9, McVicar Papers, Apr. 3, 1870.

5. USNARS, News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870; Telegraph, Oct. 11 (Fort Garry, Sept. 20), 1870.

6. Telegraph, Oct. 11, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 20). Globe, Oct. 25, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 5), reported that the Hudson's Bay Company officer at Fort Carlton hoped that a force would be sent to Fort Edmonton. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 21, 1870.

7. See, above, the chapter "The Smith Régime".

8. USNARS, News-Letter, Sept. 20, 1870. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 21, 1870.

9. J. F. Tennant, Rough Times, has a sketch of the Hudson's Bay Co. post at Fort North Pembina, p. 69.

10. Le Nouveau Monde, Sept. 17, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 3).

11. Le Nouveau Monde opposed the idea of a Red River Expedition from its inception. It was among the first to report that there was trouble between the Volunteers and the Métis. It was the first to report the demonstration at the time of the provincial election, and repeatedly urged the withdrawal of the Volunteers. Gunn and Tuttle, in their History of Manitoba, discussed frankly the effect of having the Volunteers in the Settlement (pp. 438ff). Hill had to admit (p. 329) that "the Volunteers and citizens did not get along well together at first". A. C. Garrioch, in First Furrows, stated that the Volunteers "enjoyed the reputation AMONG THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING SETTLERS [emphasis mine] of being a fine lot of men in every sense of the word". In 1977 C. P. Stacey, in his Canada and the Age of Conflict, maintained that the Expedition was "a successful stroke of policy, effectively establishing Canadian possession of the great west".

12. See, above, the chapter "The Red River Expeditionary Force".

13. News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870. (There is a copy in the National

Library of Canada). La Minerve, Sept. 24, 1870, commented on the provocative nature of this message.

14. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 15, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 27).

15. Beckles Wilson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, p. 262.

16. St. Paul Daily Press, March 15, 1871, letter from St. Boniface dated Feb. 21, 1871. See also Glenbow Museum, William Laurie, "Gleanings From My Memory of fifty odd years", p. 11: "during the fall and early winter of 1870 we could always rely upon several exciting fights between the soldiers and halfbreeds [sic] any afternoon after three o'clock, by which hour the soldiers who were not on duty at the garrison were at liberty to come downtown".

17. Globe, Jan. 4, 1871.

18. Gunn and Tuttle, History, p. 466.

19. St. Paul Press, March 15, 1871: "We must beg our correspondents up up that way to send their communications in English". See W. G. Fonseca "On The St. Paul Trail in the Sixties" in Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, No. 56, 1900, p. 14, "Captain Landry", "aged veteran".

20. St. Paul Press, March 15, 1871.

21. Telegraph, Sept. 27, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 16). The News-Letter for Sept. 13, 1870, made fun of a report to that effect.

22. Telegraph, October 8, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 24); October 18, 1870, (Fort Garry, Oct. 1). Globe, Oct. 11, 1870, (Fort Garry, Sept. 20).

23. Begg, Creation, pp. 64-5.

24. Begg's Journal, pp. 285-6.

25. Ibid., pp. 302-3.

26. Telegraph, Oct. 20, 1870. The investigation is referred to in the News-Letter for Oct. 8, 1870.

27. News-Letter, Sept. 17, 1870. The Globe had little sympathy for them: "Several men, whom decency and common sense should have told to keep out of the palce, have been chased the town, and had they been caught would undoubtedly have been threshed." See also the Telegraph, Oct. 5, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 18).

28. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 15, 1870 (Red River, Sept. 27).

29. Montreal Daily Witness, Dec. 19, 1870.

30. Manitoban, Nov. 26, 1870.

31. Montreal Daily Witness, Dec. 19, 1870.

32. Le Nouveau Monde, Feb. 3, 1871 (Pembina, Jan. 10, 1871).

33. PAC RG IIB2, 33, Folder "Courts Martial Red River Force, 1870-1".

34. Begg, Creation, pp. 64-5.

35. Begg's Journal, p. 285.

36. Begg's Journal, "Louis Riel's Notes of the Sessions of the November Convention . . .", p. 429.

37. Begg's Journal, p. 383, June 21. 1870.

38. Manitoban, December 24, 1870.

39. Ibid. Le Nouveau Monde, Feb. 3, 1871.

40. Manitoban, Dec. 3, and 10, 1870.

41. USNARS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, Jan. 6, 1871.

42. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Dec. 6, 1870.

43. Manitoban, Dec. 10, 1870.

44. Ibid. Leaving the meeting a few minutes later than Tanner, Ross and others also "ran the gauntlet of clubs, stones and snowballs". It must be noted that J. F. Tennant, writing many years after the event, said in Rough Times, that soldiers were responsible for the efforts to frighten Tait's and Ross's horses. Ross's, as it turned out, did not run.

45. News-Letter, Jan. 4, 1871. The reference, of course, is to James Ross.

46. Globe, Sept. 10, 1870. Private J. W. Butcher, of Company No. 4, threw his knapsack on the shore at Fort Frances, and the loaded revolver in it went off, the bullet passing through his body.

47. See, above, the chapter "Death of Elzear Goulet".

48. Globe, Sept. 28, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 10); Montreal Daily Witness, Dec. 19, 1870. The list in Tennant, Rough Times, has Lance Corporal George Rolph and Private D. Marshall, both of Company No. 5.

49. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 35 has Private W. Dunbar of Company No. 6. Tennant, Rough Times, has Private M. Donnelly in Company No. 4.

50. Tennant, Rough Times, has Corporal C. Youngston of Company No. 3. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 26, 1870 (Fort Garry, Oct. 8) has the news report, as has the News-Letter, Oct. 8, 1870. The recovery of the body was reported in the News-Letter for June 7, 1871. Hubert Neilson, the surgeon of the Quebec Battalion, identified the body on May 12, 1871. See PAC MG29 E37, Diary of Hubert Neilson.

51. Manitoban, Nov. 26, 1870. See PAM MG14 C23, Diary of C. N. Bell: "died last night of D. T.".

52. S. B. Steele, Forty Years in Canada, pp. 38-9. RG9, IIB2, Vol. 35 has Privates Case, Kerr and Williams, all of Company No. 7. RG9, II B2, Vol. 33 "Courts Martial Red River Force, 1870-1" has Joseph Case, John Kerr and William Williams.

Chapter Twenty-five
The First Provincial Legislature

It is now time to turn our attention to what is one of the most remarkable aspects of our study of the Archibald administration in Manitoba--the long delay in electing and assembling the provincial legislature. Of all Archibald's problems it probably caused him the most anguish and disappointment.

The first of Archibald's instructions was as follows: "In the Government of Manitoba you will be guided by the Constitutional principles and precedents which obtain in the older Provinces, and with which it is assumed you are sufficiently familiar." The second was more specific: "You will select, with as little delay as possible, some suitable persons to serve as Members of your Executive Council, and to perform such official duties as may be indispensable before the election of the members, but you may, if you see fit, leave vacancies open until the writs are returned."[1]

If these instructions mean anything they mean that Manitoba was to be governed according to the principles of responsible government then obtaining in the four older provinces. Archibald certainly assumed that that was meant. It would appear that he should have been able to call together immediately whatever assembly of representatives the Red River Settlement had and choose from it the advisers he needed. There can be no doubt which representative assembly should have been called together. The Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia had been elected by the people of the Red River Settlement and had functioned in the best tradition of parliaments--sometimes to Riel's great annoyance. It was certainly more

representative of the Red River people than any British parliament was of the British people until the passing of the great reform bills. There can also be no doubt that when Red River people insisted that Parliament should be called--as the Telegraph reported that they did in late September of 1870--it was this parliament that they meant.[2] Archibald's delay in taking action toward organizing a government has been noted.[3] He discovered that he was not free to call upon Riel in September because he could not count on the loyalty of the armed force at Fort Garry.[4] We have seen that before the News-Letter began its campaign at least one member of the Legislative Assembly had been attacked in the streets of Winnipeg.[5] After the News-Letter began to appear and Goulet was pursued and drowned the campaign increased in intensity.[6] No one was safe in Winnipeg-Fort Garry who did not meet with the approval of the "Canadian" party or the Schultz household. It is in this context that we must read the words of the "Memorial and Petition" prepared by the Métis at the meeting at St. Norbert shortly after Goulet's death:

> outrages upon our unoffending people were of hourly occurrence, especially upon any of them who were members of, or connected with, the Government of their choice.[7]

The significance of the "Memorial and Petition" becomes clear as we read it. The people of Manitoba needed a legislature in the fall of 1870. They needed a premier and a newspaper too--desperately. This is the political reality of Manitoba in September and October of 1870, when Archibald had to attempt to lay a foundation for a government. He had to come to terms with it in the way he did or run the risk of a coup or a civil war.

Two men hoped to be called upon to form a government. One had a

newspaper and an impressionable regiment at Fort Garry, but no broad base of support in the Settlement. The other had a broad base of support in the Settlement which had enabled him to govern effectively for a number of months in 1869 and 1870. His army was scattered amongst the parishes of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, but was chafing to be called upon. The only available press was awaiting repairs and was too close to Fort Garry to be available to him. The result was a situation which precluded effectively the calling of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. This became public knowledge after October 13th, when the search was made for Scott's grave.

The MODUS OPERANDI of Archibald's government in late 1870 was something like this: Taché was a go-between in constant communication with both Archibald and Riel.[8] Taché could pass on to Riel Archibald's assurances that, notwithstanding the hostile presence at Fort Garry, the passage of time and the cooling of tempers would eventually see the establishment of a régime favorable to the Red River people. Riel, for his part, was passing on these assurances to the people he met, counselling patience and self-control, and expressing to Taché the concerns of the people. It is only in such a context as the one outlined here that Archibald's correspondence with his superiors in Ottawa makes any sense. This explains, too, what was meant by statements in the letter of Riel and Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris in January of 1873. Concluding a summary of the events of the first months of the Archibald administration, the letter asked:

> And against whom are these arbitrary acts directed? Against those who from 24th August, 1870, have in reality preserved the peace of the country, by their respect for authority, by their moderation, and by

> their patience in submitting to the oppression under which they suffer. For if the half-breeds [sic] had used their right to defend themselves when unjustly attacked, and when the law left them unprotected, where would the Province be?[9]

After the 13th of October Archibald ceased to pay attention to the first of his instructions and leaned upon the ambiguity of the second as he reluctantly set about directing the province toward an election campaign culminating in the choice of a new legislature. He had discovered that there was another unwritten instruction: "Govern without the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia" or--more bluntly--"Govern without a legislative assembly".

October 15th marks a kind of turning-point in the affairs of Archibald, of Riel, of Schultz, of Taché, and of the people of the Settlement generally. Mrs. Archibald and the second daughter Lily arrived in the Settlement on October 15th, having made the long overland journey from St. Paul under the care of Robert Tait, a freighter noted for the excellence of his outfit.[10] This marked the end of the bachelor's existence for Archibald, and the beginning of a period when the pressure of affairs in Manitoba was made bearable by a happier domestic situation at Government House and the occasional visit to St. Boniface, where the trio were always made welcome. For his part, after October 13th Riel knew that he was not going to be called on to reconstitute his government. More and more pressure was exerted on him to remain in exile and use his influence to ensure peace.[11] For Schultz it was a question of abandoning the idea of becoming premier and deciding to turn his attention to becoming a member of the provincial assembly, the House of Commons, or both.[12] However, he had no intention of relaxing his efforts at using the "poor Scott"

legend to keep Riel from emerging from exile. Taché noticed that a kind of cool breath had swept across his relationship with Archibald.[13] Archibald still needed Taché if he was to maintain the agonizing allegiance of the long-suffering Half-breeds as the one great support of his administration,[14] but the spontaneity and warmth of September and early October were no longer there. The first issue of the Manitoban reopened a window on the world that had been closed by Schultz's attack of September 6th on the New Nation and Spence. Once again there was a full budget of community and world news. Several of the mechanically-inclined Volunteers at the Fort had set to work with hammer, chisel and forge heat to replicate the lever that Schultz's men had removed.[15] The New Nation press functioned again, and the Manitoban began to appear regularly. The people of the Settlement, realizing at last that their old assembly was not acceptable in the eyes of the powers-that-be turned to the task of electing a new one.

Sources of information for the first provincial election campaign are very inadequate. By the time it began most eastern newspapers had lost interest in Manitoba affairs, and published little, if any, news of the new province. There was no French-language newspaper, and would not be until May of 1871. The News-Letter made no real effort to report meetings where Schultz was not present. The Manitoban, fearful for its very existence, was very circumspect in what it reported, especially where the Volunteers were concerned, and many of the special supplements known to have been issued have not survived. It is possible, nevertheless, for us to catch a glimpse of what meetings were like, which personalities were trying to influence the course of events, and how they were

attempting to do this.

Four main themes emerge from a study of the first provincial election campaign. We see a reluctance, natural enough, on the part of the "provisionals" to present themselves as candidates. There are exceptions, of course, but by and large Schultz's campaign against them was successful and most of these men were not among those elected to the new assembly. There was a tendency for those at the public meetings to look to the past and its struggles rather than to the future and its promise, although the public meetings were perhaps no worse in this respect than the debate on the Manitoba Act had been in the House of Commons. The events of "last winter" were still vividly remembered and, especially in parishes near St. Andrews, the divisions of February and the Kildonan rising found heated expression in the public meetings. Notable, too, were the efforts of certain men, like James Ross and Dr. Bird, to build a coalition of support for Archibald and his policies. Finally, barely perceptible in the newspaper reports, but casting a shadow over the deliberations of the people, was the presence and participation of the Volunteers. Schultz attended hardly a meeting unless he was attended by a "bodyguard" of uniformed men. These men seem to have been able to dominate certain meetings. At others they were less effective. Here and there an individual can be identified. The Queen's Regulations specifically forbade any participation by the Volunteers in "party affairs" and they were not to be "present at any political meeting", but these regulations were broken time and time again and Archibald, to use his own expression, had to turn his face away and not "see too much".

The records do not allow us to know exactly when and where the elec-

tion campaign began, but the imperfect evidence seems to suggest that the earliest moves were made in the area where the February counter-movement had taken place, that is, in the parishes of St. Johns, Kildonan, St. Pauls, St. Clements, St. Peters and St. Andrews. It is true that the Manitoban for November 8th refers to a meeting at St. Johns on November 3rd as being the opening meeting of the political campaign. However, hints in the News-Letter suggest that there may have been earlier ones.[16] As we study these meetings we shall meet some of the men who presented themselves as candidates. However, for reasons which will become apparent in due course, we shall turn first to notice a group of men who, though experienced and knowledgeable about both Manitoba and the North-West, did not present themselves for election to the first legislative assembly of the province.

There were, in addition to Riel, perhaps a dozen men whose unfortunate absence from the first Legislative Assembly of Manitoba deprived that body of a distinctively Red River point of view.[17] These men would have and should have, under normal circumstances, been elected to that assembly. Their places were taken--because the circumstances were not normal--by men who, while acceptable because they were French-speaking or Roman Catholic or both, nevertheless knew little or nothing of Manitoba or of the greater North-West beyond it.

Let us pause and look at these men now.

Louis Lascerte was a member of the Convention of November, representing St. Norbert, that of January representing Point Coupée, and of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

William O'Donoghue represented St. Boniface in both the November

and January Conventions, and was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. He had served as treasurer in the Provisional Government.

Pierre Parenteau was an "influential" Métis who represented St. Vital in the November Convention, St. Norbert in the January Convention. He was to be influential in urging his people to support Archibald's government at the time of the Fenian Raid in 1871. At that time he was elected captain of the force raised at St. Norbert. His was the third signature, along with those of Riel and Lépine, on the letter which offered the services of the Métis against the Fenians. When Archibald reviewed the Métis force on October 8th, Parenteau was one of the three captains to whom Archibald was introduced. His influence among the Métis remained strong, and in 1885 he was one of Riel's councillors at Batoche.[18]

Pierre Poitras was elected by St. Francis Xavier to both the November and December Conventions and to the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. An older man, he was one of those with whom Riel had taken counsel on the eve of the arrival of the Red River Expedition. He was among those taken prisoner and released by that force, but not before he had been injured by his captors.[19]

Baptiste Tourond was a delegate from St. Norbert to both the November and January Conventions, and was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

Baptiste Beauchemin was a member for St. Charles of the January Convention, and was also in the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

Charles Nolin was a member of the November Convention, representing Ste. Annes, and of the January Convention, representing Oak Point. At the time of the Fenian Raid in October of 1871 he declared himself opposed

to the Fenians and was elected captain of the Métis force from Oak Point. His absence from the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba cannot be explained on the grounds of his being a supporter of Riel, since at all times he showed a strong, independent mind.[20]

Ambroise Lépine was a member for St. Boniface of the Convention of January, being one of the famous deputation sent to interview McTavish about the status of the government of which McTavish had been head.[21] He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. He served as adjutant-general of the Provisional Government, having been in charge of the forces surrounding the Schultz houses in December of 1869, and also of the force which took the Portage party prisoner. In 1871 he was the first to declare himself opposed to the Fenian invasion and he was chosen captain of the force raised by St. Boniface. On October 8th, 1871, he was one of those introduced to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald.[22]

Xavier Pagée was elected member of the January Convention as representative for St. Francis Xavier. He was one of the four members who went to find out McTavish's opinion of the status of his government.[23] He was one of the councillors who had been with Riel the evening before the arrival of the Red River Expedition, and he too was made prisoner for a short time.[24]

John Bruce was the first president of the Provisional Government. He was a member of the Convention of November, and was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. After his resignation as president he became minister of public works in the Provisional Government.[25] As the provincial election began Bruce was one of those who had been appointed magistrate by Archibald.[26]

Jean-Baptiste Perrault was a member of the Convention of November representing Ste. Annes (Oak Point). Early in December of 1869 Perrault had proposed sending a delegation of 100 men to McDougall to see whether he would promise the Métis people their rights. Along with him in this initiative were Augustin Nolin and Francis Nolin, men who were not elected to any representative convention but nevertheless played an important part in Red River affairs in 1869 and 1870. Their effort was brought to nought by news of the hostile moves on the part of the "Canadian" party.[27]

This list does not include the names of several men who had been members of only one of the representative assemblies of the Provisional Government period.

We cannot know the precise details of why these men did not present themselves as candidates for election to the first provincial House in the fall of 1870. We can only assume that the failure to declare a general amnesty and the presence of a hostile force at Fort Garry brought about a situation fraught with danger for men who had collaborated in one way or another in the affairs of 1869-1870. We have seen that the man who could have been premier went into exile, along with Lépine and O'Donoghue, on August 24, 1870. Riel was, as we have seen, told by Girard that his safety could not be guaranteed by the force supposed to be at Fort Garry for the preservation of law and order. Luckily correspondence survives which sheds light on how Archibald viewed Riel's enforced exile. We must examine this correspondence now, because in this matter as in so many others we must strive to find out what the policy of the Canadian Cabinet was.

In late November Archibald had to answer a letter of Macdonald's in which he asked about the amnesty. Archibald wrote a long letter answering him. His statements are instructive. First of all, Archibald argued, "for all practical purposes there is an amnesty at this moment to all except the three men who took the lead in the movement, Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine.

> Nobody here, even among the most bitter of the opponents of the French party, proposes to proceed against anybody except these three. So far as they are concerned they are out of the reach of the Law and practically amnestied for everything EXCEPT THEIR RETURN TO THIS PROVINCE [emphasis mine].

Then Archibald pointed out that it was dangerous for the three men to return. "I am satisfied that the true interests of the men themselves, the true interests of the French people--are that these men should not in the meantime come into the country.

> It would be difficult in their presence to restrain the passions of the PEOPLE WHO SUFFERED [emphasis mine] last year and who look upon these men as the authors of their wrongs.--Their presence here would be a standing menace to the public peace, if the amnesty removed any chance of punishment by Law, private revenge might be substituted.

"On the other hand," Archibald reasoned, "if these men will keep out of the way TILL THE STORM BLOWS OVER [emphasis mine] the people will have their minds occupied with other matters, and then if an amnesty is granted they get the benefit of it.

> This is the doctrine which I have preached to Bishop Taché and his friends since I have been here. They cannot but admit the force of the argument, but then there is the other difficulty--

"They say that they were promised an amnesty, and that confiding in the assurances that were made to them, they made similar assurances to the

people and that the withholding of the amnesty under these circumstances is a breach of faith towards them,

> and places them in an attitude of SUSPICION and DISTRUST [emphasis mine] with their people here.

"While therefore they cannot but admit that there is a practical amnesty they feel that they are suffering under suspicion of having either deceived or been deceived and of course this is not a very agreeable position to be in."

Archibald's position as he used these points was not very agreeable either, and he told Macdonald the argument that he then fell back on in the conversations he had had:

> I have not failed to urge upon the French that it is possible to urge the amnesty in a way to produce the VERY OPPOSITE EFFECT [emphasis mine] from the one desired. That whatever hopes they have of an amnesty are FROM THE MEN NOW IN POWER [emphasis mine]--but let them urge their wishes in a way--or with a degree of impatience to compromise the Government with their supporters, in the present state of feeling IN ONTARIO [emphasis mine]-

"and they might succeed not in getting an amnesty but in destroying their best friends and bringing into power a party who not only would not have any sympathy with them but would come as a party of punishment."

Then Archibald stated what may well have proven the most effective of all his arguments--and it reveals that Archibald was in more or less constant contact with Riel through Taché:

> I have striven to create the impression that if Riel wishes to shew himself a statesman, that the Good of his country is his governing motive and not pay and place, he has the opportunity to prove this now--and that his staying away from the country and TAKING NO PART IN ITS POLITICS [emphasis mine] at the first election will do more to give him that character than any exertions he could make within the country for the next ten years.[28]

There is much in this letter that merits our attention and study. First of all, of course, it was written on the 22nd of November, with the election campaign in full swing. Archibald must have been fully aware of the implications of what he was saying, and he must have known that Macdonald was too. If Riel and the men who "took the lead" should "stay away" from the country Manitoba was not going to be governed according to the "Constitutional principles and precedents which obtain in the older Provinces". While theoretically a province, Manitoba was in November not even a crown colony: the English language has no word for what Manitoba then was, it being outside British constitutional experience.

Then we must note that Archibald seems to have been operating according to the theory we have noted earlier: that is, that while an amnesty for Riel, O'Donoghue and Lépine was not possible or in effect, an amnesty for the mass of the followers of the Provisional Government was. Unhappily the mass of the Red River people did not see the matter in this light, nor did the "Canadian" or "loyal" party, for whom any Half-breed was fair game, particularly if he could be caught alone.

What Archibald meant in his use of the word "proceed" is not clear. When it is remembered that by November 22nd Elzear Goulet had been pursued and drowned, and other "provisionals" had been beaten, dragged or threatened, Archibald's statement seems a little inappropriate, unless he meant it in the strictly legal sense of swearing out a warrant for someone's arrest. In this letter Archibald was reporting to Macdonald what Girard had told Riel two months earlier: it was not safe for Riel to come to Fort Garry. Why? Because it would "be difficult" to "restrain the passions of the people who suffered last year and who look

upon these men as the authors of their wrongs". The "people who suffered" are easily identifiable as John C. Schultz and those of the "Canadian" party who had returned to Winnipeg-Fort Garry.[29] It would be "difficult" to "restrain the passions" of these people because they had the sympathy and could call upon the support of the Volunteers at Fort Garry. There can be no other meaning. By late November Winnipeg-Fort Garry had the largest police force it had ever had, a force which should have been able to give anyone adequate protection--or arrest anyone for breaking the peace--if it had not had to cope with an undisciplined, if uniformed, mob prepared to listen to someone like Farquharson.

Archibald was likely deceiving only himself in making his remark about the "true interests of the French people". In November as in September and October the entire people of Manitoba needed a legislature to speak for them, to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Volunteers from the province of Manitoba, and to urge immediate action on the 1,400,000-acre grant of land to Half-breed heads of families. The only thing that can be said in Archibald's defense in so writing is that on November 22nd he had been in the province for only eleven weeks, too short a period for him to have grasped the real political "lay of the land". It was to be a number of months before Archibald learned how cruelly he had been deceived by "the part of the population opposed to Mr. Riel and the Provisional Government".[30] As we have seen, the party he was hearing the most from had brought their imprisonment on themselves. They were the "authors" of their own wrongs, although in the fall of 1870 Schultz and the "Canadian" party were hastening to compose what would in time become accepted as the standard version of what happened at Red River in 1869

and 1870. "Private revenge", far from being the theoretical thing alluded to by Archibald, had been the order of the day in Manitoba since the arrival of the Red River Expedition.

Here it ought to be noted that it was part of the revealed wisdom in circles that included the Canadian Cabinet, that, given time, tempers would cool, the storm would blow over, and all would be well in Manitoba. As we have just seen, Archibald used one of these expressions in his letter to Macdonald. By late November he must have begun to have a suspicion that "the storm" was not going to "blow over" because it was to someone's advantage to keep the province in a state of agitation. "The storm" certainly did not spend itself with the conclusion of the provincial election campaign, as might have been expected. Moreover, it did not spend itself with the close of the Dominion election campaign in 1871. As we shall see in due course at no time during the Archibald régime could it be said that the "storm" had "blown over". Archibald came to see this, and to see who was causing trouble. He may not have known the truth in November of 1870. In any event he did not mention any names.

In this letter Archibald alluded to what was actually the beginning of one of the great tragedies of the period which forms the subject of our study. Bishop Taché was complaining, and with good reason, that the failure of Macdonald and Cartier to keep their promises to the delegates and their sending of a hostile army instead of a "mission of peace", placed him and his clergy in an impossible position vis-à-vis the Red River Half-breeds. As the months went by and no amnesty came, as 1871 and 1872 came and violent incidents only increased in their frequency, many of the Half-breed people began to lose all faith, not only in their

clergy but in any kind of constituted authority not directly elected by themselves.[31] "Suspicion" and "distrust" would for over a century put obstacles in the way of anyone attempting to work with the Half-breed peoples. The most famous, but by no means the only, victim of this process, was, of course, to be Louis Riel.

Of considerable interest is Archibald's suggestion that too much pressure for an amnesty might bring down the Macdonald-Cartier government! One could well ask what kind of a federal system these gentlemen had carpentered together if the grant of responsible government to a new province could result in the defeat of a federal government because of public opinion in one province.

As we contemplate Archibald's remarks about Riel "staying away" from the country and "taking no part in its politics" we have to ask ourselves if we are in fact looking at Canadian Cabinet policy in the fall of 1870, and, if so, why it was Cabinet policy. Why must Riel be kept from doing what, as a British subject, he had every right to do? Why must indignation meetings "called by the 'loyal inhabitants' of Toronto" be allowed to give "direction" to the "settlement of affairs" in Manitoba--to use Taché's phrases--rather than a legislature elected locally?[32]

We are entitled to ask this at this point. The "indignation meetings" had insisted stridently that the Red River Expedition be sent on to Manitoba. One of those working behind the scenes, as we have seen, was Captain James Bennett. His name surfaced in the press in September of 1870.[33] His name was to be on Sir John A. Macdonald's mind in January of 1871, when Macdonald wished to reward him for services rendered. "It is of political consequence as you probably know," he wrote,

> not only looking to Toronto Elections, but to the Orange Brotherhood out of your city.[34]

By February of 1871 Bennett had his reward and went on to a position in the Civil Service.[35] Had something finally been put in place so well by that time that Captain Bennett's influence on the streets of Toronto was no longer needed, and the Captain could have his reward? We shall have to keep this in mind as the events unfold and evidence is revealed.

The newspaper record of the 1870 election is far from complete. Of the twenty-four constituencies there is no record at all of meetings in eleven, six of them French and five English. For the thirteen remaining constituencies, twenty-four newspaper accounts are spread unevenly among them. We have, for example, both Manitoban and News-Letter reports of meetings in the parishes of St. Pauls, Kildonan, and St. Andrews South. All other meeting reports are from the Manitoban. There must have been News-Letter reports of some of the other meetings, but no copies are known to exist for 11½ of the 17 issues known to have appeared in November and December. This lacuna imposes severe restrictions on any attempt at comparative study. Nevertheless much may be learned.

The News-Letter early referred to "the ring" or the "rebel clique"[36]--a loose "central committee" of men who were trying to build a base of support for Archibald's policy of "letting bygones be bygones". There is evidence to suggest, however, that the first organization to form was the "general committee of St. Andrews Parish".[37] This was essentially a successor to the "general council for the force"[38] which had been formed at the time of the counter-movement at Kildonan in February, and which in turn was a successor to the committee formed to welcome McDougall in October of 1869.[39] It is not, perhaps, too much to say that the election

campaign institutionalized the forces in opposition to each other throughout the Insurrection, without, however, the leadership of Riel and the most able men among the French-speaking Half-breeds. One organization, failing to send Schultz to the provincial house, eventually succeeded in sending him to the House of Commons. The other, while succeeding in forming a loose coalition able to form a government, never succeeded in finding a leader, since many of the men who had the confidence of the people did not dare to emerge from hiding and contest the election.

The "central committee" seems to have been made up of men like James Ross, Dr. Bird, Alexander Begg, A. G. B. Bannatyne, along with William Coldwell and Robert Cunningham of the Manitoban.[40] If we can believe a report that appeared in the Manitoban, John C. Schultz offered to work with the "central committee" if they would guarantee him a seat in the provincial house. They were not prepared to do so.[41] He then found support where he had found it before--in such men as John Tait, Edward Hay, John Hodgson, Adam McDonald, Andrew Mowatt and Donald Gunn, Sr.[42]

The "central committee" attempted to look to Manitoba's future, approving of Archibald's policy of "letting bygones be bygones" and presenting at each meeting resolutions calling for cooperation with the French-speaking parishes and urging support for candidates who had a "stake in the country".[43] The St. Andrews committee, on the other hand, tended to look backward, and, while the words "revenge, repeal and recall" were not arranged as a slogan, that is really what they advocated.[44] Those who had "suffered" should have revenge; the Manitoba Act and its grant to the Half-breeds of 1,400,000 acres should be repealed; Archibald

should be recalled, and someone like McDougall sent in his place. One of the most outspoken advocates of this general policy was E. H. G. G. Hay, who was soon to promote it in the provincial House. "We have no union in this country," Hay said, "I can never unite with people who have been our enemies last winter."[45]

One of the most moving and instructive debates of the campaign took place at Kildonan school-house on the 7th of November, and featured an exchange between John Sutherland and James Ross. It epitomized much of the debate that took place during the campaign, particularly in those parishes of the lower settlement where feeling had run very high in February. John Sutherland was the father of Hugh John Sutherland, the young man who had been shot by Parisien during the February counter-movement. Sutherland had distinguished himself for his efforts to gain support in Kildonan for the Provisional Government. He had been a delegate for Kildonan in the Convention of January. When the Provisional Government was formed Sutherland served with Roger Goulet as collector of customs.[46] Ross, for his part, had been a delegate from Kildonan to the November Convention and had represented St. Johns in the January Convention. Like Sutherland, he had worked to build support for the Provisional Government, and, like Sutherland, he had served in it.[47] Somehow, possibly because of the grief he had experienced in the loss of his son, Sutherland's views had undergone a change in the intervening months. When Robert Cunningham moved support for the four resolutions which formed the policy of the "central committee", Sutherland expressed his disapproval of Archibald. The "rebels" had not been brought to justice, and Archibald's reply to those asking permission to exhume Scott's body had been almost insulting.

James Ross said, among other things, "I am told you are down on all those who took part in the conventions of last winter". Sutherland replied that the delegates had given in to Riel more than they had a right to do. Ross pointed out that they had "secured the public peace". Sutherland replied that "by going in the delegates were keeping company with murderers". Ross reminded Sutherland that "at the time we united" no murder had taken place. Sutherland retorted that "after union a murder [Scott's] was committed", and "our delegates sat with them after that murder". Ross then reminded Sutherland that the lower parishes had "disowned" the Provisional Government at the "warlike" gathering at Kildonan, but went on to send members to the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia. The Portage people had sent members; the Protestant Bishop and clergy had urged union; the Canadian Commissioner [Smith] had worked to get the people to send delegates. Sutherland replied that the two delegates to the "Smith" or January Convention had written instructions not to acknowledge the Provisional Government and they "should not have done so before consulting us again". Ross then asked, "If they had consulted you would you have ordered them to disown the government and its head?" Sutherland did not have to answer, because at this point Robert Cunningham reminded the meeting that his motion was still before the chair. Ross then seconded the motion. Sutherland, however, asked how it was possible to approve Archibald's course when he had actually appointed Bruce, the first president of the Provisional Government, to be a J. P. This, he said, was an "insult to the loyal people". A further exchange followed. The Governor, Sutherland said, had failed to arrest the rebels. Ross reminded Sutherland that the Governor had not arrived when Riel and his party left. He objected to the

use of the word "rebels". Sutherland insisted that the movement should be regarded as a "rebellion", and pointed to all the "mischief" that was done. Ross was in the process of showing Sutherland that "until we were part of the Dominion Canada had no right to send a governor" when Cunningham again interrupted to remind the meeting that his motion was before the chair.

At this point Sutherland, Alexander Polson and others asked that the motion before the meeting be not pressed, since the attendance at the meeting, while "fair", was not large enough to be representative. Ross consented to this, and no vote was taken. Before the meeting adjourned, Curtis J. Bird warned the gathering that before the next election they would have ceased, because of the "influx of immigration", to be able to elect a candidate of their choice. He then spoke in support of the resolutions.[48]

This debate between Ross and Sutherland illustrates the difficulties in which the people of the Kildonan area found themselves in the first election campaign. Sutherland, it must be remembered, had pressed Riel to spare Boulton's life.[49] Sutherland must surely have known that Thomas Scott was far more influential than Boulton in raising the movement that had threatened to destroy all his work of conciliation and had culminated in the first deaths of the winter--one of them that of his own son.[50] He must have known that there was abundant reason for the Provisional Government to decide to execute Scott.[51] However, Schultz had gone to Ontario and had returned, and the Volunteers were at the two forts. Like many others in Kildonan, Sutherland was so eager to forget the whole sordid February rising that he would strive to forget his own constructive efforts

and give his support to Schultz, who was hammering away on the theme that Riel, Lépine and O'Donoghue were guilty of "murder". The decisions of men like Sutherland were not taken soon enough to elect Schultz to the provincial house, but, as we shall see, this motive, added to some others, would elect Schultz to the House of Commons in 1871. As has been noticed, too, it was with difficulty that men like Ross and Bird forced their fellow citizens to give thought to the future rather than to the past.

Contrary, no doubt, to what had been expected, the loss of his house had not prevented James Ross from taking an active part in the politics of the new province. Ross attended no fewer than eight of the meetings of which we have record, and one of these was as far west as Poplar Point. Only Robert Cunningham of the Manitoban, with seven meetings, and Dr. C. J. Bird, with five, approximated Ross's effort in this campaign.[52] Their message was simple: Archibald's policy deserved approval, and the united people of the new province should look to the future and elect only men with a stake in the country's future. Carrying this message was always fraught with difficulties if J. C. Schultz and his partisans were present. At a meeting at Kildonan in November Ross "attempted" to speak. Schultz told the meeting that he had come to reply to a requisition, not to "answer slanders" from Mr. Ross. The News-Letter does not tell us how Ross was prevented from speaking.[53] Neither does the Manitoban's report of the same meeting.[54] At St. Pauls on the 12th of November the "rebel committee" could not make use of the church for a meeting. According to the News-Letter the church-warden told them, "Gentlemen, you can't have it", and the group had to go to the house of William Sutherland to meet.[55] There Dr. O'Donnell spoke in defense of the Manitoba Act and Archibald's

policies.[56] O'Donnell was not allowing the fact that he had been taken prisoner in the Schultz houses affair of the previous winter to keep him from supporting the "central committee". At the meeting at St. Andrews on November 14th Captain Kennedy wanted to speak, but had to wait till "the evidence of dissatisfaction" on the part of the audience "had been quieted". Kennedy lashed out at his tormentors with, "You are all a pack of cowardly boobies".[57]

The meeting at Kildonan on November 15th saw Ross interrupted by people who, to quote the Manitoban's report, "evidently did not belong to the parish". When Ross tried to criticize Schultz's policies, "the noise seemed to come chiefly from those who did not belong to Kildonan at all".[58] Ross was shouted down at a meeting in St. James parish school-house by "Mr. St. John's supporters". When Robert Cunningham asked leave to make a few remarks, shouting "rendered it impossible" to hear his remarks and the meeting broke up in confusion".[59]

By the time a meeting was held at St. John s on December 5th, the Manitoban, braver now, was prepared to be more forthright about what was going on at certain meetings of the election campaign, particularly when J. C. Schultz and "his retainers" were present. To begin with, the building had been promised to a supporter of Donald Smith. Schultz and "his retainers" ordered someone to run and get a key. They then went inside and locked the door. Other comers were somehow able eventually to get into the building, and the meeting heard Mr. Smith speak. The Schultz party then tried to adjourn the meeting, and after an argument had taken place Schultz "marched out followed by his men". The others remaining then went on with a meeting. Cunningham declared that he found Schultz's

behavior insulting. He said that Manitoba people should elect men whom "neither 11,000 dollars nor any number of dollars could buy", an obvious reference to Schultz's support for the Manitoba Act the previous spring. H. J. Clarke spoke too, expressing the "pain" he felt at Schultz's attempt to "gag the meeting".[60]

A special supplement of the Manitoban reported how Schultz and "quite a corps of his followers" took possession of a meeting at St. Andrews. At five minutes after 6 Schultz stated that it was after seven and "they had better disperse". Joseph McDermott said that by "town time" it was only five minutes after six. A "hubbub" followed. Schultz's followers rushed at McDermott. One of them, "quite a giant", caught him by the throat and pushed him to the door. The fracas that followed left McDermott's huge antagonist "sprawled on the floor". Joe then invited the rest to come in. However, Dr. Bird and his friends decided that it was "not safe" to try to hold a meeting in view of what had happened.[61]

It is possible to identify at least one of the Volunteers who took part in election meetings as one of Schultz's bodyguard. In his Making of the Canadian West R. G. MacBeth wrote of a "huge drummer" who had a "pitched battle on the street with a French half-breed [sic] of colossal size and strength". "More than once," MacBeth continued, "have I seen him alert and ready to ply his pugilism at the signal of HIS POLITICAL LEADER [emphasis mine]".[62] Some years later, in his Romance of Western Canada, MacBeth again referred to the "big drummer of the Ontario regiment" who had fought a "famous pitched battle" with a "colossal half-breed [sic] noted for his great strength . . .". This time MacBeth did not refer to his being used at political meetings.[63] J. F. Tennant,

writing in Rough Times, made reference to George Lee, the "big drummer of the band", who was six feet four and one-half inches in height.[64] J. C. Major had probably referred to this same man and used the name "Harry Lee" to meet the metrical requirements of his 1870 poem, The Red River Expedition:

> Though not all men like Harry Lee
> Can boast of more than six feet three.[65]

Lee was a familiar figure on the streets of Winnipeg, and was to be one of those who took part in the jail-breaking and mutiny of February 18, 1871, of which more in its proper place.[66]

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of MacBeth's references to this man. The MacBeth family had sheltered Schultz when he was in hiding from the Provisional Government,[67] and the MacBeths lived in a part of the Red River Settlement which supported Schultz in the counter-movement of February.[68] The elder MacBeth was in the circle of the men who supported Schultz unsuccessfully in the provincial election campaign of 1870, and successfully in the election of 1871 which sent Schultz to the House of Commons. Divisions of opinion in this area of St. Andrews, St. Pauls, and Kildonan were such that Schultz--never a brave man--felt that he needed a bodyguard to protect himself and to curtail debate when it threatened to reveal facts about his actions in the winter of 1869 and 1870.

MacBeth, in the Romance of Western Canada, seemed to imply that Schultz's opposition also used huge men to bully their opponents.[69] However, there is no evidence to support this charge, either contemporary or more recent. The evidence points rather to big men like John Norquay, James McKay or Joseph Lemay being themselves at election meetings on their

own behalf.[70] It is significant, too, that most of the mysterious allusions that we can find in meeting reports are to be found in reports of meetings in the St. Andrews-St. Paul-Kildonan area.

Reference was made in an earlier chapter to the meeting at Poplar Point at which James Tanner was accidentally killed. As we have seen, there was no proof that Dr. Lynch's supporters at that meeting were Volunteers. In view of what we have now learned, however, we cannot discount the possibility that Volunteers were at that meeting. In addition we must consider a rather enigmatic statement made by Lynch at a meeting at Headingly. A Mr. Taylor had just read a brief speech. Dr. Lynch "said if the law did not protect him he [Taylor] knew what to resort to".[71] Nothing more than this can be said with any certainty.

In conclusion we must consider briefly the participation of Volunteers at another level. The News-Letter for November 19th published a letter from someone calling himself "Observer", of St. Andrews Parish. This letter reminded readers that "Officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers are forbidden . . . to attend any meeting whatever, for party or political purposes, in barracks, quarters, camp or elsewhere". The writer cited page 463 of Her Majesty's Regulations and went on to say that these regulations were being broken. It was ironical that the News-Letter should be the first to publish such a protest, for by the 19th of November those of the News-Letter knew a great deal indeed about the participation of Volunteers in the election campaign. A certain Captain Macdonald had intended to present himself as a candidate for election to the provincial house. He had announced this at a meeting at the St. Johns parish school-house on November 3rd. Macdonald was, he said, a Red River

Half-breed, having been born in the Settlement. He told the meeting that he realized that the position he held "prevented him from entering politics", but that he had decided on going into politics "rather than see the people of Red River imposed on".[72] It would appear that he later changed his mind about his candidacy, possibly because of the appearance of "Observer's" letter.

Strangely enough, there was little or no protest at the candidacy of Captain Thomas Howard, of the Quebec Rifles. Howard ran against Joseph Monkman in St. Peter s, receiving the support of Archdeacon Cowley and his clergy. Archibald may have chosen not to "see too much" in this election, but he certainly knew the details of this race. He reported to Macdonald that J. C. Schultz supported his "henchman" of the previous winter "with all his might". Howard had excellent connections in Quebec, Archibald said, being the son of Dr. Howard of St. John s, who was an acquaintance of Sir George Cartier, and being married to a daughter of Col. Dyde of Montreal.[73] Howard was successful in St. Peters, and would eventually join Archibald's cabinet with three other men who knew little or nothing of Manitoba's problems.

In December, only a few days before the provincial election, Archibald was able to report to Macdonald that

> a second obstacle [was] removed from my way by Riel declining a requisition to stand for St. Vital in the Assembly and for the District in which it is in the Commons. This answer has been given in writing and has been seen by Bishop Taché, who reports to me.[74]

To Archibald's satisfaction and relief, Riel had decided to "shew himself a statesman".[75]

Appendix "A"

An alphabetical list of the members of the last Council of Assiniboia.

(The Telegraph, Sept. 22, 1870)

1. A. G. B. Bannatyne (1)
2. Magnus B[ir]sto[n]
3. Paschal Breland
4. Thomas Bunn
5. William Dease
6. Henry Fisher
7. William Fraser
8. Maximilian Genton
9. Roger Goulet
10. Solomon Hamelin
11. John Inkster
12. Rt. Rev. Rob't Machray
13. Robert McBeath
14. James McKay
15. Rt. Rev. A. A. Taché

(1) Bannatyne's name does not appear in the Telegraph account. He was absent at the time of the report. He went onto the Council in 1868.

Appendix "B"

An alphabetical list of the members of the Convention of November, 1869. Names have been given in two parts, French parishes first, English parishes next. (Numbers between 1 and 15 are also found in Appendix "A".)

(Begg, The Creation of Manitoba, pp. 64-5)

16. André Beauchemin
17. John Bruce (President)
18. François Dauphinais
19. Louis LaSerte
20. Pierre Lavieller (1)
21. Charles Nolin
22. W. B. O'Donoghue
23. Pierre Paranteau, sen'r
24. Jean Baptiste Perrault
25. Pierre Poitras
26. Louis Riel (Secretary)
27. Baptiste Touron
28. Dr. Bird
4. Thomas Bunn
29. John Garrioch
30. Donald Gunn
31. Geo. Gunn
32. Maurice Lowman
33. Henry McKenney
34. H. F. O'Lone
35. Henry Prince
36. James Ross
37. Robert Tait
38. William Tait

(1) According to Morice this name should be spelled Lavallée. Cf. Morice, Dictionnaire Historique, p. 172. Morice says he was better known as Pierre Ayotte.

Appendix "C"

A list of the members of the Convention of January, 1870. Names have been alphabetized in two parts, French parishes first, English parishes next. (Numbers between 1 and 38 are also found in Appendices "A" and "B")

(W. L. Morton (ed), Begg's Journal, pp. 285-6)

16. André Beauchemin
39. Baptiste Beauchemin
2. Magnus Birston
40. P. Delorme
41. Jos. Genton
42. Thos. Harrison
43. George Klyne
44. Ambroise LaPine
45. Norbert Laronce
19. Louis Lascerte
21. C. Nolin
22. W. B. O'Donoghue
46. Alex. Pagée
47. Xavier Pagée
23. Pierre Paranteau
25. Pierre Poitras
26. Louis Riel
48. Louis Schmidt
49. Pierre Thibert
27. B. Touron
28. Dr. Bird
50. Judge Black
51. Alfred Boyd
4. Thomas Bunn
52. Rev. Hy Cochrane
53. Wm Cummings
54. Geo. Flett
55. John Fraser
30. Donald Gunn
31. Geo. Gunn
56. [W. F.] Lonsdale
57. Alex. McKenzie
58. Kenneth McKenzie
36. James Ross
59. Alfred Scott
60. David Spence
61. Thos. Spence
62. John Sutherland
37. Robert Tait
63. John Taylor

Appendix "D"

A list of the spokesmen for the counter-movement of February, 1870, alphabetized from the list given by "R. McC" in the St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870, and from lists found in the articles and letters of Charles Mair and J. J. Setter.

64. Dr. Beddome
65. Major C. A. Boulton
66. Geo. Calder
67. John Cameron
68. Wm Farmer
69. Donald Gunn, Jr.
70. Wm B. Hall
71. Edward Hayes
72. John Hodges
73. Wm Leask
74. Charles Mair
75. Adam McDonald
76. Joseph Monkman
77. Andrew Mowatt
78. A. H. Murray
79. Francis Ogletree
80. Henry Prince
81. Alexander Ross
82. John C. Schultz
83. Thomas Scott
84. J. J. Setter
85. Thomas Sinclair
86. John Tait

Appendix "E"

A list of the members of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, alphabetized in two parts, French parishes first, English parishes next. (Numbers between 1 and 86 are also found in Appendices "A", "B", "C" and "D".) (PAM, Minutes of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.)

16. André Beauchemin
39. Baptiste Beauchemin
17. John Bruce
18. François Dauphinais
40. Pierre Delorme
42. Thomas Harrison
19. Louis Lascerte
44. Ambroise Lépine
22. William O'Donohue
47. Xavier Pagée
23. Pierre Parenteau
25. Pierre Poitras
48. Louis Schmidt
27. Baptiste Touron
1. A. G. B. Bannatyne
28. Dr. C. J. Bird
4. Thomas Bunn
7. William Fraser
87. W. Garrioch
31. George Gunn
71. E. H. G. G. Hay
14. James McKay
88. John Norquay, Sr.
34. H. F. O'Lone
59. A. H. Scott
89. J. Sinclair
85. T. Sinclair
38. William Tait

Appendix "F"

Members of the first Legislative Assembly of the province of Manitoba, alphabetized in two parts, French districts first, English districts next. (Numbers between 1 and 89 are also found in Appendices "A", "B", "C", "D" and "E".)

16. A. Beauchemin
3. Pascal Breland
90. H. J. H. Clarke
40. Pierre Delorme
91. Joseph Dubuc
92. Marc Girard
71. Edward Hay
43. Geo. Klyne
93. Jos. Lemay
94. Angus McKay
95. J. Royal
48. Louis Schmidt
28. Dr. Cyrtis Bird
96. Frederick Bird
51. Mr. Boyd
4. Thomas Bunn
97. Edwin Bourke
98. James Cunningham (1)
99. Captain Howard
100. John H. McTavish
101. John Norquay, Jr.
102. D. A. Smith
60. D. Spence
62. John Sutherland
63. John Taylor (1)

(1) Both Cunningham and Taylor represented Headingly in the first Manitoba Legislative Assembly. Taylor was at first declared the winner in the controversial contest and attended the first sessions. As a result of a complaint by his opponent, Cunningham, the Assembly decided that Cunningham should represent Headingly. Taylor withdrew and Cunningham took his place.

Appendix "G"

Members of the first Legislative Council of the province of Manitoba. (Numbers between 1 and 102 are also found in Appendices "A", "B","C", "D" and "E".

18. François Dauphinais
30. Donald Gunn
10. Solomon Hamelin
103. Colin Inkster
14. James McKay
104. J. H. O'Donnell
79. Francis Ogletree

Appendix "H"

First members of the House of Commons elected from Manitoba. (Numbers are also found in Appendices "C", "D", "E" and "F".)

40. Pierre Delorme (Provencher)
82. John C. Schultz (Lisgar)
102. D. A. Smith (Selkirk)

The contest in Marquette resulted in a tie between (94) Angus McKay and Dr. James S. Lynch. McKay was eventually declared the winner.

Appendix "I"

Members of the House of Commons elected from Manitoba in the election of September, 1872.(Numbers are also found in Appendices "D" and "F".)

105. R. Cunningham (Marquette)
82. John C. Schultz (Lisgar)
102. D. A. Smith (Selkirk)

Sir George Cartier was elected by acclamation in Provencher, but never took his seat in the House of Commons as a Member for that constituency.

Appendix "J"

First senators appointed to represent the province of Manitoba.(Numbers are also found in Appendices "C" and "F".

92. Marc Girard
62. John Sutherland

Appendix "K"

Representatives of 1869-1872

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1. A.G.B. Bannatyne	✓				✓					
2. Magnus Birston	✓		✓							
3. Pascal Breland	✓					✓				
4. Thomas Bunn	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				
5. William Dease	✓									
6. Henry Fisher	✓									
7. William Fraser	✓				✓					
8. Max'n Genton	✓									
9. Roger Goulet	✓									
10. Salomon Hamelin	✓									
11. John Inkster	✓									
12. Rt. Rev. Robert Machray	✓									
13. Robert MacBeth	✓									
14. James McKay	✓				✓		✓			
15. Rt. Rev. A.-A.-Taché	✓									
16. André Beauchemin		✓	✓		✓	✓				
17. John Bruce(President)		✓			✓					
18. François Dauphinais		✓			✓		✓			
19. Louis Lascerte		✓	✓		✓					
20. Pierre Lavallée		✓								
21. Charles Nolin		✓	✓							
22. W. B. O'Donoghue		✓	✓		✓					
23. Pierre Parenteau		✓	✓		✓					
24. Jean-Baptiste Perrault		✓								
25. Pierre Poitras		✓	✓		✓					
26. Louis Riel(Secretary)		✓	✓							
27. Baptiste Touron		✓	✓		✓					
28. Dr. C.J. Bird		✓	✓		✓	✓				
29. John Garrioch		✓								
30. Donald Gunn		✓	✓				✓			
31. George Gunn		✓	✓		✓					
32. Maurice Lowman		✓								
33. Henry McKenney		✓								
34. H.F. O'Lone		✓			✓					
35. Henry Prince		✓								
36. James Ross		✓	✓							
37. Robert Tait		✓	✓							
38. William Tait		✓			✓					
39. Baptiste Beauchemin			✓		✓					
40. Pierre Delorme			✓		✓	✓				
41. Joseph Genton			✓							
42. Thos. Harrison			✓		✓					
43. George Klyne			✓			✓				
44. Ambroise Lépine			✓		✓					
45. Norbert Laurence			✓							
46. Alex. Pagée			✓							
47. Xavier Pagée			✓		✓					
48. Louis Schmidt			✓		✓	✓				
49. Pierre Thibert			✓							
50. Judge Black			✓							
51. Alfred Boyd			✓		✓					
52. Rev. Hy Cochrane			✓							

Representatives of 1869-1872(cont'd)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
53. William Cummings			✓							
54. George Flett			✓							
55. John Fraser			✓							
56. W. F. Lonsdale			✓							
57. Alex. McKenzie			✓							
58. Kenneth McKenzie			✓							
59. Alfred Scott			✓		✓					
60. David Spence			✓			✓				
61. Thomas Spence			✓							
62. John Sutherland			✓			✓				✓
63. John Taylor			✓			✓				
64. Dr. Beddome				✓						
65. Major C. A. Boulton				✓						
66. George Calder				✓						
67. John Cameron				✓						
68. William Farmer				✓						
69. Donald Gunn, Jr.				✓						
70. Wm B. Hall				✓						
71. E. H. G. G. Hay				✓	✓	✓				
72. John Hodgson				✓						
73. Wm Leask				✓						
74. Charles Mair				✓						
75. Adam McDonald				✓						
76. Joseph Monkman				✓						
77. Andrew Mowatt				✓						
78. A. H. Murray				✓						
79. Francis Ogletree				✓			✓			
80. Henry Prince				✓						
81. Alexander Ross				✓						
82. John C. Schultz				✓				✓	✓	
83. Thomas Scott				✓						
84. J. J. Setter				✓						
85. Thomas Sinclair				✓	✓					
86. John Tait				✓						
87. W. Garrioch					✓					
88. John Norquay, Sr.					✓					
89. J. Sinclair					✓					
90. H. J. H. Clarke						✓				
91. Joseph Dubuc						✓				
92. Marc Girard						✓				✓
93. Jos. Lemay						✓				
94. Angus McKay						✓				
95. J. Royal						✓				
96. Frederick Bird						✓				
97. Edwin Bourke						✓				
98. James Cunningham						✓				
99. Captain Howard						✓				
100. John H. McTavish						✓				
101. John Norquay, Jr.						✓				
102. D. A. Smith						✓		✓	✓	
103. Colin Inkster							✓			
104. J. H. O'Donnell							✓			
105. R. Cunningham									✓	

Footnotes

1. These instructions are in C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), p. 4.

2. Telegraph, Oct. 13, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 30).

3. Globe, Sept. 28, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 10).

4. "Report--1874", p. 179.

5. Alfred Scott was so treated: Globe, Sept. 9, 1870 (August 26).

6. See the chapter "Disorder With Impunity".

7. "Memorial and Petition" may be found in CHR, Vol. XX, March, 1939. See also "Writings--Riel", pp. 110-8.

8. Dom Benoit, Vie, Vol. 2, p. 129.

9. Letter from Riel and Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Jan. 3, 1873, in "Report--1874", p. 205. See also "Writings--Riel", p. 251.

10. Manitoban, Oct. 22, 1870.

11. See for example, "Report--1874", deposition of Joseph Royal, p. 129.

12. Metropolitan Toronto Library Board, Denison Collection, News-Letter, Nov. 8, 1870, contains the "requisition" of the parishes of St. Peters, St. Clements, Little Britain, St. Andrews, St. Pauls, Kildonan, St. Johns and Holy Trinity, requesting Schultz to be a candidate for the House of Commons.

13. Taché probably noticed it first in the letter of October 17, 1870. See note 18 of the chapter "The Search For Scott's Body".

14. American Consul J. W. Taylor saw where the chief support for the Archibald administration was: USNARS, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, Feb. 21, 1871--"Archibald may yet have to rely almost exclusively upon the supporters of the Provisional Government of last winter."

15. Manitoban, Oct. 15, 1870.

16. News-Letter, Nov. 8, 1870. See note 12 above.

17. Information concerning the experience of the following men has been assembled in appendices at the end of this chapter. See Appendices "A" to "K".

18. A. G. Morice, Dictionnaire, pp. 220-1.

19. Morice, Dictionnaire, p. 232; La Minerve, Sept. 10, 1870; see also Riel's "Memoire" in Le Métis, Feb. 28, 1874.

20. Morice, Dictionnaire, pp. 208-9.

21. Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine, evidence of Hon. John Sutherland, p. 80. See also Begg's Journal, p. 301.

22. Morice, Dictionnaire, pp. 180-2.

23. Preliminary Investigation and Trial of Ambroise Lépine, evidence of Xavier Pagé, pp. 74-5.

24. La Minerve, Sept. 10, 1870.

25. Morice, Dictionnaire, p. 51.

26. News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870.

27. Morice, Dictionnaire, p. 226; Begg's Journal, p. 196.

28. Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Nov. 22, 1870.

29. There are many references to them. An example is the St. Paul Press for June 6, 1872, where Schultz was referred to as "the suffering patriot". See also C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 17, 1870.

30. The phrase is Archibald's. See C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Archibald to Howe, Sept. 3, 1870.

31. The process is described at length in Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, see Part 6, Chapter II, pp. 1109-1133, "La Décadence du Groupe de la Rivière Rouge". See also Dom Benoit, Vie, Vol. II, chapters 36, 37, 38 ff.

32. See, above, chapter entitled "The Red River Expeditionary Force", note 55.

33. Globe, Sept. 21, 1870. See, above, chapter entitled "The Red River Expeditionary Force", note 48.

34. PAC Macdonald Papers, Microfilm C29, Macdonald to R. A. Harrison, Jan. 23, 1871.

35. PAC Civil Service List, 1883, pp. 112, 113. Bennett was appointed Feb. 11, 1871.

36. Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Collection, News-Letter, Nov. 8, 1870.

37. Ibid.

38. See report of "R. McC" in St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

39. Nor'Wester, Oct. 26, 1869.

40. This can be deduced from accounts of those who introduced and supported the resolutions at election meetings. See the Manitoban for Nov. 5, 12, 17 (Supplement), 19, 26, Dec. 3, 10, 17, 22 (Supplement), 24.

41. Manitoban, Nov. 12, 1870.

42. News-Letter, Nov. 8, 1870.

43. See, for example, The Manitoban, Nov. 5, 1870; meeting at St. Johns, Colin Inkster's motion.

44. The Manitoban said their slogan was "Protestant, Protection and Repeal", Nov. 19, 1870.

45. Manitoban, Nov. 19, 1870; meeting at St. Andrews, Nov. 14.

46. Begg's Journal, pp. 207, 215, 223, 251-2, 176, 301, 302, 307.

47. See the long set of references in Begg's Journal, p. 633.

48. Manitoban, Nov. 12, 1870.

49. Begg's Journal, pp. 316-7.

50. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

51. See, above, chapter entitled "The Execution of Thomas Scott".

52. See note 40.

53. News-Letter, Nov. 19, 1870.

54. Manitoban, Nov. 12, 1870.

55. News-Letter, Nov. 19, 1870.

56. Manitoban, Nov. 12 (Supplement), 1870.

57. Manitoban, Nov. 19, 1870; News-Letter, Nov. 19, 1870. Captain William Kennedy, an English-speaking Half-breed, had retired to the Red River Settlement after leading the 1851-2 expedition in search of Sir John Franklin.

58. Manitoban, Nov. 19, 1870; News-Letter, Nov. 19, 1870.

59. Manitoban, Nov. 26, 1870.

60. Manitoban, Dec. 17, 1870.

61. Manitoban, Dec. 22 (Supplement), 1870.

62. MacBeth, Making, p. 91.

63. MacBeth, Romance, pp. 164-5.

64. J. F. Tennant, Rough Times, p. 99. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 35, gives a "Private J. Lee, Regimental No. 80" in Company No. 2.

65. J. C. Major, The Red River Expedition, The News-Letter Press, 1870, p. 13.

66. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 33, "Returns of Defaulters, 1870-3".

67. MacBeth, Romance, p. 129.

68. Ibid., p. 151.

69. Ibid., p. 170.

70. Norquay and McKay were Red River men well known for their size. Joseph Lemay was also a large man. See MacBeth, Romance, p. 174.

71. Manitoban, Dec. 3, 1870: meeting at Headingly, Nov. 29, 1870.

72. Manitoban, Nov. 5, 1870. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 35, gives a "Captain and Adjutant D. A. Macdonald".

73. Macdonald Papers, MG26A, Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Jan. 16, 1871.

74. Macdonald Papers, MG26A, Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 11, 1870.

75. An alphabetical list of the members of the first provincial legislature is to be found in Appendix "F". Appendix "K" shows the experience of those elected.

Chapter Twenty-six
The Sequel To the Provincial Election Results

There is no doubt that something in the nature of a demonstration took place as soon as the election results were known. There is, however, considerable difficulty in finding out just what took place and in deciding what interpretation to place on the event. The Manitoban, in reporting it, was about as circumspect as it was possible to be:

> After nightfall yesterday about a hundred people went into a little election fun, a store or two were mobbed and one or two effigies hung and burned. But it was election times. Nobody objects to election fun--only let it be fun and nothing else--That's the best way.[1]

Private Charles Napier Bell of Company 7, Ontario Rifles, was more straightforward when he confided in his diary:

> This is the day of the elections. Donald Smith was elected by a majority of 7 over Schultz. The fellows after 4 p.m. went down and raised a row.[2]

American Consul J. W. Taylor was even more specific when he made his report in the new year of 1871:

> When the result of the election was known about one hundred Ontario volunteers expressed their dissatisfaction in the streets by burning Donald Smith in effigy, groaning under the windows of his supporters, breaking into a saloon kept by a Frenchman, and committing other excesses. I hear of personal insults and violence to Half Breeds [sic] wherever the soldiers go. Governor Archibald is not free from apprehension of tumults within the walls of Fort Garry. Two whole companies, on the night of the election, made the round of the barracks, cheering for Schultz, and groaning at the name of Smith, McTavish and other officers of the Hudson's Bay Co. It would be an immense relief to the authorities if the Ontario Battalion was out of the country. The officers are evidently in fear of the men.[3]

Three days later, in a note written for the guidance of officers serving on courts-martial at Fort Garry, Lieutenant-Colonel Jarvis, the

officer commanding, stated that

> The recent misconduct of the men of this Battalion requires severe examples to be made and the Lieutenant-Colonel trusts that the court will not abstain from the performance of their duty.[4]

Controversy over what had occurred on election night went on locally, in the columns of the two newspapers and in the St. Paul, Montreal and Toronto press. The Manitoban's very circumspect account was called "lies" by the News-Letter early in the New Year.[5] Echoes of the local controversy reached the columns of the News-Letter again when it reported that

> Pussy says 150 of the Battalion broke into Monchamps [sic] last Friday to get liquor.--No one broke into Monchamps [sic]. The door was opened and the Point du Chene voters inside retired by the back windows, pursued, not by the men of the Ontario rebellion--but by their own guilty consciences.[6]

This bit of editorializing is bristling with implications. Most obvious, of course, is the corroboration of the statement that Volunteers had invaded the "saloon kept by a Frenchman". Then, too, "Pussy," was Schultz's nickname for A. G. B. Bannatyne, postmaster and storekeeper in partnership with Alexander Begg.[7] As we have seen, Bannatyne had been acquainted with Schultz for many years, and upon an occasion of crisis in Schultz's life, had offered the help of a fellow lodge member.[8] Nevertheless Bannatyne, in working with the Provisional Government the previous winter, had earned Schultz's disfavor. Bannatyne's appointment as magistrate had angered Schultz in October of 1870.[9] Finally, Schultz claimed that his defeat in the election was the result of the machinations of the Central Committee, which he said had paid men from Point du Chêne and deserters from the American border post at Pembina to vote against him.[10] He was sure that Bannatyne was one of the Committee.

Bannatyne had the businessman's fear of losing business. He also was afraid of what the Volunteers could do if their anger was directed at him. He wrote a letter to the Manitoban:

> The News-Letter evidently is spiteful: but it takes a roundabout, underhand way in venting its spleen: and while endeavoring to raise ill-feeling between the Volunteers and citizens, it takes the opportunity of placing the odium on my shoulders, under a disguised name. I wish to say in reply to the article . . . that it is totally false in every particular and was written for a very apparent purpose.[11]

The News-Letter returned to the charge the same evening:

> Pussy denies that he lied about the Ontario Battalion. Poor man! You will find them hard to convince after your performance of voting Frenchman lately. Puss always LIKED [emphasis his] people from Ontario.[12]

For its part the Manitoban had appeared in print that same day with an editorial defending the volunteers:

> As a Battalion--and we have known it pretty intimately since its formation--both as for absence of crime, for general good behavior, and for discipline, it is second to no Battalion in Her Majesty's service.[13]

The Manitoban knew it had to be careful to qualify its remarks if it was to retain any credibility with those who had been in the vicinity on election day:

> True, there may be a few foolish men amongst them--and where would 400 men be brought together without some fools finding a place amongst them . . . the Battalion is an honor to Ontario . . . its removal would cause the deepest regret to the very gentlemen so scurrilously maligned by the News-Letter.[14]

The same issue of the Manitoban contained news of Archibald's appointment of H. J. H. Clarke as attorney-general. Clarke had come from Quebec in the fall of 1870 at the urging of Bishop Taché and had been a candidate in the riding of St. Charles. When John Grant withdrew from

the contest Clarke was elected by acclamation.[15] An Irishman by birth and a Roman Catholic,[16] Clarke soon incurred the wrath of Schultz and the News-Letter. Some of this came about from the nature of Clarke's personality and some of it from the responsibilities of office.

On January 4th, 1871, for example, a fracas had occurred at the Assiniboine ferry, involving two Métis, Toussaint Voudrie and Joseph McDougal and four Volunteers, Davis Hamilton, Robert Jamieson, Patrick Morrissey and Richard Wilson. the four volunteers were arrested and charged with "aggravated assault and battery". They appeared in court before Andrew McDermott and A. G. B. Bannatyne on January 14th, and pleaded "not guilty". Hamilton and Jamieson were discharged, while Wilson and Morrissey were fined $40 each, with the option of spending three months in jail.[17] Schultz and the News-Letter saw the hand of Clarke in the affair.

The evening after the conclusion of the trial the News-Letter came out with a veiled attack on the attorney-general. "'Blarney' don't like Orangemen," it began. "Blarney" was the nickname that Schultz and the News-Letter were giving to the new attorney-general, although there is no suggestion of it in the editorial in question here.[18] "'Yes' says B.," the News-Letter went on,

> "they're riding the high Protestant horse: but the first thing they know he'll throw them." "I'll break up that Orange Lodge and the whole of them with it," he says again. While his hand is in, wouldn't he like to banish all its members and those who sympathize with them? He and his friends could then do as they liked without having their acts called in question.[19]

Whether Clarke had made a statement of the kind alluded to here is not known, but it would have been entirely in character if he had. Archibald often found the new attorney-general a difficult man to get along

with and referred to his "devil-may-care-style".[20] In early 1871 it was common knowledge that a portion of the Volunteers was clashing almost daily with the Métis, and Clarke may well have had a great deal to say about how he would cope with the problem now that he had power.[21] However, had the attorney-general been the mildest and most discreet of men he would have found the responsibilities of his office almost impossible to fulfil. The Ontario Rifles were supposed to be at Fort Garry to give support to the civil power. There is evidence from such observers as J. W. Taylor that they were constantly behaving toward the civilian population in such a way as to cause trouble. The News-Letter was making its contribution by publishing such statements as that of January 7th:

> The 1st Battalion is from Ontario. They don't like rebels and consequently the rebels don't like them.[22]

By the News-Letter's definition, of course, almost everyone in the immediate vicinity was a rebel. One of the magistrates on the Winnipeg bench, the one referred to by Schultz as "Pussy", the one who had sentenced Ontario men to "$40 or 3 months", was a rebel. As the News-Letter saw it, "lies" were being "freely circulated", and the Battalion was the object of "baseless and malicious charges . . . found to proceed from Rebels of the Pussy stripe".[23]

While Clarke was not a "rebel" by virtue of having worked with the Provisional Government, he was associating with men who believed in the Lieutenant-Governor's "let bygones be bygones" policy, and, of course, he was a Roman Catholic. Ironically, there is evidence that, far from being harsh with the men of the Ontario Battalion, Clarke was responsible for leniency being exercised where the Volunteers were concerned. In early January Lieutenant-Colonel Jarvis expressed his dissatisfaction with

the

> lenity hitherto shown in the sentences awarded to Prisoners tried and convicted by Regimental Courts Martial [sic] since the troops came to Manitoba . . . Unless a commanding officer is supported by his officers in the maintenance of discipline it is impossible that he can control the force.[24]

It appears that after the Regimental Court of Enquiry had been held in the "aggravated assault and battery" case cited above, Jarvis had forwarded the papers to Attorney-General Clarke so that

> these men should be arrested and punished. They were arrested, but instead of being punished under the Articles of War, as the Colonel [sic] had requested--and which would have involved a find of twenty pounds sterling and six months imprisonment--they were tried before the Court for an ordinary aggravated assault. They themselves elected to be tried before the magistrates, and instead of being fined $100 or getting six months imprisonment, they were fined only $40 or three months.[25]

With this attack on Clarke the battle of the newspaper columns was quiet for a while, although there is reason to believe that there were other attacks on civilians and sentences of "$40 or 3 months".[26] The arrival of the mail from St. Paul reopened the question, however, for the Manitoban found itself obliged to publish the St. Paul Pioneer's account of the election demonstration. This one added the detail that the Volunteers had threatened to tear down John McTavish's house.[27] The Manitoban hid its embarrassment by accusing the Schultz party of writing it.

Newspapers in more distant points were publishing the news of the election demonstration. In late January Col. G. T. Denison wrote to Schultz about the articles in Le Nouveau Monde, letting him know that he had sent his brother Fred Denison copies of the Globe containing translations:

> I think it would be well to reprint in your paper without comment these translations in order that the Ontario boys may know what is said of them.

Schultz had written to Denison for advice as to how to proceed in contesting the election of December 30th. "I think," replied Denison,

> a simple petition to the House when it meets setting out all the facts and asking for a committee to investigate it and praying that you may be declared the lawful member will be all that is necessary.

Denison was very concerned that the people of Ontario should know what was going on in Manitoba:

> . . . letters should be written to the papers in every county of Ontario giving a true statement of the state of affairs up there. It would be well for for Volunteers both officers and men to write to the papers in the counties they come from--Suggest this to all you can--. . . this will be the most effective way of bringing to the knowledge of the mass of the people in Ontario the real state of affairs and the intrigues of our Government in the interest of Rebels.

Denison's closing paragraph showed both how he viewed the Canadian government and the role of the troops in Manitoba:

> Keep the Ontario boys well posted as to how the Govt [sic] papers are referring to them--it is of importance that they should thoroughly appreciate how little they have to expect from a French Rebel Minister of Militia and a government under French influence. The officers need not toady there for the sake of advancement, they are marked men and their true course is to be true to their own race and their own people . .[28]

The News-Letter was not slow to copy the Manitoban's copy of the St. Paul Pioneer's story about the election demonstration, and the same issue carried an attack on Clarke, Bannatyne and Coldwell of the Manitoban.[29] The News-Letter tried to give the impression that the Attorney-General was universally disliked by the Volunteers:

> $40 or 3 months--Mr. Attorney-General Clarke was hissed out of the Recreation Rooms a few evenings ago for his unwarrantable harshness to the members of the Ontario Battalion.[30]

This was shown to be untrue by the Manitoban, which told the details of what had happened. Clarke had been invited to the Volunteers' quarters to give a reading from Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome". This reading was greatly enjoyed by those present, and he was asked to come again and give another reading, which he did. After the reading was over, most of the Volunteers dispersed to their rooms, leaving only a very few grouped around one of the stoves. These men hissed the Attorney-General as he was preparing to leave. At this point he discovered that his overshoes were not to be found where he had left them. He went home without them, and nearly froze his feet.[31]

Meanwhile packets of newspapers had been making their way over the winter road to Fort Garry from the head of steel at St. Cloud, Minnesota, and Manitobans soon had in their hands copies of the Globe and of Le Nouveau Monde containing news up to the time of the election of December 30th, 1870. It may be assumed that Denison's copies of the Globe were very soon being read in the Volunteers' quarters. The correspondent of Le Nouveau Monde had prepared his report on New-Year's Eve:

> Thus the village of Winnipeg was yesterday in the hands of this rabble for four hours. When they learned that their Manitou Dr. Schultz had been defeated, they united with a band of Canadians of their own kidney and went to plunder the house of Messrs Bannatyne and Begg, two of the most honorable citizens of the place. This took place some time after the close of the poll. Held in check by 20 Metis who ran to Mr. Bannatyne's help, their factionists cried, "to the Manitoban office". It would have been all up with the printing establishment of our confrere, if a tavern had not been found on the route. They broke into it in order

> to get at the drink. It was then that the police arrived, headed by two officers Messrs Villiers and de Plainval. They drove back the band at the risk of their lives, and showed rare courage.
>
> During this time Colonel Jarvis of the 1st Battalion, was informed, and a picket went to surround these unhappy soldiers and bring them to the fort. The guard however did not arrive soon enough to prevent these fellows of Dr.Schultz from running through the village crying "Death to the Pope! Death to Catholics! Death to the half-breeds [sic]! Death to the priests! and from burning Donald Smith in effigy.[32]

The settlement was soon buzzing with speculation, not so much as to the details of the report--those had already been discussed at length--but as to who had had the courage--or the foolhardiness, depending on the point of view--to send such a forthright statement to the Montreal newspaper. Suspicion soon centred on Joseph Royal, although for a time the name of Father Ritchot was suggested. The reason for this was that not long after his arrival in the Settlement in August of 1870 Royal had written a series of despatches to Le Nouveau Monde signed "J. R.".[33] Royal had, however, left Red River in September[34] and had returned to the province of Quebec, probably to make arrangements for the purchase and transportation to Manitoba of the printing establishment to be known in 1871 as Le Métis. While he was away from the Settlement articles had continued to appear in Le Nouveau Monde. Clearly that newspaper had other correspondents at Red River. It must be pointed out here, however, that Royal had been elected to the Legislative Assembly as member for St. François Xavier, and was soon to become a prominent figure in the loose coalition of those who gave support to the "let bygones be bygones" policies of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald. As such he was considered fair game by Schultz and his group, and threats were made repeatedly on

Royal's life.[35] His alleged reporting of the election demonstration simply brought his name before the public sooner than would otherwise have been the case.

At this point it must be observed that in our efforts, first to find out about the election demonstration, and then to discover its significance, we have had to take our attention away from the group of men who had been chosen in that election. In mid-February, when the "Royal affair" was on everybody's lips, the elected members of the Legislative Assembly still had not been called together. On January 14th Archibald issued a proclamation calling them together on February 2nd.[36] Then on January 28th a second proclamation was issued postponing the opening of the legislature until the 16th of February.[37] At the time of the "Royal affair", in mid-February, an issue of the Manitoban was being prepared which contained a third proclamation postponing the opening until March 9th.[38] Why these delays? The building prepared for them was waiting[39] for the people's representatives to assemble, and Archibald's Council had received their instructions.[40]

There is evidence that Archibald had wished to call the House together. In January he had written to Macdonald:

> . . . I wish first to have the elections for the House of Commons over and that the excitement connected with them shall subside a little before we meet.[41]

In February Archibald again wrote to Macdonald:

> I wish I could call the House together but I do not like to do it till after the elections for the House of Commons--but these alas are to be postponed almost to the Greek Kalends . . .[42]

Archibald is here referring to the fact that the writs for the

Dominion election had been mislaid in a mail bag in the snows of northern Minnesota.[43] One cannot, howeever, suppress a suspicion that Archibald was being less than candid with Macdonald, and that the real reason was that he could not guarantee the safety of the members of the Legislative Assembly once they had been assembled in Winnipeg. Both Joseph Dubuc and Joseph Royal had had threats made upon their lives and Dubuc had been attacked physically by the Volunteers.[44] Neither man had had anything to do with the events of the previous winter, although, of course, both were French-Canadian and Catholic. A number of the men who had been elected to the new Legislative Assembly had worked with the Provisional Government. One of the members of the new Assembly was to be, in fact, assaulted and maltreated for appearing in the streets of Winnipeg.[45]

Archibald's decision was probably wise. As we have seen, the Volunteers were being incited to meddle in political matters. On certain occasions they were out of control and did just as they pleased. The officers were not supporting the commanding officer in his effort to enforce discipline, and the civil authorities, under more or less continual attack by the News-Letter, were afraid to punish to the extent allowed by law.

Appendix "A"

Extract from Le Nouveau Monde for January 23rd, 1871:

"D'un autre côté, j'apprends que le Dr. Bird, M. Thos Bunn et le capitaine Howard, du 2e bataillon sont élus: ce sont là trois amis dévoués de la justice, trois hommes en qui le monde parait ici avoir confiance. Il doit y avoir d'autres victoires de ce genre à enregistrer, mais je ne les connais pas encore. Vous voyez que le parti de l'ordre va être fort et que tout ira bien si seulement le gouvernement canadien veut rappeler au printemps trois ou quatre compagnies indisciplinées et orangistes du ler bataillon. Je dis reppeler, parce que le plus grand malheur qui pourrait arriver à la province de Manitoba serait de voir ces gens sans aveu licenciés ici et jetés au milieu de notre population si calme, si tranquille et si soumis aux lois.

"Tout le mal, les désordres, les vols, les attaques à main armée sur les grands chemins, ont eu pour auteurs, depuis le 23 août dernier, messieurs les soldats du bataillon d'Ontario. Ils sont une centaine peut-être de cette espèce de conjurés.

"Ainsi, hier, le village de Winnipeg a été aux mains de cette canaille pendant plus de quatre heures.

"Lorsqu'ils eurent appris que leur MANITO, M. le Dr. Schultz, était défait, ils se sont unis à une bande de haut-canadiens de leur acabit et sont partis pour aller saccager la maison de MM. Bannatyne et Begg, deux des plus honorables citoyens de l'endroit. Ceci se passait vers quatre heures et demie après la cloture du poll. Tenus en respect par une vingtaine de métis qui étaient accourus au secours de M. Bannatyne, les factieux crièrent:--TO THE MANITOBAN OFFICE! C'en était fait de

l'imprimerie de votre [sic] confrère si une auberge ne s'était trouvée sur la route. Ils défoncèrent pour avoir de la boisson; c'est alors que la police arriva précédée de ses deux officiers, MM. Villiers et de Plainval. Ils réculèrent la bande au risque de leur vie, et montrèrent un rare courage.

"Pendant ce temps le colonel Jarvis du ler bataillon était averti et un piquet venait envelopper ces malheureux soldats et les emmener au fort. La garde n'arriva pas assez tôt cependant pour empêcher les gens de M. Schultz de parcourir le village en proférant des cris de mort au Pape! mort aux catholiques! mort aux métis! mort aux prêtres! et de brûler M. Donald Smith en effigie.

"Quel contraste entre la conduite et la discipline d'une parti des hommes de ce corps et de celle du bataillon de Québec."

Appendix "B"

Letter from Bannatyne and Begg to the editor of The Globe, and copied by The Volunteer Review for March 20, 1871.

Winnipeg, Manitoba,
February 21, 1871

To the Editor of the Globe

Sir.--

We have observed in the columns of your paper a letter clipped from the Nouveau Monde and said to have been written by M. Royale [sic], in which it is asserted that the men of the Ontario Battalion broke into our store during the late elections and were afterwards driven back by about twenty Metis, we have thought proper to address you on the subject as any statement made by us in your paper is very likely to be read throughout Ontario; whereas if we inserted a letter in the Nouveau Monde, it would probably never attract the attention of the very people whom we at present desire to address ourselves to. We would not write as we are now doing, had our name not come so prominently before the public of Canada in the matter, for the reason that we feel that the men of the Ontario battalion require no justification for their conduct while they have been amongst us; and, moreover, we are of opinion that had parties who pretend to be the friends of the battalion, said less in its defence, where no defence was necessary, wrong impressions would not have gone abroad regarding them, and no one would have ever thought of harbouring any other sentiment than one of praise of both officers and men.

In the first place, as far as we are concerned, we deny that the men

of the Ontario Rifles ever broke into our store; and consequently were not driven back by the "Métis", as described by the correspondent of the Nouveau Monde.

On the contrary, we can say that ever since the battalion entered the settlement we have never received either an insult or a wrong from any man in it. In fact, we have been treated both personally and as a firm with the utmost courtesy by every one we have met belonging to the Ontario Rifles.

Our name without our sanction has frequently been used both here and abroad against the Canadian Volunteers. Things have been ascribed to us of which we were perfectly innocent, and we should not have been surprised had the men of the Ontario Battalion felt aggrieved towards us by what they heard. But this we can say, that we have every reason to speak well of them, and it has been our endeavour since they came amongst us to return the expressions of friendly feeling we have on many occasions experienced from them. We can give no greater proof of this than by saying that, as men having a large stake in the country, our feelings are those of perfect confidence in the Ontario Rifles.

And now one word, generally, on this subject. We advise the people of Ontario to take heed how they judge of any of the actions of the young men they have sent to this country. It is well known that the farther a story flies the greater it becomes, until at last it frequently attains to be a mountain instead of a molehill. Stories will go abroad, there is no preventing them. Regarding the men serving here, some will be given in a friendly spirit and will most probably have an opposite effect; others will be given from spite or malice. We therefore say be careful,

Dame rumour is fickle, and only too ready to magnify. With kind wishes for both battalions serving here, we are,

Yours truly,

BANNATYNE and BEGG

Note concerning Appendices "A" and "B"

It ought to be noted that the Nouveau Monde account (Appendix "A") does not state that the Volunteers "broke into" the store of Bannatyne and Begg. The original French uses the words "sont partis pour aller saccager la maison de MM. Bannatyne et Begg" or "left to go loot the house of Messrs Bannatyne and Begg". Nothing is here to suggest the completion of the intention. Instead we are told that "tenus en respect par une vingtaine de Métis qui étaient accourus au secours de M. Bannatyne"--that is--"held back by some twenty Métis who had run to the help of Mr. Bannatyne", the men turned their attention to the office of the Manitoban. In other words the men did not loot the store because they were prevented from doing it. Bannatyne was well liked by the Métis--had worked with the Métis leaders the winter before--so it is entirely believable that a group of them should have gone to his defence.

In the first paragraph of Bannatyne and Begg's letter the "parties who pretend to be the friends of the battalion" are clearly Schultz and the News-Letter. The Manitoban also expressed annoyance that the News-Letter had had so much to say.

The Schultz party had good reason to suggest that the next objective of the Volunteers should be the Manitoban office. As early as October the Manitoban's columns began asking embarrassing questions--through the pseudonym "Sandy McQuastion"--about who had accepted ten thousand dollars.

Footnotes

1. Manitoban, Dec. 31, 1870.

2. PAM Mg 14 C23 Box 3, Journal of C. N. Bell for 1870, entry for Dec. 30.

3. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, Jan. 6, 1871.

4. PAC RG9 IIB2, 33, Folder "Courts-Martial, etc, R. R. Force 1871-3", Memo for the President, Jan. 9, 1871.

5. News-Letter, Jan. 4, 1871.

6. News-Letter, Jan. 7, 1871.

7. Nor'Wester, Jan. 22, 1869: "postmaster's little Canadian mare, 'Pussy'".

8. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Bannatyne to Begg, Sept., 1868: "this I do from our Masonic vows, a cable's length or more I am ready to go to assist the widow's son"--.

9. News-Letter, Oct. 11, 1870.

10. News-Letter, Jan. 14, 1870.

11. Manitoban, Jan. 14, 1871.

12. MSHS, News-Letter, Jan. 14, 1871.

13. Manitoban, Jan. 14, 1871.

14. This was probably literally true. Le Nouveau Monde for Feb. 3, 1871, stated that country people did not dare to venture into Winnipeg because of attacks on them by the Volunteers and that the soldiers were almost the "only customers". Bannatyne and Begg, the men referred to by the Manitoban's article, wrote to the Globe on Feb. 21, giving high praise to the Ontario Battalion. (See Appendix "B").

15. Manitoban, Jan. 4, 1871.

16. Article by Dr. Lovell Clark in Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

17. PAC RG9 IIB2, 33, Folder "Courts-Martial, etc., Red River Force, 1870-1".

18. USNARS, News-Letter, March 25, 1871.

19. MSHS, News-Letter, Jan. 14, 1871.

20. PAC MG26 A1b, Archibald to Macdonald, May 28, 1871.

21. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, Jan. 6, 1871: "I hear of personal insults and violence to Half Breeds wherever the soldiers go."

22. News-Letter, Jan. 7, 1871.

23. Ibid.

24. PAC RG9 IIB2, 33, Folder "Courts-Martial, etc., R. R. Force, 1870-1".

25. Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

26. Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871, refers to "cases", but the details concerning them have not been found.

27. Manitoban, February 4, 1871. The account appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer, Jan. 20, 1871.

28. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Denison to Schultz, Jan. 28, 1870.

29. News-Letter, Feb. 8, 1871.

30. News-Letter, Feb. 15, 1871.

31. Manitoban, Feb. 18, 1871.

32. News-Letter, Feb. 18, 1871, reprinted from the Globe. The article originally appeared in Le Nouveau Monde for January 23, 1871. See Appendix "A".

33. See Le Nouveau Monde for Sept 10, Sept. 15, Sept. 23, and Oct. 1, 1870.

34. The article published on October 1, written on Sept. 10, refers to "mon départ prochain".

35. The St. Paul Daily Free Press, March 14, 1871.

36. Manitoban, Jan. 14, 1871.

37. Manitoban, Jan. 28, 1871.

38. Manitoban, Feb. 18, 1871.

39. Ibid.

40. PAC MG 26 Alb, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Jan. 16, 1871.

41. Archibald to Macdonald, Jan. 16, 1871.

42. Archibald to Macdonald, Feb. 15, 1871.

43. Both the Manitoban and the News-Letter made frequent mention of the incident in early 1871.

44. St. Paul Daily Press, March 14, 1871 (Winnipeg, Feb. 20).

45. The News-Letter, April 8, 1871: "Who Sat Down In The Mud?" asked the headline. An M. P. P. "held his seat or his seat held him for more than 20 minutes".

Chapter Twenty-seven
The Mutiny of February 18, 1871[1]

The climax came in the late afternoon and evening of February 18.[2] Both the Manitoban and the Manitoba News-Letter appeared that day with reference to the "Royal" affair. The Manitoban was very circumspect, heading its editorial "To Specials" and advising special correspondents not to "lie", "exaggerate", "get frightened", "make mountains out of molehills" or "make out that we are in a state of anarchy in Manitoba while we are getting along swimmingly". "Especially," the Manitoban went on, "we draw the attention of him of the Noveau Monde [sic], to these suggestions". Readers of the Manitoban would know precisely who was meant.[3] The News-Letter, for its part, published an editorial deploring the Nouveau Monde story of the December 30th election riot, and on another page copied the story itself.[4]

It is impossible now to say who was more unpopular with the Volunteers, the supposed correspondent of Le Nouveau Monde, Mr. Royal, or Attorney General Clarke. At a citizen's ball given on the 15th[5] several officers had created scenes by stating that they would not remain at the ball while Mr. Royal was present.[6] As for Mr. Clarke, he had been hissed in the Volunteers' recreation room for what the News-Letter called his "unwarrantable harshness" to the Volunteers.[7]

In the late afternoon of Saturday, February 18th, between 100[8] and 150 Volunteers left Fort Garry and gathered in Winnipeg. They made their way in a body to the police station and demanded the release of Corporal John Hawman of Company No. 4, who had been jailed on a charge of gambling. When this was refused they got hold of a "long piece of timber",[9] found somewhere handy, and using it as a battering ram, broke open the

door and released him and a companion,[10] carrying Hawman in triumph to a hotel. While this was going on Lieutenant McMurtry, the officer of the day, was ordered to take a picquet into Winnipeg about 5:30 p.m. He noticed that the Corporal of the picquet, Corporal John Stephenson, was drunk, and sent him to the barracks under arrest.[11] A reinforcement picquet was sent out, and the mutineers returned to the Fort, cheering Dr. Schultz as they passed his house. Colonel Jarvis, with some officers, met some of the men, spoke to them, and ordered that one be put under arrest for insolence. The man in question refused to be a prisoner, and his comrades supported him.[12]

While a number of men were congregated in the barracks square, the prisoner, Stephenson, who had been sent in under arrest by McMurtry, loaded his rifle and fired into the crowd, seriously wounding Corporal Joe Thompson, of Cobourg, Ontario, who was at the bagatelle table in the recreation room.[13] Whether this shot was intended for Jarvis, who was attempting to speak to the men, or for another officer, is not known. It was only with great difficulty that Jarvis obtained a hearing, and the men taunted him that their object in enlisting had been revenge and not the pacific policy of Mr. Archibald.[14]

Eventually the men returned to their barracks. Of the estimated 100 to 150 mutineers only two were punished. Private George Lee was charged with "being concerned in an outrage committed in the Police Station [in] Winnipeg on the evening of the 18th February, 1871, for using insubordinate language to his Commanding Officer [Col. Jarvis] when ordered to the Guard Room". He was sentenced by a regimental court martial to 30 days imprisonment with hard labor. The sentence was eventually

remitted by Jarvis, although Lee was still on the prison rolls at the beginning of March.[15] Corporal John Stephenson was charged with being "drunk when on duty, under arms, when on picquet". He was found guilty, reduced to the ranks, and sentenced to 42 days hard labor.[16]

This mutiny created a profound sensation in the Métis population of Red River. Used to the summary justice[17] of the plains buffalo hunt, they expected to hear that executions had taken place, or failing that, that a number of the ringleaders had been imprisoned for long terms. When this type of news did not come there was talk of what they could do themselves to restore order in Winnipeg. Joseph Royal wrote to Archibald from White Horse Plains in a letter dated February 23rd:

> . . . the outrage committed on Saturday threatens to put everything at risk. In fact, what protection can we hope for from a government whose soldiers are the first to make fun of the law and its authority? Here is what people are saying: "Schultz", they add, "also broke open the prison, a few years ago. But it was under the paternal and fearful government of Assiniboia. We never thought that the government of the Queen could be as weak as that of Assiniboia."[18]

If Archibald replied the letter has not been found.

When American Consul J. W. Taylor reported on the incident to Assistant Secretary of State Davis he commented as follows:

> "I cannot resist the conclusion that the Governor and his secretaries are virtually prisoners. I am informed that the Ontario troops--many of them Orangemen--are secretly plotting the expulsion of Governor Archibald. If this should be attempted, and the latter should summon the people to his support he may yet have to rely almost exclusively upon the supporters of the Provisional Government of last winter."[19]

In the weeks following the mutiny newspapers in Minnesota, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia commented on the affair. The Globe was probably loudest of all, first in its denunciation of Le Nouveau Monde for

having mentioned the indiscretions of the Volunteers at all, and then in its criticism of Attorney General Clarke for his alleged mistreatment of the Volunteers in Manitoba. The Volunteer Review, of Ottawa, a magazine specializing in the activities of the Canadian military and in military affairs generally, brought the affair into clear focus in its editorial of March 20, 1871:

> It is impossible to conceive what the antecedents of Mr. Attorney General Clarke have got to do with the disgraceful proceedings at Fort Garry. The Globe knows full well that there can be no possible excuse for the troops--they have simply mutinied, and in that one word and by that act embodied and carried into practical effect the greatest evil that could befal [sic] a country, "the placing of the constitutional regime thereof under the feet of its soldiers" [emphasis his]. Except a stringent and decisive measure, calculated to prevent the recurrence of this example is put at once into operation there is no safety in our present organization. Men made tools of once for a bad purpose are readily available at the call of the demagogue, and will repeat the role with variations.[20]

The Volunteer Review emphasized its stand on the matter by publishing a quotation from the Gazette of Montreal in its March 27 issue:

> But the fact that they are simply soldiers, subject to all the conditions of the mutiny act under which they are enlisted, cannot be too strongly or too constantly impressed upon them. The man who encourages lawlessness in a soldier, who encourages especially insubordination in a soldier, is not only a public enemy, but a scoundrel of the deepest dye. There are such men in Canada today, and unfortunately they have control of the columns of newspapers. The recent outbreak meets from them not merely palliation but absolute justification. It is an outrage upon the common interest of the country that this should be . . . .[21]

Questions were asked in the House of Commons, and Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to Archibald, asking about the conduct of the Volunteers. Archibald replied:

> In reference to the Volunteers, they have behaved very badly all through, but there was nothing for me to do but not to see too much--Jarvis though a nice fellow--and a gentleman, has no control over his men. As a disciplinarian Cazault [sic] is ten times the man.[22]

By the time Archibald replied to Macdonald's letter in late May the announced disbanding of the two regiments was well under way and both Archibald and Macdonald had other preoccupations.

Footnotes

1. The mutiny of February 18, 1871, is not unknown to Manitoba historiography. Begg and Nursey touch on the incident briefly in their Ten Years in Winnipeg (p. 23), where it is used to show the unpopularity of Attorney General Clarke with the Ontario Rifles. O'Donnell, in Manitoba As I Saw It (p. 52), mentions it in sufficient detail to identify it as the same one. Neither work gives the date of the event.

   The Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871 , fearful for its continued existence, mentioned the event in the most general terms, being careful not to say that the Volunteers were involved. The event was too dramatic and was seen by too many people to be hushed up effectively and accounts of it were published as far away as Halifax, where the Morning Chronicle carried an account on March 9th. However, denials were published as often as truthful accounts, with the result that the careless researcher can be led to believe that the incident did not take place. The St. Paul Daily Pioneer, March 22, 1871 , for example, accused the St. Paul Daily Press of publishing "sensational" material when it reported the event. The News-Letter, April 5, 1871 , of course, managed to accuse all of Le Nouveau Monde, Montreal Gazette, and Volunteer Review of picking on the Volunteers, while publishing a wrist-tapping account which indicated that the incident really occurred.

   The incident has a special importance for the historian in that it proves conclusively that Le Nouveau Monde is not to be considered as in the same class as The Globe where reports of events at Red River are concerned. The French-speaking people of that Settlement had no newspaper of their own to report events until May of 1871, but Le Nouveau Monde had a correspondent there who sent out accounts whose veracity can be checked by comparison with the work of other observers. By June of 1871, the Globe had to as much as admit this, saying, "Is it true that Governor Archibald is not a free agent . . . that a reign of terror prevails? . . . that the newspapers dare not peep nor mutter? . . . if these things are not so is there no law of libel in Lower Canada?

   Not long after the events described in this chapter Bishop Taché wrote to his cousin as follows: "The Nouveau Monde was wrong to attribute to the entire [emphasis his] Ontario Battalion what it reported, the facts were nevertheless true [emphasis his] and members of that corps did everything that was said . . . P. S. La Minerve knew better when it reproached the Nouveau Monde about the exaggerations concerning the Ontario volunteers." (AASB, Ta 0736, Taché to Hon Pierre Boucher de la Bruière, Apr. 21, 1871).

   It should be noted that the account of riots in Col. S. B. Steele's Forty Years in Canada has not been used. Steele was at Fort Garry with the Ontario Rifles during the winter of 1870-1. His reminis-

censes, however, were prepared over forty years after the events of that winter, and it is impossible to ascertain which riots he refers to in his accounts (see pages 44-5). Steele states himself, "The pickets were strong, the police resolute and tactful, and the very numerous disturbances which took place during the winter were quelled with a firm hand."

2. Manitoban, Feb. 18, 1871; News-Letter, Feb. 22, 1871.

3. Manitoban, Feb. 18, 1871.

4. News-Letter, Feb. 18, 1871.

5. Manitoban, Feb. 18, 1871.

6. Globe, March 7, 1871; March 13, 1871.

7. News-Letter, Feb. 15, 1871; Manitoban, Feb. 18, 1871.

8. J. W. Taylor said there were 100. See USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor to Davis, Feb. 21, 1871. The Globe, Mar. 7, 1871, said "150". The News-Letter said "a number of them".

9. O'Donnell, Manitoba As I Saw It, p. 52.

10. The News-Letter identified him as Robert Mulligan, Feb. 22, 1871.

11. Globe, Mar. 7, 1871; PAC RG9 IIB2, 33, Testimony of McMurtry.

12. Globe, Mar. 7, 1871.

13. Globe, Mar. 7, 1871. The News-Letter for Feb. 22, 1871, reported an "accident" involving Corp. Joe Thompson of Company No. 3. The Muster Roll of the Ontario Rifles (PAC RG9, IIB2, Vol. 35, dated Jan. 31, 1871) lists Reg. No. 195, J. Thompson in Company No. 4, and a Reg. No. 234, J. Thompson in Company No. 5. The News-Letter for Feb.22, 1871, mentions a promotion to corporal of No. 3 Company for Private Joe Thompson of No. 5 Company, so it seems clear that this is the man who was shot.

14. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor to Davis, Feb. 21, 1871.

15. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 33, "Returns of Defaulters".

16. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 33, "Court Martial Return" for Feb., 1871.

17. Le Nouveau Monde for Feb. 3, 1871, reported that the Métis had at that time been expecting that the Volunteers would be punished for their attacks, and were talking of taking the law into their own hands.

18. PAM MG12 A1 No. 199, Joseph Royal to Archibald, Feb. 23, 1871.

19. USNARS microfilm, T24 Roll 1, Taylor to Davis, Feb. 21, 1871.

20. The Volunteer Review, March 20, 1871, p. 136.

21. The Volunteer Review, March 27, 1871, p. 198.

22. PAC MG26A Vol. 187, Letter 77909, Archibald to Macdonald, May 28, 1871.

Chapter Twenty-eight
Schultz's Campaign On Behalf of the Volunteers

It is possible that Schultz had had meeting posters printed before the mutiny of Saturday, February 18th. News had come of the Canadian government's intention to disband the Volunteers in May,[1] although it is difficult to establish how widely known it was. However, it seems more likely that the mutiny had forced Schultz's hand, and that Schultz put his printer to work on Sunday preparing meeting notices. Some of these were distributed on Monday[2] announcing a meeting at St. James on Monday night, very short notice indeed, but entirely typical of Schutz's MODUS OPERANDI:

> Recall of the Volunteers. Our dangerous polition. No safety without troops. Lying statements and slanders on the character of our gallant Volunteers has [sic] caused them to be recalled and we are to be without troops. It is therefore necessary that we should refute these slanders and protest strongly against the recall of the troops.

It was important to get support for the retention of the Volunteers before news of the mutiny reached all the parishes by word of mouth. This could be done if meetings were held every day. The News-Letter would not publish news of the mutiny as part of its policy and the Manitoban would not dare.[3] Royal, at White Horse Plains, did not write to Archibald until February 23rd,[4] and by then meetings had been held in several parishes and Schultz's resolutions approved.[5] Eventually meetings were held in all English-speaking parishes, and one was held in St. Boniface.[6]

There was considerable support, particularly in Winnipeg and in the English-speaking parishes, for the retention of a military force--not necessarily the Volunteers--in the province. The presence of the two regiments had provided a ready market for farm produce,[7] and all businessmen in Winnipeg had found the presence of the Volunteers good for busi-

ness.[8] However, those who attended the meetings called by Schultz were soon to find that there was more involved in the prepared resolutions than simply the retention of the Volunteers at the two forts on the Red River. Parts one and two of the second resolution broadened out into a general attack on the Archibald administration:

> 1st--That the rebels of last winter have gained confidence from the fact that they remain unpunished--that warrants are refused for their apprehension--by the fact of the appointment of their chiefs and sympathizers to office and places of trust--and from their belief, openly expressed, of help to be afforded them from the Fenian element in the United States.
> 2nd--That on the other hand, the delays in the establishing of courts--delayed legislation--and the arbitrary and censurable action of those in high places, has produced a want of confidence in the disposition of power of the Government to ensure to us safety and prosperity.[9]

The language of these resolutions made the Manitoban wonder what was meant--was Schultz advocating a military dictatorship in Manitoba in place of the Archibald regime?[10] The truth was more likely that Schultz was clutching at something to be used for a platform in the Dominion election campaign.

Schultz's campaign for a seat in the House of Commons had begun promisingly enough in November of 1870, when a requisition had been presented to him signed by residents of the parishes of St. Peter, St. Clements, Little Britain, St. Andrews, St. Paul, Kildonan, St. John and Holy Trinity. The Manitoba News-Letter had appeared with the entire back page given over to the publication of the names of those signing the requisition.[11] At that time the limits of the Dominion constituencies had not been defined, so some of those signing were from parishes not included in Lisgar.[12] There were echoes of the February counter-movement in this

requisition. Three members of the General Committee of St. Andrews Parish had been on the Council elected to act as a general council for the force on February 16, 1870.[13] Twelve of the members of that force's council signed the requisition asking Schultz to be a candidate.[14] From this auspicious beginning in November Schultz's political fortunes waned, and in December many thought he would be defeated in both the provincial and Dominion elections.[15] As we have seen Schultz lost to Smith on December 30th, and his "henchman", Monkman, was defeated too.[16]

Schultz was being considered by those in high places, however. In the latter part of January Sir John A. Macdonald deplored the fact that Schultz had been defeated for the provincial house. Archibald replied:

> In reference to Dr. Shultz [sic] I am inclined to differ with you about the result. He would have been a nuisance in the local assembly--not only by what he would say and do but by the feeling which his being there would occasion. You cannot conceive the intensity of the bitterness towards him which distinguishes his opponents here.[17]

Archibald thought differently about Schultz being elected to Ottawa:

> I do not see the same difficulty about Dr. Schultz being elected to Ottawa. He would soon find his level there--and that would not be a very high one. Political sagacity he seems to have none.[18]

As late as the Wednesday before the mutiny of February 18th Archibald was of the opinion that Schultz would fail in his bid for a seat:

> Mr. Schultz came up with the troops--he made many people believe that they we[re] b[rou]ght up by him. He had gone down to Canada for them, and they were to do his bidding. He was looked upon as the impersonation of everything that was powerful--his failure has rendered him comparatively impotent. If he were to go into the House of Commons he could do nothing--and would be used up in a single speech. But the dominant people here are afraid of him. Their idea of the man and of his power is as exaggerated as that of Shulz [sic] own friends--and they

> are determined to use every means to keep him out--
> I think they will succeed.[19]

On the second day of Schultz's campaign American Consul J. W. Taylor prepared a report on the mutiny of February 18th and the intention of the Canadian government to withdraw the troops:

> The opposition denounce this measure as a surrender of the country to Riel and the French majority: and public meetings are being held everywhere (in the English-speaking districts) against the recall of the Volunteers . . . I am informed that the Ontario troops--many of them Orange men [sic]--are secretly plotting the expulsion of Gov. Archibald. If this should be attempted, and the latter should summon the people to his support, he may yet have to rely almost exclusively upon the supporters of the Provisional Government of last winter.
>
> The ultra-Canadian leader, Dr. John Schultz, is making the most of the excitement, hoping to secure his election to the Dominion Parliament. If he is defeated (as I have lately anticipated) the peace of this country will be in great jeopardy. I am forced to consider the probability of anarchy and civil war within the next thirty days.[20]

There is evidence that Taylor was not overstating the case when he wrote of the possible expulsion of Archibald. In mid-April, when Schultz was in Ottawa after his election and long journey through the United States, John James Setter wrote to him from Portage la Prairie:

> I hope you had a good trip, the last we heard of you was by Patterson, and it was a mighty relief to us for a few days before that word reached us that you had been murdered on the way and of course painted in horrible colours; and hearing that that arch demon O'Donohue [sic] was at pembina [sic] we feared that the report might be true, already people had decided to set aside the plough for the gun, and never rest untill [sic] every Jesuit would be driven out of the country, and first and foremost Smooth Archy [emphasis his] would have been marched out of the country very unceremoniously.[21]

The Sunday before the elections took place Archibald wrote to Macdon-

ald expressing concern over the outcome of the voting:

> If the writs had arrived in due course, we should have sent you without the shadow of a doubt, four supporters from here--as it is the seat of one or two will be imperilled.
>
> You will see by the newspaper accounts of meetings held during the last week that the disbandment of the Troops has added enormously to the excitement in the English Parishes. You will be deluged by petitions to arrest the disbandment. If we can get this week over I shall feel the crisis past.

Then Archibald returned to a point he had touched upon in an earlier letter to Macdonald:

> I am not so sure but that the very best thing that could happen would be to have Schultz succeed. It would get him out of the way with us, and he could do no harm with you.[22]

Archibald did not mention another factor which was causing concern. The delay caused by the trouble in finding the writs meant that the date of the election fell on March 2nd. This was only two days before the anniversary of the execution of Thomas Scott. The day of the first meeting in Schultz's campaign on behalf of the volunteers, February 20th, a correspondent for the St. Paul Daily Press wrote:

> Tomorrow they are to have an indignation meeting and make arrangements for the celebration of the anniversary of Scott's death.[23]

There is no doubt that the Volunteers had been well instructed as to the date of that event. Hubert Neilson, a doctor with the 2nd Quebec Rifles at Lower Fort Garry, wrote in his diary on March 4th:

> Anniversary of Scott's death, it was feared that the Ontario's would make a demonstration, but happily nothing happened.[24]

Charles Napier Bell, with the Ontario Rifles at Upper Fort Garry, wrote:

> March 4th was the day on which one year ago poor

> Scott was shot by Riel's order outside the postern gate of Fort Garry. Pictures of the murdering was [sic] sold in the Fort today.[25]

The authorities, for their part, appear to have learned a lesson from the provincial election demonstration. On the day of the Dominion election Neilson wrote in his diary:

> We were all confined to barracks today on account of the elections for the House of Commons, so as to be ready at a moment's notice in case of trouble. 5 p.m. Dr. Schultz has been elected by a considerable majority.[26]

After the elections were over Archibald had to suggest the names of people whom he would recommend for appointment to the Senate. He wrote to Macdonald:

> Schultz has just been returned to the House of Commons after a contest in which he has scrupled at nothing to carry the point. He is the symbol of brute force, and his appointment would be looked upon as an approval on the part of the Dominion Government of violence and disorder. He has encouraged the disposition to rowdyism among the soldiers--and he or his immediate friends have been prominent in every trouble we have had.[27]

What evidence can be found that "Schultz . . . scrupled at nothing to carry the point"? Neilson's statement about the soldiers being confined to barracks on election day indicates that we cannot blame the Volunteers for being part of the "great crowd of Schultzites" present at Parke's Creek on polling day. Two accounts appeared in the Manitoban, alleging intimidation, bribery and illegal voting at that place. In his reply Schultz's agent, E. H. G. G. Hay, did not deny that a large crowd of Schultz supporters had been present at that poll.[28]

Where the election campaign itself is concerned, there are all too few descriptions of meetings held, There are, however, suggestions that,

as in the provincial election campaign, Schultz never went to a political meeting without a "gang" of men ready to do his bidding. The Manitoban's reply to a News-Letter comment illustrates the point nicely:

> Now Mr. Hamilton neither called the meeting at St. James a pack of ruffians, nor apologized for having done so. When accused of DOING SO [emphasis is the Manitoban's] having used such language he explained that he had, when speaking to Mr. Smith used the word "rowdies" but he never for an instant meant to apply it to the people of St. James or Headingly. He never said that Dr. Schultz and his gang were not a pack of ruffians or rowdies either.[29]

A letter published in the Manitoban Supplement for February 25th illustrates it too. It protested the "indiscreet" performance of John Sutherland (elder) at a meeting at Kildonan. Sutherland had, it was alleged,

> permitted the strangers assembled to turn it into something more nearly approaching a pot house brawl than a concourse of men to deliberate on an important matter.

The letter also referred to "Dr. Schultz and his intruding supporters". This, however, is, perhaps, to go over old ground. Very remarkable in this campaign was what happened at the St. James meeting to which reference has already been made. Coldwell, of the Manitoban, was present, and was taking notes in shorthand. Schultz noticed this, and said that "No unfair reports of the meeting should be allowed and every one who took minutes should read them to the meeting". Coldwell objected that he had been taking notes for over two hours and the reading of his notes would take far too long. Schultz replied that "we are bound to surround ourselves with all the guards we can". Coldwell said he had never had to do this before and wouldn't do it now for Dr. Schultz or anyone else. Mr. Cunningham suggested that a committee be formed to call at the Manitoban office and read the reports in the proofs. This allowed the meeting to

turn to other business. A committee was formed and it did call at the Manitoban office to read the meeting account in the proofs. When the report appeared in print it contained such passages as the following:

> A voice: And to withdraw the Lieutenant-Governor.
> Dr. Schultz: Applauded.
> [Mr. Andrew Bourke, on behalf of a committee of revision, says he did not see Dr. Schultz applaud.]

In another case, "Nobody stood up against it [a resolution]" was followed by

> [Mr. A. Bourke and a committee say this resolution was carried unanimously.]

In at least one case the revised version of the report renders it almost incomprehensible:

> John Bourke: But some years from this we'll know all about it.
> [Mr. A. Bourke and committee say that the word YEARS in the second last line should be YARDS.]

The fact that this report of the meeting was revised in this way makes it all the more remarkable that certain features of the meeting got into print. For example, at a certain point in the meeting a Mr. Sellwood tried to tell a story about an incident of the previous winter:

> Mr. Sellwood: Something strange happened at the commencement of the outbreak last winter. Mr. McTavish gave an order for a number of men to take charge of the Canadian government stores. Well, we went the first time without ammunition or arms--a pretty guard we were (Laughter). There were eight of us, (confusion) and what I had to say is--(confusion), curse you all (Laughter). We were to get arms at Dr. Schultz's (Laughter).

Schultz told Mr. Sellwood that he was out of order and to return to the point.[30] Sellwood was not permitted to finish. One does not know which to find the more remarkable, the narrative itself, with the strategic interruptions, or the fact that the revision committee made no objection

to it. One wishes that Sellwood had been allowed to go on!

Reference has been made to fears concerning possible disturbances attending observance of the anniversary of Scott's execution. It is interesting to note that American Consul J. W. Taylor wrote his report to Davis on March 4th. One wonders if this was coincidental or if he had waited to see if trouble would develop on March 4th. At any rate he wrote:

> The election for members of the Dominion Parliament from Manitoba was held on the 2d instant, with less tumult than was apprehended. The Hudson [sic] Bay Co. made no strenuous effort to defeat the return of the leading Ontario agitator, Dr. John Schultz . . . There is much evidence of a tacit compromise, by which Dr. Schultz was elected as a peace offering to the Canadian element, which otherwise, aided by a mutiny of the Volunteers, was prepared for very desperate measures. My last dispatch did not exaggerate the danger of anarchy and outrage, if the Government and Company had not deemed it their best policy to temporize.

Taylor's comments on the other three elections are to the point, and are well worth quoting here:

> In the Central District, or Selkirk, Mr. Donald A. Smith, the Governor of the Hudson [sic] Bay Company and who was prominent last winter as a Commissioner of Canada to negotiate with the Provincial Government, received 230 votes to 103 for Mr. J. Taylor--majority 136. The vote in the English-speaking parishes of Kildonan (Scotch), St. John's, Winnipeg and St. James was nearly divided with a small majority for Smith, but in the French parishes of St. Boniface and St. Charles the vote was almost unanimous for the successful candidate--130 votes to Smith to 9 for Taylor.
>
> In the Western District, or Marquette, the unfortunate divisions of race and religion among the people were most forcibly illustrated. At the poll in the Canadian or English-speaking settlement of the Portage la Prairie held at High Bluff, Dr. James Lynch received 281 votes to 1 for Angus McKay his Catholic opponent; while at the French or Catholic

> localities of Lake Manitoba and White Horse Plains, the figures were exactly reversed: McKay receiving 281 votes to 1 for Lynch. The result is a tie . . . As the writ for another election must come from Ottawa there will be a considerable breathing-time before a second trial. That it will be a desperate struggle is evident from the circumstance that Mr. Angus McKay was chased from the English poll at High Bluff and was not allowed to object to any votes.
>
> In the Southern District, or Provencher . . . the vote was nearly unanimous for Mr. Delorme, an undisguised supporter of Louis Riel . . . For the present therefore, the representation of Manitoba at Ottawa will stand two for government and one for opposition.[31]

Taylor had no way of knowing that this estimate of what the three members would do in Ottawa was not--where Schultz was concerned--as accurate as Taylor thought.

Footnotes

1. USNARS microfilm T24 Reel 1, Taylor papers, Taylor to Davis, Feb. 21, 1870: "An order had been lately received . . . discharging the Volunteers on the 1st of May".

2. Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

3. This situation received comment in letters written on the 20th and 21st of February and published in the St. Paul Daily Press of March 14, 1871: "the one in fear and the other in full sympathy with the mob", said one: "will not or dare not give the facts", said the other.

4. PAM MG12 Al No. 199, Royal to Archibald, Feb. 23, 1871.

5. News-Letter, Feb. 25, 1871; The Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871; The Manitoban's Supplement of Feb. 25, 1871. A meeting of Schultz's opponents had been held in the Manitoban office, on the 21st, where a different set of resolutions was passed.

6. The News-Letter for March 8, 1871, has a summary of the English-speaking parish meetings. The Manitoban for March 4 has the St. Boniface meeting. Concerning the St. Boniface meeting Bishop Taché wrote to a friend as follows: "The petitions for the retention of the troops is an electoral trick [of Schultz's] and if a similar demand was made in St. Boniface it was due to Mr. Girard who was afraid . . .". (AASB Ta 0736, Taché to Hon. Pierre Boucher de la Bruière, April 21, 1871).

7. Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871: "Mr. Sellwood . . . Every mouth must be fed. Who are to feed them but those of us who are farmers? . . . You see that I am speaking for myself, arguing a course which will put money into my pocket as well as yours." In February, 1870, John Sutherland, Point Douglas, said during the Convention: "I never saw a silver shilling till I saw troops of the line". (New Nation, Feb. 4, 1870).

8. The Manitoban for Nov. 19, 1870, reported that Mr. Ashdown had "Manufactured the stovepipes for the troops"--"3500 feet--in two weeks". Charles Napier Bell, in his diary, makes such comments as "down for tea to the Yellow Tavern (Oct. 23)" and "Took tea down town with Jack (Oct. 21)". After the anniversary of Scott's execution Bell "sent . . . a photo of Scott's murdering . . . to Jim Walker". (PAM MG14 C23 Box 3, Diary of C. N. Bell).

9. News-Letter, Feb. 22, 1871, (MSHS).

10. Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

11. Metropolitan Toronto Library, Denison Papers, News-Letter, November 8, 1870.

12. The parishes of St. John, St. James, and Kildonan became part of the Selkirk constituency.

13. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870: John Tait, Andrew Mowatt, and Adam McDonald. Compare with the News-Letter for Nov. 8, 1870.

14. John Tait, A. H. Murray, Edward Hay, John Hodgson, Wm. Leask, Geo. Calder, Andrew Mowatt, Donald Gunn, Jr., Adam McDonald, Joseph Monkman, Henry Prince, Alex Ross.

15. PAC MG 26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, December 11, 1870.

16. PAC MG 26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, January 16, 1871.

17. PAC MG 26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, February 15, 1871.

18. Ibid.

19. PAC MG 26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, February 15, 1871.

20. USNARS microfilm T24 Reel 1, Taylor to Davis, Feb. 21, 1871.

21. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Setter to Schultz, Apr. 19, 1871.

22. PAC MG 26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Feb. 26, 1871.

23. St. Paul Daily Press, March 14, 1871 (Winnipeg, Feb. 20).

24. PAC MG29 E37, Diary of Hubert Neilson, March 4, 1871.

25. PAM MG14 C23 Box 3, Diary of C. N. Bell, March 4, 1871.

26. Diary of Hubert Neilson, March 2, 1870.

27. PAC MG 26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, March 8, 1871.

28. MSHS, News-Letter, March 11, 1871.

29. The Manitoban, Supplement, Feb. 25, 1871. It is truly unfortunate that so few of these Supplements have survived. Evidently they were published almost every day. See the Manitoban, April 27, 1871.

30. The Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

31. USNARS microfilm T24 Reel 1, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, March 4, 1871.

THE ARCHIBALD ADMINISTRATION IN MANITOBA - 1870-1872

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the

Department of History

by

Neil Edgar Allen Ronaghan

Winnipeg, Manitoba

c 1986 N. E. Allen Ronaghan

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BY

NEIL EDGAR ALLEN RONAGHAN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Chapter Twenty-nine
"Our Country People Cannot Visit Winnipeg . . ."

Two days after the mutiny of February 18th, a correspondent who asked that his name be not used wrote in French to the Saint Paul Daily Press, describing the scene at Winnipeg after events that he was sure would never be reported in the press. "Our country people cannot visit Winnipeg without being insulted, if not personally abused, by the soldier mob," this correspondent wrote. "They defy all law and authority, civil and military. Mr. Dubuc has twice been attacked by them, and they openly threaten to kill Mr. Royall [sic]."[1]

The violence at Winnipeg-Fort Garry continued after the end of the provincial election campaign. It did not come to a close with the Dominion election campaign and the success of J. C. Schultz, as might have been expected. Instead it increased in fury. Moreover, the violence did not cease either with the disbandment of the Volunteers and the departure of many of them, or with the so-called "Fenian Raid" in October, when the Half-breeds demonstrated beyond doubt their loyalty to the Archibald administration and to Canada. What is more, the arrival of the second Red River Expedition, made up of a new set of Volunteers, did not see peace come to the people of the new province. Was violence Dominion government policy? Extremely reluctant though we may be, we are in the end forced to consider this question. There is no record that Archibald protested concerning the presence or behavior of the Volunteers until he was asked about them by Macdonald. Archibald then made his statement about there not being anything for him to do but "not to see too much".[2] By that time the Volunteers had been in the province of Manitoba for nine

months. There is no indication that either Cartier or Macdonald made any attempt to see to it that discipline was improved where the Volunteers were stationed. There is, on the other hand, proof that Schultz, who was known to be fomenting much of the violence, enjoyed the favor of Cartier, the Minister of Militia, and that this was translated eventually into a concrete expression.

There was no security of person or of property in Manitoba in 1871, any more than there had been in 1870. If anything the situation grew much worse. It is time now to document this, knowing that for each incident that we can document in one way or another there must have been several that went unreported.

As we look at the whole sorry procession of violent events in 1871 we must be careful about assigning responsibility. It cannot be proved, for example, that there was a connection between the death of H. F. "Bob" O'Lone and either his support of the Provisional Government or the presence of the Volunteers at Pembina. O'Lone was injured in some sort of brawl that took place at a Half-breed dance at the home of Mr. Geroux, at Pembina, in early January of 1871. O'Lone's skull was fractured by a blow given with a revolver, "the hammer penetrating to [sic] the skull and fracturing it".[3] The doctor at the American fort at Pembina would not undertake the necessary operation alone, and Dr. Turver was called from Fort Garry.[4] The operation did not succeed in saving O'Lone's life. Baptiste Hayden, of Pembina, was tried for murder before Judge Harrison on February 13th. The court was unable to convict Hayden on a charge of murder, and the case was sent to a grand jury to settle a technicality. The newspaper reporter covering the case believed that Democratic party

politics got in the way of the wheels of justice.[5]

As we have seen,[6] the New Year opened at Fort Garry with an attack on Toussaint Vaudry and Joseph McDougall by Volunteers of the Ontario Regiment on January 4th. Four Volunteers were tried for "aggravated assault and battery". Two more were sentenced to fines of $40 or three months.[7] Vaudry lived with his widowed mother and her three daughters. He happened to be at home when a Volunteer entered the house and made "insulting propositions to the ladies". Vaudry forced him to leave, but he returned with ten other men, and Vaudry was beaten nearly to death.[8]

About the same time "seven or eight" Volunteers met two Half-breeds on the ice of the river. The two Half-breeds would have been severely beaten if they had not been able to "scratch" and make their escape across the ice.[9]

The house of Maurice Lowman was burned on the night of Wednesday, January 11th. The house was not insured, and the loss was given as three hundred pounds.[10] No proof of foul play on the part of the Volunteers was brought forward, but people remembered that Lowman had been a member of the Council of November, and that he had been prominent, if not a key person, in his support of the "Central Committee" at certain of the provincial election meetings.[11]

The same issue of The Globe that carried the story of the mutiny of February 18th reported that "some short time ago" there had been a fight between a group of Volunteers and some "French". Two of the Volunteers were brought before Magistrate Bannatyne, who fined them "forty dollars each and expenses and sent them to gaol". The correspondent was happy to report that they "were released on payment of the fine which was sub-

scribed in an hour".[12]

Pembina was in the news again with the details of the attack on André Nault. Nault had gone to Pembina about the same time that Riel was forced to flee from Fort Garry. On the evening of the 24th of February he visited the inn of Paul Laurent to attend to some business he had with him. A number [13] of Canadian Volunteers were at the inn when Nault entered, and he was recognized and pointed out to them. The Volunteers left to go to their quarters for their side arms. When they returned Nault saw that harm was intended and tried to leave, receiving as he did so several blows from the fists and bayonets of the Volunteers. Nault ran as fast as he could in an attempt to cross the boundary into the United States. He was pursued, overtaken, bayoneted and left for dead.[14] He was found by his friends and taken to his house, where he recovered. Nault had been a captain in the forces of the Provisional Government, and was a member of the court martial that sentenced Thomas Scott to be shot.[15] It has never been recorded under what authority the Volunteers thought they were acting in thus attacking Nault, and Tennant, who was a member of the company of Volunteers there at Pembina, made no mention of the incident in his book.

Sporting events were not free from violence. On March 18th Charles Napier Bell wrote in his diary that "horse-races" brought "three hundred men" to the village of Winnipeg. There was a "good deal of fighting", Bell went on, but "we were not called out".[16]

Archibald's delay in calling together the Legislative Assembly has been noted and speculated on. Even a supporter of the opposition party in the provincial house was not safe in the streets of Winnipeg if certain

people did not like the way he had voted on certain issues. Fred Bird, the member for Portage la Prairie, was pushed down in the mud and held there "for more than twenty minutes" after the vote on the Headingly case. The News-Letter chortled editorially, "Who Sat Down In The Mud?".[17] J. J. Setter commented, in a letter to J. C. Schultz, that "it was good for" our "bea[u]tiful bird that he did not make his appearance at the Portage soon after his vote on the Headingly case".

> I hear that he has been treated as he ought, about Winnipeg.[18]

The Manitoban, apprehensive as ever, said nothing about it. The Manitoban had good reason to be nervous after the abortive attempt of "some 80 of the Canadian troops to burn it down". It is probable that but for an after-hours meeting of the "Central Committee" the Manitoban's offices and neighboring buildings would have quickly gone up in smoke.[19]

The Volunteers' barracks saw more violence in April. The diary of Charles Napier Bell is succinct enough:

> Sgt. Harvey came in drunk and raised a row, so he was put under arrest.[20]

On the 19th of April, the same day that Bell was summoned to be a witness in Harvey's trial, Bell wrote in his diary that "there was a big row in the night upstairs in No.4. Five men were taken to the guard room."[21] For some reason, Harvey's trial was adjourned to the 24th.[22] When the trial was held, witnesses testified that they were quietly playing cards when Harvey came in and picked up a copy of the News-Letter that was lying on the table. The News-Letter contained an account of a dramatic performance held the evening before in which Harvey participated. The report said that Harvey was an "admirable slasher and was quite at home in that

character".[23] Harvey remarked that the report was "poor" or "queer". He then drew his sword and began to swing it around, possibly in reenactment of the previous evening's dramatic success. Private Yuill told him to "take care". Succeeding events were not specified in the court martial records, but Harvey was reduced to ranks for being drunk in the barrack room "when on duty and duty sergeant".[24] He paid a fine of one pound. The men of Company No. 4 "go cells (two got 42 days--14 solitary days) and the others 21 days".[25]

Reports of incidents involving violence were so numerous in the month of May that it almost seemed that some unseen hand had turned a spigot of violence on full flow. The Globe had to admit that Archibald could not rely on the Volunteers.[26] Even the Manitoban acknowledged a violent incident. The reason was probably that the winterers were coming in from the plains.[27] Also, the disbandment of the Volunteers began in May, and many men, freed from the restraint and discipline of their regiment, were free to behave as they pleased.[28]

At the beginning of May Charles Napier Bell recorded in his diary that

> There was a fight in the town between the Volunteers and Half Breeds [sic] and the picquet was turned out but it soon ended.[29]

Three days later Bell reported that

> there was a row in Davis' between Tom Bunn and some Volunteers. Sergt Major Coyne backed them because he was a Free Mason.[30]

Bell did not specify what kind of "row" it was or whether anyone had backed Bunn. Bunn, it will be remembered, was by that time a member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba and had been prominent in political

affairs throughout the Insurrection.

On May 11th a citizen of St. Vital named Bourassa had an argument with a Volunteer. The soldier took out a "garcette", a special kind of rope's end or cat-o-nine-tails having a piece of lead on the lanyard, and began to use it on Bourassa. Bourassa was able to take it away from the Volunteer and give him a taste of his own medicine, when thirty of his antagonist's fellow Volunteers came up and pelted him with sticks, stones, and anything else that could be found handy. Needless to say, Bourassa had to flee for his life. "These half-breeds [sic]", said one Volunteer, "are tougher than cats!"[31]

A particularly vicious attack took place on May 24th at the time of the celebrations marking the Queen's birthday. Isaac Cowie, a Hudson's Bay Company employee, and his helper, Louis Hibbert, had come into Fort Garry from the trading post on the Qu'Appelle Lakes. Hibbert, like Cowie, had taken no active part in the movement of 1869 and 1870. He was attacked by a group of Volunteers, who beat him into insensibility with their belts, and he might well have been killed if two women had not intervened and pulled him away from them.[32] A crowd of bystanders had not dared interfere. A newly-arrived Upper Canadian told the correspondent of La Minerve that he had not believed what he considered to be the exaggerated reports of the newspapers about Volunteer violence at Fort Garry. What he saw there on May 24th, however, exceeded in brutality anything that he had read and left him disgusted.[33]

Hibbert was not the only one attacked by Volunteers that day. James Wickes Taylor, the American Consul at Fort Garry, was attacked by a drunken Volunteer in what became an internationally reported incident.

The New York Times, for example, headlined it "Military Reign of Terror in Manitoba".[34] If anything were needed to prove that the United States had no intention of interfering in any way with Manitoba, this incident surely provided that proof. The incident was reported[35] in the press, denied[36] in the press, and commented on to the point where one could begin to doubt whether it had really taken place. Fortunately we have Taylor's own report to the State Department to remove all doubts:

> I was passing through the Main Street of Winnipeg when a drunken soldier of the Ontario Battalion suddenly turned with a stick in his hand, and arrested my progress, demanding insolently that I "present arms". Without reply I attempted to pass him, when, with a blow of his stick he knocked off my hat, but without personal injury.

Taylor picked up his hat and "advanced a few steps",

> when the fellow again confronted me, using the same language as before. Looking him in the face for a moment I said calmly but firmly, "Let me pass, sir", and moved on. Fortunately I received no further insult.

Taylor went on to say that "the incident occurred about 5 p.m. in the sight of one or two hundred people--many of them soldiers", and that he had then proceeded to the Consulate. He reported that the officers of the Battalion, the Lieutenant-Governor and several members of the Government promptly called and expressed themselves to my satisfaction".[37]

In his first despatch Taylor did not report to the State Department that he had lowered the American flag immediately upon his arrival at the Consulate. In the "one or two hundred people" who saw the incident were several newspapermen, and a report was soon published in a St. Paul paper[38] that Taylor had lowered the flag out of "resentment for the attack". Taylor hastened to explain to his superiors that May 24th had

been a very windy day in Winnipeg and that

> towards noon the wind rose to a gale and [the flag] was lowered to prevent its destruction.

Taylor also added that his assailant had "since made a suitable apology" and that he had accepted it. Clearly the consular representative of the United States was not seeking for a pretext for any kind of international incident. He recommended that the"consular flag should be constructed of stout bunting".[39]

In his first report of the incident Taylor had commented that

> outrages upon the French population are of daily occurrence--often most flagrant and cowardly in their character, and so far as this incident has tended to IDENTIFY ME WITH THIS LONG-SUFFERING POPULATION [emphasis mine] I do not regret it.

On the night of the 23rd of May six Volunteers forced their way into the tent of an Indian, his wife and family--two of whom were young women. The man protested, and was pulled out of the tent and so severely beaten that he could no longer protect his family. Then, according to the St. Paul Daily Press, they returned to the tent and "outraged the mother and daughter". The incident did not end there. The mother made complaint next day to the captain of police, who went with her to the Fort to identify the men who had carried out the attack. The Volunteers were on parade at the time, and the woman recognized one of the attackers and pointed him out to commanding officer Jarvis. Jarvis replied that it was none of his business.[40] According to the version published in La Minerve the police took depositions from the woman and her daughters, but the magistrates, fearing a repetition of the events of February 18th, were unwilling to issue arrest warrants and the affair was dropped.[41]

Apparently no woman could walk with safety near the Fort, even with an escort. A Mr. McCloud and his wife happened to pass near the Fort. A group of Volunteers arrested Mr. McCloud's progress and used insulting language to his wife. Finally they seized hold of her as if to pull her away from her husband. At this point he drew a weapon from his pocket and by threatening to use it was able to make them disperse.[42]

The month of May closed with a battle between Volunteers and Half-breeds on the 30th, some fifty or sixty men being involved. Clubs, chairs, planks and other materials were used as weapons. According to the St. Paul Daily Press the fight ended as if by mutual consent, and the people went away to nurse bloody heads and other wounds.[43]

This is the proper place to notice the establishment of Manitoba's first French-language newspaper, Le Métis, whose first edition made its appearance on May 27th. As we have seen, the French-speaking community of Manitoba had never had a newspaper to express its concerns, and we have often had to use St. Paul or Montreal newspapers to learn of events involving French-speaking people, and always with a delay of a month or six weeks, depending on circumstances. The Schultz party, of course, saw its establishment as further evidence of a Jesuitical plot, but its belated appearance in 1871, twelve years after the Nor'Wester first went on sale, is surely evidence that there was no Jesuitical plot at all. Not a moment too soon did this newspaper enter the lists on the side of the exasperated French-speaking people of Manitoba. Leaderless and having only a few of their own people in the Legislature, these people desperately needed the information and coordination that a newspaper could supply.

On June 3rd Baptiste Lépine, a brother of Ambroise Lépine, and some

friends got into a dispute with some Volunteers and others in the Davis House.[44] In a moment he and his companions found themselves forced into the street. There a miniature battle took place. Lépine and his friends were joined by some sympathizers, the Volunteers likewise. Once again anything that was handy was used: sticks, chairs, boots, bottles, and hard mud in chunks. Before the battle was over between fifty and sixty men took part, and several were seriously injured, among them Lépine. He had his head cut open by a blow from a fence-board in the hands of his assailant.[45] As we shall see, this incident was to be remembered four months later when the Lieutenant-Governor issued his proclamation at the time of the so-called "Fenian Raid".[46]

Strangely enough one may search in vain in the appropriate issues of Le Métis for any reference to this "affray", involving as it did a member of a prominent Métis family.[47] With Winnipeg-Fort Garry in a state of incipient civil war it would not have been unnatural to find the pages of the first issues of Le Métis filled with the gory details of these recent encounters. Yet as we lift the veil on the doings in the Métis community and study the pages of the newly-founded newspaper we find very little mention of the violence of May and June. True, there is an editorial suggestion that the police should wear uniforms in order that men involved in a brawl might tell who were police and who were not. "Since Winnipeg is often enough the scene of brawls in which twenty or thirty people take part," Le Métis began,

> unfortunate mistakes are made. Men who would respect the authority of the policemen if they could recognize them are inclined to do the opposite.

A man is not likely to consider, in the heat of a mélée, whether the man

with whom he is grappling is really a policeman, the editor observed. The police should be readily distinguishable, Le Métis went on, and would be more respected if they were.[48] However, a study of the first issues of Le Métis shows that something else was of far more concern in late May and early June of 1871 than the brawls in the streets. Let us notice the headlines: "Le choix des terres de la réserve"--"Réserves des Métis Français"--"Réserves des Métis de la Pointe de Chênes"--"La Question des Terres".[49] There are long editorials and long descriptions of blocks of land the Métis people are wishing to claim under section 31 of the Manitoba Act. Accordingly we must leave for a time the melancholy story of the violence of 1871 and return our attention to what is probably the one great issue of the Insurrection--land.[50]

Footnotes

1. St. Paul Daily Press, March 14, 1871 (Winnipeg, Feb. 20).

2. PAC MG26A Vol. 187, letter 77909, Archibald to Macdonald, May 28, 1871.

3. St. Paul Daily Press, March 7, 1871. The account says "early January", so Tennant, in Rough Times, errs in stating it happened in December of 1870. See also St. Paul Daily Pioneer, Jan. 25, 1871 (Pembina, Jan. 7).

4. News-Letter, Feb. 1 and 11, 1871; Manitoban, Feb. 18, 1871.

5. St. Paul Daily Press, March 7, 1871.

6. See, above, chapter "The Sequel to the Provincial Election Results".

7. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 33, Folder "Courts Martial, etc, Red River Force, 1870-1".

8. Le Nouveau Monde, Feb. 3, 1871 (Pembina, Jan. 10); St. Paul Daily Press, June 4, 1871.

9. Le Nouveau Monde, Feb. 3, 1871 (Pembina, Jan. 10).

10. News-Letter, Jan. 14, 1871; Manitoban, Jan. 14, 1871.

11. Manitoban, Nov. 5, 1870.

12. Globe, March 7, 1871.

13. St. Paul Daily Press, March 14, 1871. The account states that the number was "15". See also the Globe, March 15, 1871.

14. St. Paul Daily Press, March 14, 1871.

15. See Juge L. A. Prud'homme, "André Nault" in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section 1, 1928, pp. 105-6.

16. PAM MG14 C23 Box 3/6, 1871 Journal of C. N. Bell, entry for March 18.

17. News-Letter, April 18, 1871. See Appendix "F" of the chapter "The First Provincial Legislature".

18. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Setter to Schultz, Apr. 19, 1871.

19. St. Paul Daily Press, March 14, 1871 (St. Boniface, Feb. 23).

20. 1871 Journal of C. N. Bell, entry for April 15.

21. Ibid. Entry for April 19, 1871.

22. Ibid.

23. News-Letter, April 15, 1871.

24. PAC RG IIB2 Vol. 33, "Courts Martial, etc., Red River Force, 1870-1".

25. 1871 Journal of C. N. Bell, entry for April 24, 1871.

26. Globe, May 22, 1871.

27. St. Paul Daily Press, June 9, 1871.

28. See, for example, Manitoban, May 6, 1871; St. Paul Daily Press, June 9, 1871.

29. 1871 Journal of C. N. Bell, entry for May 1, 1871.

30. Ibid. Entry for May 4.

31. La Minerve, July 18, 1871 (Winnipeg, May 25).

32. La Minerve, July 18, 1871 (Winnipeg, May 25); St. Paul Daily Press, June 9, 1871; See also Isaac Cowie, Company of Adventurers, pp. 429-430.

33. La Minerve, July 18, 1871 (Winnipeg, May 25).

34. New York Times, June 12, 1871.

35. See, for example, St. Paul Daily Press, June 9 and June 13, 1871; Globe, June 22, 1871; La Minerve, July 18, 1871.

36. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, June 20, 1871.

37. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, June 6, 1871.

38. St. Paul Daily Press, June 9, 1871.

39. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, June 6, 1871.

40. St. Paul Daily Press, June 9, 1871.

41. La Minerve, July 18, 1871 (Winnipeg, May 25).

42. St. Paul Daily Press, June 9, 1871.

43. St. Paul Daily Press, June 21, 1871.

44. Manitoban, June 3, 1871; St. Paul Daily Press, June 9, 1871.

45. Begg and Nursey, Ten Years in Winnipeg, 1870-1879, p. 34.

46. J. B. Proulx, "L'Invasion Fénienne au Manitoba", RHAF, Vol. XVII, Sept., 1963.

47. See A. G. Morice, Dictionnaire, pp. 180-2.

48. Le Métis, May 27, 1871.

49. Le Métis, June 8, 1871.

50. This provides confirmation of a St. Paul Daily Press report dated June 16, which referred to concerns about the land question and the fact that no surveyors had arrived. See St. Paul Daily Press, June 21, 1871.

Chapter Thirty
The Confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois[1]

The success of Archibald and the behavior of the Métis at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois can only be properly evaluated in the context of the events of the previous thirteen months. That a major massacre did not occur somewhere near where the town of Carman now stands was due as much to the discipline and respect for authority of the Métis as it was to Archibald's powers of persuasion. The Canadian government, in not backing Archibald, made it appear that duplicity was government policy where land was concerned.

The roots of the confrontation lay in the efforts of Charles Mair and his comrades of "Canada First" to induce and organize an emigration from Ontario to Manitoba at a time when the requirements of the 31st section of the Manitoba Act had not been met, when no surveys of any kind had been completed, and when no facilities for the reception and information of immigrants had been prepared by the government.[2] These efforts were irresponsible in the extreme, and the Canadian government's acquiescence in them leaves it open to a charge of collusion. We have striven in this study to ascertain what Canadian government policy was where lands in Manitoba and the Territories were concerned. The confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois provides insights into this matter.

At this time we must review briefly the events of the spring and summer of 1870, and then trace developments into 1871. For reasons which will become clear in due course we must do this at three levels, the imperial, the Dominion and the local. It will be useful to begin with the imperial level first. As has been noted, the Manitoba Act as originally

passed was illegal, unconstitutional and contrary to the spirit of the British North America Act of 1867.[3] Macdonald and Cartier knew this, and the circle of people around those who negotiated the terms of the Act certainly knew it.[4] For fourteen long months the Canadian government was in a position of extreme vulnerability, open to a challenge from any quarter that it had acted wrongly in passing the Manitoba Act in the form that it had, particularly in departing from the British North America Act and placing Manitoba's public lands under the Dominion government.[5] If Riel or a legislature of Manitoba had challenged the legality of the Act, a very awkward and embarrassing situation could have developed. It may be that this is the real reason for the sending of the Red River Expeditionary Force and for the paucity of efforts to improve the discipline of the Volunteers. While he was kept in hiding Riel was not able to make a study of the necessary documents, and while, as we have seen, he did prepare a protest to President Grant, he did not specifically attack the Manitoba Act.[6] If he had couched his protest in terms of the unconstitutionality of that Act--and if the American president had been inclined to interfere in Canadian affairs--which Grant was not--the game might have been revealed to the gaze of world public opinion. There was only one remedy under the circumstances. The Manitoba Act was an act of the Canadian Parliament. Since it was not in harmony with the British North America Act, an act of the British Parliament, the British Parliament must be asked to give its sanction to what the Canadian Parliament had done. The thing could be done, but it must be done in such a way as to cause no careful scrutiny of the Manitoba Act. Efforts in this direction were given a check by the sudden and lengthy illness of Macdonald through-

out the summer and fall of 1870. Cartier, the acting prime minister, had his hands full in repelling the Fenian invasion in the spring and seeing to it that the Red River Expeditionary Force was set on its way and properly supplied. Taking care of the affairs of the Canadian government absorbed his attention after that. Macdonald recuperated in Prince Edward Island and on the Parliament Hill grounds[7] during the summer, able only in the fall to give his attention to government affairs. By late fall he was fully restored.[8]

On January 2nd, 1871, a Committee of the Privy Council for Canada approved a memorandum of the Minister of Justice concerning the constitutionality of the Manitoba Act of 1870, and advised the Governor-General "to move the Earl of Kimberley to submit to the Imperial Parliament a measure confirming the Act of the Canadian Parliament above referred to, and containing the other provisions enumerated in the said annexed memorandum". The basis for concern was stated to be that doubts had "been entertained respecting the powers of the Parliament of Canada to establish Provinces in Territories admitted . . . into the Dominion".[9] In taking this high ground the Canadian government effectively concentrated the attention of British authorities upon Canada's competence as a new nation to legislate for its own territories.[10] The Earl of Kimberley said in introducing the bill in the House of Lords:

> The law officers of the Crown were of opinion that these acts [the North-West Territories Act and the Manitoba Act] were valid, as not beyond the powers of the Canadian Parliament: but doubts having been expressed the Canadian Parliament had addressed the Crown for an Act in the Imperial Parliament confirming their validity.[11]

The bill passed both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom without

debate on June 29, 1871,[12] only a few days before the end of the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. The people of Manitoba, who had on several occasions specifically requested local control of their lands, were not represented in any of the four Houses of Parliament that decided that their lands were to be "administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion".[13]

Now let us review the events at the Dominion government level.

As we have seen, Ritchot had hoped, and Cartier and Macdonald had originally promised, that the 1,400,000 acres would be parcelled out to the Half-breeds by a committee of the local legislature or, failing that, by a committee chosen by mutual agreement.[14] Either system would have had the advantage that the Half-breed lands could have been dealt with as soon as the news reached Red River. However, Cartier and Macdonald had then unilaterally decided that this should be done by the Lieutenant-Governor, acting under the instructions of the Governor General in Council. When Ritchot had protested about this change Macdonald and Cartier had promised the delegates an order-in-council authorizing the naming of a committee "charged with choosing and dividing, as may seem good to them, the 1,400,000 acres of land promised".[15] Ritchot eventually had to be content with a letter from Cartier giving assurances to the effect that this parcelling out of land would be done in such a way as to "meet the wishes of the Half-breed residents".[16]

The ninth of Archibald's instructions was as follows:

> In order to enable you to select, under the provisions of the 31st Section of the Act, and under the Regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor General in Council, such lots or tracts from among the ungranted lands in such parts of the Province of

> Manitoba as you may deem expedient to the extent mentioned in the said Section, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed [sic] heads of families residing in the Province at the time of the transfer of the same to Canada--you will cause an enumeration to be made of the half-breed [sic] heads of families residing in the said Province at the time of such transfer, and of their children respectively.[17]

It is to be noted that there is no mention here of the "wishes of the Half-breed residents".

As we have seen, Archibald had the "enumeration" prepared by early December of the same year. By the end of December his recommendations concerning lands had been made. By the end of December, too, a new provincial legislature had been elected. After several postponements the new legislature met in March and gradually found that it had no power in the matter of the appropriation of the 1,400,000 acres or of Manitoba lands generally, and had to be content with passing legislation of a purely house-keeping order,[18] laying the foundations for an entity which, while called a "province", was not even the equivalent of a crown colony, but was rather a "colony of a colony".[19] Eventually, in April of 1871, this legislature would call on Archibald to "use every endeavour with His Excellency the Governor General in Council" to have questions connected wtih the lands on the Assiniboine and Red Rivers beyond the surveyed portions of the Province disposed of "at an early day".[20] Few British legislatures have been in such a humiliating position as Manitoba's was at this time.

This request appears to have had little effect on Canadian government policy generally, and it may be that it had the opposite effect to what was intended. More of this in its proper place.

A committee which had been meeting under the chairmanship of the Hon.

A. Campbell, senator and postmaster-general,[21] made its report on March 1, 1871. This report laid out what became government policy on the lands of Manitoba and the North-West, and recommended that the "control and management of all Crown Lands in Manitoba, and in the remaining part of the North-West Territory and in Rupert's Land, be confided by Your Excellency to the Secretary of State".[22] It must be noted here that this "Memorandum" on the Subject of the Public Lands in the Province of Manitoba" contains no reference whatever to the "wishes of the Half-breed residents".[23] Indeed, there is no trace in the document of the influence of Sir George Cartier, and we must assume that Sir John A. Macdonald was correct in his assessment when he confided to his friend Sir John Rose. "Cartier", Macdonald wrote,

> has lost the ear of the Upper Canadians and there are some very ticklish questions which will be brought up in my absence.[24]

Following the recommendations of this committee the order-in-council of April 25, 1871, was issued over the name of the Hon. J. C. Aikins, the secretary of state.[25] Aikins was to hold this office throughout the Archibald administration in Manitoba. No friend of the Half-breeds, or of French-Canadians for that matter, Aikins was, as we shall see, disposed to insist upon a strict interpretation of the order-in-council.

The first part of the order-in-council was a description of the system of survey which it had been decided to use in Manitoba. Archibald's recommendation in favor of the American style of township had been followed, although the committee had decided to retain Dennis's idea of road allowances. The international boundary was to form one axis of the

new survey, while the line run in the autumn of 1869 and known as the "Winnipeg meridian" was to form the other. The idea of the "jog" or "correction" required by the convergence of meridians was given in point six. Anyone familiar with the features of the Dominion Land Survey as it was applied throughout the Canadian West can see its basic essentials in this order-in-council.[26] The second part of the order-in-council consisted of seven points concerning the "Distribution of the 1,400,000 Acres Appropriated Under the Manitoba Act for the Benefit of the Families of the Half-Breeds".[27] At first blush the order-in-council appeared to be just what the Half-breeds had wished. Elation turned to disappointment, however, when it was realized that the 1,400,000 acres were to be parcelled out in "townships". By that time, however, the people of Manitoba had much more immediate and urgent matters to consider.

We must now turn our attention to the agency known as the North-West Emigration Aid Society, which Charles Mair and his associates had organized in Ontario in the summer and fall of 1870. As we have seen, they made special efforts to induce a movement of people to Manitoba. Hand in hand with this went a campaign to raise a subscription to assist these people financially. By the spring of 1871, $30,000 had been raised.[28] All across Ontario throughout the winter of 1870 and the spring of 1871 willing emigrants were winding up their affairs and preparing to move to Manitoba. This artificially-induced migration began to make its way through the United States to Manitoba during the late winter and early spring of 1871. Suddenly the province had to welcome an influx of people who had been assured that land was waiting for them in Manitoba.[29] Many of these newcomers appear to have followed a set of instructions

directing them to report to the office of the Manitoba News-Letter and receive information there as to where to go to find the suitable expanse of land south-west of Winnipeg, while others had gone directly from Pembina in a north-westerly direction to find the lovely, partially-treed area which the Red River Half-breeds had long called the "Rivière Aux Ilets de Bois".

Individual precursors of this movement had created something of a sensation when they began to arrive in the new province with their outfits, farm machinery and cattle. Merchants, of course, were most pleased with the sudden upsurge in business activity after a winter during which many of the country people, fearing to go into Winnipeg, had simply stayed home. Half-breed leaders, however, could see that trouble was inevitable. Unless the newcomers proceeded west well past Portage la Prairie to choose their land, they were almost certain to settle on land which the people of a nearby parish rightly considered theirs. Obviously action must be taken soon if violence and hardship were to be avoided. Reports of the arrival of these newcomers and the request of the provincial legislature appear to have moved the Dominion surveyor-general, J. S. Dennis, to urge the Canadian government to take action. The language of the cabinet committee which reported on May 26, 1871, is succinct:

> On a memorandum dated 23rd May, 1871,from the Surveyor General of Dominion Lands calling the attention of the Secretary of State for Canada to the fact that although the Surveys in Manitoba are not yet made, many Emigrants are on the way, and others are about leaving for that province, and that they consist for the most part of a class the object of whom is to take up land for Farming purposes.
>
> That under the circumstances as these people will go on the land, and numerous Settlements will inevitably be

> formed during the present season, it is recommended as a matter of general expediency that such proceeding ALTHOUGH IRREGULAR [emphasis mine] be countenanced so far as to issue instructions for the guidance of such parties, by which means the disputes and confusion which will otherwise be sure to occur would be much lessened.
>
> That the promulgation of something to the following effect would perhaps be all that is necessary.
>
> "Whereas the public survey of Manitoba cannot be affected in time to facilitate settlement on the lands by the numerous parties now in, and those about emigrating to that Province, and it is deemed expedient temporarily to countenance settlements being made in advance thereof--Notice is hereby given--
>
> 1. That parties found upon the lands at the time of survey, having settled upon and improved the same in good faith as settlers under the land regulations,--will be protected in the enjoyment thereof, whether the same be preemption or Homestead Right provided they respectively enter for such right with the Land Office, and otherwise carry out the provisions of the said regulations in that behalf, within three months after the Survey shall have been made.
>
> 2. That in settling on the lands parties will require to bear in mind the system of Survey adopted, by which the lines run due East and West, and North and South, and the 160 acres or quarter section is an exact square of half a mile each way--under which system ALONE [emphasis mine] pre-emption [sic] or Homestead Rights based upon settlement previous to survey will be recognized.

"On the recommendation of the Hon. the Secretary of State," the report concluded, "the Committee advise that the foregoing memorandum be approved."[30]

Several observations must be made about this remarkable document. At least one cabinet minister, the Hon. Christopher Dunkin, and probably others, had had a chance to peruse copies of the constitution and circulars of the North-West Emigration Aid Society at the time the committee

reported. The gentlemen of the committee must surely have known why it was that "emigrants" were "on the way" to Manitoba. The gentlemen knew, too, that the surveys were "not yet made" because no surveyors had been sent. It was not until July that surveyors began arriving in Manitoba.[31] It was recognized, moreover, that "settlements" formed during that season would be "irregular" and that "disputes and confusion" would occur, yet there is no record that the Canadian cabinet ever asked the North-West Emigration Aid Society to desist in its efforts because the situation in Manitoba was not such that immigrants could be received. Instead of this, "parties" were informed that they would be "protected" once they had "settled" on and improved land "in good faith". Finally, the gentlemen of the committee must have known that the requirement that the aspiring settler must think in terms of an east-west, north-south, 160-acre quarter-section survey ALONE would work in favor of the Ontario settler who was used to a rectangular survey, and against the old settler who had always thought and worked in terms of the long lots of the river-lot system. Not surprisingly the order-in-council was viewed in Manitoba as giving official sanction to wholesale "squatting" on land. When it was published in Manitoba in late June it served to confirm the position of newcomers who had simply "squatted" on land, to discourage once again the Red River Half-breed and injure his faith in constituted authority, and pull the rug from under Lieutenant-Governor Archibald in his efforts to preserve peace and retain the allegiance of the Half-breed people.

Let us now examine the Manitoba situation as it developed in the spring and summer of 1871.

In its issue of January 19, 1872, the Manitoba Liberal did a bit

of reminiscing about its part in the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois confrontation:

> . . . On the first arrival of the "Selkirk", on the 23rd of April last, we directed the attention of some of the immigrants to this settlement, and it appears they became so attached to the place that they immediately settled down, and before the winter set in they were householders. In this place there are plenty of good oak and poplar for building and fencing purposes.[32]

Here we have an allusion to the role of the Manitoba News-Letter office as unofficial immigration office, acting in cooperation wtih the North-West Emigration Aid Society. A word of explanation is necessary here. The Manitoba News-Letter ceased publication with its issue of July 1, 1871. John C. Schultz and a group of associates formed a publication company to publish the Manitoba Liberal,[33] and the staff of the News-Letter went to work with the new newspaper. Stewart Mulvey, a recently-disbanded Volunteer, took the editorial chair of the Manitoba Liberal. A "prospectus" was issued, and the Manitoba Liberal began to appear on July 11th with a full-size newspaper format.[34]

The Manitoba News-Letter made no secret of the fact that it was acting as an unofficial immigration office. In its issue of June 17[35] it reminded readers that "emigrants should . . . report [to the News-Letter office for information]". In late June, at the height of the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de bois, Le Métis commented angrily that

> it is neither at such a hotel, nor at such a restaurant nor at such an office of Sedition that they [immigrants to Manitoba] ought to get information.[36]

Two days later the Manitoban protested about the "conduct of certain parties who seem to consider

> that they have a special mission in managing the affairs of this country and dealing with immigrants . . . if they want information let them go to Governor Archibald.[37]

The Manitoban explained that certain associates of the News-Letter went down to meet each steamer just arriving and got into conversation with each new immigrant.

The Rivière aux Ilets de Bois (renamed the Boyne by the immigrants) drained a lovely stretch of partially wooded country which had been considered a Métis rendezvous for many years. No residences had been built, but Métis groups had built corrals and fences to control and handle cattle. On certain occasions when homes in the Assiniboine and Red River Valleys were flooded, people had gone to certain areas at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois to seek refuge. Some families kept bees there. In due course, as population in the home parish of St. Charles increased and as the Métis decided to adopt a more sedentary form of life, Rivière aux Ilets de Bois would have become a parish in its own right. It was to this area that a few newcomers began to come and stake out claims in late April of 1871.[38] When the Métis discovered what was happening they warned off the intruders and went to complain to Archibald. Immigrants were coming to other areas, but in smaller numbers. Meetings were held throughout the predominantly Half-breed portions of the Red River Settlement, and delegates went to Archibald with a proposal that stated clearly the "wishes of the Half-breed residents", and would have, if adopted and adhered to, settled the question of the 1,400,000 acres in a very short time. Their idea was that each parish should be permitted to lay claim to certain "blocks" of land on the basis of the population as determined by the 1870 enumeration. The proposal was practical and fair, and met with the

approval of anyone who was prepared to take an objective look at the situation. The Manitoban suggested editorially that the Lieutenant-Governor should allow the Half-breeds to choose "blocks" of land, identify them clearly according to the ancient principle of "metes and bounds", and publish these claims in the local newspapers.[39] Archibald looked carefully at the Manitoba Act and at his own instructions, decided that the word "tracts" covered the case nicely, and agreed to support the Half-breeds in their claims.

In mid-June Archibald wrote Aikins, the secretary of state, a summary of the events of the spring.[40] He may have thought, erroneously as it turned out, that the danger was past. We cannot do better than to read his account of what had happened:

> . . . since the arrival of the immigrants here, much uneasiness has arisen in reference to the question of the Half-Breed [sic] allotments under the Manitoba Act. The French Half-breeds, in particular, have been greatly excited on the subject.[41] They claim not only that the Half-breed rights are superior to all others, except those of actual settlers at the time of the transfer, they being founded on statute, but they go further, and assert that their claims to a preference are admitted in a letter written, while the Bill was passing through Parliament, by Sir George Cartier, with the sanction of his colleagues, guaranteeing such preference. I observe, in the last copy of the Metis that what purports to be a copy of this letter is published.[42] I have cut out a copy, and enclose it herein. The French Half-breeds have all along understood that they were to have a first choice, but the IMMIGRANTS NOW ARRIVING DO NOT TAKE THAT VIEW [emphasis mine]. Many of them challenge the rights of the Half-breeds and assert that immigrants are free to go where

they choose, to take possession of any land that suits them. In fact that the right of preference is in them and that the Half-breed may come in after every body else is served, and take what he can get. The exasperations arising from these conflicts were beginning to assume very disagreeable proportions and I HAD REASON TO DREAD SOME OUTBREAK [emphasis mine] unless the matter could be put on a fair and intelligible footing. Probably the excitement was not diminished by the feeling prevailing among the French Half-breeds that Colonel Dennis, who has charge of the surveys, was, from his antecedents, not likely to take too favorable a view of their claims. This, of course is idle prejudice, but is not unnatural in the light of the events of 1869. At this stage of the matter I received a letter, addressed to me by the representatives of Five Half-breed parishes, four of them French and one English, asking information on several points connected with the land. This letter having been published in the newspaper here, I send you a printed copy in English and in French.[43] I should have hesitated about replying if the situation had allowed me any choice, but I felt bound to give some answer, at risk even of NOT BEING SUSTAINED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL [emphasis mine]. If there had been no understanding or pledge on the subject, I presume the footing the Half-breed population would have occupied, in respect of the Crown domain, would have been that they were to be regarded as purchasers who had PAID THEIR MONEY [emphasis mine] into the Crown Land Office, and were asking their grants. The principle in all such cases in the different Provinces is, so far as I understand it, that priority of application gives priority of right. Under this rule of "First come first served" the Half-breeds, from the time of their application, would BE ENTITLED TO THE LANDS THEY SELECTED [emphasis mine] if there were no prior rights existing. Whether they choose as Individuals or as communities can make no difference in the principle. I WAS GOVERNED BY THIS VIEW IN THE REPLY I GAVE [emphasis mine] . . .

> I send you in English and in French, a printed copy of my reply.[44] With the publication of these documents in the Manitoban newspaper I directed the editor to insert, as a leading article, some explanations which could not well be given in the reply, and of this document also, I send you a private copy. With these papers before His Excellency the Governor General, he will judge whether the course I have pursued meets his approbation. I am convinced it is the only course that would not have led to serious trouble. I believe, too, that it is the course suggested alike by the interests of the Half-breeds and those of the Immigrants. It located the Half-breeds at once and leaves the great bulk of the lands of the Province free to be occupied by immigrants. It avoids the evils accident to the delays in the surveys and finally it prevents (which is the most important result of it), dangerous collisions, which would have arisen, from throwing suddenly among the French Half-breeds a body of newcomers differing from them so vividly as they do in language and race, in habits and faith.

It will be noticed that Archibald made reference to his "reply". This reply, which was written on June 9th, later became almost as famous as Cartier's letter of May 23rd, 1870, in the controversy surrounding the grants to Half-breeds. The most important part of this letter is as follows:

> Wherever, therefore, any Parish of Half-breeds or any body of Half-breeds, shall have made a choice of a particular locality, and shall have publicly notified the same in such manner to give notoriety to the fact of their having defined the limits thereof, so as to prevent settlers entering upon the tract in ignorance of the previous selection, I shall, if the duty should fall to me of acting under the rule laid down by the Governor General, be guided by the principles mentioned, and

> confirm the selections so made so far as this can be done without doing violence to the township or sectional series.

A researcher, coming upon this letter, might well be pardoned if he exclaimed, after reading it, "What a sensible solution to a difficult problem! The Half-breeds got their land, and they got it in the way they wanted it." Anyone in Manitoba who said this after seeing Archibald's reply in the Manitoban was to be disillusioned before many weeks had passed, because the problem was not solved in this way. Archibald's reply to the Half-breeds did not even prevent "dangerous collisions", let alone provide a long-term solution to a problem. In mid-May of 1874 Archibald told a Select Committee of the House of Commons how he remembered the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois:

> When the volunteers [sic] came to be disbanded, and were thus freed from all restraint, the hatred of the two classes [Volunteers and Half-breeds] exhibited itself more and more. Some of the immigrants from Ontario shared the feelings of the disbanded volunteers [sic], and acted in concert with them. A body of French half-breeds [sic] had made a selection of a tract of land at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois; some of them had made farms, or at all events enclosures, at that place. There was abundance of land wlsewhere equally good, but the newcomers 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 [sic] were enraged, they thought it bad 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

> Property, race and creed were all to be trodden under foot, unless they took care of themselves. They met in the 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 [sic] would have been an active participant: while from the English half-breeds [sic], IN ACCORD ON THE QUESTION OF PROPERTY WITH THE FRENCH [emphasis mine], neutrality was the utmost that could have been counted on, and at this moment we had a garrison of 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.[45]

Archibald's memory on this last point was faulty, unless he meant the precise moment when the Metis withdrew. An abundance of evidence exists concerning this massacre that did not take place, even though the Manitoban was to deny that the possibility of one existed and to dismiss as "bosh" the accounts of those who reported it.[46] It is clear that a crisis existed for nearly two months, beginning in early May and lasting until some time in early July. The Manitoba Liberal told the story in this way:

> In the beginning of May last, when the French population saw that the immigrants were taking possession of this place, they claimed it as a portion of their grant, and made imaginary boundaries, and went to Governor Archibald informing him of their choice. The Governor unwisely consented to the monopoly and the settlers were warned off, but they insisted on

> their right to unoccupied land, and said they were prepared to resist invasion of their rights. The result was that the Governor and the French were compelled to yield.[47]

The Manitoba Liberal's statement about the "French" making "imaginary boundaries" can be corroborated by a study of the first issues of Le Métis, in late May and early June, which were publishing descriptions of claims before the letter of the Half-breed representatives reached Archibald. These descriptions used well-known landmarks, such as ferries, trails and clumps of trees as points of reference. The difficulties continued into June, Le Métis for June 15th reporting that newcomers "are trying at this moment to settle". Charles Napier Bell, now a civilian and a citizen of Winnipeg, confided to his diary on June 19th that "a party" had "gone out" to see what was happening at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. The next day, the 20th, he wrote that "the fellows who went out to the Zeal-des-Bois . . . say that John. F. Grant has posted up notices" [expressing the Half-breeds' claims].[48] The American Consul at Winnipeg, James Wickes Taylor, wrote to his superior on June 23rd that "peace . .. is threatened by a serious dispute". The "French party . . . warn off all intruders".[49] The next day the Globe correspondent wrote that "matters are beginning to assume an unmistakably serious aspect". There was a report that the "woods had been fired". The correspondent went on:

> It will be well for humanity if the half-breeds [sic] employ no violence towards settlers for the first act of this nature will be the signal for an outbreak . . . the odds in point of numbers would be so great against the Canadians that nought but the most extraordinary valour could save Manitoba from a second edition of the Minnesota Indian troubles of 1862 . . . .

"The half-breeds [sic]", continued the correspondent, "are said to be holding meetings in different parts of the Province for the consideration of

the best means of securing their 'rights', at which Riel is one of the champions of the stump."[50] On the 6th of July Le Métis reported that the confrontation continued, saying, "We don't know how the affair will turn out". On the 13th however, Le Métis wrote of the incident as in the past, saying "they [the newcomers] positively refused to leave and have set to work".

According to The Globe, Archibald's success in persuading the newcomers to respect Half-breed rights at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois was considerable. "At the time of this issue," said The Globe, "about eighty families were there making settling arrangements, but, fearing the consequences of disobeying what was represented as an 'order by royal consent' ,

> about three-fourths of them left; the others, however, remained and are determined to hold their ground against all intrusions.

The Globe told of a deputation of Canadians that waited on the Lieutenant-Governor for positive information on the land question. In reply to their inquiries he gave them to understand that the course indicated in Le Métis and The Manitoban would be followed and the probability was that settlers within the limits would be expelled.

> One of the members of the deputation was a settler in the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois district, and at the time of the publication of the Lieutenant-Governor's letter had already made some improvements, to abandon which, he represented to His Excellency WOULD BE A GREATER HARDSHIP THAN HE PROPOSED TO ENDURE [emphasis mine].[51]

On the same day that The Globe correspondent prepared his report of the confrontation the newspapers of Manitoba were publishing the order-in-council of May 26th, stating that parties "found upon the lands at the time of survey" would be "protected in the enjoyment thereof".

When Archibald wrote his reply to the deputation he knew that he was running the "risk" of "not being sustained by His Excellency the Governor General". Aikins' reply has not survived,[52] but there is evidence that he insisted--with cabinet support--that the 1,400,000 acres could not be distributed to the Half-breeds until the survey had been completed. In a letter written in November of 1871--after the so-called "Fenian Raid" on Manitoba--Joseph Howe, the secretary of state for the provinces, wrote a long letter to Archibald in which this paragraph appears:

> I regretted very much seeing your letter giving countenance to the wholesale appropriation of large tracts of Country by the Halfbreeds [sic]. As I understand the matter, all the lands not in actual occupation, are open to everybody, Halfbreeds [sic], Volunteers and Emigrants. Either of these classes can establish rights in 160 acres anywhere by actual occupation, but none of them have authority to set off and appropriate large tracts of country UNTIL THESE HAVE BEEN SURVEYED and formally assigned by the land Department, with the sanction of the Dominion Government. Your answer to everybody is ["] I have nothing to do in the matter["]. This is the view I take, and I would, if I were you leave the Land Department and the Dominion Government to carry out their policy without volunteering any interference.[53]

It is not hard to understand why some Half-breeds--and Le Métis-- watched anxiously for the arrival of the surveyors. Others, however, as we shall see, finding no sense at all in a survey that would deprive them of close neighbors, simply left the Settlement.

In what way was Archibald's policy a success--if it was a success? It was certainly not a success if we are to consider only Archibald's career as Lieutenant-Governor. As we shall see, his actions in the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois confrontation brought him and the Canadian government such attacks in the Manitoba Liberal and The Globe that after another similar

success at the time of the so-called "Fenian Raid" in October, when he once again held the allegiance of the Half-breeds under Riel, he found himself forced to resign. It was not a success if we consider only the Half-breed efforts to have the question of the 1,400,000 acre grant settled in such a way as to "meet the wishes of the Half-breed residents". The Half-breeds believed in Archibald's sincerity and in the assurance given Ritchot by Sir George Cartier. They were to be disappointed. Archibald's policy was a success in that he managed to preserve the peace in Manitoba. And, as we have found, peace was preserved because the Half-breeds behaved in a disciplined way and did not slaughter the people whom they had every right to consider as invaders. We cannot find in the Canadian encyclopedias today reference to the "Massacre at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois", nor can we find a cairn near Carman commemorating the place where the Half-breeds kept the peace.

It is now possible to say something definitive about the Canadian government's policy on lands in Manitoba and the North-West. That policy was to obtain the lands and administer them "for the purposes of the Dominion". In this policy there was no room for allowing the Red River Half-breeds--French-speaking or English-speaking--to hold their lands in the way their experience had taught them was viable. There can be no mistake about this. As Archibald pointed out, 1,400,000 acres was just a little in excess of sixty of the townships of the kind that the surveyors would eventually lay out. At the time of the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois the Half-breeds had laid out in a matter of weeks the broad outlines of their allotment. Why did not the Canadian cabinet give its approval to what the Half-breeds had asked and Archibald had

signified his willingness to accept? We are fortunate that Howe gave Archibald the answer in no uncertain terms and that the letter has survived:[54]

> I am not quite sure that I understand your explanation about the Land. The policy of the Government was embodied in certain rules and regulations, first confidentially printed and carefully reviewed, and then sanctioned by Order-in-Council. Mr. Aikin [sic] and Colonel Dennis were then instructed to carry out this policy. No authority could be given to you to change or vary it, unless sent in official form through this Department. No such instructions have been sent, and therefore I assume that the policy, whatever it is, has never been changed. We may be mistaken, but I have discussed the Land Policy for the North-West several times with Mr. Aikin [sic], and we understand it the same way, and what is of more importance to you, is that Dennis acting under his orders, is practically carrying it out. That 1,500,000 [sic] acres of Land were secured to the HalfBreeds [sic] it is true, but those lands were to be SURVEYED AND SET APART BY THE GOVERNMENT [emphasis mine], and until this was done the settlement of the Country was not to be obstructed. Emmigrants [sic] and Volunteers, going into the country, HAD A RIGHT TO OCCUPY AND PREEMPT VACANT LANDS ANYWHERE [emphasis mine]. The young men who were already in Manitoba had precisely the same right, but none of these classes could establish proprietory rights in any but the half or quarter Section which they occupied and improved. If any of these classes staked off and claimed en bloc, large tracts of land in favorable situations, in my judgement they violated the instructions and their claims cannot be sustained. When the million and a half [sic] of acres have been surveyed, the Government must then see, not that any particular "ring" gets a particular block, but that each individual HalfBreed [sic],

> including minors and infants who are in no condition to scramble just now is put in possession of his quarter section, if it should turn out that he has not helped himself in this quiet and reasonable way in the meantime.

We must notice, in conclusion, three things about this letter. First, of course, we must repeat the observation that no surveyors arrived in Manitoba until the latter part of July. Then we must note that the Commissioner of Lands, McMicken, did not arrive in Manitoba until October[55] of 1871, more than three months after the confrontation at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois. Also, there is so little evidence of a desire to "meet the wishes of the Half-breed residents" that Howe does not even state the number of acres correctly. One wonders whether either Aikins or Howe had even heard of Cartier's written undertaking. As for Archibald's reminder that "priority of application gives priority of right", there is not even an echo of it.

The rest is history. In August, writing at White Horse Plains, Father F. X. Kavanagh observed angrily--in an obvious reference to Riel--that "our ghost is there, stupid spectator of the violation of the rights of the Metis, who ought to defend themselves; but who, effectively, are letting their enemies increase in number and grow in arrogance. If the Metis nation only knew its true interests! But no, the larger number of them are on the prairies or are going there at full speed."[56]

The Metis exodus to the West was continuing.

Appendix "A"

Government House
Fort Garry, June 9, 1871

Gentlemen,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ult. on the subject of the rights secured to the Half-breed population of this Province by the Manitoba Act, and in reply to the inquiry you make as to the mode to be adopted in assuring to the Métis the possession of the lands to be allotted to them under the Act, I have the honor to state, for the information of the people on whose behalf you make the inquiry, that on the 25th April last, His Excellency the Governor General in Council adopted certain rules for the disposition of the Crown Lands of the Province, which have been published in the Royal Gazette of the Dominion.

By these rules, I perceive that it will be left to the Lieutenant-Governor of this Province to designate the townships or parts of townships in which the allotments to the halfbreeds shall be made.

Should I be called upon to act under this rule, I shall consider that the fairest mode of proceeding will be to adopt, as far as possible, the selections made by the half-breeds themselves.

Wherever, therefore, any parish of Half-breeds or any body of Half-breeds, shall have made choice of a particular locality, and shall have publicly notified the same in such manner as to give notoriety to the fact of their having made such a selection and having defined the limits thereof so as to prevent settlers entering upon the tract in ignorance of the previous selection, I shall, if the duty should fall to me of

acting under the rules laid down by the Governor-General, be guided by the principles I have mentioned, and confirm the selections so made, so far as this can be done without doing violence to the township or sectional series.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen, Your obedient servant,
A. G. Archibald

Footnotes

1. The confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois is not unknown to historians. One of the earliest accounts is that given by Archibald in his deposition before the Select Committee of 1874. Since the Select Committee was trying to establish whether an amnesty had been promised, Archibald mentioned the incident because of its bearing on the so-called Fenian Riad. He did not, however, show its relationship with the Canadian government's land policy. Writing in 1880, Tuttle, in A History of Manitoba, also connected the incident with the Fenian Raid. He very nearly connected it with the government's land policy too, pointing out that neither the surveyors nor the Commissioner of Lands had arrived when the incident occurred. Rev. George Young's 1897 history Manitoba Memories touched on the episode in his story of a visit paid by Métis to the "Boyne River" just after the so-called Fenian Raid in October of 1871. Beckles Willson in his Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, published in 1915, paraphrased Archibald's account, very often using Archibald's exact words but without acknowledging his debt to him. He also dealt with the incident completely out of context, making it appear that it occurred immediately after the arrival of the Red River Expeditionary Force. G. F. G. Stanley mentioned the affair in his Birth of Western Canada, but, strangely enough, did not refer to it in Louis Riel, perhaps not realizing that Riel and the Métis committee were involved in it. W. L. Morton, in his Manitoba: A History, gave a few more details than other writers concerning the long use of the area by the Métis. Douglas Hill's brief account in The Opening of the Canadian West does not indicate to the reader that Archibald at the time had only about 85 soldiers to support him. Up To Now--A Story of Dufferin and Carman devotes chapter 2 to Métis beginnings in the area.

2. See, above, the chapter "Charles Mair and the North-West Emigration Aid Society".

3. See the chapter "The Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

4. Schultz both spoke and wrote about the matter. At an election meeting at St. Andrew's in November of 1870 Schultz stated that "the government of Canada has become that of an empire". (Manitoban, Nov. 19, 1870). The News-Letter for March 22, 1871, stated that the Manitoba Act would be "legalized" and that "every step taken [by the Canadian government where Manitoba was concerned] would "become legal".

5. Section 92 of the B. N. A. Act of 1867 reads as follows: "In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to to Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say",--and subsection 5 reads "The management and Sale of the Public Lands belonging to the Province and of the Timber and Wood thereon". Section 30 of the Manitoba Act is as

follows: "All ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be, from and after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown, and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion, subject to and except and so far as the same may be affected by the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty."

6. The only reference to the Manitoba Act is as follows: "That the negotiations to enter into the Confederation terminated in what is known as the Mannitoba [sic] Act". CHR, March 1939, Vol. XX, p. 426.

7. New Nation, July 16, 1870.

8. PAC MG26A Vol. 517, Part 2, pp. 422-5, Macdonald to Archibald, Nov. 1, 1870.

9. Preamble to the B. N. A. Act of 1871.

10. For a discussion of this point see Paul Gerin-Lajoie, Constitutional Amendment in Canada, University of Toronto Press, 1950, pp. 50-8.

11. British Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 206, p. 1171.

12. British Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 206.

13. Manitoba Act, Section 30. See note 5 above.

14. See the chapter "Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

15. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, Ritchot's Journal, p. 147.

16. The text of this letter is to be found in Appendix "A" of the chapter "Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

17. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), p. 5.

18. The Manitoban for May 6, 1871, has a complete list, both of the bills passed and those reserved by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald. See also in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Juge L. A. Prud'homme, "Le Premier Parlement de Manitoba, 1870-4", Section I, 1923, p. 165ff.

19. The term is Isaac Cowie's. See Company of Adventurers, p. 450.

20. PAC, Secretary of State Records, RG6 A1 Vol. 10, File 742, Archibald to Howe, April 5, 1871.

21. Guide to Canadian Ministries Since Confederation, July 1, 1867-April 1, 1973 (Ottawa, 1974), pp. 1-6.

22. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), Regulations respecting the Public Lands in

the Province of Manitoba, p. 1.

23. Ibid., pp. 2-7.

24. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 517, Macdonald to Rose, Feb. 22, 1871.

25. James Cox Aikins, secretary of state for Canada, was born on March 30, 1823, in the township of Toronto, and was the eldest son of James Aikins, from the County of Monaghan, Ireland. He was educated in the public schools and at Upper Canada Academy in Cobourg, Ontario. He settled on a farm in the County of Peel, and in the general election of 1854 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly as the representative of the County. He associated himself with the "Clear Grits" in the House, and was opposed to the Hincks-Morin administration. In the election of 1861 he was defeated by John Hillyard Cameron, but in 1862 he was elected a member of the Legislative Council for the Home Division, which comprised the counties of Peel and Halton. At Confederation he was called to the Senate, and on Dec. 9, 1867, he accepted the office of secretary of state under Sir John A. Macdonald.

26. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 10), Regulations respecting the Public Lands in the Province of Manitoba, pp. 1-2.

27. Ibid., pp. 2-3. Other parts dealt with "Settlement of Crown Lands", and "Reservation for Inter-Oceanic Railway".

28. Le Métis, June 15, 1871.

29. Both the Manitoban and the News-Letter contained occasional news items during the winter of 1870-1 concerning the emigration from Ontario. After the Manitoban for April 29, 1871, was issued, almost every issue of these papers contained accounts of their arrival in Manitoba. For a good description and discussion of this migration see James M. Talman, "Migration From Ontario to Manitoba in 1871" in Ontario History, Vol. XLIII (1951), No. 1, pp. 35-41.

30. PAC, PC 1036, 26 May, 1871.

31. See the letter entitled "The Surveys" in the Manitoban for June 24, 1871. The Manitoban for July 22 announced the arrival, on the 10th, of the first party of surveyors.

32. NLC and LLM, The Manitoba Liberal, January 19, 1872. The Liberal is mistaken here. The "Selkirk" arrived on the 29th of April. Possibly the editor meant April 26, when a group of men arrived from Bruce County, Ontario (PAM MG14 C23 Box 3, Diary of C. N. Bell for April 26 and April 29, 1871).

33. NLC and LLM, Liberal, January 26, 1872. The company was known as the Manitoba Printing Company. Directors were: A. McArthur, W. F. Hyman, B. R. Ross, E. H. G. G. Hay, Rev. James Currie, A.

McArthur was president; F. C. Mercer, secretary; A. E. Wilson, treasurer. No complete set of this newspaper exists in known public collections.

34. The Manitoban, July 1, 1871; Le Métis, July 13, 1871.

35. MSHS, News-Letter, June 17, 1871.

36. Le Métis, June 22, 1871: "c'est ni à tel hôtel, ni à tel restaurant, ni à tel bureau de sédition qu'ils doivent se renseigner".

37. Manitoban, June 24, 1871.

38. H. Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858, Hurtig Edition, Vol. 1, p. 155.

39. Manitoban, June 10, 1871.

40. PAC RG15, Vol. 230, No. 167, Archibald to Aikins, June 17, 1871.

41. The Manitoban, June 17, 1871, has an editorial, "Crown Lands", dealing with the reasons for the excitement.

42. This is Cartier's letter of May 23, 1870, referred to in Note 16 and found in Appendix "A" of the chapter "Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act". See "Report--1874", Ritchot's deposition, p. 74.

43. Manitoban, June 17, 1871.

44. Archibald's reply is also in the Manitoban for June 17, 1871. See Appendix "A" of this chapter.

45. "Report--1874", p. 140.

46. Manitoban, August 5, 1871. However, as early as August 26, 1871, the Manitoban made reference to "The Boyne"! The Manitoba Liberal used the term as early as July 19.

47. NLC, The Manitoba Liberal, Jan. 19, 1872.

48. PAM MG14 C23, Journal of C. N. Bell for 1871, entries June 19 and 20.

49. USNARS T24 Roll 1, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Davis, June 23, 1871.

50. The Globe, July 14, 1871 (Winnipeg, June 24).

51. Ibid.

52. Letter from J. M. Whalen of the Public Archives of Canada, dated July 4, 1983: "I regret to inform you that the correspondence you requested of Adams George Archibald in RG6, C1 does not exist" . . . "only

a small portion of the actual correspondence itself has survived."

53. PAC MG24 B29, Howe to Archibald, Nov. 4, 1871.

54. Ibid.

55. PAC MG26A, Vol. 61, Macdonald Papers, G. McMicken to Macdonald, Oct. 5, 1871.

56. AASB, T9222 - T9224, Father Kavanagh to an unknown correspondent, August 14, 1871: " . . . et notre fantôme est là, stupide spectateur de la violation des droits des métis, qui doivent se défendre eux-mêmes; mais qui, effectivement, laissent leurs ennemis augmenter en nombre et croitre en arrogance. Encore, si la nation métis [sic] comprenait ses véritables intérêts! mais non, le plus grand nombre d'entre eux sont dans les prairies, ou s'y en vont en toute hâte."

Chapter Thirty-one
The Orange Presence

One of the first hints to the world that there had been an Orange presence in the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois was given by the correspondent of the Montreal Daily Witness in a column prepared at Fort Garry on the 17th of August, 1871. Discussing the movements of immigrants in Manitoba the correspondent said:

> . . . the largest number have settled near the Portage and the River Isle de Bois [sic] in the neighborhood of Headingly. The new settlers have changed the name of this river to 'Boyne'.

This column was published on September 4th. A few days earlier, in Manitoba, the Manitoban had used the term.[1] The Manitoba Liberal had used the term before that, on July 19.

Not unexpectedly, such an organization as an Orange lodge was prone to come under the influence of individuals who would not scruple to use the enthusiasm of its members for their own purposes if the circumstances provided the pretext. We have already seen that the Orange order affiliate, the Young Britons, was used in Toronto for the purposes of "Canada First", and that an individual who was inciting violence in the streets of Toronto eventually received his reward from no less a person than the prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. We have seen, too, that an Orange lodge was founded in Manitoba on September 18, 1870, by men of the Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry. This lodge had a membership of one hundred ten members by February of 1871. One source has stated that there were three hundred Orangemen in Winnipeg in 1871.[2] Did these men and their lodge come under someone's influence?

In 1913, over 40 years after the events which interest us here, George Young, the son of the Rev. George Young, told a meeting in Grace Methodist Church, Winnipeg, of Orange Lodge involvements at the time of the issuing of warrants for André Nault and others:

> In the meantime Orange Lodges had been formed and we knew WHERE TO GET THE REQUIRED CONSTABLES [emphasis mine] at a moment's notice.[3]

George Young added a detail about the arrest of André Nault which other sources have not preserved for us:

> We got him, and brought him, somewhat injured, as he had resisted arrest, and his friends had also resisted the execution of the warrant.

That the newly-organized Orange Lodge at Winnipeg was not confining its efforts to the strictly fraternal and social is confirmed by this report, made in February to the Grand Lodge in Toronto.

> Already we are accomplishing a great amount of good for some of our Brethren from Ontario coming here, as we procured for them employment and POINTED OUT FOR THEM THE BEST LANDS [emphasis mine] and provided relief for others when penniless. We have surprised a great number of our Brethren here who never dreamed of such a thing as an Orange Lodge in this priest-riddled country, but when they came and found sometimes a hundred members in our Lodge room it cheered their Orange hearts.[4]

The American consul at Winnipeg, James Wickes Taylor, made an early reference to the Orange presence in November of 1870, when he wrote to inform Davis that

> at one time there was a prospect that the dissatisfaction of the Ontario Orangemen with Mr. Archibald's policy might lead to tumults which would make the Governor the prisoner of the Canadian Volunteers.[5]

Taylor was to mention the Orange presence again in February of 1871, when he made his report to Davis concerning the mutiny:

> I am informed that the Ontario troops--many of them Orange men [sic]--are secretly plotting the expulsion of Governor Archibald . . . The ultra-Canadian leader, Dr. John Schultz, is making the most of the excitement hoping to secure his election to the Dominion Parliament. If he is defeated (as I have lately anticipated) the peace of the country will be in great jeopardy.[6]

A few days later Taylor was able to report that, contrary to what Taylor had expected, Schultz had been elected to Parliament:

> The Hudson [sic] Bay Company made no strenuous effort to defeat the return of the leading Ontario agitator, Dr. John Schultz . . . there is much evidence of a tacit compromise, by which Dr. Schultz was elected as a peace offering to the Canadian element, which otherwise, aided by a mutiny of the Volunteers, was prepared for very desperate measures.[7]

Again, when Taylor forwarded to Davis a copy of the March 25th Manitoba News-Letter, he pencilled at the top of the front page, "The opposition paper, ultra-Canadian and Orange".

It seems abundantly clear that we now have at hand an explanation for a most remarkable statement about Schultz made by Sir John A. Macdonald to Archibald at the end of March, 1871. At that time Macdonald was in Washington, D. C., taking part as one of the five British commissioners in the negotiations out of which came the Treaty of Washington, 1871. He had read Archibald's report of the behavior of the Volunteers at Fort Garry, and of Schultz's success at the polls:

> 'I received your letter,' Macdonald wrote, 'giving a true account of the behavior of the Volunteers. It is bad enough in all conscience but I hope you have now seen the worst of it. I trust that Jarvis has acted firmly and checked the ruinous want of discipline the whole thing displays . . . .'

"I am very glad," Macdonald went on, "that Schultz has been returned. Had he been defeated I fear that he would have stopped at no measures however desperate to maintain his position.

> In two or three years he will be perfectly harmless, but AT PRESENT HIS POWERS OF MISCHIEF ARE INFINITE [emphasis mine].[8]

One is forced to ask several questions about this statement. What was the "position" that Schultz would have been forced to "maintain" if he had been defeated? Judging from Archibald's correspondence Archibald would have been glad to have one less Schultz in the new province.[9] Did Schultz have a"position" that Archibald did not know about, and did Macdonald make a slip in mentioning it? Or did Schultz have a "position" that Archibald knew about? If Schultz's "powers of mischief" were "infinite", why was he not eligible for arrest as a disturber of the peace? Or is this what was meant? Again, what was it that made Schultz's "powers of mischief" "infinite"? Was it the presence of an Orange group that could be manipulated at will and from behind the scenes? We have seen that this was what forced the authorities in Toronto to handle Col. George T. Denison with such care. Was the same true of John Christian Schultz at Fort Garry? We have to ask ourselves this question--and possibly others--in view of what eventually happened to this gentleman.

Speculation about method and motive left aside for the moment, there can be no doubt that John Christian Schultz had influence with the Volunteers at Fort Garry and used it. Taylor, as we have seen, knew it and reported it to his superiors in Washington, D. C. Archibald knew it too, and reported it to Macdonald. On March 8. 1871, not long after the mutiny of February 18th, Archibald wrote to Macdonald that [Schultz] had

> encouraged the disposition to rowdyism which has exhibited itself among the soldiers--and he or his immediate friends have been prominent in every trouble we have had.[10]

Military circles at Fort Garry and in Ottawa knew it too. As we have

seen, the weekly Volunteer Review, still careful about naming names, published this comment in late March:

> The man who encourages lawlessness in a soldier, who encourages especially insubordination in a soldier, is not only a public enemy, but a scoundrel of the deepest dye. There are such men in Canada today, and unfortunately THEY HAVE CONTROL OF THE COLUMNS OF NEWSPAPERS [emphasis mine].[11]

Before many months had passed the Volunteer Review would become bolder, and name names.

The Orange presence in Manitoba was noticed by the publishers of The Manitoban in late June and early July of 1871. They had heard rumors that the persons who had been especially vocal in their opposition to Archibald and to Half-breed land claims were to have a new newspaper. " . . . [I]f we are not mistaken," The Manitoban said in an editorial, "we will one of these days see their views represented by an organ whose programme can be summed up in one word 'Revenge', and whose creed will be red-hot Orangeism."[12] The Manitoban was not mistaken. The Manitoba News-Letter appeared for the last time on July 1st, 1871, and the Manitoba Liberal was on the stands on July 11th.[13] Its editor was Stewart Mulvey,[14] an ex-Volunteer[15] who was a founding member of Manitoba's first Orange lodge.[16] Mulvey's name was soon to be immortalized in Métis song and folk-lore concerning John Christian Schultz. In a song called "Le Dieu du Liberal" the bard sings these lines:

> Malvat dont la poche était vide
> Lui prête sa plume stupide.[17]

The song is obviously about Schultz, the red-haired doctor who has been elected to Parliament, changed sides twenty times and filled his pockets with money. Concerning the transaction which saw the end of the Manitoba

News-Letter and the formation of a company to manage the Manitoba Liberal, Archibald later wrote to inform Macdonald that Schultz "got up a Co. [sic] [and] handed the paper over to it although retaining a large share in the plant".[18] To use the words of the "prospectus" of the Manitoba Liberal, "those who have risked their lives, lost their properties, and suffered persecutions" had a "proper newspaper organ" to speak for them.[19]

The day before the first issue of the Manitoba Liberal appeared Manitoba became aware of the Orange presence in its midst in a much more obvious and familiar way. A recent book on the Orange Order, The Sash Canada Wore, erred in stating that Manitoba's first Orange parade took place in 1872.[20] The Manitoban reported the first Orange "walk" of Lodge No. 1307 in 1871. Seventy-five or eighty people took part and paraded to Armstrong's Grove, Point Douglas, under the leadership of Stewart Mulvey. No music accompanied the parade. The Rev. Mr. Carrie of Headingly addressed the group, a picnic dinner was enjoyed, and the group then returned to town to attend a dance in "the new building near the Manitoban office".[21]

Charles Napier Bell assisted in the making of plans for the "walk" that was to take place on the twelfth of July. Bell's diary reveals that those in charge of arrangements planned at first to go to "Macdonald's point up the Assiniboine" for their picnic.[22] Bell did not record in his diary what had caused the change of plan.

The Manitoba Liberal's account of this "walk" has not survived. It may well have given details of the Rev. Carrie's address to the members of LOL 1307, in which he may have been able to give details of the new mission at the "Boyne".

The Volunteer Review for September 4, 1871, noted that the formation of certain corps had been authorized in Ottawa on September 1st. A troop of cavalry corps had been authorized in Ottawa on September 1st. A troop of cavalry had been organized at St. Boniface with Hon. Joseph Royal as provisional captain. Rifle companies had been organized at South St. Andrews, at Mapleton and at Poplar Point, with John Christian Schultz, William N. Kennedy and George Newcombe as captains "provisionally".[23]

Three weeks later the column "Notes and Queries" in Volunteer Review contained a comment on these appointments by someone signing himself "G. W.". First G. W." commented favorably on the appointment of William N. Kennedy of the Mapleton Rifle Company, pointing out that he had served for some time as Adjutant of the 1st Ontario Rifles and remained in Manitoba as Lieutenant of the service company. "A better officer and a more true and Christian gentleman," wrote "G. W.", could not have been appointed . . ." Then "G. W." turned to one of the other two appointments. "I should consider the appointment of Dr. John C. Schultz to a similar position, one of a very different character. His prominent position and the political influence which he has secured so entirely for ends of the most utter selfishness, doubtless designate him as a man not to be refused. I only trust that in a military position, he will acquire some slight knowledge of the requirements of military discipline," commented "G. W.",

> but I should think but little confidence can be felt in a man who could so far allow his selfish vanity to blind him to his plain public duty, as to prostitute the temporary prosperity he enjoyed to purposes of factious violence, and to do his best to bring disgrace on the military service of his country BY TAMPERING AND CAUSING HIS AGENTS TO TAMPER WITH THE SENSE OF MILITARY

> DISCIPLINE OF THE MEN OF THE FIRST DOMINION EXPEDITION [emphasis mine].

"Neither the officers nor the best of the men (the great majority) of the Ontario Rifles," "G. W." concluded, "are likely to forget that they owe it to

> DR. JOHN SCHULTZ THAT THERE EXISTED EVEN A SHADOW OF COLORING FOR THE SLANDERS [emphasis mine] which obtained publicly about them.[24]

It is not at all unusual that the Métis were soon singing a song, to the tune of "Cadet Rousselle", whose chorus's last lines were

> Ah! Ah! Ah! car vraiment
> Cet homme est par trop surprenant![25]

Footnotes

1. Manitoban, Aug. 26, 1871.

2. United Church Archives, Rev. George Young, "biography" file.

3. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 1, Notes of 1869-1870, p. 32.

4. Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 58.

5. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24 Roll 1, Taylor to Davis, No. 22, 1870.

6. Ibid. Taylor to Davis, Feb. 21, 1871.

7. Ibid. Taylor to Davis, March 4, 1871.

8. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 517-8, Macdonald to Archibald, March 31, 1871.

9. There are a number of references to Schultz in the Archibald-Macdonald correspondence. See, for example, Archibald to Macdonald, Feb. 15, 1871.

10. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, March 8, 1871.

11. Vancouver Public Library, Volunteer Review, March 27, 1871.

12. Manitoban, July 1, 1871.

13. Manitoban, July 15, 1871. No copy of this first issue of the Manitoba Liberal is known to exist.

14. Rev. George Young, Memories, p. 217.

15. PAC RG9 IIB2, Vol. 35, lists S. Mulvey as an ensign in Co. No. 4.

16. Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 59. Mulvey had previously been a member of LOL 839 in Hagersville, Ont.

17. Margaret Arnett MacLeod, Songs of Old Manitoba, pp. 62-6. The editor, not realizing that "Liberal" was the name of a newspaper, has mistranslated "Le Dieu du Liberal" as "The Idol of His Party".

18. PAC MG 26A, Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 18, 1871.

19. Manitoban, July 25, 1871, quoted at length from the "prospectus" which had been issued earlier.

20. Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, p. 59.

21. Manitoban, July 15, 1871.

22. PAM MG14 C23 Box 3, 1871 journal of C. N. Bell, entries for June 23 and July 6, 1871.

23. This was republished in Le Métis for Sept. 21, 1871.

24. Vancouver Public Library, Volunteer Review, Sept. 25, 1871. The copy in the National Library, Ottawa, has had this page torn out. This comment was republished in the Manitoban for Oct. 21, 1871.

25. M. A. MacLeod, Songs of Old Manitoba, p. 64.

Chapter Thirty-two
The Treaties

Archibald's performance of his duties with regard to the Indians did not get off to an auspicious start, and matters did not improve with time. As we have seen, the "agents" sent to the Indians by Dennis in the winter of 1869-70 had made elaborate promises to them which helped to ensure their intractability. Events of the fall and winter of 1870-71 did little to assist Archibald and certain incidents were counter-productive. In addition Archibald's efforts were hampered both by his own ignorance and by the fact that he could not call upon men of the Provisional Government who had had to deal with the Indians in the months before he arrived at Fort Garry and had dealt with them successfully. This ignorance was to be compounded by that of the man chosen by the Canadian government to be the Indian Commissioner, Wemyss M. Simpson.

Events at Fort Garry in September and October of 1870 did little to reassure the Indians about their place in the scheme of things. Before Archibald arrived an Indian woman was stabbed to death "near Sutherland's new store" on the night of August 30th. It is not known to which band or tribe this woman belonged.[1] The situation was somewhat different in the case of an Indian who visited Fort Garry in early October.

Three weeks after Archibald met the Indians in the Lower Settlement on September 13th a head chief of the Crees, one Makasees or Fox, called at the office of John Christian Schultz for a letter of introduction to the new Lieutenant-Governor.[2] Before leaving his home in the Fort Ellice-Fort Pelly area this chief had paid a visit to the native missionary at Touchwood Hills, asking him for hints about the etiquette of visiting a

lieutenant-governor. He was given advice on all points, but the main advice given was "be sure and not get drunk". Fox made his way to the Red River Settlement, arriving there in early October. After calling on Schultz for the letter of introduction Fox went on to Fort Garry. There he was noticed by the Volunteers, who plied him with liquor until he lost consciousness.

> The soldiers, thinking to improve his personal appearance before ushering him into the presence of the representative of royalty, cropped off his beautiful long plaited tresses and left his scalp bristling like that of a 'penitentiary bird'--besides clearing all the gorgeous and elaborate painting off his face. The poor chief, on recovering consciousness, was so humiliated that he sneaked back to Fort Pelly, 'a sader [sic] but a wiser man', without having seen the Governor.[3]

The Manitoba News-Letter had the audacity to report that Fox had been "unfavorably received" by the Lieutenant-Governor. "If he [Fox] has left the settlement badly impressed," the News-Letter warned, "the circle of evil influences will rapidly extend."[4] There is evidence that Donald Gunn believed the News-Letter's insinuation about what had happened at Fort Garry. In April of 1871 Gunn wrote a letter to Schultz, mentioning among other things the advisability of settling with the Indians. "The Crees," Gunn reported,

> are not in the sweetest temper owing to Fox's having been esteemed rather lightly last fall when he presented himself at headquarters.[5]

The Volunteers may not have known the chief's identity, but men like John McTavish must have been able to inform Smith and Archibald who Fox was: that he was not only the chief of the Crees inhabiting the area between Fort Ellice and Fort Pelly but was the son of Le Sonnant, one of the signers of the Selkirk Treaty.[6] It was very important for the peace

of the western country that Fox be kept happy. Something must be done about the diplomatic damage the Volunteers had done. Captain W. F. Butler was in the Settlement and had nothing to do. It took no time at all for Smith to suggest to Butler and to Archibald that Butler should be sent west on an official mission.[7] Archibald wished to send someone to perform a variety of duties in the West for him. Butler could travel quickly on an observation tour to the West and report on the general situation in the valley of the Saskatchewan as far as the foothills of the Rocky Mountains.[8] One of his first duties would be to take presents of tobacco, powder and shot to Fox[9] and tender an apology for the unfortunate indiscretions of the Volunteers. Butler, of course, was agreeable to this plan. As we have seen,[10] Captain A. R. Macdonald, a doctor with the Ontario Rifles, was released from duty with his regiment so that he could go west with supplies of smallpox vaccine, do what he could in the way of taking preventive measures against the smallpox, and return with a report for Archibald and his AD HOC Board of Health.[11] By late October both Butler and Macdonald had disappeared into the wide open spaces of what Butler was soon to call the "great lone land", Butler leaving on October 24th, Macdonald on the 27th. It is to be noted that neither the diplomatic initiative nor the proclamation against the sale of liquor to Indians appears in Archibald's instructions, although there can be no doubt that both were part of this mission.

Three months after the departure of the two men remarkable reports about their activities began to filter back to the Red River Settlement, some of which were published in the newspapers. In late January of 1871 Mr. Clarke of Fort Carlton arrived at Fort Garry with reports of the

movements of both Butler and Macdonald. Clarke had begun his eastward journey on December 6th, and had details which were puzzling to the Manitoban and must have been deeply disturbing and disappointing to Archibald and Smith. According to Clarke Butler, who was supposed to be distributing copies of a proclamation against the sale of liquor to the Indians, "had with him a considerable quantity of liquor which had, we regret to hear, been rather demoralizing in its effects". "We cannot understand this matter," commented the Manitoban.[12]

About two weeks after this unsettling report the Manitoba News-Letter had news of reports being spread against Captain Macdonald. The News-Letter did not specify the nature of these reports, but leapt to the Captain's defense, stating that he had always spoken his mind on the subject of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the opinion of the News-Letter these reports were now being circulated in retaliation against Macdonald's forthright statements about the Company, and the reader should reserve judgment until his side of the matter was heard.[13]

Captain Butler returned from the West on February 20th, having travelled 2700 miles in 119 days.[14] He set to work immediately and had his report ready for Archibald by March 10th.[15] Extracts from it were published in the Manitoban in April,[16] but by then Butler was far from Manitoba, having left for Ontario on March 16th.[17] In conversation with Donald Smith before leaving Fort Garry Butler shed light upon the Manitoban's puzzling report about the sale of liquor to the Indians. It was true that liquor had been sold to the Indians. The "surgeon" sent by Archibald had been supplied with "a large quantity of brandy, whiskey and rum to the value of one hundred twenty pounds" by a member of the

Manitoba Board of Health. When Butler got into a part of the country where the "surgeon" had been "he found the Indians and half-breeds [sic], infected and otherwise, in a brutal state of intoxication". As Butler told Smith,

> Here I go with a law passed prohibiting this thing, and behold, only to find an officer of the Dominion using it very freely and giving it very freely to all about him.

Butler found it necessary personally to destroy a large quantity of this liquor, spilling it upon the ground to the great regret of the thirsty Indians.[18]

In later years Donald Smith openly accused John Christian Schultz of having supplied the surgeon with liquor, but Schultz "vigorously denied it".[19] According to Beckles Willson, Smith's biographer, Smith had "made sure of his facts before he prepared the charge against his ardent political rival and antagonist". Smith had probably seen a letter which W. Edward Traill had written to Archibald from Carlton House concerning the surgeon Archibald had sent west on a mission to the Indians: "It appears," wrote Traill, "that on the 2nd December he arrived here with his own effects and the following liquors etc etc."

> 2 casks each 24 gallons alcohol or whiskey
> 2 casks each 10 gallons alcohol or whiskey
> 1 cask each 5 gallons wine
> 2 casks each 2 gallons shrub
> 1 case corn starch
> 2 small medicine chests

"During his stay here he was never quite sober sometimes being too drunk to appear at the mess table. Mr. Hardisty gave up his room to him, and he shewed his gratitude by converting it into a tavern, bringing in liquor and giving the same to the Company's servants, Indians, and more

especially to Indian women, who were to be seen reeling about the Fort. Two of the women passed the night with the Doctor at different times."

> I have no hesitation in making such an assertion, as they told it themselves, and the articles they say they got in payment which I have seen, correspond with articles, taken by the doctor [sic], on his private account from the Carlton shop.[20]

It would appear that four of the six "large cases of medicines"[21] which Butler had handed over to the surgeon in October had turned into "2 small medicine chests" in order to make room for the supplies of liquor. Schultz's part in the enterprise was, however, effectively concealed.

Macdonald did not arrive in the Settlement until the end of April.[22] If he made any report to Archibald it has not survived.[23] The Manitoba News-Letter stated that he recommended that the Board of Health continue its efforts.[24] Little was said about his "efforts", and among the Volunteers the tradition developed that he had spent much of the winter at Wood Mountain.[25]

It is appropriate at this point to look at the recommendations in Butler's report.[26] In doing so we shall be doing something fairly novel, for, while Butler's book The Great Lone Land has been read and reread for more than a century as a travel book about our endless prairies, the few pages in the appendices at the back have been for the most part ignored. They deserve better treatment at our hands. Archibald had asked Butler to state his views on "what may be necessary to be done in the interest of peace and order". Butler restricted himself in the main to three recommendations. The first was the "appointment of a Civil Magistrate or Commissioner, after the model of similar appointments in Ireland and in India."

> This official would be required to make semi-annual tours through the Saskatchewan for the purpose of holding courts; he would be assisted in the discharge of his judicial functions by the civil magistrates of the Hudson [sic] Bay Company who have already been nominated, and by others yet to be appointed from amongst the most influential and respected persons of the French and English half-breed [sic] population. This officer SHOULD RESIDE IN THE UPPER SASKATCHEWAN [emphasis mine].[27]

The second was "the organization of a well-equipped force of from 100 to 150 men",

> one-third to be mounted, specially recruited and engaged for service in the Saskatchewan: enlisting for two or three years' service, and at expiration of that period to become military settlers, receiving grants of land, but still remaining as a reserve force should their services be required.[28]

Butler's third recommendation was the "establishment of two Government stations, one on the Upper Saskatchewan in the neighborhood of Edmonton, the other at the junctions of the North and South Branches of the River Saskatchewan, below Carlton .

> The establishment of these stations to be FOLLOWED BY THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF THE INDIAN TITLES [emphasis mine], within certain limits, to be determined by the geographical features of the locality; for instance, say from longitude of Carlton House eastward to junction of [the] Saskatchewans, the northern and southern limits being the river banks. Again, at Edmonton, I would recommend the Government to take possession of both banks of the Saskatchewan from Edmonton House to Victoria, a distance of about 80 miles, with a depth of, say, from six to eight miles. The districts thus taken possession of WOULD IMMEDIATELY BECOME AVAILABLE FOR SETTLEMENT [emphasis mine], Government titles being given at rates which would induce immigration.[29]

Separate from these recommendations but of the same nature was a fourth:

> . . . if the Government establishes itself in the Saskatchewan, a third post should be formed after the lapse of a year, at the junction of the Medicine and Red Deer Rivers in latitude 52 [degrees] 18

> [minutes] North, and longitude 114 [degrees] 15 [minutes] west, about 90 miles south of Edmonton. This position is well within the Blackfeet country, possesses a good soil, excellent timber, and commands the road to Benton. This post need not be the centre of a settlement, but merely a military, customs, missionary, and trading establishment.[30]

Several points concerning these recommendations should be noted. Butler was recommending, in 1871, the appointment of a resident commissioner. He was urging, in 1871, that civil magistrates be appointed from amongst the Half-breed population. He was also urging that "government stations" be established in advance of survey and that they become available for settlement immediately. Presumably the first men to retire from the "force" would be expected to take their "grants" of land in one or the other of these "government stations", forming little concentrations of settlement somewhat in the way that the Half-breeds wished to take theirs. However, it is in the remarkable fourth suggestion that something we may have overlooked comes into sharper focus. Butler had been told of an excellent spot which commanded the new road to Fort Benton, a spot to be used for "military, customs, missionary and trading" purposes--an incipient capital. It is highly unlikely that he had seen the spot himself, and yet he knew much about its location, even to a remarkably accurate idea of its longitude and latitude.[31] Butler had obviously talked things over with someone who knew the "great lone land" very well. There can be little room for doubt as to who that individual was. Butler had made reference in the main body of his work to a "M. la Combe",[32] who had "devoted himself for more than twenty years to the Blackfeet and Crees of the far-West". Butler spent a week[33] in the company of Father Lacombe, and it seems fairly clear that Lacombe persuaded Butler that a

certain line of administration should be recommended to Archibald for consideration--one that looked upon both Half-breed and Indian as persons. Butler had some rather unflattering terms for the Half-breeds he had met: "dissipated", "unreliable", "ungrateful", yet "brave", "hasty to form conclusions and quick to act upon them", while "possessing extraordinary power of endurance".[34] Nevertheless he recommended that civil magistrates be appointed from amongst the "most influential and respected persons" of the Half-breed people. It may well be that in Butler's report we have a hint of what might have been if attention had been paid to people like Lacombe who knew the West from long experience with it and its people. As we shall see, this hint stands in contrast to considerations in the minds of those who would receive appointments to the North-West Council in spite of their ignorance of the land and people they were to govern.

Mention has been made of Butler's attitude toward the Indians. Here we must examine a singular point about Butler's report on these people and his recommendations concerning them. Nowhere did Butler make use of the words "treaties" or "reserves". He wrote of the "extinguishment of the Indian title, within certain limits" after the establishment of the two "government stations". He urged the "advisability of sending a Commissioner to meet the tribes of the Saskatchewan during their summer assemblies". He urged "caution" in the appointment of this Commissioner. "I have heard," Butler observed, in an obvious reference to such people as Mair, Schultz and Snow, "a great deal of persons who were said to possess great knowledge of the Indian character, and I have seen enough of the red men to estimate at its real worth the possession

of this knowledge. Knowledge of Indian character has too long been synonymous with knowledge of how to cheat the Indian--a species of cleverness which, even in the science of chicanery, does not require the exercise of the highest abilities.

> I fear that the Indian has already had too many dealings with persons of this class, and has now got a very shrewd idea that those who possess this knowledge of his character have also managed to possess themselves of his property.[35]

Butler expressed the view that the "principal" object to be attended to by a Commissioner would be the "establishment of a peace between the warring tribes of Crees and Blackfeet". Butler believed that a "peace duly entered into, and signed by the chiefs of both nations, in the presence and UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF A GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER [emphasis mine] would be lasting in its effects".[36] The basis of this peace would be the principle of "restitution to Government in case of robbery". If a Cree stole five horses from a Blackfoot he would have to give up TEN [emphasis his] to the Government, who would then hand the horses over to the Blackfoot.[37] Butler urged that medals should be struck and distributed to the chiefs. The chiefs of the Lake Superior area held their King George medals with "religious veneration". Butler had no doubt that similar medals, distributed among the Plains Indians would be similarly regarded.[38] Finally, Butler recommended that, if a "body of troops" were "despatched" to the West, the Commander should make himself acquainted with the Indians, "visiting them at least annually IN THEIR CAMPS [emphasis mine], and conferring with them on points connected with their interest".[39]

Butler's recommendations were timely and far-sighted, taking into

account the situation then existing in the "great lone land". There was the danger of a general inter-tribal Indian war with repeating rifles and ammunition supplied from Fort Benton. As Butler pointed out, in May of 1870, at roughly the same time that the Red River Expeditionary Force was moving out of Toronto and beginning its long journey to the Red River Settlement, carts "started from Edmonton . . . bringing furs, robes, etc, to the Missouri. They returned in the month of June with a cargo of flour and alcohol."[40] "Already," Butler went on, "the merchants of Benton are bidding high for the possession of the trade of the Upper Saskatchewan . . . In fact it has only been on account of the absence of a frontier custom house that importations of bonded goods have not already been made via Fort Benton."[41]

Butler may have thought that, in describing the wars between the tribes and in suggesting a location that commanded the new Fort Benton trail, he was imparting a sense of urgency to his report. There is no doubt that, by acting in the way Butler was recommending, the Canadian government could easily have countered any moves that the men of Fort Benton had in mind beyond the requirements of trade. A man like Butler could have been appointed "resident commissioner". A small "force" of Half-breed mounted men could have been sent that same season to assert Canadian sovereignty along the new Fort Benton trail. However, as we shall see, neither the Canadian government nor its Indian Commissioner seemed to be in any hurry to bring about peace among the Indians or meet the challenge posed by the Fort Benton traders. If any proof were needed to show that the Canadian government had no real fear of American expansionist moves, the behavior of that government with regard to the threat

to peace and Canadian sovereignty posed by the Fort Benton initiative was that proof. We must turn now to pay close attention to the man chosen to be Indian commissioner to find what government policy was with regard to the Indians.

As we have seen, Wemyss M. Simpson's name had been mentioned in the summer of 1870 in connection with the position of Indian Commissioner. The appointment, however, was not made until May 5, 1871. Joseph Howe, the secretary of state for the provinces, gave Simpson his official notification: "I have the honor to enclose herewith, a Commission under the Great Seal, appointing you Indian Commissioner to conduct negotiations and make Treaties with the Indian Tribes in the North West [sic], with the powers and authorities specially set forth in the Commission." "Your instructions as to your duties as Commissioner will be sent to you from time to time, from this Department, and to it you will address your Official reports." "Your Salary as Commissioner has been fixed at $2000 per annum . . . ." You will confer from time to time with the Lieut. Governor of Manitoba on all matters connected with your duties as Commissioner, and you will endeavor as much as possible to co-operate with him.

> As soon as you have completed your labour at Fort Francis [sic] as a Commissioner jointly with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Pether; (for with the Indians in that neighborhood it will be necessary first to deal) you will without loss of time proceed to Fort Garry to confer with the Lieut. Governor of Manitoba and enter upon your duties as sole Commissioner with the Indian tribes to the West of the Province.

"His Excellency having appointed you Lieut. Colonel of the Regimental Division of Algoma, it will be well that in your official interview with the Indians you should wear the uniform to which you are entitled as a

Militia Officer of that rank." Howe recommended that Simpson read Butler's report:

> I enclose a printed copy of Lieut. Butler's report of his journey from Fort Garry to Rocky Mountain House and back, as the information it contains about the Indians in the West may be useful to you in negotiating with them.[42]

When Archibald learned that Simpson was coming to Manitoba he wrote to Macdonald: "I see Simpson is coming up as Indian Commissioner. I shall give him all the aid in my power. McKay will be indispensable and I shall use him as you suggest."[43] Less than six months later Archibald was disenchanted with Simpson. "[S]trictly 'entre nous'", he wrote to Macdonald, "don't you think you could find some work at home for your Indian Commissioner? It is evident that Indian affairs are not his strong point."[44]

Simpson had arrived at Fort Garry on July 16,[45] having travelled from the East by way of Thunder Bay and Lake of the Woods.[46] A conference soon followed which included Archibald, Simpson, S. J. Dawson, Robert Pether, and Hon. James McKay. These gentlemen were of the opinion

> that it was desirable to secure the extinction of the Indian title not only to the lands within Manitoba but also to so much of the timber grounds east and north of the Province as were required for immediate entry and use and also of a large tract of cultivable ground west of the Portage, where there were very few Indian inhabitants.[47]

Forty-six years of age in 1871, Wemyss Mackenzie Simpson had seen 25 years of service with the Hudson's Bay Company, culminating in his position as chief trader and chief factor at Sault Ste. Marie. In 1867 he was elected to represent Algoma in the first House of Commons,[48] but he took no part in the debates on the Manitoba bill and did not vote in

any of the divisions on May 9, when the Act was passed.[49] While still a member of Parliament he served as guide and interpreter to the Red River Expeditionary Force.[50] A cousin of Sir George Simpson, he seems to have inherited from the common ancestor neither the drive nor the ability which characterized that gentleman. In May of 1870, when there was a possibility that Simpson might accompany Sir A. Galt on a mission to the Saskatchewan, Sir Stafford Northcote confided to his diary that "D. M'Tavish [said] Mr. Simpson [was] of rather weak intellect".[51] As things turned out Galt's mission did not become reality, and Simpson was available to go to Manitoba as Indian Commissioner.

Before we go on to follow the actual negotiations it is appropriate to consider the person mentioned by Archibald as "indispensable". If "use" was made of James McKay it is not at all clear in what capacity it was, although, as we shall see, he certainly had many important qualifications. While his signature appears on the treaty careful study of the report of proceedings reveals little or no reference to him until moments came when it appeared that all efforts to conclude an agreement would fail.

James McKay was born at Edmonton House in 1828, the eldest son of James McKay of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was educated at Red River and joined the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1859 he married Margaret, the daughter of Chief Factor John Rowand. After leaving the Company he became a trader and hunter on his own account. He mastered several Indian languages and gained the confidence of the Indians in the North-West.[52]

Where the recent "troubles" were concerned James McKay, like Alfred

Boyd, had a mixed set of credentials. In early December of 1869 the two Nolins, Francis and Augustin, had consulted with McKay about affairs generally.[53] Two days later he was noticed by Alexander Begg taking a list of rights to Col. Dennis.[54] The next day Begg recorded in his journal that McKay was on his way to see Riel.[55] McKay played a key part in stopping the approach of the Sioux on New Years Eve.[56] He was a member for St. James of the Council of February.[57] However, he could also say that he had been a prisoner of the Provisional Government in March of 1870,[58] although he was only imprisoned for a day or two, and he did not make claim for imprisonment.

However, what may be the most important fact about McKay, where our interest in the treaties is concerned, is that he was part of an incident that took place four months before McDougall was stopped by the Métis National Committee. Late in May of 1869 immigrants from Canada had been warned off lands near Muskrat Creek by Indians who "objected to the further settlement of their lands".[59] According to a report in the Nor'Wester Mr. Mair "of the government road" and Mr. Schultz "of this place" went to Portage la Prairie to talk to these Indians. The Nor'Wester did not state by whose authority they had taken any action at all, but went on to give an account of the "talk" that was held between Mair and Schultz on one hand, and Hiantepeentun and "two sons of Peguis" on the other.[60] In his own report of the incident Mair stated that he "deemed it advisable to go up to the Portage at once, accompanied by Dr. Schultz and a competent and reliable interpreter". Mair stated that in the absence of Yellow Plume Hiantaypeentun was in charge of the band, "and had written authority to act for him". He and two "sons of the old chief Peguis"

Mair found to be "shrewd and selfish", and "quite determined to resist settlement". However, Mair said that he was able to persuade them that "by allowing Canadians to take up claims at present, they in no way imperilled their rights under government", and that their rights, whatever they may be, "would be fairly examined hereafter by commissioners who would deal honestly with them". Mair said that after being reminded of their "insignificant numbers, compared with the incoming multitude" the Indians "broke down" and "agreed to offer no further opposition to settlement".[61]

Mair did not identify the "competent and reliable" interpreter who accompanied him and Schultz. It may be that his identity cannot be ascertained at this time. It is certain, however, that the completely unauthorized move on the part of Schultz and Mair forced Governor McTavish to take action of behalf of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia. He wrote to James McKay, a member of the Council of Assiniboia, and asked him to undertake a mission to the Portage. McTavish explained that he was "on the eve" of a trip to Norway House, so he could not go himself to meet with the Indians. However, he was sure that if McKay would be "kind enough to see them" it "would probably have as much effect" as if McTavish had visited them himself. McTavish acknowledged that he had "no authority whatever to make a final arrangement with the Indians for their lands".[62]

McTavish wrote to McKay on June 11th. McKay immediately proceeded to the Portage and was successful in making an agreement with the Indians. The Indians agreed to allow the newcomers to settle at Rat Creek provided that they did not obstruct the "public road known as the Pine Creek

road". The Indians gave a lease "for the term of three years fully expecting that some arrangements will be made with us before the expiration of the three years, about our lands". They further agreed to allow the settlers the privilege of "going into the woods for their building timber or firewood".[63]

Several facts are to be noted about this agreement. First, of course, is their "accordance" with Governor McTavish's request to allow Canadians to settle at Rat Creek, and their agreement to allow them to cut wood for timber or firewood. No one could reasonably have expected more in the way of generosity from an aboriginal people whose land was being settled on by outsiders. Next we must note that the Indians did not wish the Pine Creek road to be "obstructed" by settlers at Rat Creek. Respect for the "king's highway" was evidently not confined to those well versed in English common law. Lastly we must note the presence of Jentupatang at this meeting. This is clearly the Hiantaypeentun of the "talk" with Mair and Schultz in late May.[64] He had now met with two sets of white men and talked about the use by Canadians for settlement of Indian lands near Portage la Prairie. It may be that he had talked twice with James McKay, although this we cannot know for certain. In view of what was to happen at the Stone Fort, however, we must keep it in mind as a possibility.

We know all too little about this interesting Indian. He lived in the Portage la Prairie area and was a member of the "Little Campfire". In 1869 he was already described as "elderly". His name can be found spelled a number of different ways, and meant something like "He Who Sits By It". According to Charles Mair he had the confidence of Yellow

Plume .[65] More than the other Indians of southern Manitoba he seems to have divined that as a participant in a "talk" involving the government he had the right to ask for something and to be listened to. It would be interesting to know what he thought of men who could allow discussions to go forward while they sat under a canopy and the other group were sitting in the pouring rain. As we shall see, it was largely his persistence in being dissatisfied with the idea of a reserve that was responsible for what have come to be called the "outside" or "Archibald" clauses in Treaty No. 1.[66]

There was a noticeable reluctance on the part of the Indians to begin negotiations. This was in marked contrast to their eagerness of the previous September. Several reasons can be suggested for this. We have already mentioned the violence done to the Indians in the fall of 1870, and we have found many examples of violence done to Half-breeds by the Volunteers. The Half-breeds were allies of these Indians, and yet they had not called upon them for help in what was obviously an intolerable situation. Many Half-breeds had asked during the winter when they were going to be allowed to fight back. The Indians must have wondered about this too. Moreover, Riel was evidently not going to be a party to these negotiations. Riel was in the Settlement, but he still did not dare go to Fort Garry. He moved freely amongst his own people and kept himself as informed as possible about public affairs.[67] Had Archibald felt free to call upon Riel in the negotiations now to be entered upon nothing but good could have resulted. But that was not to be. And if one can judge by the recorded progress of negotiations, Simpson had been told what was to be granted and permitted no departures from the policy laid down.

A most noticeable absence was that of Fox. As the Manitoban pointed out, it was not at all clear whether he had any right to take part in these talks. His people had gradually moved farther west since the time of his father Le Sonnant's participation in the treaty of 1817. Also, rumor had it that Fox was lying low, having killed one of his sons during a drinking bout in the winter.[68]

Simpson had wished to meet the Indians on June 25th, but it was found impossible to persuade them to assemble at that time, so a new date had to be set.[69] Simpson and Archibald met some of the Indians at the Lower Fort on July 25th. Archibald was accompanied by a guard of honor of the Volunteers who presented arms when the party approached the chief and the members of his tribe who were present. Commissioner Simpson, as instructed, wore his military uniform and was accompanied by an aide-de-camp. The Indians were told that the government of the Dominion was now ready to commence negotiations for extinguishing the Indian title to lands in the province. The Indians then replied that they were not ready, since a large number of the tribe were not present. The proceedings were then adjourned to noon of the 27th, when the Commissioner promised to again meet them.[70] At noon on the 27th the Indians were still not all present, so proceedings were again postponed until four in the afternoon.[71] At that time talks "were formally opened", the Commissioner and the Lieutenant-Governor screened from the sun or rain by an awning, the Indians moving toward them en masse and sitting in the open. The Rev. Henry Cochrane appeared as interpreter for Commissioner Simpson and party, while a "Mr. Hy McCorrister"[72] appeared on behalf of the Indians. Chiefs were present from the Lower Settlement, Fort Alexander, Broken Head River

and Portage la Prairie.

Archibald began the proceedings by reminding the Indians of what had been said when he met them on the previous September 13th. Then he said that there were "one or two things of a general kind" that he would like to bring to their notice. The Queen wanted to deal fairly with all of "her children". She wished order and peace to reign through all her dominions. While her "arm" was "strong to punish the wicked man" her hand was always "open to reward the good man". This last statement must have caused Archibald a fair amount of embarrassment as he remembered the events of the previous winter, but he went on to say that the Queen wished all her children to live in comfort. She would like her "Red children" to "adopt the habits of the whites" but she had no intention of "compelling" them to do so. There was proof in the Lower Settlement that this was possible. There were many "well-built houses, and many fields well tilled". The Queen would lay out lots of land to be used by the Indians "forever". She would keep the white man off their lots and make rules to keep the lots for the Indians "as long as the sun shall shine". These lots would be large enough to make a living on, but they would only have as much of the "hay land" available as would be sufficient for their purposes. The old settlers and the new settlers must be considered too, and must be treated fairly. Archibald wished to repeat that the Queen wished to deal fairly with all her "children". When the Indians had made their "treaty" they would still be able to hunt over much of the land to be included in the treaty, but when it was needed for settlement the Indians would have to stay off it. Finally, the Queen could not come herself, so she had sent a "messenger" who had her confidence, Mr. Simpson. The

Indians must likewise appoint chiefs to represent them. If the Indians had any questions to ask they should ask them.[73]

Commissioner Simpson then addressed the Indians,[74] saying that it was thirty years since he had been among them. He had heard the name of Chief Peguis at that time. He had been interested in the Indians ever since. In Parliament he had said that there was a need to "treat" with the Queen's "Red" subjects. Now he wanted the Indians to name as quickly as possible such men as had their confidence. Simpson said he had been present at a "great many Indian treaties" and the government had always insisted that the Indians name their own representatives.[75] Simpson stressed this point at some length. He then went on to say that the Indians must not imagine that they could have "immense reserves". Amply sufficient reserves would be given to the Indians. He reminded the Indians that much of the treaty area was of a "rocky, swampy character" and not of much use to white men for cultivation. Here Simpson made a remarkable observation:

> When I was on my way through here, I tried all I could to impress on the Indians living in the district between Fort William and Rainy Lake, that their land being unfit for settlement, what they would get for it was, in fact, a present: and so it is in the case of similar lands within the Province--that which the Indians receive for them, is in reality a present from the Government.

Reading this statement today one would like to ask, as the Indians must have asked themselves at the time, why there was such a hurry about concluding a treaty with the Indians of such areas? Were timber magnates pressing for such a settlement? Were mining companies seeking leases? Could not these interests have been kept waiting a few months while an attempt was made to assess the situation?

Simpson then made a statement concerning Manitoba's "hay grounds". He did not believe in these grounds, being certain that men could get a larger return from fifty acres of cultivated hay than from five hundred acres on the prairies. Simpson foresaw the day when the "miserable grasses" to be found in some sections would be replaced by luxuriant cultivated grasses. "And this matter of the hay claims," Simpson said, "must be looked at in this way.

> People must not imagine that these immense prairies are going to be shut up in the hands of a few--that men who hold ten acre lots will be allowed to hold five hundred acres more as hay grounds. This I say specially as a friend of the Indian.

"The course to make them wealthy," Simpson went on, "is not to trust to the wild grasses for raising cattle and horses, but to fence in land, cultivate it, and thus get more easily abundance of hay for their animals." Simpson declared that it was an "immense mistake for people to go continually miles and miles away for what a single visitation of fire or grasshoppers may bring to nothing". It was also a mistake, Simpson asserted, to fancy that "bringing white people in here will crowd out the present population". Simpson concluded by saying that he would like to know a little of what the Indians thought. Whenever the Indians could give an answer as to who were their "responsible men" he and Archibald would be very happy to hear what they wanted. At this point Commissioner Simpson bowed and retired.

Henry Prince rose to say that he would go back to camp to select a spokesman. Commissioner Simpson replied that he wished the Indians could decide the matter "this evening". He emphasized the fact that it was not only spokesmen who were wanted but men who could be responsible for any

action taken.

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung[76] came forward at this point to say that he had seen Archibald the previous year. "When first you saw me," he said, "you did not see anything with me. You saw no canopy over my head--only the house which Creation had given me." "This day," he added, "is like a darkness to me, and I am not prepared to answer. All is darkness to me how to plan for the future welfare of my grandchildren." Archibald, thinking that the Indian referred only to the difficult problem of the future, said that each did not know what the other wanted. "What we desire," said Archibald, "is to rend these clouds asunder."[77]

When they reassembled the next day responsible men were named for all bands except the Portage Indians and the heathen Indians of the Indian Settlement.[78] Henry Prince's representative Ka-ma-twa-ka-nas-nin said they did not understand why the reserves were to be made for the Indians instead of the Indians being allowed to choose for themselves. At the close of this speech it began to "pour rain" but "the proceedings were carried on without interruption". Why neither Archibald or Simpson had the wit to call for an adjournment until the rain was over has not been explained. It must be borne in mind that it was raining while the rest of this day's talks were held.

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung,[79] "a tall old brave", came forward to say that he could scarcely hear the Queen's words. Some of his young men had been jailed for deserting the Company's service. Four were still in prison, unable to pay their fine. Archibald then asked the Indians if they thought they were not "liable" to the law. According to the Manitoban Hy-an-tee-pee-tung then "made a prefatory speech about Indian lands", and

then came to the point by saying,

> Let us finish this treaty fairly and then everything will go in your own way. We are going to make a treaty with the Queen, and want to clean everything away from the ground that it may be clean. We are going to work, and will work far better if every obstacle is cleared away. I am not defying the law, but would wish to have the Saulteaux at present in jail, liberated.

Archibald replied that the Queen "knew no distinction between her subjects". "I wish you to understand," he went on,

> that all men, whether white or Indian, must obey the law. Bit if, on account of this Treaty, the Indians wish me to clear away the obstacle spoken of as in the way, I am willing to grant such a request as a matter of favor, not as a matter of right.

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung expressed his gratitude, and requested as a matter of favor that the incarcerated Indians be set free. Archibald then gave orders for their liberation, explaining to the Indians that the act was done owing to the "bounty and goodness of the Queen", and must not be taken advantage of in any way.[80]

There is much to reflect upon in this exchange, and one wonders what each participant thought, or knew, about what was going on. Young men of the Portage Salteaux had been jailed for breaking a contract with the ancient Hudson's Bay Company, a company which had been trading with them since long before the birth of the oldest of the old men now alive, a company so powerful in their affairs that their chief, Yellow Quill, had been appointed by it.[81] It is to be noted here that Yellow Quill, although present, said nothing at this point or at any other point in the negotiations, until it came time to sign the treaty.[82] It is to be doubted whether Archibald, for his part, knew what creatures lurked in the "darkness" he was trying to dispel. It is to his credit that he decided

to "clean everything away from the ground that it may be clean"--to use Hy-an-tee-pee-tung's appropriate term. It was altogether fitting that the young men should be released before negotiations began.

As the rain poured down the Commissioner explained matters and the Hon. Mr. McKay "at the request of the Governor and the Indians", also entered into very full explanations in Indian.

Ka-kee-ga-by-now then spoke in terms that indicated that he thought he and his children were to be "clothed" by the Queen. He welcomed every white man to his country.

The interpreter, at the request of the Lieutenant-Governor and of the Commissioner, then asked the Indians whether they were ready to accept the terms offered: a small annuity to each family to be paid forever, as much land as is allowed their brethren in Canada [sic], the reserves to be chosen by the Indians themselves. If they were satisfied with these general terms, the Commissioner said he was ready to discuss the details.

George Kasias spoke for most of the chiefs present when he said that "the chiefs must consult with each other and would reply next morning".

When the fourth day's business got under way, it developed that, notwithstanding the "explanations" of Archibald, Simpson and McKay, the Indians had a very imperfect understanding indeed of the intentions of the government with regard to reserves. Ka-ma-twa-kan-nas-nin spoke for the Fort Alexander Indians and those from Oak Point and the lower district in asking for the following reserve:

> From the line which Peguis drew, at Sugar Point, down the river, fifty miles in length, extending into the Lake; from Oak Point, Manitoba Lake, coming east to the Sugar Point; crossing there and going north of White Mouth River, on the Winnipeg River: down the Winnipeg River to the Lake.

A rough map of this claim was made by the Indians at the request of the Commissioner. George Kasias asked for a reserve eighty miles in width along the Lake of the Woods road. Was-sus-koo-koon, speaking for himself and three chiefs, asked for a reserve

> from the mouth of Rat Creek up the Red River to the International line; from Red River going along the boundary line East to Roseaux Lake, south end; from Roseaux Lake down to a line parallel with the boundary line from Rat Creek.

At this point Hy-an-tee-pee-tung could stand this business no longer and came forward to reproach the chiefs "for naming their reserves before they knew what the white man would offer".[83]

The Hon. James McKay spoke, explaining that before the Government could know what portion of land the Indians were prepared to cede, it was necessary that the reserves and their location should be defined. Hy-an-tee-pee-tung replied that he "did not yet thoroughly understand the limits of the territory about to be treated for". At the Commissioner's direction McKay then defined the limits of the province.

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung then spoke to the Commissioner, saying

> When you got up, you looked at me hard, and if I used any improper language, I did not mean to be insulting. I want, first, to see what you are offering, and then I'll tell you my offer.

McKay, at the request of Archibald, reminded Hy-an-tee-pee-tung that some of the bands had defined their reserves and Simpson was anxious to hear the rest.

It would appear that something in the above exchange had made Hy-an-tee-pee-tung angry, but when he spoke at some length he did so with remarkable restraint:

> I will tell you what I mean to reserve. When first

> you [His Excellency] began to travel [from Fort William], you saw something afar off, and this is the land you saw. At that time you thought: ["] I will have that some day or other ["]; but behold you see before you the lawful owner of it. I understand you are going to buy this land from me.

"I live far away where it is silvery," Hy-an-tee-pee-tung went on.

> When you first found me naked, with the fur-bearing animals by me, I traded with the white man, and saw what he got with his fur. With regard to land within the Settlement, I have nothing to say, as I am on the outside. But you will see from this document that I have made a claim, [written document handed in]; and I want to know what is to be allowed me.

The Manitoban reporter included at this point a description of the claim: "about 160 miles long by 60 broad, and extend[ing] from the mouth of Tobacco Creek, to Medicine Lodge, at Pembina, from there north-west to White Clay; thence down to Stony Creek, a branch of the White Mud River, at the upper crossing; and from thence south, to the Salt Springs, on Lake Winnipegosis". Hy-an-tee-pee-tung explained that he had authority from the White Mud River Indians to say that they wished their reserve attached to his. That was why he had claimed as far north as Salt Springs.

Commissioner Simpson spoke at this point:

> If all these lands are to be reserved, I would like to know what you have to sell?

At the request of Archibald and Simpson the Rev. H. Cochrane and Hon. Mr. McKay then addressed the Indians, showing them that their demands were so preposterous that, if granted, they would have scarcely anything to cede, and urging them to curtail their demands.

Matters had obviously arrived at some kind of impasse. The man who had "broken down", in talks with Schultz and Mair, and had shown such generosity in his agreement with McKay, had not accepted meekly the idea

that he should move onto a "reserve". If he must move onto a "reserve" it would be about the same size as the land he was currently hunting and trapping on. The tension was broken when Was-sus-koo-koon asked if it was the intention of the Great Mother that her children should go hunting to bring in fresh meat. The Commissioner took the hint and promised to slay some oxen. It was a welcome change of subject. The conference then adjourned for a couple of hours.

At four o'clock the Commissioner asked if the Indians had thought over the matter put before them by Mr. McKay just before the adjournment.

The ensuing conversation illustrated that even Indians as well disposed as Ka-ma-twa-ka-nas-nin had a vastly different idea of their "reserves" to be from that being proposed by the Commissioner.[84] Simpson explained that "all that was intended was to keep for each Indian family of five the same number of acres, 160, as was allowed the white. Simpson here made an elaborate statement on this point, "and strongly urged the Indians, as their friends, to accept the terms offered them--terms as good as were obtained by Indians elsewhere--and terms which they would not get if they refused to make the Treaty, and lingered until immigration came in like a flood".

Archibald then spoke at some length, urging the advisability of accepting the terms. "They might at once and for ever dismiss from their heads all nonsense about large reserves; for they could not and would not be granted.

> The matter must be looked at by them like men of common sense, who see the Queen trying to save a home for them; if they refuse her offer, it will not be made to them again.

After more explanations on the part of both Archibald and Simpson the conference adjourned again until the following Monday.

At eleven o'clock on Monday, July 31, the Commissioner asked if the Indians had considered what had been said to them on Saturday and had come to any conclusion. Thomas Spence acted as interpreter for an hour or so, until the Rev. H. Cochrane came.

Henry Prince made a speech, saying that they had already been four days in duscussions and hoping that the Great Mother, the Queen, would treat them as well as she had treated her children in the East. The Commissioner replied that the Indians had caused the delays. The terms offered were better than any before offered for Indian land.

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung[85] got to his feet and spoke to the conference:

> I have not given you any right [sic] answer yet. This day I mean to give you one. True, I am foolish, stupid, blind. But God gave me this land you are speaking to me about, and it kept me well to this day.

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung had "turned over this matter of a treaty" in his mind and could not "see anything in it to benefit [his] children". He went on:

> This is what frightens me. After I showed you what I meant to keep for a reserve you continued to make it smaller and smaller. Now I will go home today, to my own property, without being treated with. You [the Commissioner] can please yourself. I know our Great Mother the Queen is strong, and that we cannot keep back her power no more than we can keep back the sun. If therefore the Commissioner wants the land, let him take it.

According to the Manitoban he continued in "this strain" a long time and wound up by saying:

> Whenever the President of the United States authorises a man to come and treat with the Indians, he brings with him heaps of goods to give over to them as a present. Let the Queen's subjects go on my land if they choose. I give them liberty. Let them rob me. I will

go home without treating.

Archibald decided to make still another try at persuasion. "God," he said, "intends this land to raise great crops for all his children, and the time has come when it is to be used for that purpose." Archibald then gave Hy-an-tee-pee-tung a short history lesson:

> Some hundred years ago he gave the Crees liberty to come into the country, and at that time your grandfathers were not here, but were wandering on Lake Superior. When the buffalo went westward, the Crees went with them; and the Chippewas, finding the land unoccupied, came in and stopped here; but they have no right to the land beyond that.

Archibald then returned to the arguments which had been made before:

> The time has come when this land must be cultivated. White people will come here and cultivate it under any circumstances. No power on earth can prevent it. The Queen wants her red subjects to have a home, and offers them, besides, advantages which she does not give to her white subjects. If a white man comes here to cultivate a farm, he gets nothing from the Government, whereas the Indians are not only promised farms, but also get a bounty from the Government. We have offered here terms which [have] been accepted by all the Indians in the East.

"Is the Indian in this country so much better than the Indian of the Lake of the Woods, or Lake Superior, that he must receive better terms?

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung was prepared to challenge Archibald's view of Indian history:

> You say that the white man found this country, and that we were not the first Indians in it. What is the name of the first Indian found along the sea coast?

At this point Simpson said he was afraid that some evil bird was whispering in council. He went on to say that the Indians were unwise in not accepting the terms offered.

"A Portage Indian" said that what puzzled his band was that they were

to be shut up on a small reserve, and only get ten shillings each for the balance. They could not understand it.

Wa-sus-koo-koon complained that all the money he was to get he could cover with the palm of his hand and not see any particle of it.

Simpson spoke again, beginning by emphasizing that what the Indians were offered they and their descendants would get every year, and finishing by saying that whether the Indians accepted it or not the white man would come and take up land.

Wa-sus-koo-koon wondered what would happen if a man and his wife had more children than the number specified in the treaty. Simpson replied that they would be provided for "further west". Whenever reserves were found to be too small the Government would sell the land and give the Indians land elsewhere. The conference again adjourned for two hours.

At five o'clock an old Indian came forward and "said that his late brother had spoken to him a great deal about the land, on the east side of Red River, and at Netly Creek, urging him to hold it, and not let emigrants who would come in, dispossess him. He was troubled very much, but could not help himself. He was afraid of [what] the braves and councillors [would do].

George Kasias said he had been wrong in claiming such a large reserve. His chief would accept whatever the other chiefs accepted.

Wa-sus-koo-koon and several chiefs for whom he spoke came forward. He protested that he could not live on ten shillings if he were to settle down. "We want the reserve we have asked for and cannot take your terms".

Hy-an-tee-pee-tung rose to say that "he would take a winter" to think over the matter before entering into a treaty.

It was near the end of the fifth day of negotiations. Simpson must have been getting desperate for a settlement. Once again he called upon McKay, who "made an eloquent speech in Indian explaining matters". Hy-an-tee-pee-tung now argued that his land was very valuable but said he would "go into treaty if three dollars a head were guaranteed". Simpson here made the mistake of showing himself too eager to make a settlement:

> I take you at your word at once. The additional sum is not too large, and I will take it on myself to make the amount up to three dollars a head. You will get the amount of reserves we offer, and the annuity you have asked, and we will finish the matter at once.

Simpson's haste made the Indians suspicious. They were not satisfied with this settlement. Hy-an-tee-pee-tung rose and said that he had only spoken for his own campfire.

Simpson threatened to break up the negotiations unless they came to a close the next day, and the conference adjourned "till next day".

As it turned out the negotiations did not resume until Wednesday, August 2. The weather had not been good: Tuesday was Archibald's day to attend to business at his Fort Garry office: the Indians needed more time to decide.

Simpson began by announcing that this would be the "last day's sitting". Henry Prince wanted more information about how the future was to be. "I cannot see through it," he said. Prince pointed out that the Indians did not know how to cultivate the ground. "They cannot scratch it," he said, "work it with their fingers." He remembered that nearly the last words of his father were, "There is the line--keep it". The Indians wanted to retain it.

Archibald "entered into a lengthy statement" showing that the Queen

was willing to help the Indians in every way,

> and that besides giving them land and annuities she would give them a school and a schoolmaster for each reserve, and for those who desired to cultivate the soil ploughs and harrows would be provided on the reserves.

Archibald's speech seems to have had little effect. As the early afternoon wore on chief after chief--Grand Oreilles, George Kasias, Wa-sus-koo-koon--spoke, making "new and extravagant demands". The conference adjourned again until half past four.

When it reassembled Henry Prince, Grand Oreilles, Kasias and Wa-sus-koo-koon all came forward. Wa-sus-koo-koon spoke for them. He spoke as follows:

> I am going to state the wants of all the Indians--not including those of the Portage. First, in the early part of every spring, we want all the children to be clothed with fine clothes! In the fall of every year they are to be clothed from head to foot with warm clothing! Whenever an Indian wants to settle, a house is to be put up for him fully furnished, and a plough, with all its accompaniments of cattle, etc, complete, is to be given him! We want buggies for the chiefs, counsellors and braves, to show their dignity! Each man is to be supplied with whatever he uses for hunting, and all his other requirements, and the women in the same way!! Each Indian settling on the reserve is to be free from taxes! If you grant this request. . . I will say you have shown kindness to me and to the Indians.

Commissioner Simpson replied in this way.

> I am proud of being an Englishman. But if Indians are going to be dealt with in this way, I will take my coat off and change places with the speaker, for it would be better to be an Indian.

There was a "general roar of laughter" in which all--even Wa-sus-koo-koon--joined.

Archdeacon Cowley then spoke "at great length", and other speeches were made. Before closing the day's proceedings the "Portage chief and

his followers left, formally bidding the Lieut.-Governor and Commissioner good-bye". "The other Indians were also thinking of leaving, but Hon. Mr. McKay asked them to stay over one more night and meet the Commissioner again next day, promising that in the interval he (McKay) would try and bring the Commissioner and Indians closer together".

It is altogether unclear what happened next. The Manitoban account quoted above would suggest that the Portage Indians had left, and that McKay asked "the other Indians" to stay over one more night. Yet the first line of the all too brief thirteen-line Manitoban account states that "all the Indians met His Excellency and the Commissioner" on the third of August.[86] "The Commissioner said he understood they were disposed to sign the treaty, and in consideration of their doing so, he would, in addition to what was stated in the treaty, give them a present, but for this year only, of three dollars per head, a pair of oxen for each reserve, and buggies for each of the chiefs". Furthermore, when we examine the Treaty, we find that Oi-za-wek-wun (Yellow Quill), who had said not a word during the entire negotiations, nevertheless signed the Treaty, while Hy-an-tee-pee-tung, who had, as we have seen, said a great deal, did not.[87] What had happened during that night of August 2nd? Did McKay's powers of persuasion fail to work in the way they had worked in June of 1869 where Hy-an-tee-pee-tung was concerned? If so, why?

We are forced to ask these questions for a number of reasons. First, of course, it is clear that something had changed the minds of the Indians between the sessions of August 2 and August 3. Secondly, our questions involve the famous "outside" or "Archibald" clauses of Treaties Number One and Two.[88] Those who are familiar with these treaties know that

certain "verbal promises were unfortunately made" to the Indians on August 3, 1871. Their non-fulfilment "led to misunderstanding" and "widespread dissatisfaction" and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs had to look into the matter. A memorandum was found attached to the original treaty signed by Commissioner Simpson, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, Molyneux St. John and James McKay. This memorandum contained their understanding of the terms under which the Indians concluded the treaty. It was to be a number of years before the issues raised were settled. Firstly, it will be noted that Yellow Quill, a signatory of the Treaty, is, along with his "councillors", specifically excepted from the term of the memorandum involving a "buggy".[89] Why should this be so? Was there some kind of division among the Indian negotiators or among the Portage Indians of whom Yellow Quill was head? A careful study of Lieutenant-Governor Morris's account of his efforts to satisfy these Portage Indians reveals that there was, indeed, such a division, and that it had its roots in the appointment of Yellow Quill as chief by the Hudson's Bay Company in the years before the "troubles" at Red River.[90] It will be remembered that when Charles Mair and John C. Schultz "deemed" it advisable to talk to the Portage Indians they had talked with Hiantaypeentun in the absence of Yellow Plume. Did Schultz prefer not to deal with Yellow Plume because of his close association with the Hudson's Bay Company?

In our study of this first western treaty we have raised almost as many questions as we have answered, and we have still said nothing about the second, or Manitoba House treaty, which followed a few days later. Little has been written about this second treaty. According to Simpson Archibald travelled with him, Hon. James McKay and Molyneux St. John.[91]

He did not mention that Lady Archibald and Lily had accompanied them.[92] They left Winnipeg on August 13th and adverse winds on Lake Manitoba delayed them until two days after the appointed date. They found that the Indians there had no special demands to make, but were "disposed to accept the terms of the treaty made at the Stone Fort, with which they had already become familiar . . .".[93] The completion of this treaty saw the extinguishment of the Indian title in Manitoba.

* * *

At the end of this detailed study--and with the benefit of hindsight--it is impossible to comtemplate this first Indian treaty without a feeling of regret for the evident haste and waste that accompanied it. There can be no doubt that James McKay saved the negotiations from disaster. The faith most Indians had in him, coupled with his ability to use the Indian languages, saved the day for Simpson and Archibald. It is unfortunate that the Canadian government did not give McKay--or a member of the late Provisional Government--the opportunity to share in the making of policy.

The Indians clearly did not want the "reserve" system. They could see that it was going to be impossible for them to make a living in the old way on 160 acres. They knew that they did not have the skills to do it in the new. In the speech that brought Simpson's retort about being an Englishman and wishing to be an Indian Wa-sus-koo-koon foresaw vividly the continuing reliance of his people on welfare. Seeing his words in that context it is fitting to quote them again in full:

> First, in the early part of every spring, we want all the children to be clothed with fine clothes! In the fall of the year they are to be clothed from head to foot with warm clothing! Whenever an Indian wants to

> settle, a house is to be put up for him fully furnished, and a plough, with all its accompaniments of cattle, etc, complete, is to be given him! We want buggies for the chiefs, counsellors and braves, to show their dignity! Each man is to be supplied with whatever he uses for hunting, and all his other requirements, and the women in the same way!! Each Indian settling on the reserve is to be free from taxes! If you grant this request . . . I will say you have shown kindness to me and to the Indians.

Government policy consisted of two basic features: reserves and annual payments made in perpetuity. In adamantly adhering to a policy made in eastern Canada the Canadian government chose to ignore the western situation along with a process that had been going on since not long after 1670. This meant ignoring the entire Half-breed population of Manitoba, many of whose people could have assisted, not just in translating, as McKay did, but in suggesting ways of getting the active cooperation of the Indian population. Most Half-breeds, if they had been asked, could have told Simpson that the Indians were gradually moving out of the prairie parts of Manitoba and going where the game was still plentiful--either west into the Territories or north into the more wooded regions. They could have told Simpson that there was no particular urgency about settling with the Indians except, perhaps, at the Portage. What would have been so bad about Hy-an-tee-pee-tung going back to the Portage to think about the treaty during the winter of 1871-2? He could well have decided to move farther west or farther into the bush where there was still game to be found. He might even have decided to try farming or to learn farming as he worked for a farmer. Any of these decisions, taken over a winter--or several winters--would have been better than a snap decision--taken overnight--to accept the government's annuity and its 160 acres on a reserve. Any of these decisions would have kept Hy-an-tee-pee-tung and

his people in the mainstream of Manitoba--and Canadian--life.

However, that was not to be. And the later treaties followed the pattern set in Treaties No. 1 and No. 2.

Appendix "A"

Copy of the Indian Agreement

"We...have, in accordance with Governor McTavish's request...agreed among ourselves to allow any Canadians who may come...to settle at Rat Creek on the lower or east side and on the whole of the farming land down to the Portage and downwards to Manitoba Lake.

"We strongly object to any old settlers going up to Rat Creek to settle, we mean those who have settled below this for some time past. The public road known as the Pine Creek road, not to be obstructed by settlers at Rat Creek, or by any settlers downwards. We give a lease of the land above mentioned for the term of three years, fully expecting that some arrangements will be made with us before the expiration of the three years, about our lands. We further agree to allow the settlers that may settle at Rat Creek the privilege of going three miles landward, to the mountain, or into the woods for their building timber or for fire-wood.

Jentupatang	X His mark
Kachursh	X His mark
Shoushrd	X His mark
Manessour	X His mark

and other witnesses

James McKay
Andrew McDonald
Geo. Davis

Portage la Prairie, June 14, 1869."

(The Globe, Sept. 14, 1869)

Appendix "B"

Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the 3rd day of August, A. D. 1871.

For each Chief that signed the treaty, a dress distinguishing him as Chief. For braves and for councillors of each Chief, a dress: it being supposed that the braves and councillors will be two for each Chief.

For each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy.

For the braves and councillors of each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy.

In lieu of a yoke of oxen for each reserve, a bull for each, and a cow for each Chief; a boar for each reserve, and a sow for each chief, and a male and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers; these when the Indians are prepared to receive them.

A plow and a harrow for each settler cultivating the ground.

These animals and their issue to be Government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence and control of the Indian Commissioner.

The buggies to be the property of the Indians to whom they are given.

The above contains an inventory of the terms concluded with the Indians.

Wemyss M. Simpson,
Molyneux St. John,
A. G. Archibald,
Jas. McKay.

(Hon. Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada With The Indians, pp. 126-7)

Appendix "C"

"The Indian Treaty

"Monday forenoon was spent in useless speechmaking, in which 'Yellow Quill'-, the Portage chief, seemed to get farther and farther from the matter at hand and threatened to go home without treating for his portion of the land at all. However, influence was brought to bear on the wayward faction and they finally agreed to accept the terms if these were really the best which the Commissioner had authority to offer. To ascertain this the Hon. D. Gunn and Dr. Schultz were deputed by them to ascertain the facts. A perusal of Col. Simpson's instructions showed that the offer made had been the maximum, and this represented to the Indians decided the majority of them to accept the terms.

"At the afternoon sitting one of the chiefs, who had before held out, signed his acceptance, but another held out for three dollars per head or fifteen dollars per family, and after considerable delay and discussion the Commissioner granted the amount, and papers were to be signed on the following day."

(The Manitoba Liberal, Vol. 1, No. 4, August 2, 1871)

Footnotes

1. New Nation, Sept 3, 1870.

2. PAM MG12 A1, Archibald Papers, Schultz to Archibald, Oct. 3, 1870.

3. PAC MG29 B15 Vol. 36, Robert Bell's lecture to the Natural History Society of Montreal, Feb. 19, 1874. "A Summer on the Plains", pp. 31-2.

4. News-Letter, Oct. 8, 1870.

5. PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19, Schultz Papers, Letter 121, Gunn to Schultz, April 27, 1871.

6. Information on the family of "The Fox" is to be found in several sources. His father "Le Sonnant" had his portrait painted by Carl Bodmer in 1832 when Maximilian met him on the upper Missouri: Thwaite, Early Western Travels, Vol. 25. Maximilian also referred to him as "Mahsette Kuinab". Denig, in Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri, referred to "Le Sonnant" as "Plusieurs des Aigles" (Numerous Eagles) or "Ma tai tai keok" and wrote that he was "also known among the traders as 'Le Sonnant'". "Le Sonnant" was also known as "Mache Wheseab": Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada With The Indians, p. 300. James Settee in his diary referred to "Le Sonnant" as "called by the English 'Yorston's Guide' and by the Crees the 'Legion of Eagles'" ". . .The Fox, his son, is still alive . . . I have often spoken to him but he still hangs on too fond of his war and scalp . . . he occasionally makes a trip to the settlement not for the sake of religion but all for the baneful article the bad spirits": James Settee's Diary on microfilm at Public Archives of Canada. A portrait of "The Fox" is to be found in Hind's Narrative, Vol. ii, p. 126. Southesk met "Fox" at Qu'Appelle Fort in 1859 and referred to him as the "father of 'Les Prairies'": Southesk, Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, p. 60. Turner, describing the events of 1885 wrote that "near Prince Albert on the North Branch were the inoffensive Muscoday (The Prairie) . . .": Turner, North-West Mounted Police, Vol. II.

7. Beckles Wilson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, pp. 116-8.

8. Archibald's instructions to Butler are to be found in an Appendix to W. F. Butler's The Great Lone Land, pp. 353-4.

9. PAM MG12 A1, Archibald Papers, document 875, undated order to John McTavish, Esq., signed George W. Hill, Private Secretary.

10. See chapter, above, "To Organize A Government".

11. There is correspondence concerning this mission in C. S. P. 1871

(No. 20).

12. Manitoban, Jan. 21. 1871.

13. News-Letter, Feb. 4, 1871.

14. Butler, Great, pp. 349-50, p. 356; Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

15. His report is in an Appendix to The Great Lone Land, pp. 355-386.

16. Manitoban, April 15, 1871.

17. Manitoban, March 18, 1871.

18. Beckles Wilson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, p. 118.

19. Ibid, p. 119.

20. PAM MG12 A1, Archibald Papers, Document 772, W. Edward Traill to Board of Health, no date.

21. Butler, Great, p. 204.

22. MSHS, News-Letter, April 29, 1871.

23. Letter from L. G. Billesberger of Provincial Archives of Manitoba, April 1, 1982.

24. News-Letter, May 3, 1871.

25. Tennant, Rough Times, pp. 109-10. Macdonald returned to Ontario with the regiment and practised medicine there until his death about 1917.

26. Butler, Great, pp. 355-386.

27. Ibid., p. 378.

28. Ibid., pp. 378-9.

29. Ibid., p. 379.

30. Ibid., p. 382.

31. This confluence is in section 5-36-1 West of the 5th Meridian, about 8 miles west and two miles south of Innisfail, Alberta. The latitude is about 52 degrees 3 minutes north, while the longitude is about 114 degrees 6 minutes west: Mines and Technical Surveys Map 83B "Rocky Mountain House".

32. Butler, Great, p. 288.

33. Butler was at Rocky Mountain House from Dec. 5 to Dec. 12. See also

Une Soeur de la Providence, Le Père Lacombe, p. 226. See also Butler, The Light of the West, pp. 218-9.

34. Butler, Great, p. 362.

35. Ibid., p. 381.

36. Ibid., p. 382.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Butler, Great, p., 378: "For the first time in the history of the Saskatchewan carts passed safely from Edmonton to Benton during the course of last summer."

41. Ibid.

42. Ontario Archives, MU5, Aikins-Sutherland Papers, Howe to Simpson, May 5, 1871.

43. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, May 28, 1871.

44. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Nov. 8, 1871.

45. Manitoban, Aug. 5, 1871, report of Archibald's speech to the assembled people.

46. Morris, Treaties of Canada With The Indians (afterwards Treaties), p. 25.

47. Ibid.

48. Canadian Directory of Parliament--1867-1967, p. 532.

49. See Note 74 of Chapter entitled "The Negotiations Leading To The Manitoba Act". See also House of Commons Debates. 3rd Session, Vol. 1. However, Simpson was quoted as saying in the House of Commons that Hudson's Bay Company officials should be appointed in Red River during the transition period. See the Nor'Wester, July 3, 1869.

50. Canadian Directory of Parliament--1867-1967, p. 532.

51. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth, "Diary of Sir Stafford Northcote" for May 24, 1870, p. 124.

52. Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, pp. 140-1.

53. Begg's Journal, p. 197.

54. Ibid., pp. 204-5.

55. Ibid., p. 205.

56. Ibid., pp. 247-9.

57. Ibid., p. 323.

58. Ibid., pp. 334, 338.

59. Begg's Journal, p. 431, Hargrave in the Montreal Herald.

60. Nor'Wester, June 19, 1869.

61. Globe, Sept. 4, 1869. PAC RG11, Records of the Department of Public Works, Vol. 264, microfilm reel T231, Mair to McDougall, June 2, 1869.

62. Globe, Sept. 4, 1869. See also Begg's Journal, J. J. Hargrave in a letter to the Montreal Herald, Dec. 13, 1869, p. 431.

63. Globe, Sept. 4, 1869. See Appendix "A" for text of this agreement.

64. Mair's letter of June 2, 1869, spelled it "Hiantaypeentun". The Nor'Wester report of June 19, 1869, rendered it "Hiantepeentun". Incorrect reading of an initial letter made it appear as "Jentupa-tang" in the Globe for September 4, 1869, as also in the Manitoban for August 5, 1871, where it appears as "Je-ta-pe-pe-tungh". The Manitoban for August 12, 1871, spelled it three different ways, although there can be no doubt the same person is meant: "Ayee-ta-pe-pe-tung", "Ay-ee-ta-pe-pe-tung", and "Ay-ee-pe-pe-tung". The spelling of Hy-an-tee-pee-tung seems, in my opinion, to best capture the essential sound of the name, and it will be so spelled in this study, except where it is used in a quotation.

65. See note 61. Mair used the term "Yellow Plume" instead of the correct "Yellow Quill".

66. See note 61. See the Globe, Sept. 4, 1869. See also the Manitoban, August 5 and August 12, 1871.

67. Riel was in constant correspondence with Joseph Dubuc. See, for example, PAM Riel Papers, letters 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 102, 108. See also Writings--Riel, Vol. 1.

68. Manitoban, July 29, 1871.

69. Manitoban, August 5, 1871.

70. Manitoban, July 29, 1871.

71. Manitoban, August 5, 1871.

72. "McCorrister" is the spelling used in the Manitoban's account. Morris, Treaties, lists a "James McArrister" and a "Hugh McArrister", p. 316.

73. Manitoban, August 5, 1871. The speech can also be found in Morris, Treaties, pp. 26-30.

74. Simpson's speech was reproduced in the Manitoban, August 5, 1871. It is not given in Morris, Treaties.

75. Simpson's name can be found in the Robinson Superior Treaty. See Morris, Treaties, p. 309.

76. Note that the Manitoban here spells this name "Je-te-pe-pe-tung".

77. Manitoban, Aug. 5, 1871. See also Archibald's letter to Howe, July 29, 1871, in Morris, Treaties, pp. 33-4.

78. Manitoban, Aug. 12, 1871.

79. The Manitoban here spells the name "Ayee-ta-pe-pe-tung".

80. See also Morris, Treaties, pp. 33-4.

81. See Morris's letter on the subject in Morris, Treaties, p. 135.

82. Morris, Treaties, p. 316. But see Note 87.

83. The Manitoban here spells the name "Ay-ee-ta-pe-pe-tung".

84. See Simpson's letter to Howe of Nov. 3, 1871, in Morris, Treaties, p. 39.

85. The Manitoban again spells the name "Ay-ee-ta-pe-pe-tung".

86. Manitoban, Aug. 12, 1871.

87. Morris, Treaties, p. 316. But see Appendix "C", which indicates that he spoke on July 31.

88. Morris, Treaties, pp. 126-7. See Appendix "B".

89. Ibid.

90. Morris, Treaties, pp. 129, 135.

91. Morris, Treaties, p. 41.

92. Their names appear as witnesses to the treaty. See Morris, Treaties,

p. 320. Lady Archibald had been present at the Stone Fort treaty too. See Morris, Treaties, p. 316.

93. Morris, Treaties, pp. 31, 41.

Chapter Thirty-three
O'Donoghue's Raid

It is now time for us to trace the events leading up to what historians have called the "Fenian Raid of 1871",[1] and explain why it was that Archibald, successful for a third time in holding the allegiance of the Half-breed people of Manitoba, found himself forced to submit his resignation to the Canadian government. In so doing we shall learn a great deal, both about the nature of factors in Manitoba and Ontario and about the Canadian government's policies in dealing with them.

To begin with, we must recall the events of August and September of 1870, when the seeds of the discontent upon which the raid was predicated were planted. It will be remembered that, while the Red River Expeditionary Force was spoken of by Governor General Sir John Young as going forth on an "errand of peace", it did not behave in that manner, either when it approached Fort Garry or when parts of it remained in occupation.[2] We noted that Riel, Ambroise Lépine and O'Donoghue, acting on Cartier's suggestion to Ritchot, kept order in the Red River Settlement until the last possible moment, and then fled into exile in the United States.[3] We have seen that Archibald, the Lieutenant-Governor designate, did not bring with him the promised amnesty. It will be remembered, too, that the drowning of Elzéar Goulet on September 13, 1970, galvanized the French-speaking Half-breeds into action.[4]

Riel, Lépine and O'Donoghue met in conference and arranged for a gathering of Half-breeds at St. Norbert on September 17th to discuss the interests and welfare of their people. Judging from newspaper accounts it would appear that the most important matters discussed at the meeting were the "perfidious treachery" of the Canadian government in dealing

with the people of Red River, and the determination of those present to ask the president of the United States to use his good offices in remonstrance with the British government "against the course of the perfidy and oppression pursued by Canada toward the inhabitants of Manitoba".[5] At this meeting O'Donoghue presented a resolution inviting the United States to annex the territories formerly known as Rupert's Land. But for the arguments of Riel this resolution could well have been supported by the meeting. However, a compromise resolution was framed and passed, "earnestly" appealing to "His Excellency, U. S. Grant, President of the United States", to use his good offices in an appeal to Her Majesty the Queen, "to cause an investigation to be made into the extent to which those pledges have been violated, and to demand, in our behalf, that full reparation be made for all those violated pledges, and the injury and damages resulting to us therefrom". O'Donoghue was delegated as the "logical person" to carry this supplication to Washington. His acquaintance with a number of Minnesota politicians, including Alexander Ramsey, U. S. senator for Minnesota, Ignatius Donnelly, and J. W. Taylor, the special agent of the United States government, soon to arrive in Winnipeg as American consul, was believed to stand him in good stead.[6]

Not long after this meeting Riel and O'Donoghue had a bitter quarrel which ended their relationship. This rupture was to have important consequences for Manitoba. Most immediate, of course, was that the "Memorial and Petition" as drawn up by the committee was never presented to President Grant. In its place a modified document was drawn up. The changes made were not extensive, but they gave the document a much different aspect. Where the old document asked President Grant to inter-

cede with Her Majesty the Queen to cause an investigation to be made into the nature and extent of the grievances of the Red River inhabitants, the new one left out any reference to Her Majesty and asked "His Excellency" President Grant to cause the investigation to be made. An added paragraph asked that either the United States annex Manitoba and the North-West or assist the people of Red River to establish their right to the territory and secure their independence.[7]

O'Donoghue was soon in St. Paul, where, if we can believe press reports, he was cordially received by prominent Minnesotans who had long advocated the annexation of the British territories in the North-West.[8] December found him in Washington, where he renewed his acquaintance with Senator Ramsey. Ramsey introduced O'Donoghue to several congressmen, including General N. P. Banks, chairman of the House committee on foreign relations, and Senator Zachariah Chandler, who gave O'Donoghue moral support, and to Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations, who was less sympathetic. Significantly, however, O'Donoghue was not granted an audience with President Grant until January 28, 1871. Grant received him "very kindly" and "listened attentively", but was not convinced that a majority of Red River people desired either annexation or independence. He assured O'Donoghue that when a "desire for annexation shall be manifested by a majority of that section, the United States government will give their case a thorough examination". The present movement, Grant insisted, could not be regarded "as a ripe disposition of a majority sufficiently large to guarantee unanimity of allegiance to a new government".[9]

O'Donoghue had no better success in New York, where he spoke to the

council of the Fenian Brotherhood. He received a hearing, but the Fenian council told him pointedly that he could look for no help from them "beyond their prayers".[10]

After this rebuff O'Donoghue appears to have left the East and returned to Minnesota and the Dakota Territory. If we can believe a Manitoba News-Letter report he was in northern Minnesota in late March arranging details of a raid.[11] While there he could have heard accounts of the death of Tanner, of O'Lone's death, of the attack on André Nault, of the mutiny of February 18th, and of the repeated attacks on individual Half-breeds by the Volunteers. This news would have strengthened his conviction that the long-suffering Half-breeds would rise and give him their support if he appeared on the border with a body of armed men. There is no doubt that O'Donoghue was in New York again in May. Somehow he this time won the support of General John O'Neill, and it may well be that O'Neill was influenced by the stories of violence that O'Donoghue could tell. At any rate plans for a raid on Manitoba were laid before the council of the Fenian Brotherhood, but once again the Brotherhood refused to give its assistance. O'Neill resigned his place in the Fenian council and said he would "go it alone".[12] Arrangements went forward, with O'Donoghue and O'Neill seeking for aid wherever it could be found. They were joined by other disaffected Irishmen, among them Thomas Curley, Felix O'Byrne, and John. J. Donnelly. These men drew up and signed a compact which explained the basis of their movement and outlined its aims:

> Whereas the people of Rupert's Land, British North America, known as Rupert's Land and North Western Territories, through their agent William Bernard O'Donoghue have invited the assistance and cooperation of the friends of liberty in America to aid them in regaining their independence of which they

> have been deprived by the false representations of the English and Canadian governments and
>
> Whereas the aforesaid William Bernard O'Donoghue, John O'Neil [sic], Thomas Curley, Felix O'Byrne, John J. Donnelly and others have in answer to the call of the said people of Rupert's Land, etc, organized an expedition having for its object to assist in the deliverance of the people of Rupert's Land, etc, from English or Canadian rule and the establishment of a Republican form of government instead and
>
> Whereas we the aforesaid . . . and others are now preparing to set the aforesaid expedition in motion and feel that for the purpose of effectually carrying out the objects of said expedition a temporary government is necessary.

Acting "in the name and on behalf of the people of Rupert's Land, etc, and the immigrants who now take part or may hereafter take part", O'Donoghue and company each agreed to be governed by a compact, which was to "have all the force and power of a government de facto" until conditions should allow the people to use their "free will in the selection of a permanent government". The compact consisted of sixteen articles, made provision for a president and council of ten members and outlined the powers of each. Article fourteen stated that "William Bernard O'Donoghue [was] hereby declared President to fill the office created by this compact". No other persons were named to fill any of the offices. The compact was signed by the men mentioned in the preamble along with one J. C. Kennedy. It was dated September 15, 1871.[13]

There can be no doubt about the rationale and motivation behind this compact and expedition. Reports originating in the Settlement throughout the winter of 1870-1 and the spring and summer of 1871 told of the increasing exasperation of the Half-breed people with the new order. In a letter to Macdonald written on the 9th of October, Archibald summarized

concisely one of the reasons which should, under ordinary circumstances, have made successful a raid and rising of the kind envisaged by O'Donoghue:

> Many of [the French Half-breeds] 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 [the disbanded Volunteers and newcomers] is a yoke so intolerable that they would gladly escape it by any sacrifice.[14]

However, Archibald knew very well that there were other very compelling reasons for Half-breed dissatisfaction. Testifying before the Select Committee of 1874 Archibald told of the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois: "The danger was over," he concluded, "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 [sic]".[15]

Archibald did not lay before the Select Committee of 1874 a confidential letter he had written to Macdonald on October 7, 1871, just before the Métis volunteered their services to him. In this letter he linked his success in the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois confrontation with his success in October:

> Mr. Aitkins [sic] in a private note regrets that I had not received your resolution in Council relative to the Lands before I gave the answer[16] to the Half-breed representatives of which you have a copy--If I had, it might have crippled the freedom of my action, it certainly would not have changed my conviction of its policy--You must judge of these things from my standpoint, not yours--with you it is a question of popularity or newspaper criticism. With me it is one of life and death--and I never felt more convinced that I was right then DURING THE LAST WEEK [emphasis mine], when for a while the action of the French half-breeds seemed trembling in the balance. It is not necessary to go into full particulars, I may at another time. One thing, I am convinced of, and that is, if I had thrown these people off, and led them to believe that the promises relative to the lands WHICH THEY BELIEVE

> HAVE BEEN MADE,[17] WERE NOT TO BE KEPT [emphasis mine], I should have had little influence to bring them to support the course I was urging them.[18]

Archibald returned to the topic on October 13th, in a long "private" letter to Macdonald. By that time Archibald was under attack by the Manitoba Liberal [19] and the editor, Stewart Mulvey, had addressed him a note demanding to know whether he had crossed the river, whether he had accepted the services of the Métis, and whether Riel had been there.[20] Already on the defensive, Archibald wrote, in part, as follows: "Please show this letter to Mr. Aiken [sic]. He will find I did not overestimate the danger when I gave my reply to the Half-breed representatives." He went on:

> Had my reply been other than it was you would at this moment have had a civil war on your hands, in addition to a Fenian Raid.
>
> Whether the difference between a lot here and a lot there, in allocating the HalfBreed [sic] claims, whether the privilege of driving a few Métis of[f] the Banks of Rivière Aux Iles [sic] de Bois in order to people it with Orangemen, and Baptize it 'the Boyne', is worth the cost--judge for yourself.

"The trouble," Archibald observed tersely, "was not from without, but from within."[21]

Rumors of another Fenian Raid had never ceased to appear in Canadian and American newspapers, following the conclusion of the raid of May, 1870, to which reference has been made in an earlier chapter. Fortunately, we do not have to rely upon rumor as we attempt to learn about O'Donoghue's raid, for there is solid documentation of how he moved his force to Manitoba, and of how Archibald and others in Manitoba prepared to cope wtih it.[22]

The American consulate in Winnipeg received information early in

September about the probability of a Fenian attack upon Manitoba and this information was forwarded to Archibald. Archibald gave an assurance that neither the Manitoba authorities nor the Canadian government would object to a movement of American troops across the international boundary for the suppression of a violation of the neutrality laws of the United States. On September 11th a full statement of the situation was received in Washington. On the 19th orders were sent to Colonel Wheaton to make the proposed armed intervention if and when it became necessary. Making these arrangements was the least of Archibald's problems as he tried to cope with a dangerous situation.[23]

In Ottawa, Gilbert McMicken was given a double assignment. He was to proceed to Winnipeg and take up the position of Agent of Dominion Lands for Manitoba. On the way to Manitoba and in Manitoba he was to act in his capacity of Commissioner of Dominion Police, reporting the movements of those believed to be Fenians and advising Archibald on suitable steps to take. As report followed rumor in Ottawa Macdonald telegraphed to McMicken at Windsor, hurrying him on to Manitoba. Accompanying McMicken were his son George and Frank Ritchie, both "most useful and reliable members of his Secret Service Police". Short stopovers in Windsor and Chicago enabled the trio to ascertain that the small "Fenian" body of some forty-one was very disorganized and dispirited. These men were counting on a warm welcome from the "hospitable homes" of the Manitoba Métis, while loot from the Hudson's Bay Company stores at Pembina and Fort Garry would be considered as payment for services to O'Donoghue and O'Neill.[24]

McMicken telegraphed Macdonald from St. Paul on September 27th, and wrote a letter giving more details later the same day. O'Neill and

O'Donoghue were both well on the way to Pembina as were "several cart loads of ammunition". More than forty men had left Chicago travelling in small groups "so as not to create suspicion". McMicken had received a report that the Northern Pacific Railway was providing O'Donoghue with funds in the hope that a fracas in Manitoba would "drive the Canadian Government into activity in starting the Pacific Rail Road [sic]".[25] McMicken had met Mr. Boyd, the Manitoba Commissioner of Public Works. According to McMicken, Boyd had said "that the French halfbreeds [sic] [were] greatly dissatisfied and excited and not at all to be relied upon and that he would not be surprised to hear of their falling in with O'Donohoe [sic] and O'Neil [sic] in their enterprise. The feeling he describe[d] as intense and not within the control of Bishop Taché or any other authority."[26] On the 28th McMicken took the train from St. Paul to the end of steel at Morris, Minnesota.[27] On the same day, at ten o'clock in the morning, an important meeting took place at St. Vital, Manitoba.

Twelve influential Métis met at Louis Riel's home at St. Vital, a house that had seen a number of meetings since Riel's return in May.[28] Present were men who had been in very close association for two years of intense political activity: Baptiste Beauchemin, Elzéar de la Gimodière, Ambroise, Baptiste and Maxime Lépine, Pierre Léveillé, André Nault, Pierre Parenteau, Louis Riel, Janvier Ritchot, Joseph St. Germain, and Baptiste Touron. Pierre Parenteau was chosen chairman, Baptiste Touron and Louis Riel joint secretaries. The chairman called upon Riel to deal with the questions they wanted to discuss. Riel placed five questions before the meeting:

1. Does the Government fulfill sufficiently its pledges towards us?
2. If it has not yet done so, have we reasons to believe that it will fulfill them honestly in the future?
3. Are we sure O'Donoghue is coming with men?
4. If he is coming, what is he coming to do?
5. At all events, what conduct must we follow respecting him and respecting Canada?

To the first question "the meeting, after examining the difficulties that the Federal Government is meeting, answers that Canada does not fulfill sufficiently its duties towards us".[29] This question was a miracle of understatement. On several important points the answer was clearly negative. There was no indication anywhere that a general amnesty was about to be issued or was even being considered. Sixteen months after the passing of the Manitoba Act there was no sign that the distribution of the 1,400,000 acres was to be done in any manner whatever, let alone "as to meet the wishes of the Halfbreed [sic] residents", and the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois had shown that the Canadian government considered that any newcomer had rights equal to those of people long resident in the province.[30] Surveyors had been in Manitoba only two months and a Commissioner of Lands, Gilbert McMicken, was only then on the long trail to Manitoba, bringing, as he thought, news of the "Fenian Raid". At least two of those present, Baptiste Lépine and André Nault, still carried the scars of injuries inflicted on them in the "law and order" which the Volunteers maintained.

The meeting answered the second question by saying that if the past was any clue as to what the future would be, they had no reason to believe that the government would honor its pledges to the Half-breeds. The government was clearly squirming in response to pressure from groups in

Ontario which were hostile to them. However, the meeting felt that since the government might really wish to do its duty, it appeared "reasonable to delay, on this point, a judgment which, if it were more definite on our part, might exert a wrong influence on the Métis".

When it came to the third question those present said that they had heard nothing personally from O'Donoghue, although news and letters had reached some of the members present from persons who were in touch with him. It would appear from rumors circulated recently that O'Donoghue really was coming. His purpose, it seemed, was to attack the province.

The fifth question gave rise to a long discussion, and those present felt that they should present a united front if it was "true that their aim [was] to unite the people on some decision". The meeting decided not "to be prevailed upon by O'Donoghue, whether he be strong or weak". It was felt that O'Donoghue, if and when he arrived at Pembina would likely send "for several" amongst them, because of their old "connection". All agreed that any person invited by O'Donoghue should, without declining the invitation, ask for a delay of four days. No one was to go and meet him in the name of any person "without an express permission of [the] Association."

At this point Riel moved, seconded by Maxime Lépine,

> that every one of the members of this meeting get in touch with the representatives of the people and the influential persons of the various parishes to bring the Métis, in an unanimous manner, as much as possible, to pronounce themselves in favour of the advantages already possessed by virtue of the Manitoba Bill, and not to allow themselves to be carried away by the contingencies farther than to ask, loyally and with moderation, the accomplishment of the clauses and of the things guaranteed by our arrangements with Canada.

With policy thus agreed upon members turned to more immediate needs. Maxime Lépine moved, seconded by Ambroise Lépine, that it was important to have frequent meetings. A meeting could be called by any three members notifying the others in writing that it was advisable to meet. However, in case anyone was asked by O'Donoghue to meet him any one member could call a meeting, and any person so invited must convene the meeting on the shortest notice, notifying Riel, who was charged with letting the others know of a meeting at St. Vital. The meeting adjourned at five o'clock, having lasted seven hours.[31]

The next day at midnight, September 29th, Gilbert McMicken took pen in hand at Fort Abercrombie to write a long report to Sir John A. Macdonald. McMicken had full details of the movements of O'Donoghue's parties. Forty-one Irishmen, led by two officers, had been "counted" at "Morris" and then at "Old Crossing". They were moving toward the frontier with wagons carrying supplies, barrels of pork and hard tack. In addition, a man named Bodkin, formerly "an officer with the U. S. Revenue detective service", had recruited a company "27 strong . . . chiefly half-breeds [sic]" from among lumber camp workers. Their employer said some of his "head sawyers" had been enlisted. These men were to move toward St. Joe--28 miles west of Pembina--and head directly for Portage la Prairie.

McMicken's most disturbing news, however, was what he saw as the "complicity" of Bishop Taché in O'Donoghue's plot to invade Manitoba. McMicken had met Taché, who was then on his way to the East, and had a long talk with him. Taché said he had met O'Donoghue at Georgetown and had talked with him and General O'Neill. Taché was afraid the Half-breeds would "fall in" with the movement. The conduct of the Volunteers had

"exasperated" them, "matters generally were unsatisfactory" and a very bitter feeling prevailed among them as "antagonistic to the Canadians". McMicken tried to persuade Taché to return to the Settlement. He told Taché that in leaving the Settlement now he was "laying himself open to the attacks of the Globe". His interviews with O'Donoghue and O'Neill could be set down as evidence of his"complicity" in their design. Taché admitted that what McMicken said was true. He said that he had tried to get them to abandon their enterprise, but they had responded that they were only going to Manitoba as immigrants to settle.

McMicken reported to Macdonald that he had been told of another interview involving Taché which Taché had not mentioned. "Three distinct parties" had told McMicken that Taché had been "closeted" "for hours" with one "Kennedy of Fort Garry" and "Col. Kelly", an escaped convict then using the name "Macklin". McMicken considered this report to be very serious indeed:

> I must say I cannot doubt this interview and the Bishop did not mention it to me. I do not say there was anything wrong in it but you could not convince anyone here to the contrary--he is undoubtedly incautious and weak--and this is as far as I can allow myself to offer any remark.[32]

Taché most likely also did not tell McMicken of a talk he had had with Louis Riel at Father Ritchot's before leaving the Settlement on September 23rd. Taché had asked Riel, "Are you aware of what is going on about the Fenians?" Riel said, "Yes. I am perfectly aware that there are rumours afloat; but I do not know anything positive about it." "I suppose," Taché had said, "there is no doubt about your action in the matter?" Riel replied, "There is no doubt about my action in the matter; there is not the slightest doubt that I am not connected in any way with them; but in

the meantime, I do not know what action to take, because you know perfectly well that my life is not safe."

> I may go in the front and fight against the Fenians, and I am sure to be killed by those behind me. So I am at a loss what I can do, but you can rest assured there is not the slightest danger of me or any of my friends going with the Fenians, for they are condemned by our church, and you may be assured I will have nothing to do with them.[33]

Before leaving Fort Abercrombie McMicken woke Taché up and again "urged and besought" him to give up his trip to Quebec and return with him to the Settlement. Taché regretted having to refuse, but said his trip to Quebec was so important that he must proceed "at all hazards".[34]

McMicken was so impressed with the seriousness of the situation that he arranged at Fort Abercrombie for an extra carriage to travel "express" to Winnipeg. This would involve an expense of four hundred dollars, but it would enable him to reach Winnipeg before O'Donoghue's men could reach Pembina.[35] He arrived in Winnipeg on the evening of October 2nd, and immediately reported to Archibald at his quarters in Fort Garry. He outlined the situation as he saw it, and the next day he again went to the Fort. This time he found Archibald in conversation with Father Dugas.[36]

Thirteen months after his arrival at Fort Garry Archibald's position was fraught with as much peril as ever. He had found no premier. He had found no cabinet worthy of the name. The men who had the people's confidence had not dared to present themselves for election. Those who acted as his cabinet knew only too well that they were really just figureheads. McMicken described then as being "incompetent, unreliable and invisible".[37] Months of incipient civil war had embittered beyond belief the people who were the chief source of his support. Now, with Bishop Taché gone, Father

Dugas and Father Ritchot must help him maintain contact with the group of men who, although they dared not show themselves at Fort Garry for fear of being killed by the self-styled "loyal men", now held the destiny of Manitoba in their hands.

According to McMicken, Dugas "expressed himself exactly as Bishop Taché had done", and "caused us to believe the French would not turn out to oppose the Fenians but probably the reverse".[38] When Dugas had left, Archibald outlined his position to McMicken. Everything depended, Archibald said, on factors within the province. There was "every reason to apprehend a rising" of the Métis. He was doing what he could through Dugas and Ritchot, "but they insisted as a condition that he would give them a satisfactory assurance that the promise of a full amnesty would be fulfilled at once". Without this they could exercise no influence on their people; "Riel had their hearts and he would not yield unless the amnesty was granted forthwith".[39] This, of course, was not exactly true; Dugas and Ritchot were playing the only cards they had in a very difficult game. Riel had the people's "hearts", but he and his underground cabinet had been for several days going among the Métis people and attempting to persuade them to pronounce in favor of the Manitoba Act.

Archibald then turned to another difficulty. The feeling between the Canadians and the Half-breeds was, he said, "bitterly hostile on both sides". Also the Canadians were "malignantly antagonistic" towards him as Lieutenant-Governor, believing, as they did, that he was under the control of Taché. Archibald then said: "Mr. McMicken, you have had large experience in circumstances of this kind, and I have had none. What would you advise me to do?" McMicken recommended the issuing of a proclamation,

calling upon the "whole body of the people" to "rally round the flag". Archibald replied that there were only seventy men in the Fort and he did not know "how far the feeling obtain[ed] amongst them that [was] so vindictively shown towards [him] by the Canadians in the village and settlements". Archibald feared that a proclamation might not receive a hearty response.

McMicken reassured Archibald by saying that he "knew the genius and bent of mind of the Ontario people" and that they would certainly "rally round the nation's flag" and "stand by the Queen". The two men then set to work on the wording of a proclamation. Mr. Cunningham of The Manitoban received instructions to have it set up and printed. Captain Villiers would then see to its distribution and posting.[40]

McMicken reported to Macdonald that on the fourth of October "companies of the English settlers" began to enroll themselves and offer their services". He was surprised at the "tidy, healthy and intelligent appearance of the men--the country population judged by such specimens far excel the rural population of Ontario taken in general".[41]

That same day--October 4th--Father Ritchot came to the Fort for a long talk with Archibald, part of which McMicken was witness to. Ritchot said that the people "were embittered in feeling [,] felt that faith had not been kept with them and had been the object of insult by the Orange party and Canadians". He did not think "many" would go to join the Fenians, but all was "very uncertain". Ritchot mentioned that O'Donoghue had said that he was only bringing in peaceable Irish immigrants of their own faith. To this Archibald replied by asking if Father Ritchot believed that General O'Neill and the other Fenian chiefs had come with arms and a sworn military

following "to settle down as peaceable farmers".[42] This conversation was interrupted by the arrival of other visitors, and McMicken had to "entertain a body of clergy of the other persuasion--McLean, Young, Black and two others" and sent them away persuaded that "all was being rightly and well done".[43]

In the part of the conversation not overheard by McMicken Ritchot had important things to say, and he spoke of them at length when he gave his deposition before the Select Committee of 1874. On that day--October 4th--Archibald had asked him to come to the Fort. When he arrived Archibald asked him about the attitude the French population would take if there was a Fenian invasion. From what Archibald had seen the French population was loyal, but it was his duty to have exact information. If the French remained loyal there would be nothing to fear, for they were the part of the population that lived near the threatened frontier. On the other hand, if part of the population was hostile to the authorities the country would be lost. Ritchot answered that it was certain that Archibald could count on them. Ritchot had seen the leaders, including Riel, and they were anxious to know what would be the attitude of the authorities. He said as well that the leaders were only waiting for word to go to the front if required and meet whatever invasion there should be. Riel thought that that precaution should be taken immediately. Archibald had then commissioned Ritchot to tell the Half-breeds, and especially Riel, that he would be very happy to see them give their help to the authorities. Ritchot then "observed" that Riel was very much perplexed because his friends had told him that if he went forward and showed himself he would be killed, that any action he took would be badly interpreted, that there

were warrants out against him, and that he would be arrested in arms or elsewhere if he appeared in public. Archibald then replied that there was no danger at all, that any steps Riel took would be well considered, and that it was a good time for Riel to prove his loyalty. Archibald added that it would be a "further occasion for the hastening of a grant of an amnesty", and that it was time for Riel to prove that what had been said against him was false.

Ritchot said that he promised to communicate to Riel what Archibald had said. Archibald would have a reply the very next day.[44]

In this conversation both men had been slightly less than candid with each other. Ritchot was not in a position to say that the leaders were only waiting for word to go to the front if required. On October fourth the work of those leaders was far from finished. As for Archibald, he was certainly in no position to say that Riel would be in no danger at all if he came forward, unless he meant it in the very limited sense that Riel would be in no danger from him or from anyone accompanying him. Archibald well knew that Riel would be in great danger if he appeared in public anywhere outside the French parishes. However, in the crisis he was obliged to say whatever was necessary to keep Riel and the other Métis leaders working with him rather than against him.

While these conversations were taking place on October 4th, events had taken place in the French-speaking parishes which we must now examine. "In the night" of Monday, October 2nd, "a young boy, a messenger of O'Donoghue", arrived from Pembina inviting Métis leaders--Baptiste Lépine, Baptiste Touron, Pierre Parenteau, Joseph Delorme, André Nault, Ambroise Lépine, Louis Riel, F. X. Pagée, Pierre Poitras--to meet him "at the end

of twenty-four hours at the Pointe à Michel near Pembina".[45] At a meeting held on October 4th at Ambroise Lépine's it was revealed that all members of the Association except Baptiste Lépine and André Nault had refused to respond to O'Donoghue. The two men, it was explained, had tried to find Riel, but not being able to find him, had left a note saying: "We are going to see what O'Donoghue wants, whether he is strong, and to watch the doings of Bruce, and of all the half-breeds [sic] of the Province near him."[46] It must be remembered that Baptiste Lépine and André Nault had good reason for curiosity about O'Donoghue's strength. Nault had a scar showing where he had been bayoneted by the soldiers at Pembina in February, and Lépine had been badly injured in a fight in Winnipeg in June. André Nault sent to the meeting the observation that the Métis he talked to were "very much excited and hard to control at this time". The meeting was informed that Lieutenant-Governor Archibald was issuing a proclamation. After discussion the meeting was adjourned until the next day at Riel's.

We have now to examine the events of October 5th, the day O'Donoghue's raid took place. In view of what many people, including the "loyal men" and the Canadian Cabinet, later said about that raid we must pay careful attention to what happened and when.

Father Ritchot stated before the Select Committee of 1874 that, after he left Archibald's presence he "met friends who observed to [him] that Riel's friends would not allow him to go forward unless there would be something in writing, saying that Riel would not be ill-treated". Ritchot promptly wrote a note to Archibald:

> Upon deep reflection I take the liberty of remarking to your Excellency, that inasmuch as Mr. Riel is in such a position that he cannot act openly as a citizen, I do not believe that he should place himself at [the

> Half-breeds'] head unless he had some guarantee that his proceeding would be looked upon with favor by your Excellency. Consequently, I beg leave to ask of you some assurance which will shelter him from any legal proceeding at least for the present.
> (signed)
> N. J. Ritchot
>
> P.S. Being about to leave immediately for my parish, I beg to request Your Excellency will kindly give an answer to the bearer who will at once bring it to me.
> (signed)
> N. J. R.[47]

When he read the note Archibald realized immediately that he was in a tight spot. He knew full well that he could not really guarantee anything, certainly not the safety of the man considered by the violent "loyal" party to be the "murderer" of Thomas Scott. The police force had its hands full, and he could not count on the loyalty of the Volunteers left in Fort Garry. In the absence of a general amnesty and with the almost continuous disturbances of the past spring and summer he had had to postpone again and again the second session of the Manitoba legislature,[48] and he still did not know when there could be a session. Even the celebration of Canada's birthday had been fraught with the danger of an outbreak of violence.[49] However, if Manitoba was to be held as part of Canada he must retain the allegiance of the Métis people, particularly those parishes lying between Fort Garry and the border. That allegiance was at this moment trembling in the balance. The fact that he held Ritchot's note in his hand meant that although Ritchot and his friends liked and trusted him they did not trust the Canadian government to keep its word. Considering what had happened after the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois Archibald realized ruefully that they had good reason. He also realized that in preparing a note to satisfy Ritchot and Riel he could be laying his

head on the executioner's block. He looked again at the note. Ritchot had used the expression "pour la circonstance actuelle". That seemed to set adequate limits to his guarantee. There was a risk, but the risk had to be taken. He set to work on a reply:

"Should Mr. Riel come forward as suggested, he need be under no apprehension that his liberty shall be interfered with in any way: to use your own language, "pour la circonstance actuelle". It is hardly necessary for me to add that the cooperation of the French half-breeds [sic] and their leaders in the support of the Crown, under present circumstances, will be very welcome and cannot be looked upon otherwise than as entitling them to most favorable consideration." [50]

Ritchot told the Select Committee that he saw Mr. Riel,[51] who was very glad to see that the Governor had confidence in him and in the population. Ritchot may well have seen Riel at the meeting held at Riel's home that day.

On the morning of the 5th of October--about seven o'clock--O'Donoghue's force crossed the boundary and took possession of the Hudson's Bay Company fort at Pembina, taking prisoner Mr. W. H. Watt, the one-armed officer then in charge there, in the name of the Provisional Government of Red River. Mr. Watt was kept prisoner until O'Donoghue's men fled at the approach of American troops under the command of Col. Wheaton.[52] For a short time O'Donoghue's men were in possession of the fort, able to plunder it and keep the fort's people captive. There was no general rising of the Métis, although it appears that a tiny group of men joined the group for a time.[53] When O'Donoghue, who had made good his escape, was captured on the Canadian side of the border, it was by a party of

Métis, who took him to the American fort at Pembina.

There was reason for satisfaction when the underground cabinet met at Riel's at eleven o'clock that same morning. Present for the first time were the Honorable François Dauphinais, of St. François Xavier,[54] and member of the Legislative Council, and Angus McKay, member for Lake Manitoba of the Legislative Assembly. The presence of these two men indicated a broadened base of support for the Association. André Nault and Baptiste Lépine were not present, and there was no news from Pembina. After long deliberations on the "opportunity to declare themselves neutral or in favor of the government" Ambroise Lépine moved, seconded by Elzéar de la Gimodière, that those in favor of the government should stand up. Twelve stood up, Baptiste Touron indicating that he preferred neutrality.[55] The meeting adjourned at eight o'clock in the evening, members having agreed to reassemble at nine o'clock the next morning.[56]

Archibald's fears with regard to the feelings of the English-speaking population were well-founded. While McMicken observed "companies" of people coming to Fort Garry to enroll themselves on the fourth and fifth, there was no unanimity among the English-speaking population with regard to the desired mobilization. Addressing an Orange Lodge 42 years after the event, George Young, the son of Rev. George Young, spoke as follows:

> [T]he loyalist portion of the people [was] so much disgusted by the lack of action by the authorities in their failure to punish the late Rebel Leaders, that it was far from certain, in the minds of thoughtful men, just how far the Governor could depend on the English settlers and the "LOYALIST" (emphasis his) Canadians to answer his call . . .[57]

In its second issue after O'Donoghue's raid The Manitoba Liberal made a statement about the recent lack of unanimity:

> At first very little reliance could be placed on any information coming from the Government, but when Mr. McMicken arrived all doubts were set aside regarding a projected rising [sic]. There was a little hesitation amongst those known as the loyal party before volunteering, owing to the insults that had been heaped upon them since the advent of Governor Archibald . . . As soon as the Government ascertained that the proclamation was not meeting with a cordial response from those upon whom the preservation of the country depended in the hour of trial, they were thrown into a fearful state of excitement, not knowing well what to do. As we have seldom or ever more than two members of the Government in Manitoba, these hurried to and fro, looking as blue as the waters of Superior. A public meeting was held in Winnipeg which was chiefly attended by officials, volunteers were called for, and ere the meeting adjourned they succeeded in getting 22 volunteers--one-half Government clerks, and the balance enlisted as home guards.

"However," the Liberal went on, "when it became an established fact that rebel Half-breeds [sic] had polluted our soil with hostile intent, those of the loyal party who at first hesitated could stand it no longer.

> By six o'clock the following morning [6th] nearly 300 men from Winnipeg alone were enrolled, marched to Government House, and their services proferred. Before the sun set . . . the men who at first DECLARED THEY WOULD NEVER AGAIN SHOULDER A MUSKET [emphasis mine] were on their way, knee deep in mud, amid pelting rain, swearing vengeance against the hated foes of Britain.[58]

The Manitoban, of course, denied that there had been hesitation on anybody's part.[59]

It is more than sixty miles as the crow flies from the international boundary to Fort Garry.[60] Since the old trail followed many of the bends of the Red River the distance travelled was significantly more than that. The express stage that McMicken hired to complete his journey to Fort Garry-Winnipeg made that distance in a long, hard day's run, having

changed horses several times.[61] Such speed was not available to the average person unless he had been able to make special arrangements. The telegraph line was not in operation, since, although poles were in position throughout most of the distance to Pembina and beyond, the wire had not been strung.[62] André Nault and Baptiste Lépine probably had the first--and most authoritative--news of the projected raid to reach St. Vital when they reported to the reassembled Committee at nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th. They had set out on their return ride on the morning of the 4th and spent the night at Pointe Coupée. They reached St. Vital late at night on the 5th, too late to attend the meeting of the Committee held that day.[63] They reported that O'Donoghue had told them that Fort Pembina was to be taken the next morning, i.e., the 5th. He had enough force with him, he said, but he needed the Metis to secure the declaration of independence. He had added that he had money and would eventually bring into the country "five men against Canada's one". With this report before the meeting, the chairman, Pierre Parenteau, asked the meeting what course should be recommended to the people. Ambroise Lépine, Pierre Léveillé, Elzéar de la Gimodière, Hon. François Dauphinais and Angus McKay, M. P. P. , were all of the opinion that the people must be persuaded to support the government. The others present, with the exception of Louis Riel, were undecided. He said that he had pronounced himself the previous day in favor of the government and asked not to be made to vote again. It was agreed to hold meetings in the parishes. The five men named above said that they would advocate support of the government at their meetings. The others agreed that it was wise to do so only "moderately", and that while they were in favor of the government they would say

so with caution. The meeting decided that messengers should be sent in every direction in order that meetings could take place everywhere in the French parishes within twenty hours, and that a report of these meetings be made the next day, the 7th, between two and four in the afternoon at André Nault's, at St. Vital. The meeting adjourned until two o'clock the next afternoon.[64]

It is difficult at this time to recapture a sense of the excitement, the hysteria, which the news of the actual crossing of the border by O'Donoghue's men brought to the people of the Settlement. Since the spring of 1871 there had been so many rumors and reports of an invasion that no one knew what to believe. Eventually people believed nothing. A diarist said it well:

> Since spring we used to hear it said: Mr. O'Donoghue is going to come: he is coming: he has arrived! sometimes it is with families; other times it is with an army of Fenians. Everyone had the news from a certain person who had learned it from someone he had seen: but this someone, you could never see him yourself. At the end no one believed anything.

So wrote Abbé J. L. Proulx, then a missionary at St. Boniface, who was secretly keeping a diary of events. On the 6th of October he wrote:

> Mr. O'Donoghue has arrived at Pembina! Pascal Breland, Falcon and other members of the Provisional Government [sic] left in the night to join him. So the Lalique woman says. That they left is possible; that it was to join O'Donoghue I don't believe . . . .

Later the same day he added:

> Abraham's boy arrived from Fort Garry; they're waiting for the Fenians: the soldiers are digging holes around the Fort. I believed something.[65]

George Young later explained what the digging was for. "An earthwork was

thrown up in front of the South Gate of the Fort, as a Tête du Pont, to cover the crossing of the Assiniboine River from the south and from the French Parishes.

> Still the reports kept coming in, of the great unrest in the late Rebel Parishes, and of gatherings and movements of bodies of late rebels towards the Frontier, to meet, as was supposed and stated by many of them, their Fenian Allies and their ex-leader W. B. O'Donoghue.[66]

Major Irvine, acting in concert with the Lieutenant-Governor, had ordered this and other defensive measures on the 4th.[67] Later that day he was evidently sent out on a reconnaissance tour along the Pembina road.[68] Having gone four miles in that direction he camped for the night near the home of Hon. Salomon Hamelin, who put his house and stables at the disposal of Irvine and his men. There he learned of a meeting of French Half-breeds held that day. The report was that it was "enthusiastic" and in favor of supporting the government. On the morning of the 5th he resumed his tour along the road. Meeting with nothing unusual he returned as far as St. Norbert and remained there awaiting developments and further orders. At half past three a Mr. Bradley arrived from Pembina with news that Col. Wheaton was holding O'Donoghue and other Fenian leaders at Pembina, and that all their followers had crossed over to the American side. Irvine wrote to Archibald: "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."[69]

It would appear from the wording of this sentence that Irvine was of the opinion that the raid was over and that all danger had passed. As he had expected, Irvine was ordered to return to Fort Garry, but

Archibald and McMicken were not convinced that the danger was past. Could the move on the Hudson's Bay fort have been a feint? McMicken had made reference to a group of men that were to go to St. Joe, west of Pembina. Was it possible that an attack could come from there? Archibald decided to continue to make preparations to cope with an attack and to behave as though a general mobilization was necessary.

About 11:30 in the morning of the 6th Archibald sent for Irvine and informed him "that the Fort at Pembina had been taken, and that the Fenians were some twelve or fifteen miles within the Province". He wished Irvine to dispatch a force at once to meet them. Irvine immediately sent orders to Captain Mulvey to parade his company at Fort Garry for active service. Irvine then moved to secure his base at Fort Garry. He left the Hudson's Bay Company Corps and the remainder of the companies of the active militia as a Provisional Battalion under the command of Captain Allan McDonald at Fort Garry. Another company under Captain Bedson was sent to garrison the Stone Fort.[70]

At 4:30 p.m. Irvine left Fort Garry with two Companies, the Winnipeg Volunteer Company (Captain Kennedy's) with a seven-pounder gun, and Captain Stewart Mulvey's company, consisting chiefly of disbanded volunteers and members of the "Canadian" party. Accompanying these companies was the necessary transport, under the command of the Control Officer, Major Peebles, with ten days' provisions, camp equipment and ammunition.[71]

A drizzling rain fell all afternoon, and the men had to wait nearly three hours in the rain while the ferry conveyed the force and its transport to the south side of the Assiniboine. After the men had all crossed the river a heavy rain fell, and the men found themselves marching "knee

deep" in mud. A march of about four miles was made before they camped for the night, "it being so dark that [the men] could not see the tin plates on the knapsacks of the men immediately in front of [them]".[72] The next day, the seventh, the force continued the march as far as St. Norbert.[73]

At St. Norbert an incident occurred, about which it is very difficult to get details, but whose significance cannot be overlooked. Irvine made no reference to it in his report, but Archibald alluded to it in a letter to Macdonald[74] and spoke more precisely of it to the Select Committee in 1874. The two companies had halted to make camp at St. Norbert, not far from the residence of Father Ritchot:

> 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 preparations. The moment he was aware of the danger he ordered his men to strike their tents and march three miles further on.[75]

The Manitoba Liberal, in its second issue after the mobilization, reported as follows:

> The little expedition halted the following day at Stinking River for some five or six hours . . . and at this time who should make his appearance but the notorious Père Richot [sic], whose presence, no doubt, recalled to the recollection of many a man present, his connection with the murder of Thomas Scott. It was very fortunate, indeed, that at this moment the men were under military control: and the bugle sounded the "fall in", otherwise the Reverend Père might have heard words not very agreeable.[76]

Many years after the event Gilbert McMicken was a little more specific as to the men who had been involved:

> Here [at St. Norbert], Père Ritchot was indebted to the good feeling and watchfulness of Captain Mulvey for his escape from a danger he little suspected.[77]

Although we cannot identify the intent we can readily suggest the probability. Mulvey's company consisted chiefly of disbanded volunteers and members of the "Canadian" party.[78] As Archibald expressed it, they had "dominated" in Fort Garry-Winnipeg ever since the arrival of the Volunteers in September of 1870.[79] For many of these men their enlistment was as much for the purpose of fighting Half-breeds as it was for fighting Fenians.[80] Such men as Buchanan, Davison and James Farquharson[81] were not above killing Father Ritchot, burning his house, or lynching him on one of the tall trees on his farm.

It is to be noted that the men involved were not arrested or restrained. Instead the entire force was made to break camp and march. There is here a very strong suggestion that the officers dared not restrain or punish these men for fear of the consequences.

Here we have anticipated events a little for the sake of convenience. While Irvine's men were struggling through the mud and darkness on the way south from the ferry crossing, the people of St. Vital were holding a meeting in response to the call issued earlier that day. André Beauchemin, M. P. P. for St. Vital, acted as chairman and Charles Nolin of the Pointe des Chênes as secretary. Beauchemin opened the meeting by saying that the meeting had three choices: O'Donoghue, neutrality or the government. The meeting expressed the wish that whatever Riel said should govern. Riel replied by saying that the circumstances and his own views were, perhaps, not well appreciated by the Half-breeds. He was afraid of divisions among them. "I therefore pray you to unite," he said, "and since you show me such a great confidence, believe me, I am not changed. Do not side with injustice: but let us support unanimously the following motion:

That it is just to make it known to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba that the present meeting avails itself of the circumstances in which the country finds itself to confirm its attachment to the constitution which governs us." Charles Nolin seconded and the motion passed. The participation of André Beauchemin, a member of both the November and the January conventions, of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, and now a member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, is of interest here. As for Charles Nolin, of Oak Point, he also had been a member of both conventions, and had been one of Riel's staunchest opponents in the stormy days of the Insurrection and Provisional Government. The Committee's base of support was becoming very broad indeed.[82]

The day of the incident at St. Norbert there was intense activity among the Half-breeds. Meetings were held at White Horse Plains. St. Boniface, St. Vital, St. Norbert North, St. Norbert South (Pointe Coupée), and Ste. Agathe.[83] Each parish made its decision, chose its captains and sent messengers to the Committee at St. Vital. When the results were in from the parishes Louis Riel was instructed to inform the Lieutenant-Governor of the decision of the Métis. It was the seventh of October: the Committee had completed its work of uniting the Métis people. Riel set about his task promptly:

> 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 Métis has been that of faithful subjects. Several companies have already been organized, and others are in the 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.

Riel made his signature, followed by Ambroise Lépine. Pierre Parenteau made his mark. The letter was placed in the hands of a messenger for prompt delivery to Archibald.[84] When Archibald had read its contents he knew that regardless of which Fenians might be lurking in the border area or elsewhere, the danger to Manitoba no longer existed. There would be no uprising of the Half-breeds.

Archibald already knew in general terms what the result would be. A report had come in on Saturday morning of the meeting at St. Vital and of its favorable decision.[85] Nevertheless it was good to have in hand this testimony of the faithfulness of more than one-half of the province's population. News that came in from other quarters certainly left no room for complacency. Within twenty-four hours of the departure of Irvine and the companies from the Fort it was discovered that someone had spiked one of the best guns.[86] Archibald had not believed it possible that such a thing could happen. Then a letter had come in from Major Irvine, in camp with the troops at St. Norbert. Irvine had written it at 3:30 Sunday morning, enclosing reports from Pembina about the renewed possibility of a raid. Irvine asked for 150 men as reinforcements for his force, and suggested that Bedson, presently at the Stone Fort, be in command of them. McDonald should put the troops in Fort Garry on the alert.[87] Similar reports of an impending invasion had reached Winnipeg, and there was considerable excitement there. No doubt similar reports had reached the French parishes. Archibald had a suspicion that someone was getting unduly perturbed about gossip in Pembina, and he said as much in his reply to Irvine. However, he sent a message asking Bedson to

come to Fort Garry, and he alerted McDonald at the Fort.[88]

As he scribbled the note to be put in good form by his private secretary, Archibald did not know it but he was at the pinnacle of his career of Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. He knew, of course, that he had for a third time held the allegiance of the people whose continuing support was the basis of his administration in Manitoba. He was to be pardoned if, in the excitement of the moment--and accepting the exigencies of state-craft--he proceeded at once to make the mortal mistake of his career. Like Riel in March of 1870 he must preserve the peace of the province. Like himself in September of 1870 he must somehow maintain his majority support. And like himself at the time of the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois he must assure the majority people that all would be well even though he knew that all might not, in fact, be well. Efforts in these directions could not be relaxed for a moment, certainly not until he had found a premier; perhaps not even them.

"You may say to the people," he wrote, "on whose behalf you write, that His Excellency is much gratified to receive the assurance which he anticipated in his communication with the Revd. Père Ritchot, and which your letter conveys, and that he will take the earliest opportunity to transmit to His Excellency the Governor General this evidence of the loyalty and good faith of the Métis of Manitoba.

> His Excellency will be pleased to be furnished, as soon as possible, with a nominal list of the persons in each parish, who desire to enroll for active service in the present emergency. His Excellency will rely upon their readiness to come forward the moment they receive notice.[89]

As it turned out there was no need to send "notice" to the Half-breeds to mobilize. The news of an impending raid had reached the

Committee, and the machinery it had put in place soon did the rest. During the afternoon the Half-breeds began to assemble in the large open space along the Red River in front of St. Boniface Cathedral.[90] Estimates of their number vary considerably, but there is good reason to believe the Hon. Marc Girard,[91] who estimated that there were between 400 and 500, "one-third" of them mounted and the "greater part" of them armed.[92] Riel, Ambroise Lépine and Pierre Parenteau were in command. The Hon. Joseph Royal, speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and the Hon. Marc Girard, the provincial treasurer, were asked to go over to the Lieutenant-Governor's residence and inform Archibald that the Métis wished to meet him and offer their services in the present emergency. Archibald asked where it would be best to do this, and Girard recommended the other side of the river where the men were gathered. Archibald agreed to this, recalling the close call at St. Norbert and not wishing for any ugly incidents.[93] Girard and Royal then returned to St. Boniface by rowboat and told the Métis leaders that the Lieutenant-Governor was on his way. Archibald asked Captain McDonald in command at the Fort, to accompany him. McDonald and a small escort of soldiers from the Fort rode with Archibald to the river and crossed by ferry. When Archibald and McDonald came near the leaders of the Métis troops Girard announced to them that the assembled men were ready to go to the front to defend their country. All was quiet in anticipation of Archibald's answer. Archibald replied by thanking them for their offer and expressing his satisfaction at being able to meet them. The troops then fired a "feu de joie". The activity at St. Boniface had been noticed by people from Fort Garry, and a crowd had gathered on the west bank. When the salute was fired and the Métis soldiers

cheered, this crowd joined in the cheering. The tension broken, it was becoming a joyous occasion.[94]

By this time Archibald had dismounted, and was ready to be made acquainted with the leaders of the Métis force. Girard later told how he had decided, while crossing in the rowboat, that it would be just as well not to mention Riel's name when making the introductions. Accordingly he introduced Riel to Archibald as the man whom the Half-breeds had "chosen as their chief for the occasion".[95] Archibald and Riel shook hands. Mr. Dubuc then introduced Ambroise Lépine and Pierre Parenteau, calling them by name, and saying that they were prominent men. Archibald shook hands with them both.[96] Riel then addressed the Lieutenant-Governor on behalf of all the men present, saying that "he was there with his friends to offer their services in defence of their country against all enemies", and asking him to accept their services. Archibald made a short speech, thanking him warmly for that offer of service and ensuring him that it was received with great pleasure. The short meeting had taken about fifteen minutes.[97] Another "feu de joie" and cheers for the Lieutenand-Governor and it was all over. Details of the use of the troops would follow consultation after the most recent reports from the front had been studied.

It is impossible to contemplate this meeting by the Red River without being strangely moved by it. The raid could not succeed, now that the French-speaking Half-breeds had followed their promises with mobilization. Archibald knew this, and could well feel satisfaction with his--and Riel's--success. It is certain that he well knew, too, that he was among men who were, morally, premier and members of his cabinet. But for broken

promises and distant circumstances having nothing to do with Manitoba, the men present should have headed a vigorous, viable government suited to the needs of the people of the new province, a government with an élan of its own of a kind that none of Manitoba's first provincial governments could have.

There was little time for reflection, still less for euphoria. Men had volunteered their services, and arrangements would have to be made to take care of them. On returning to the Fort Captain McDonald gave orders to have the barracks prepared for immediate occupation.[98] The order was given to Lieutenant E. H. G. G. Hay, who was in command of the St. Andrews Company.[99] Hay had been watching with a field-glass the proceedings so recently concluded on the opposite side of the river.[100] Historians have not recorded what he said to McDonald but Hay went immediately to the Lieutenant-Governor and informed him that "if it was to accommodate the men [Archibald] had just left he would lay down his arms first". He was supported in this by Captain Newcomb of the Poplar Point Company.[101] Archibald reminded Hay that he was an officer in the Queen's service and sworn to do his duty. Lieut. Hay replied that he was "aware of the fact, but that before he would execute the order just given to accommodate such men as Riel and Lépine, he and every man of his company would lay down their arms". Archibald had no choice but to yield the point, and asked Hay if he would object to Pascal Breland with his mounted scouts. Hay replied that no exception would be taken to "loyal men". The interview then came to an end and the barracks were prepared.[102]

Here we have seen again the "loyalist" mentality in action, trumpet-

ing loyalty to the skies in time of peace and arrogating to itself the power to decide who is loyal in time of emergency. Like Denison in Toronto in July of 1870 Hay and Newcomb disobeyed the civil authorities and bragged about it later.

Archibald was soon to hear much more from the "loyal men".

Appendix "A"

Here is the original French of the passages quoted from J.-B. Proulx's diary:

Depuis le printemps on entendait dire: M. O'Donahue va venir; il vient; il est arrivé! quelquefois, c'est avec des familles: d'autrefois, c'est avec une armée de féniens. Tout le monde tenait la nouvelle d'une personne sûre qui l'avait apprise de quelqu'un qui l'avait vu; mais ce quelqu'un, vous ne pouvez jamais le voir vous-même. A la fin on ne croyait plus à rien...

M. O'Donahue est arrivé à Pembina! Pascal Breland, Falcon et d'autres membres du Gouvernement Provisoire sont partis dans la nuit pour aller le rejoindre. Ainsi vient m'annoncer la nouvelle la femme Lalique. Qu'ils soient partis, c'est possible; que ce soit pour se ranger avec O'Donahue, je ne le crois pas...

Le garçon d'Abraham arrive de la Fourche; on y attend les Féniens; les soldats creusent des trous autour du fort. Je crus à quelque chose...

(J.-B. Proulx, "L'Invasion Féniemne au Manitoba" in RHAF, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Sept. 1963, pp. 260-1.)

Appendix "B"

Chart showing attendance at meetings called by Riel to enlist support for Lieutenant-Governor Archibald immediately before O'Donoghue's Raid. Names are given in the order of their appearance in Riel's notes. Numbers below 104 are from Appendix "K", "Representatives of 1869-1872" to the chapter "The First Provincial Legislature". The letters PG identify men known to have taken part in the Provisional Government.

		Sept. 28	Sept. 4	Oct. 5	Oct. 6	Oct. 7
44.	Ambroise Lépine(St. Boniface)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Pierre Léveillé (1)(St. F.-X)	✓	✓	✓	✓	
PG	Elzéar de la Gimodière(St. Bon.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PG	J.-B. Ritchot	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
23.	Pierre Parenteau (St. Norbert)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Joseph St. Germain (St. Norbert)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PG	André Neault (St. Vital)	✓			✓	✓
27.	Baptiste Touron (St. Norbert)	✓		✓	✓	✓
PG	Baptiste Lépine	✓			✓	
39.	Baptiste Beauchemin(St. Charles)	✓		✓	✓	✓
	Maxime Lépine(St. Boniface)	✓	✓	✓		
26.	Louis Riel (St. Vital)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PG	Joseph Delorme			✓		
94.	Angus McKay,MPP(Lake Manitoba)(1)			✓	✓	
18.	Hon. François Dauphinais(St. F.-X)			✓	✓	
21.	Charles Nolin(Pointe des Chênes)					✓
3.	Pascal Breland(St. F.-X)					✓
42.	D. Harrison(Pointe des Chênes)					✓
	Louis Morin(St. Agathe)					✓
40.	Pierre Delorme(Pointe Coupée)					✓
	Louis Sansregret(St. Vital)					✓

(1) Both Pierre Léveillé and Angus McKay had opposed Riel in January of 1870.

Footnotes

1. There is considerable primary material concerning the so-called "Fenian Raid", more properly called "O'Donoghue's Raid". Many of Archibald's letters survive in the Macdonald Papers and in the published Sessional Papers. In addition, Archibald, Girard, Ritchot and Taché all made depositions before the Select Committee of 1874. American Consul James W. Taylor's papers contain a number of letters bearing on the Raid, including some that indicate that Taylor had his consular knuckles rapped for appealing directly to General Sherman for troops, rather than going through the proper channels. Taylor's papers also contain clippings from The Manitoba Liberal, copies of which exist nowhere else. Gilbert McMicken's letters to Macdonald have survived, and in later years McMicken prepared a booklet incorporating these letters but including as well details remembered but not sent to Macdonald. Irvine's report is to be found in the Sessional Papers. Of unique value are the minutes of meetings held by the Métis National Committee and by certain Métis parishes. These were prepared for publication in Canadian Historical Review by A. H. de Trémaudan. They provide us with important insights on the Raid and on the reactions of the Métis people to its threat. J. B. Proulx's diary is also useful for the insights it supplies concerning the days in question.

   Secondary materials are also available. An unpublished manuscript written by George Young 43 years after the event captures much of the atmosphere at the Fort and of Irvine's force as it marches south. Rev. George Young's Manitoba Memories has a frankly partisan account, written from the "loyalist" point of view and including long quotations from The Manitoba Liberal. Comparison with the clippings to be found in the Taylor correspondence reveals that Young was not above making alterations and omissions in the text without warning his readers. Gunn and Tuttle's history points out the connection between the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois and Métis dissatisfaction. Hill's treatment of the Raid is useful chiefly because it includes the incident involving E. H. G. G. Hay. Certain histories, written in more recent times, are so brief in their treatment of the Raid as to deprive it of significance. That of G. F. G. Stanley is probably the fairest, but he, unfortunately, saw no link between the Raid and the issue of responsible government. Others, like W. L. Morton's, suggest that the Métis mobilization was carefully calculated to hasten the issuing of an amnesty. It is not unfair to say that the importance of the Raid has not been adequately assessed by historians.

2. See the chapter entitled "The Red River Expeditionary Force".

3. Ibid.

4. See the chapter entitled "The Death of Elzéar Goulet".

5. J. B. Pritchett, "The So-called Fenian Raid on Manitoba in 1871" in CHR, Vol. 10, 1929, p. 25.

6. Pritchett, op. cit., p. 27. See also Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Papers No. 2, "The Fenian Raid of October 1871 into Manitoba", p. 2.

7. Pritchett, op. cit., p. 33.

8. Pritchett, p. 34.

9. Pritchett, p. 37.

10. Pritchett, p. 38.

11. News-Letter, April 1, 1871.

12. NLC, Liberal, November 3, 1871.

13. George Young, op. cit., p. 21.

14. Archibald to Macdonald, October 9, 1871. See "Report--1874", p. 156.

15. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 140.

16. That is, in Archibald's letter of June 9, 1871. See Appendix "A" to the chapter "The Confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois".

17. In Cartier's letter of May 23, 1870. See Appendix "A" of the chapter "The Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

18. PAC MG 26A Vol. 187-8, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Oct. 7, 1871.

19. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24, Roll 1, clippings from The Manitoba Liberal, October 11, 1871.

20. PAC, Macdonald Papers, MG26A1(a) Vol. 61A, McMicken to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1871.

21. Ibid., Archibald to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1871.

22. Gilbert McMicken's letters to Macdonald have survived. Also, in 1888, he prepared a booklet, "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba", incorporating his letters and his memories of the incident.

23. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24, Roll 1, has correspondence relative to this. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 12, is on the subject. See also Rev. George Young, Memories, p. 216.

24. HSSM, No. 32. 1887-8, Gilbert McMicken, "The Abortive Fenian Raid on

Manitoba", pp. 1 ff.

25. PAC MG26A Vol. 61, McMicken to Macdonald, Sept. 27, 1871.

26. Ibid; "The Abortive Fenian Raid", pp. 1-2. Boyd had accompanied his wife, then on her way to England, as far as St. Paul, Minnesota. See Manitoban, Sept. 16, 1871.

27. "The Abortive Fenian Raid", p. 2; McMicken to Macdonald, Sept. 29, 1871.

28. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 48.

29. A. H. de Trémaudan, "Louis Riel and the Fenian Raid of 1871", in CHR, Vol. IV, 1923, pp. 133-6. See Appendix "B".

30. See, supra, chapter "The Confrontation At Rivière Aux Ilets de Bois".

31. A. H. de Trémaudan, op. cit., pp. 133-6.

32. McMicken to Macdonald, Sept. 29, 1871; "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba", pp. 2-3.

33. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 53.

34. "The Abortive Raid on Manitoba", p. 3.

35. McMicken to Macdonald, October 5, 1871; In 1888 McMicken gave the figure as five hundred dollars. See page 4 of "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba".

36. McMicken to Macdonald, October 5, 1871; "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba", p. 7.

37. McMicken to Macdonald, October 13, 1871.

38. McMicken to Macdonald, October 5, 1871.

39. "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba", p. 7.

40. "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba, pp. 7-8; McMicken to Macdonald, October 5, 1871.

41. Ibid.

42. McMicken to Macdonald, Oct. 5, 1871.

43. Ibid.

44. "Report--1874", Ritchot's deposition, pp. 89-90; Archibald's deposition, pp. 142, 150, 151.

45. A. H. de Trémaudan, op. cit., p. 136.

46. Ibid. The reference to Bruce would seem to be the first indication of a serious difference of opinion between Métis on the subject of the Raid.

47. "Report--1874", Richot's deposition, p. 90.

48. The Manitoban gives the announcements of the postponements. See also issues for July 1, August 5, August 19, August 26.

49. Archibald to Macdonald, July 2, 1871.

50. "Report--1874", Ritchot's deposition, p. 91.

51. Ibid.

52. Watt's letter to D. A. Smith, written on October 5, is in "Report--1874", p. 144. His sworn statement is in Rev. George Young, Memories, pp. 214-6.

53. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24 Roll 1, Taylor to Davis, Nov. 21, 1871.

54. Archibald stated that Riel had attended a meeting at White Horse Plains "about a week before the invasion". "Nothing was decided" but "two or three days afterwards a meeting was held at the same place". See "Report--1874", p. 146.

55. Archibald received a report of this meeting. See "Report--1874", p. 148.

56. Trémaudan, op. cit., p. 137.

57. George Young, op. cit., p. 4.

58. USNARS, Taylor Papers, clipping from The Manitoba Liberal, Oct. 18, 1871. See Hill, History, p. 588.

59. Manitoban, Oct. 21, 1871.

60. Fort Garry is as far north as the north line of township 10, Dominion Land Survey. See National Topographic System map "Winnipeg--62H". American Consul J. W. Taylor gave the distance as 68 miles: Taylor to Davis, Nov. 21, 1871.

61. McMicken, "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba", p. 7.

62. NLC, Liberal, Sept. 27, 1871; The Manitoban, Oct. 7, 1871.

63. Trémaudan, op. cit., p. 138, footnote 16.

64. Trémaudan, op. cit., pp. 138-9.

65. "L'Invasion Fénienne au Manitoba", diary of J. B. Proulx, in RHAF, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Sept. 1963, p. 261. Note that neither Falcon nor Pascal Breland were part of the Provisional Government. See Appendix "A".

66. George Young, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

67. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 8), Report of Major Irvine, p. 77.

68. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, Irvine to Archibald, Oct. 5, 1871. It is on page 143.

69. Ibid.

70. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 8), Report of Major Irvine, p. 77.

71. Ibid.

72. George Young, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

73. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 8), Report of Major Irvine, p. 77.

74. Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 20, 1871.

75. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 141.

76. USNARS, Taylor Papers, clipping from The Manitoba Liberal, Oct. 18, 1871.

77. McMicken, "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba", p. 9.

78. The pay lists are in PAC RG9 IIF7, Vol. 3, "Fenian Raid Companies".

79. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, July 2, 1871.

80. George Young, op. cit., pp. 4-7. See also p. 9.

81. All were in Mulvey's company. See the pay list of note 78. The Liberal for October 18 mentioned Farquharson's enlisting, and Archibald mentioned all three in connection with the December 13, 1871, raid on Riel's home. See Archibald to Macdonald, December 13, 1871, and December 16, 1871.

82. Trémaudan, op. cit., pp. 140-1.

83. Ibid.

84. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 147. Another translation of it can be found in A. H. de Trémaudan, op. cit., p. 142.

85. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 26), Archibald to Howe, Oct. 9, 1871, p. 7.

86. PAC, MG26 Al(a) Vol. 61A, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1871; see also "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 141.

87. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, Irvine to Archibald, Oct. 8, 1871, p. 144.

88. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, Archibald to Irvine, Oct. 8, 1871, p. 145.

89. "Report--1874", Ritchot's deposition, Archibald to L. Riel, A. Lépine, Pierre Parenteau, Oct. 8, 1871, pp. 91-2.

90. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, "Memorandum connected with the Fenian invasion", p. 141; C. S. P. 1872 (No. 26), p. 7, Archibald to Howe, Oct. 9, 1871.

91. Estimates vary from the "100" of the hostile Manitoba Liberal (Oct. 11), McMicken's "some 200", Archibald's "200 and upwards", C. S. P. 1872 (No. 26), letter of Oct. 9, to Girard's figure of "400 to 500". Mulvey, of the Liberal, was not at the Fort on Oct. 8. McMicken was busy in Winnipeg at the time (McMicken to Macdonald, Dec. 22, 1871). It was very difficult for Archibald to make an estimate since he was preoccupied with managing his horse and considering what he was about to do. Girard probably had the best opportunity to know how many were present.

92. "Report--1874", Girard's deposition, p. 180.

93. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 141: "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."

94. "Report--1874", Girard's deposition, p. 180.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 142.

98. Robert Hill, History, p. 345.

99. PAC RG9 IIF7, Vol. 3, "Fenian Raid Companies".

100. Hill, op. cit., pp. 346-7.

101. Ibid; PAC RG9 IIF7 Vol. 3, "Fenian Raid Companies".

102. Hill, op. cit., p. 346.

Chapter Thirty-four
The Aftermath

Lieutenant Edward Henry George Gunson Hay[1] had excellent credentials as one of the "loyal men", and no doubt he was completely sincere in his belief that only he and his party were loyal. A Yorkshireman[2] by birth, he belonged to that St. Andrews area group which had planned to extend a warm welcome to lieutenant-governor-designate McDougall in October of 1869.[3] In later years he told a biographer that he had opposed the Métis "movement", "contending that everything desired could be obtained by constitutional means".[4] He was a member of the "General Council for the Force"[5] which had met at Kildonan under John C. Schultz's leadership in February of 1870, and like the others he must bear his share of responsibility for the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien. He was certainly in no position to assume a "holier-than-thou" attitude with anyone in the Red River Settlement. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia,[6] and was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba for St. Andrews South.[7] What he thought gave him a license to refuse to obey orders has not been recorded, unless he really did think, like so many loyalists, that he was above the law. His part in the organization of the St. Andrews Company[8] should have taught him the duties of an officer in the Queen's service. There was nothing in the Queen's regulations that gave a lieutenant in a company a part in the making of government policy, and yet that is precisely what he was presuming to do. On the other hand Archibald, the civil authority in the province, had conferred with McDonald, the senior available military officer, and had agreed upon a course of action. His constitutional position was impeccable.

Where community support for Archibald's action was concerned the case was equally clear. Unless the memory of E. H. G. G. Hay, M. P. P., was very impaired indeed,[9] he must have remembered that the Legislative Assembly of his province had debated and defeated his own motion calling for an investigation into the events of 1869-1870 by a vote of fourteen to five.[10] Clearly a majority in the Assembly was not prepared to pass any judgment whatever, certainly none of censure, on the part played in them by Riel, Lépine and Parenteau. It is possible that Hay did not personally like the three Métis leaders. If so, was he justified in allowing his personal likes and dislikes to come between him and his performance of his duties as an officer? Did his conduct mean that he also did not like the several hundred other men who had volunteered their services and were now awaiting further orders? If so, did he not like them because they were provisionals or because they were Half-breeds?[11]

We are entitled to ask these questions because insubordination--a serious offense on the part of an officer at any time--is of unusual interest here. It may be that we should ask instead if Hay would have preferred to see Archibald alienate the men on the other side of the river. Was he hoping that the Red River civil war--incipient for so many months and held in check only by Half-breed self-control--would erupt into the real thing? Did he secretly wish to continue on a Red River battlefield the fight he had lost on the floor of the Assembly? These are difficult questions to answer. It may be, however, that we can receive some hints as we examine the behavior of other men soon to be in much the same position as Hay.

When last noticed, the men under Irvine's command were in camp at

St. Norbert. Early in the morning of Sunday, October 8th, Irvine sent an urgent message to Archibald asking for reinforcements, since news had come in of an impending raid.[12] George Young, in Captain Kennedy's Artillery,[13] has told how he was "relieving sentries" when three scouts rode into camp, reporting that "the French had risen and that the Fenians had left North Pembina and were not far off".[14] The force was quickly awakened and marched on south, having been reinforced by a company under Captain de Plainval with two officers and thirty men, twelve of them mounted.[15] Irvine took his force as far south as Leroque's, twenty-two miles from Fort Garry. There, about noon,[16] he received the message that the American troops "had turned the Fenians out of the province". The likelihood was that any further raid attempted would be from the vicinity of St. Joe. Irvine paused briefly at Leroque's with his force, leaving at 2 p.m. the next day, the 9th, to return to Fort Garry.[17] Cold weather had improved marching conditions,[18] and the force was able to make the return journey in just a little less than a day's march, arriving at the Fort at 1:30 p.m. on the 10th.[19] George Young told how as they neared the junction of the rivers the rumor reached them that Riel and his men had got between them and the Fort, and they would now have to fight to get there.[20] Charles Napier Bell gave more details many years later in a letter to a Winnipeg newspaper:

> The writer . . . well remembers the excitement in the military camp when a courier rode in and stated that French half-breeds in considerable numbers had ridden north on the east side of the river and were apparently making preparations to cross the Red River into the village of Winnipeg. The English-speaking soldiers clamored to be led back to Winnipeg as they were much more suspicious and afraid of the French half-breeds than of the contemptible little Fenian force. Certainly the soldiers

> entertained no great opinion of the "loyalty and usefulness" referred to by G. A. Lepine in his present letter.[21]

Another report came that "the Governor had accepted [Riel's] offer, made at this absurd date, and had actually shaken hands with Louis Riel, the murderer and twice rebel". Then, Young observed,

> Canada, at that moment, was very near being disgraced by a mutiny of her Citizen Soldiery on Active Service, and of witnessing the queer spectacle of one part of the Governor's force making private war on another part, but wisdom prevailed, both in the Fort and among Riel's controlling friends, for he and his men were removed out of sight and view, before the returning Troops came to the Forks of the Rivers.[22]

Major Irvine stated in his report that he could not "speak too highly of the behavior of the men throughout".[23] However, it seems clear that they were often nearly out of control and sometimes perilously close to mutiny. Archibald was evidently not being careless with his language when he described them as an "armed mob".[24]

Have we met them before, these "loyal men", so quick to clamor, so prone to mutiny because a Lieutenant-Governor had shaken hands with Half-breeds? We have indeed met many of them. One of them, J. H. Stokes, had been with the crew that, under Scott's leadership, had struck against Snow in the fall of 1869. Eight of them were taken prisoner in the Schultz houses incident. Forty-four of them had come to Manitoba as Volunteers with the Ontario and Quebec Rifles. One had been among the voyageurs accompanying that force. Two of them were named in the inquiry as pursuers of Elzéar Goulet. P. G. Laurie, Schultz's <u>News-Letter</u> editor was one of them. Another, Edward Armstrong, was described by the <u>Liberal</u> as "aged", and it may well be that he and James Farquharson, along with

George Young and his father the Rev. George Young, were the only ones in the two companies to have been in Manitoba longer than two years. The rest were men whose names can be found in the pay lists but are otherwise unknown to us.[25] These last may well have given the force what little stability it had.

The feelings remembered and expressed by Bell and Young so many years later received prompt exposure at the time in the columns of the Liberal. Mulvey and Laurie had both been with the force under Irvine's command but, unlike Le Métis, which had to miss an issue because printers were out riding patrol,[26] the Liberal must have had help who stayed behind and set up a number of columns for publication on the 11th. When it appeared that day the Liberal had no fewer than six articles on the so-called Fenian Raid.[27] One of them was to be the most influential ever written by Stewart Mulvey, setting the tone, both for the criticism of Archibald and for a dominant historical theme with regard to the raid. Entitled "The Last Straw", the article consisted of only six sentences:

> Sunday evening the 8th of October will be a memorable day in the history of Manitoba. And that day the Governor commited the greatest blunder he ever did since he came here, and heaven knows he has many to account for when the day of reckoning comes. But this last and greatest insult to THE LOYAL PEOPLE [emphasis mine], who are now the only support of his tottering government, is too much to bear. That he should go out publicly in the face of day and hold a meeting with Riel, Lépine and about a hundred of their followers and treat with them as if they were the most devoted of Her Majesty's subjects, seems to be so incredible that we could not have believed it possible had we not seen it with our own eyes.
>
> That the whole proceeding is a trick on the part of the Riel faction to get pardoned is plain as noon day, but that any man of common sense could be

> induced by even the smiling Girard and polite Royal to outrage the whole community in such a manner as the Governor did Sunday afternoon is only another instance of the utter incapacity of the man who has been trying to govern Manitoba for the last year, and it shews plainly that no confidence can be placed in the present government. But more of this again.[28]

Mulvey returned to the charge in the Liberal for October 18th in an article entitled "The Governor and Riel". Mulvey had had time to reflect:

> We briefly referred in our last to the fact that on Sunday afternoon, the 8th inst., the Lieutenant-Governor was sent for by Louis Riel, who with about 100 of the gang who aided him in his villainies of '69 and '70 took up a position on the east side of the Red River, opposite Fort Garry. The summons was duly and expeditiously answered by His Honor's appearance among them, and in the blaze of day, and within a gunshot of the spot where Thomas Scott was murdered, the Queen's representative shook hands with the murderer. It will be seen from other columns that Riel, on hearing O'Donoghue's failure at Pembina, decided instead of going to join that worthy as was his original intention, on offering his services to Archibald. The acceptance of his services was in entire accordance with the Lieutenant-Governor's policy, but no one supposed that he would have the hardihood to carry it to such an extreme. Such, however, to his lasting disgrace as a Briton, was the case. This man and his followers were the same who fled at the approach of the troops last year, and whom the gallant Wolseley characterized as banditti. We cannot find language to express the deep humiliation created in the minds of the people who witnessed or heard of this climax of insult to LOYAL MEN [emphasis mine] in the Province. We trust that the attention of the Governor General will be drawn to this, the last and greatest atrocity committed by his Lieutenant in this part of the Dominion. The feeling of disgust and contempt which his conduct has created will render it utterly impossible for Mr. Archibald to conduct the government of the country either with pleasure to himself or with the faintest chance of satisfaction to the people: and we trust the Governor General will have sufficient influence with Cartier to get him to replace our Lieutenant-Governor with some one who, if of equal incapacity with him,

> will at least refrain from offering such gross insults to our people.[29]

With the tunnel vision of the true fanatic Mulvey had predicted what was to be cabinet policy on the so-called Fenian Raid.

Here a fact must be reiterated before we proceed with our study. The wonder is not that the Half-breeds made a show of force at St. Boniface on Sunday, October 8th, when the danger was known to be over by those at Pembina. The wonder is rather that the Half-breeds assembled at all, anywhere, to give their support to Archibald and the Canadian connection. They had very good reason to do otherwise. If we accept that people have a right to change governments on the basis of performance we must acknowledge that O'Donoghue was justified in expecting that the Half-breeds would join him if he appeared at the border with a force. That their response to Riel and the Association and to Archibald's proclamation was not prompt enough to be, in Archibald's words, "graceful",[30] is simply a testimony to the political sagacity of men who had been beaten, belted, clubbed and dragged in the vicinity of Winnipeg-Fort Garry. The men were wiser politically than their leaders. If either Archibald or Riel had, in October or 1871, the wisdom to see where the political underpinnings of the Macdonald administration were, neither would take the step that logic dictated. Unfortunately for the Half-breeds, both Archibald and Riel were so dedicated to a broad Canadianism that they could not see that other men in high places must place their priorities elsewhere. This shortcoming would lead the one to resignation in disrepute, the other to paid exile and the mental asylum.

One of those who could see what Archibald and Riel could not was Stewart Mulvey, editor of the Liberal. We must now become acquainted with

this gentleman. He had been in Manitoba just thirteen months, having come to Manitoba with the Ontario Rifles.[31] Born in County Sligo, Ireland, in 1834, Mulvey had spent fourteen years teaching in Ontario. Worshipful Master of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1307, he had in July led "75 or 80" members to Armstrong's Grove, Point Douglas, in Manitoba's first Orange "walk".[32] In the temporary absence of John Christian Schultz he was, in October of 1871, at the very centre of what Gilbert McMicken called the "arrogance, impudence and violence of the Orange party and other extremists"[33] in opposition to Archibald and his policies. His reward would come in due course.[34] There can be no doubt of his political perspicacity at this time in Manitoba's stormy early months.

Several observations are in order concerning Mulvey's strategic use of these two editorials. In the first he wrote of seeing Archibald shake hands with Riel "with our own eyes". Mulvey, or course, did not and could not see the handshaking, being with his company on the way to "Leroque's", near St. Agathe, at the time it occurred. He may have spoken of it with Lieutenant Hay or with a typesetter--we cannot be certain. We do know that after the first article appeared in print Mulvey wrote to Archibald asking about the incident--whether he had indeed crossed the river, addressed the Half-breeds, accepted their services, shaken hands with Riel. We know too that Archibald composed a long reply, but that McMicken dissuaded him from sending it, urging that he instead prepare a proclamation for the general public.[35] Archibald did this, and the only trace of his original intention may be seen in this sentence:

> 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.[36]

In the second article Mulvey did not claim to have seen the incident. The first article referred to the "loyal people" as being the "only support of [Archibald's] tottering government". This claim is not repeated in the second, a bit of sober reflection having no doubt shown that it was stretching credibility a bit. Both accounts develop the theme that Riel's volunteering the services of his people was a trick to gain a pardon for himself, and that Archibald was naive enough--or treasonable enough--to cooperate in the effort. The second article is careful to repeat the list of Riel's alleged sins: the murder of Scott; the flight at the approach of Wolseley's troops; the delay until O'Donoghue's failure was certain before offering Métis help to Archibald. It was important for Mulvey and his party--in the absence of John Christian Schultz[37]--to allow no suggestion that either Riel's or Archibald's actions were made in the country's interest to reach the Globe before their own version did. They were assisted in this by the fact of human nature that a rising prevented, like the violence that did not take place at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois, does not necessarily reflect credit on those who do not rise. Ironically, Mulvey's success in this was assured when the French-language Le Métis had to miss an issue due to the mobilization of Half-breed companies to repel the raid.[38] The second article, too, carries the suggestion that Archibald had to be recalled, and there is the hint--this article is for Toronto consumption--that Cartier is the one with whom the Governor General must have influence if Archibald is to be recalled.

The situation in Manitoba in early October of 1871 was not unlike

that in the Red River Settlement in March of 1870. Archibald, like Riel, had managed to consolidate the support of a majority in the province, and he should have been able to press forward with his plans, perhaps even call the oft-postponed session of the legislature. Once again, however, events in Ontario were to impinge upon the working of government in the new province. Mulvey's editorial, "The Last Straw", was published in the Globe on October 25th, and soon every Orange Lodge in Ontario--long busy ringing "the changes" on the "murder of Scott"[39]--was demanding that Archibald be censured or recalled. In early November, not long after the publication of Mulvey's editorial, Joseph Howe, the secretary of state for the provinces, wrote Archibald a long letter giving him basic information on the amnesty, on the political facts of life in Ontario, and upon the way the cabinet viewed the handshaking incident. "Now no such amnesty was ever promised," Howe asserted. "It was never asked in any formal shape, and if it had been it most certainly would have been refused by this government. There is no doubt that M. Richot [sic] and Bishop Taché were very anxious to obtain it, and that a large number, perhaps a majority of the Lower Canada [sic] members might have favored such a policy, but at no time, particularly after the murder of Scott, could this Government have entered upon such a step without throwing into opposition EVERY SUPPORTER THEY HAVE [emphasis mine] from Ontario. This would have been the result had the Cabinet united on the policy. But they would not have been united. Nearly if not all the English section would have retired had any attempt been made to force that policy upon them."[40] Howe then went on to explain this phenomenon:

> That there is in Ontario a very large body of Orangemen who felt this act [the "murder" of Scott] as a

> personal wrong and insult was no slight element of disturbance in a calm consideration of the matter. Upon the support of this body, powerful from organization and fervid religious feeling [,] Sir John Macdonald and his friends mainly rest for support. There was not a Lodge in Ontario in which the changes were not rung upon the murder of Scott, and a desire for revenge, if justice could not be got, has been the prevalent feeling and uppermost thought of the entire organization for the last two year.

Howe then turned to the cabinet view of what Howe called "the Fenian invasion":

> O'Donogue [sic], Riel's co-conspirator and friend, invades the Province at the head of a band of ruffians, meanwhile Riel gets the Half-breeds together, puts himself at their head, and forms an army of observation. All the English and Loyal people turn out, support the Government and march to repel the invaders. Riel, for five days, maintains his position of neutrality, ready to fall upon the rear of the Canadians if O'Donogue [sic] drives them in, or to plunder Winnipeg should they be badly beaten. This is his attitude, visible to all men, and he never changes it, until as McMicken[41] tells us he was "Euchred"--[42] until his scouts brought him word that O'D [onoghue] had failed, that his force had been routed and his person seized by United States troops.

"All this would have been funny enough," Howe went on, "and we should have had a hearty laugh throughout the Dominion had the 'Army of observation' been left 'alone in their glory'. Had they come to you a coldly civil answer would have been all they deserved.

> But that you should go to them, overlook their strange conduct, and shake hands with Riel at their head, has excited a feeling of astonishment and regret everywhere, except perhaps in the Province of Quebec. The newspapers of course have been busy with this strange event. I am not bound to notice what appears in them, and or course do not, but, on the floor of Parliament, it will be different. We must meet

> the question there, and I should not be much surprized [sic] if an angry debate is followed by a very large desertion of our Ontario supporters. At the Elections, which must come off in June next, this handshaking will cost more seats in that region or I am much mistaken.

"I write thus frankly," Howe explained, "and if there are any new facts or explanations, that they may be furnished without delay. Write as I have done, unofficially, that you may have the greater freedom."[43]

When he had read Howe's letter two things must have seemed obvious to Archibald. One was that his resignation would soon be expected, if not actually requested. The other was that there was little point in sending more "facts or explanations". He had written long letters both to Macdonald and to Howe, giving details of the raid itself and of the state of affairs upon which it was predicated. The cabinet would have these explanations now. He had a great deal to do besides write further details to men who gave his opinions--based on thirteen months of observation--no more weight than those of McMicken, who had been in Manitoba only a few days when he expressed them, and whose inability to speak French precluded his making any balanced judgment of what was going on in the province.[44]

Archibald's experiences in the province had taught him that the real issue at stake in Manitoba was whether or not the people of the province were capable of managing their own affairs. Put in different terms the issue was responsible government. The Manitoba Act appeared to grant Manitoba's people responsible government. Howe had just made the claim in his letter:

> . . .and yet it must be remembered that we have nobly condoned and pardoned, nay have we not rewarded, all

> the political offenses in the North-West. We have given the Community a free Constitution, and to the Half Breeds a million and a half [sic] of land, and all this in less than a year after the outbreak.

However, the government's policies were removing all meaning from the grant. The most obvious omission, of course, was the failure to declare a general amnesty for all the people in the North-West. This prevented the people from electing to the legislature those who had their confidence and deprived them of the leadership of Riel and Lépine. And while broad national policy might be used to justify using Manitoba's lands "for purposes of the Dominion", there was no excuse for the neglect to carry out the grant of 1,400,000 acres in any fashion whatever, let alone--again to quote Cartier--"as to meet the wishes of the Halfbreed residents."

The unpleasant scene with E. H. G. G. Hay--like the one described by the Globe in July--had revealed to Archibald in stark silhouette the arrangement of political forces in Manitoba.[45] Archibald had had to do what Manitoba's tiny opposition wanted, while the men who had the confidence of the majority dared not appear in public. This was true, not because of factors in Manitoba--the debate in the legislature had shown that--but because of what people in another province thought.

Immediately after the O'Donoghue raid crisis was over Archibald had written a long letter about the raid to Macdonald which, if he had Macdonald's confidence, should have been all the explanation that was necessary. We have seen some of it before in another context, but it is also of interest to us here since it shows us the trend of Archibald's thought.

> Please show this letter to Mr. Aiken [sic]. He will find I did not overestimate the danger when I gave my reply to the Half-breed representatives.

> Had my reply been other than it was you would at this moment have had a civil war on your hands, in addition to a Fënian Raid.
>
> Whether the difference between a lot here and a lot there, in allocating the Half Breed [sic] claims, whether the privilege of driving a few Métis of [f] the Banks of Rivière Aux Isles [sic] de Bois in order to people it with Orangemen, and Baptize it "the Boyne", is worth the cost--judge for yourself.
>
> Had I any doubts about the rights of the thing, you gave me hardly any alternative. You asked me to govern a country, containing 12,000 people, on the principles of Responsible Government. I am expected to proclaim a doctrine hateful to 10 out of 12, and from the other two I am to get a majority to sustain me. Pharoah's Brick without straw is nothing to this.
>
> All this you ask me to do with an army of Eighty militia men, cooped up in a Fort requiring 150 to keep it decently safe.[46]

Whatever Archibald thought or knew in October about the alignment of political forces in Ontario, there could be no more secret about it after he had read Howe's letter of November 4th. Archibald--in his reference to "Orangemen" and "the Boyne"--had committed a very serious faux pas. He was not penitent about his views on responsible government, however, and he expressed them again in a letter to Howe about the January session of the Manitoba legislature:

> 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. [emphasis mine].
>
> The paragraph touching the Fenian raid was framed on purpose to challenge criticism and elicit an unmistakeable reply. You will see that the answer of each House, unanimously adopted, endorses my policy in empathetic terms. In neither House 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 [emphasis mine]--matters in fact, with which the Local Legislatures [sic] 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 voyageurs and soldiers have ended in giving IN THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE CAN CONSTITUTIONALLY BE HEARD [emphasis mine]--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 [emphasis mine]. 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 [emphasis mine] 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 [emphasis mine]. 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 [emphasis mine]. 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 CANNOT GO BACK TO INFLICT PUNISHMENT

> FOR OFFENCES IN WHICH HALF THE POPULATION WERE IMPLICATED, COMMITTED BEFORE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT WAS CONCEDED [emphasis mine].

When he wrote these words Archibald's resignation had already been sent in:

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

That Archibald was completely convinced of the rightness of his stand was indicated by his closing sentences:

> 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 government by inflicting death penalties on the leaders of a majority of the electors.[47]

It is fortunate for our study that we can receive insight into Archibald's thinking on this issue from still another source. In early April of 1872 the Governor General, Sir John Young (now Lord Lisgar), wrote to Archibald, expressing surprise at his resignation, and asking about the reasons for it. Archibald began his answer by saying that he had more than one reason. "First of all," he wrote, "I never wished to come here. I accepted the office only at the earnest instance of the Gov [ernmen] t and came then on the understanding that I was not to remain here over a year, and my acceptance of the office was not to stand in the way of a judicial appointment if any turned up that would suit me.

My tastes led me to the Bench, the natural goal of a lawyer's ambition." "Secondly," Archibald went on, "the part I had to play here was rather difficult. Half our people had been in rebellion. In the eye of the law they were guilty of high treason, yet Parliament chose not only to give these people the elective franchise, but to confer Responsible Gov[ernmen]t on the country--

> The public opinion of other Provinces called on me to treat these people as rebels. In the public opinion of this province they were patriots. I had to conduct my administration by men who possessed the confidence of the Assembly,--I could hardly hope to engage as Ministers any man who should have to proclaim it as his duty to hang the men whose votes had raised him to office. It was necessary, therefore, to choose between two alternatives. Either to let byegones be byegones, or to administer responsible Gov[ernmen]t in a new form, that of opposing, instead of carrying out the well understood wishes of the people.

Archibald described how he had "adopted the plan of a coalition" and had been "enabled to give a fair consideration to the claims of each portion" of the Manitoba population. In 1871 he had been sustained by a "steady vote" of "18 to 6", and in the early months of 1872 of "19 to 5". "The old residents of the country have no desire to open up past troubles--the difficulty in governing the Province is not here. If left alone, we could easily maintain peace and carry out our institutions." "But that does not seem to be the aim of Ontario," Archibald went on,

> In that province the preservation of public peace within our borders seems to be nothing--the punishment of past offences everything. If I had taken the Ontario line when I came here we should have been ever since in a state of perpetual anarchy. No ministry could have stood an hour in the face of an adverse Assembly. The time of the Legislature would have been spent in passing all kind[s] of inflammatory Resolutions. The passions of the

> people on both sides would have been kept at fever heat--and last of all when the Fenian invasion took place we should have been in a frightful position.

Archibald then outlined the strategic position of the English-speaking portion of the province: "We had then just 80 soldiers to garrison our Forts, and to protect half a continent. North and west we were hemmed in by impassable barriers. A thousand miles of lakes and rivers just on the point of freezing were between us and the Province from which assistance could come.

> If we had driven all the French half breeds [sic] into the enemy's army, the enemy's frontier would have been advanced to the Assiniboine, and all communication with the rest of the world would have [been] closed to us while open to them. The troops who came from Collingwood[48] had as it was enough to contend with to get here without being frozen to death--suppose they had an active enemy, in addition to the frost and snow, I don't pretend to say what would have been the result. --But of this I am sure, that if they had been lucky enough to reach Fort Garry, it would have been after exploits and prodigies, beside which the endeavors of Col. Wolseley's soldiers would have been mere child's play. How near we came to this, I shall not now say, but we had a narrow escape. If at this time our Internat[iona]l relations with the U.S. are not complicated by a civil war in Manitoba, and the enemy sustained by Yankee Filibusters, I think I may say that it is in some measure due to the efforts I made to secure the adhesion of the French half-breeds [sic] to the Crown when their allegiance was trembling in the balance. Yet for this I have had to endure the diatribes of the Globe[49] and many other Ontario papers.

> Had the onslaught been confined to the journals of the opposition, I should not have cared much for it. But when some of the papers supporting the Gov[ernmen]t yielded to the storm, when the Legislature of Ontario with scarce a dissenting vote undertook to vote a premium for the rekindling of Civil war in the Province, and friends of the Gov[ernmen]t sustained them, it was obvious to me THAT I COULD NO LONGER BE SERVICEABLE HERE [emphasis mine], and that it was my duty to place my resignation in the hands of the Gov[ernmen]t and insist upon its acceptance . . . .

"Should the Ontario Policy obtain the ascendancy . . . I tremble for the consequences.

> But I do hope that wiser Councils will prevail, and that the men who are using the passions and prejudices of a portion of the people as a stepping stone[50] to power will, after the purposes of the moment have been secured, take a more enlarged view of the interests of the Dominion.[51]

Archibald was to learn in time that his hope was vain, and that the new nation he had helped to found had taken a wrong turn.

Footnotes

1. PAM MG14 B79 File 9, Hay Papers, has the name in full.

2. F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Vol. II, pp. 483-4.

3. Nor'Wester, Oct. 26, 1869. At the meeting he spoke of the "right of universal suffrage" and of McDougall's "foreign councillors".

4. Schofield, op. cit., p. 484.

5. "R. McC" in St. Paul Daily Pioneer, April 2, 1870.

6. PAM, Minutes of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia.

7. R. G. MacBeth, Romance, p. 169.

8. PAC RG9 IIF7, Vol. 3, "Fenian Raid Companies", "Pay list of St. Andrew's Company". The company had just been organized, and was soon to have John C. Schultz as captain (Volunteer Review, Sept. 25, 1871).

9. Hay had injured himself in a fall from the roof of his mill in June of 1871. See the News-Letter, June 17, 1871.

10. See the Manitoban, April 29, 1871, for the debate of April 25, 1871.

11. He did not like certain groups which came to settle in Manitoba. In his will he specified that no one of "German, Austria-Hungarian, Turkish or Bulgarian" origin was to fall heir to any of his assets. See Note 1, will dated March 15, 1918.

12. "Report--1984", Archibald's deposition, Irvine to Archibald, Oct. 8, 1871, p. 144.

13. PAC RG9 IIF7 Vol. 3, "Fenian Raid Companies" Pay list of Captain Kennedy's Company.

14. Saskatchewan Archives, George Young, Historical Paper No. 2, "The Fenian Raid of October 1871 into Manitoba", p. 5.

15. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 8), Report of Major Irvine, p. 77.

16. George Young, op. cit., p. 8.

17. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 8), Report of Major Irvine, p. 77. Leroque is probably correctly spelled Larocque (Liberal, Oct. 11, 1871).

18. George Young, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

19. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 8), Report of Major Irvine, p. 78.

20. George Young, op. cit., p. 9.

21. PAM MG14 C23, Bell Papers, Box 4, File 11, letter of C. N. Bell to the Free Press, circa 1916, in reply to a letter written by G. A. Lépine and published March 7.

22. George Young, op. cit., p. 9.

23. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 8), Report of Major Irvine, p. 78.

24. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 142.

25. PAC RG9 IIF7, Vol. 3, "Fenian Raid Companies" has both Mulvey's and Kennedy's pay lists.

26. Le Métis, Oct. 19, 1871, has the apology and the explanation. The issue for October 12 was missed.

27. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24 Roll 1, clippings from the Liberal, Oct. 11, 1871: "Fenians!", "For The Front", "From Pembina", "Position of the French", "Temporizing", "The Last Straw".

28. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24 Roll 1, clipping from the Liberal, Oct. 11, 1871.

29. USNARS, Taylor Papers, T24 Roll 1, clipping from the Liberal, Oct. 18, 1871. The Rev. George Young used this article on pages 224 and 225 of Manitoba Memories. He omitted the words after "policy" down to "banditti". He then used the sentence beginning "We cannot find language . . ." and ommitted the remaining sentences.

30. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 146; Archibald to Macdonald, Oct. 9, 1871, p. 156.

31. Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, p. 166.

32. Manitoban, July 15, 1871.

33. PAC MG26 Al(a), Vol. 61 A, McMicken to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1871.

34. Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, p. 166. He was appointed Collector of Internal Revenus in 1873.

35. PAC, MG26 Al(a), Vol. 61A, McMicken to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1871.

36. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, Proclamation of Oct. 13, 1871.

37. Schultz was in Ontario at the time of the raid. See the Manitoban, Oct. 28, 1871, quoting from the Montreal Gazette for Oct. 2.

Schultz had arrived in Montreal "Saturday", Sept. 30.

38. Le Métis, October 19, 1871.

39. PAC MG24 B29 Vol. 9, Howe to Archibald, Nov. 4, 1871.

40. When Cartier wrote his letter to Granville advocating an amnesty for those involved in the Red River troubles, Sir Francis Hincks was the only cabinet minister to give him support. PRO C042, Vol. 687, Cartier to Granville, June 30, 1870.

41. A letter that McMicken wrote to a friend just after the raid was inadvertently published in the Globe. See the Globe, Oct. 24 and 26, 1871.

42. According to Hoyle, Rules of Games, "if the making side fails to win three [tricks] it is 'euchred'". Euchre was a popular card game in the 1860's and 1870's. For the quotation see the Globe, Oct. 24, 1871.

43. PAC MG24 B29 Vol. 9, Howe to Archibald, Nov 4, 1871.

44. PAC MG26A Vol. 246, McMicken to Macdonald, Dec. 22, 1871.

45. See the chapter entitled "The Confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois".

46. PAC MG26A1(a) Vol. 61A, Archibald to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1871. For the Biblical reference see Exodus, chapter 5.

47. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, Archibald to Howe, Jan. 20, 1872. For the Biblical reference see Matthew 7:16.

48. Archibald here refers to the second Red River Expedition.

49. The Globe's attacks began with the reproduction of Mulvey's editorial on October 25. Previous to that the Globe had charged that an effort was being made to obtain an amnesty for Riel (Globe, Oct. 20), but had not directed attacks at Archibald.

50. This reference is obviously to Schultz, Mulvey and others at Fort Garry-Winnipeg.

51, PAC MG16 F. O. 5, Vol. 1427, Archibald to Lisgar, April 29, 1872.

Chapter Thirty-five
The Dominion Lands Act

An effort has been made throughout this study to discover what government policy was concerning the allocation of the 1,400,000-acre grant to Half-breeds in particular and public lands in the North-West generally. The confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois showed that there was no room in Manitoba, in the government's view, for the concept of Half-breed "blocks" of land. The government's failure to support Archibald in this particular initiative left no doubt about this. Questions about broader aspects of policy--and of priorities--remained to be answered.

No clearer indication can be given of the priority assigned by the Canadian cabinet in 1872 to the settlement of the 1,400,000-acre grant to the Half-breeds than is given in the Dominion Lands Act, which came into effect in April of 1872.[1] First of all, the claims of the Half-breeds are not mentioned at all until section 105 of the 108-section Act. Then the language of section 105 says it unmistakably:

> The Governor in Council shall at any time hereafter, subject to then existing rights, as defined or created under this act, withdraw from the operation of this act, such lands as have been reserved for Indians or may be required to satisfy the Half-breeds claims created under Section 31 of the Act 33 Victoria Chapter 3 [The Manitoba Act].

The Act was assented to on April 14, 1872, almost two years after the negotiations between the delegates and the two cabinet ministers, Cartier and Macdonald. Then, "subject to then existing rights, as defined or created under this act", the Governor in Council was to withdraw the lands reserved for Indians and the 1,400,000 acres to be granted

to the Half-breeds. Far from being dealt with, as Archibald put it, as if they were "purchasers who had paid their money into the Crown Land Office", the Half-breeds were to be dealt with, subject not only to prior rights "defined" by the Act--this could be an administrative necessity--but also to rights "created" under the Act. As for Cartier's "as to meet the wishes of the Half-breed residents",[2] there is no trace whatever left of it. One cannot but wonder whether Cartier had had any part at all in the drafting of the Act, for any alert functionary could have pointed out to the drafters that there was a section in the Manitoba Act which had to be taken into consideration in it.

It will be useful now to make a short study of the provisions of this Act, especially of those dealing with "rights", "defined" or "created" by it.

Section 42 dealt with the Indian title:

> None of the provisions of this Act respecting the settlement of Agricultural lands, or the lease of Timber lands, or the purchase and sale of Mineral lands, shall be held to apply to territory the Indian title to which shall not at the time have been extinguished.

The Hudson's Bay Company, then active in the North-West for more than two hundred years, was remembered in sections 17 to 21:

> Whereas by article five of the terms and conditions in the surrender from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Crown, the said Company is entitled to one-twentieth of the lands surveyed into townships in a certain portion of the territory surrendered, described and designated as the "Fertile Belt":

"And whereas it is found by computation that the said one-twentieth will be exactly met, by allotting in every fifth township two whole sections of six hundred and forty acres each, and in all other townships one

section and three-quarters of a section each, therefore--

> In every fifth township in the said territory; that is to say; in those townships numbered 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, and so on in regular succession northerly from the international boundary, the whole of sections Nos. 8 and 26, and in each and every of the other townships the whole of section No. 8, and the south half and north-west quarter of section 26 (except in the cases hereinafter provided for) shall be known and designated as the lands of the said Company.

Section 21 provided that

> As townships are surveyed and the . . . surveys . . . confirmed, the Governor of the said Company shall be duly notified thereof by the Surveyor General, and thereupon this Act shall operate to pass the title in fee simple . . . and to vest the same in the said Company, without requiring a patent to issue for such lands . . .

The other sections dealt with other administrative details. The Hudson's Bay Company had been well represented in the negotiations for the surrender, and the spirit of article five was certainly met in the drafting of the Dominion Lands Act.

Several of the Red River bills of rights had stated that "a portion of the public lands" should "be appropriated to the benefit of schools . . . ."[3] Whether there is any connection between this fact and section 22 of the Dominion Lands Act is not known and cannot be assumed. Nevertheless section 22 begins as follows:

> And whereas it is expedient to make provision in aid of education in Manitoba and the North-West Territories, therefore sections eleven and twenty-nine in each and every surveyed township throughout the extent of the Dominion lands, shall be and are hereby set apart as an endowment for purposes of education.

The term "school section" was soon to become part of prairie folk-lore.

The Canadian government formally requested the Governor General to

ask the British government to send an expeditionary force to Red River. As we have seen, this was done on February 11th of 1870,[4] and we have watched the arrival and stationing at the Upper and Lower Forts of the Ontario and Quebec Rifles. Sections 23 to 28 of the Dominion Lands Act remembered the men of these regiments. Section 27 read as follows:

> And whereas by order to the Governor in Council, dated the 25th April, 1871, it is declared that,-- The officers and soldiers of the 1st or Ontario and the 2nd or Quebec Battalion of Rifles, then stationed in Manitoba, whether in the service or or depôt companies, and not having been dismissed therefrom, should be entitled to a free grant of land without actual residence, of one quarter section,--such grant is hereby confirmed, and the Minister of Militia and Defence is hereby authorized and required to issue the necessary warrants therefor accordingly: . . .

The other sections gave administrative details concerning the issuing and transfer of these warrants. Cartier's memory--or his influence, we probably cannot now know which--was better with regard to the claims of the men of the two regiments than it was with regard to the Red River Half-breeds.

The Act made provision for Homestead Rights on Free Grant Lands (Section 33, 18 subsections), Grazing Lands (section 34), Hay Lands (section 35), Mining Lands (sections 36-41), Coal Lands (sections 43-45), Timber and Timber Lands (section 46). It made provision for the creation of new meridians (section 16), which would allow for the extension of the survey as far west or east as necessary. It dealt with the qualifications of surveyors (sections 73-88) and specified how legal subdivisions were to be surveyed and laid out (section 91). It set up the legal apparatus by which any adult British subject could come to the North-West and obtain for 160 acres of land a title so clear and distinct

that it has seen probably less resulting litigation than any other system in the world. It placed an empire of lands larger in extent than the original four provinces under the supervision of a cabinet minister known as the Secretary of State (section 2), thus making of Ottawa an imperial capital in a way equalled in no other part of the British Empire. And in its very last section it specified that the two previous Orders-in-Council, that of April 25, 1871, and that of May 26, 1871, were confirmed.

This confirmation of the two Orders-in-Council looks innocent enough as printed in the Act until the student takes the trouble to remind himself of their content. The order-in-council of April 25, 1871, stated expansively that "every half-breed resident . . . at the time of the transfer, was entitled to participate in the 1,400,000 acres". "The most liberal construction" was to be put on the word "resident". Furthermore, "no conditions of settlement" were to be imposed on the Half-breeds. However, "the Lieutenant-Governor" was to "designate the TOWNSHIPS [emphasis mine] or PARTS OF TOWNSHIPS in which the allotments to the half-breeds [sic]" were to be made.[5] This last requirement, however innocuous it may now appear, was for two reasons absolutely devastating to Half-breeds wishing to participate. Firstly, it meant that land could not be claimed until an area was surveyed into townships. Secondly, Half-breeds could see that their lifestyle must change completely if they were to be scattered around on the prairie--eight families to every seven "quarters" of land--with no regard to natural features, especially the presence of a river, creek, or other body of water. Many simply saw no sense in this method of allotment.

The Order-in-Council of May 26, 1871, was no better.[6] It permitted irregular squatting on land "in good faith" by "settlers", and "protected" them "in the enjoyment" of their claims. One need not be a genius to figure out that the policy as laid out in the Act was basically hostile to the Half-breed population of Manitoba. Viewed in the context of the events of 1871 and early 1872 it is not astonishing that Gilbert McMicken, after a residence in Manitoba of only eleven weeks, wrote to Macdonald in December of 1871 urging action on the land claims: "[D]o let me urge upon you," he wrote,

> the necessity of having some system for the settlement of H[al]f-breed claims (that is of the 1,400,000 acres), the H[udson's] B[ay] (or 20th) and the Volunteers grants definitely arranged-- IT WILL NEVER DO TO PERMIT SETTLERS TO COME IN HERE IN THE SPRING [,] MATTERS BEING IN THE STATE THEY ARE NOW [emphasis mine].[7]

McMicken was the Commissioner of Lands, but his advice might as well have been shouted into the prairie wind. Why was this? The answer may possibly be found in a letter that Joseph Howe, the secretary of state for the provinces, was preparing to send to Archibald the day after Christmas in 1871. Howe was advising Archibald that he did not understand Archibald's explanations about his actions at the time of the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. "The policy of the Government," he wrote,

> was embodied in certain rules and regulations, first confidentially printed and carefully reviewed, and sanctioned by Order in Council [sic]. Mr. Aikin [sic] and Colonel Dennis were then instructed to carry out this policy. No authority could be given to you to change or vary it, unless sent in official form through this Department. No such instructions have been sent, and therefore I assume that the policy, whatever it is, has never been changed.

> We may be mistaken, but I have discussed the Land Policy for the North West [sic] several times with Mr. Aikin [sic], and we both understand in the same way, and what is of more importance to you, is that DENNIS ACTING UNDER HIS ORDERS, IS PRACTICALLY CARRYING IT OUT [Emphasis mine].[8]

In my opininon we may consider the matter at four separate levels, and arrive at a negative answer at each level. At what may be called the "imperial" level, a group of men--of whom only Howe and Tupper had been in Red River--had made policy. The only advice from someone who had seen Red River was that of Archibald, and he had not put forward the "block" proposal in his letter of December 27, 1870.[9] These men had made a policy "for the purposes of the Dominion",[10] and could hardly be expected to change it. At the level of "cabinet solidarity" the answer is the same. Policy had been made, printed and reviewed before being sanctioned by Order-in-Council. It could not be changed, but must be adhered to. At the level of departmental administration, it was unthinkable that Mr. Aikins should sanction a change of policy, however desirable. Aikins was responsible to the cabinet, which in turn was responsible to Parliament. Policy, once chosen, must be faithfully brought into effect. Lastly, at the personal level, Archibald was the only advocate the Half-breeds had. To avoid violence he had had to stall for time by assuring the Half-breeds that for a small number of townships near the two rivers they could have policy changed if they posted the lands they wanted and described them according to the ancient principle of "metes and bounds". The Half-breeds had used self-control and avoided violence, only to find Archibald--and their claims--repudiated by the cabinet. Dennis, the good and loyal functionary, had, under McDougall's instructions, done his best to wage war against the

Provisional Government in 1869, and could hardly be expected to risk his position by condoning any change in policy at the local level. What of Dennis's superior? What of Aikins, the man who was now in charge of administering an empire of lands of the North-West? Could he be expected to recommend to the cabinet an alteration of policy extending over a mere sixty townships?

We must become better acquainted with Senator Aikins, for his attitudes have now become of paramount importance to our study of the land problem in the North-West. At another place in this study we noticed his Irish descent, his early association with the "Clear Grits", and his opposition to the Hincks-Morin administration. In 1862 he was elected to the Legislative Council for the counties of Peel and Halton. At Confederation he was called to the Senate, and in December of 1867 accepted the office of secretary of state in Macdonald's cabinet.[11] At that time we had not learned of an interesting detail of his career in the Legislative Assembly. Readers may remember that in 1860 the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII, had paid a visit to Canada. The Duke of Newcastle, who attended the Prince, had offended the "loyal" men of the Orange lodges near Kingston by refusing to let the Prince land unless an arch erected by the lodges was removed. The offended Orangemen declined to remove it, and the royal party went on to another point, without, however, the company of the embarrassed member for Kingston, John A. Macdonald. A similar experience occurred at Belleville. Orangemen were insulted by Newcastle all along the royal route. In the 1861 sitting of the Legislative Assembly T. H. Ferguson and James Cox Aikins moved a motion of regret at these insults to Orangemen. Cartier

and Macdonald managed to parry the thrusts of the ensuing debate, arguing that it was a matter for which imperial, not provincial, ministers were responsible.[12] Ten years later, a senator and a member of Macdonald's ministry, Senator Aikins could hardly be expected to advocate approving of Archibald's policy when it had been attacked so vociferously by that good Orange editor of the Manitoba Liberal, Stewart Mulvey.[13] A member of the cabinet had to listen carefully to a certain constituency, and that constituency was not made up of Red River Halfbreeds.

Dominion Lands policy was "for purposes of the Dominion".

Appendix "A"

Titles of sections of 35 Victoria Cap. XXIII, Dominion Lands Act, 14 April, 1872.

Sections	Titles
1	Preliminary--Interpretation
2	Dominion Lands Office
3	System of Survey
17-21	Lands Reserved by H. B. C.
22	Education Endowment
23-8	Military Bounty Land Claims
29	Ordinary Sale and Purchase
30	Payments For Lands
31-2	Town Plots, etc.
33	Homestead Rights on Free Grant Lands
34	Grazing Lands
35	Hay Lands
36-41	Mining Lands
42	Indian Title
43-5	Coal Lands
46	Timber and Timber Lands
47-52	Other Timber and Timber Limits
53	Further Obligations of Parties Obtaining Licenses
57	Liability of Persons Cutting Without Authority
58-60	Resisting Seizure--Removing Timber Seized--Condemnation of Such Timber
61-2	General Provisions
63-4	Slides, etc.
65-72	Patents
73	Surveys and Surveyors
74	Board of Examiners
75-88	Admission of Deputy Surveyors
89	Standard of Measure
90	How To Renew Lost Corners and Obliterated Lines
91	How Legal Subdivisions Are To Be Surveyed and Laid Out
92	To Draw Division Lines In Fractional Sections
93-7	Original Boundary Lines
98-100	Evidence Before Surveyors
101-4	Protection To Surveyors
105-7	General Provisions
108	Previous Orders-in-Council

Schedule--Forms A - E

Appendix "B"

Extract from a Manitoba Liberal editorial published August 16, 1871.

"Our Public Lands"

"By the last mail we perceive that the press of Canada are almost unanimous in condemnation of Governor Archibald's land policy.

"We regret that the Governor was so easily led away by wily demagogues into the serious blunder of taking upon himself the apportionment* of the Half-breed grant. That his actions were premature and without authority, there cannot be a doubt. If his advisers possessed the least particle of statesmanship, they would never have advised him to the course which he pursued, because they might have known that excitement and ill-feeling amongst the community would be the inevitable result. Had the Governor only read the land regulations carefully, he would have seen that he was powerless to act as he did. In any case, his judgment would have told him that apportioning out Manitoba to parishes before the survey, or without knowing what portions of land they were entitled to, was altogether premature. When he ascertained, by Mr. Aiken's [sic] order, that he had overstepped his bounds in slicing up the province and handing it over to the French, why did he not at once back down and acknowledge his error? In such a case his crime would allow of palliation, but as it is, he cannot too highly be censured. He considered that two wrongs make a right, and to extricate himself out of his awkward predicament, he despatched agents through all the English-speaking parishes to induce them to follow the example of the French and demand their share of the grant. With what result let the minutes of

the meeting at St. Andrews declare. Mr. Boyd, on behalf of the government, stated that His Honor did this on his own responsibility without even consulting his advisers. If this statement of Mr. Boyd's be true, we must pronounce His Excellency's conduct as an unwarrantable usurpation of powers which do not at all belong to him . . ."

*That is, by his letter of June 9, published in The Manitoban for June 17, 1871.

Footnotes

1. 35 Victoria, Cap. XXIII. See Appendix "A" for a summary.

2. The expression is from Cartier's letter of May 23, 1870. See Appendix "A" of the chapter on "Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act".

3. See Begg, Creation, pp. 110-111, pp. 157-8; Begg's Journal, pp. 291-5.

4. See the chapter "The Red River Expeditionary Force", note 4.

5. C. S. P. 1871 (No. 20), pp. 2-3, "Distribution of the 1,400,000 acres".

6. PAC PC1036, 26 May, 1871. An extract may be found in C. S. P. 1873 (No. 45) p. 7.

7. PAC MG26A Vol. 61, McMicken to Macdonald, Dec. 22, 1871.

8. PAC MG24 B29 Vol. 9, Howe to Archibald, Dec. 26, 1871.

9. PAC Department of Interior Records, RG15, Vol. 228, No. 796, Archibald to Howe, Dec. 27, 1870.

10. The phrase is from section 30 of the Manitoba Act.

11. See the chapter "The Confrontation At Rivière aux Ilets de Bois".

12. W. L. Morton, The Critical Years, pp. 86-90.

13. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 1, Taylor Papers, clipping "Our Public Lands" from The Manitoba Liberal, August 16, 1871. No copy is known to exist in public collections. See Appendix "B".

Chapter Thirty-six
"My Heart is in Nova Scotia"[1]

At the time of O'Donoghue's raid, in October of 1871, Gilbert McMicken observed that Governor Archibald "had just taken up his quarters in Fort Garry".[2] McMicken must certainly have known that Archibald had, in fact, moved back to Fort Garry after a stay of not quite five months at "Silver Heights", five miles to the west of the Fort.[3] This is one of several occasions in our study when we have caught a glimpse--and only a glimpse--of the Archibalds as a family taking part in the life of Manitoba. Accordingly this is an appropriate point at which to turn aside from Archibald's troubled affairs of state to look at a few rare personal moments in his life and that of his family. In many respects we shall find our study disappointing because the sources are so few, and it is not at all unlikely that this fact will cause us to wonder why it is that three adults who lived in Manitoba for a total of sixty-seven and two-thirds months have left us with so little in the way of reminiscences.[4]

As we have seen, Archibald arrived in Manitoba by canoe on the evening of September 2nd, 1870, accompanied by his private secretary, Mr. Hill, Captain Nagle, and Mr. Pether in charge of the canoe.[5] He and Hill went directly to Government House at Fort Garry, where they were given rooms and an office in Government House, the same building occupied by Donald Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company. When greeted by Smith's "I yield up my responsibilities with pleasure", Archibald was reported to have answered, "Yes, I really don't anticipate much pleasure on my own account".[6] Archibald's office was "a large room adjoining the hall" in Government House. The office had its own stove, but, according to Arch-

ibald, he did not need a fire in this stove until the second week in December, the "fine bracing atmosphere" and "clear sky" combining with "the absence of moisture" to make of that autumn "the most charming season" he had ever experienced "in any part of the world".[7]

It will be remembered that McDougall had planned to reside at "Silver Heights", and had arranged for certain improvements and renovations to be made there.[8] Archibald, however, decided very early in his stay at Fort Garry not to go out to "Silver Heights" to live. "Silver Heights" was, he later reported, "wholly unsuitable for a residence in the then condition of affairs here," and "it was on all hands considered desirable that I should procure, if possible, the house in Fort Garry, formerly occupied by the late Governor McTavish". "In point of fact," Archibald went on, "the house at Silver Heights is five miles from Winnipeg, where all the business of the province centres, and besides, at the time I came here, when everything was in a state of disorder, I could not have lived there without a company of soldiers, stationed in the neighborhood." Archibald was probably echoing here the advice of Donald Smith, who saw an opportunity to rent space to the government of Canada, and of Wolseley, who tended to think in terms of garrisons and companies of soldiers. Archibald's real reason, however, is probably hidden behind this part of the explanation:

> The main and permanent objection to a residence at Silver Heights, (and this applies in a special manner to the Winter Season) is its distance from Winnipeg. I should have been obliged either to keep an office in Winnipeg, and make a daily trip to town, which with the temperature, as we have recently had it, at forty degrees below zero, would not have been a very pleasant thing to do, or else compel every person wishing to see me, to add to his journey to Winnipeg, a further distance of five

> miles to go to Silver Heights. In effect, this would have prevented me from having that free communication with the people which I have studied to keep up and which, as much perhaps as anything else, has contributed to bring about the better state of feeling which prevails at this moment.[9]

Archibald did not state that his chief adviser, Bishop Taché, just across the Red River in St. Boniface, would have found it very much more difficult to visit him or send messages to him if he had been in residence at "Silver Heights".

By the tenth of September, when Archibald had made his decision, he had already had to hold two levees, the one to which reference has already been made,[10] and one across the river in St. Boniface on the next day. The first had been attended by members of the Council of Assiniboia, the military, the clergy, Catholic and Protestant, and some citizens, chiefly white, who had braved the pouring rain to be there.[11] It was not until the next day that Archibald met many of the native population of either English or French origin. This second levee was held at the Bishop's Palace under sunny skies, and the occasion must have made Archibald feel sure that he was, indeed, welcome, and wish that Mrs. Archibald and Lily were there. He was accompanied by Smith, Wolseley and Hill. Church bells rang as the official party was welcomed at the river bank by Rev. Father Royer, and nearer the Palace by Bishop Taché. The band of St. Boniface College under the direction of Abbé Dugas played "God Save The Queen", while a sound as of cannon-fire could be heard not far away in salute.[12] A triumphal arch had been erected at the gateway to the Palace flower-garden. On one side was the motto "Concordia Salus", and on the other was "Palma Non Sine Pulvere", Archibald's personal motto.[13] Above the front door was a large sign

reading "Bienvenue". Taché and Archibald went up the front steps, where they could be easily heard by the fifty or sixty[14] assembled people.

Taché read a prepared address in French, developing several themes. He spoke of the good fortune of the people of the Settlement, both in the passing of the Manitoba Act by the Dominion Government and in the choice of Archibald as Lieutenant-Governor. He reminded his audience that the French had been the first to penetrate the vast solitudes of the North-West, taking with them Christianity and civilization. The French had defended the British flag on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Their descendants in the North-West saw those deeds as a precious heritage which they wished to pass on to their descendants. Archibald could count on their cooperation in the important task which had been assigned to him. "While jealous of our rights and liberties," Taché said, " we want only those privileges which the constitution and laws guarantee to our compatriots of other origins." The people of French origin wished that the population of Manitoba should form one people, ready to develop the resources of the country and reap the abundant fruits of the prosperity that Archibald's wise administration would ensure. Turning at last toward more domestic matters Taché expressed the hope that Archibald's stay among them would be agreeable enough to compensate a little for the sacrifice he had had to make in separating himself from his family. "Inhabitants of a country where we travel a good deal," Taché said in closing, "we understand the sorrows of parting, and we sincerely hope for the happiness of those who are dear to you and whose absence your heart feels so fondly."[15]

Then it was Archibald's turn. Archibald also read his speech in

French.[16] He stated his pleasure at the expressed satisfaction of the people of French origin with the Manitoba Act. "The constitution which has been given to the people of the province of Manitoba," he said, "places that province on the same footing as the people of the older provinces. You will enjoy the same rights and the same privileges, you will be governed by the same rules of administration. You will also have to accept the same responsibilities." Archibald informed his hearers that their future prosperity would depend on the wisdom with which they made use of the powers so liberally conceded to them. He was happy to see that the people saw in the liberality of the clauses of the Manitoba Act a proof of the goodwill of the Dominion Parliament towards the people of the province.

> Manitoba is part of the Confederation; its prosperity is the prosperity of the Dominion: and it was alike the duty and the interest of the federal legislature in framing a constitution for the new Province to make such provisions as were best fitted to develop the resources and assure the prosperity of the country.[17]

Archibald said that he looked to the people of all classes, regardless of religion or race, to unite with him in his efforts to preserve the peace and good order of the community. "It shall be my study," he said, "to treat you all as one people."

> Your services to civilization and to Christianity, to which you allude with just pride, your loyalty to the Crown in times gone by, which you so well characterize as a precious heritage from your ancestors to be transmitted to your children, afford me good ground to look in the future for the continuance of the principles which have been your distinction in past times. Give me then loyally your confidence. Let us work together for the good of the Province. With this as our aim and object we may fairly promise ourselves an era of progress and prosperity such as the country has not yet seen.[18]

In conclusion Archibald expressed his thanks for the kind wishes towards those who were united to him "by the sacred ties of nature".

Archibald was then made acquainted with all of the people present, Bishop Taché making the introductions. Following this Archibald and his party went into the Bishop's Palace, while the band of St. Boniface College gave a short programme and the choir sang a series of rounds and mountaineer songs.[19] All too soon the official party had to leave the Bishop's Palace and return to Winnipeg, accompanied by more sounds as of cannon being fired in salute.

Mrs. Archibald and Lily arrived at Fort Garry on October 15th, having made the long overland trip from the rail-head by wagon in the care of Robert Tait, a well-known settlement freighter.[20]

Mrs. Archibald was born Elizabeth Alice Burnyeat, the only daughter of Rev. John Burnyeat and Lavinia Dickson,[21] his wife. Burnyeat was the pioneer Church of England missionary who had laid the foundation for the parish of St. John's, Truro, Nova Scotia, in a predominantly Presbyterian community. His accounts of the Church of England work in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are to be found in the reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[22] A daughter of the rectory, Elizabeth Alice had continued as a member of the Church of England after her marriage to Archibald, a Presbyterian, in 1843.[23] Her daughter and namesake, usually known as Lily, was the second of the three daughters, and was twenty years of age when she arrived in Manitoba. The eldest daughter Joanna, then 24, and the youngest, Mary Lavinia, 8, remained in Nova Scotia, no doubt in order that Mary Lavinia's education wuld not be interrupted.[24] We have Archibald's account of one of the activities which began with their arrival:

> I brought through with my men a couple of horses and bought a couple more here and ever since their arrival we have been up to a week or ten days ago riding daily 5, 10 or 15 miles, over the prairie--and my wife has grown young again with the exercise, and both she and Lillie [sic] are better than they have been for years, while the exercise has not been useless to me.

Archibald went on to make one of the few references which have survived concerning his life and weather conditions in Manitoba:

> From the 3d[25] [sic] Sept[ember] when I arrived here till today there has fallen only one shower of rain, and the sky has been uniformly clear and unclouded as with us on a fine bright summer day--Till a week ago I have never had a fire in my office, which is a large room adjoining the hall and has been kept almost uncomfortably warm from the hall fire. . .Doubtless it is an exceptional season--Particularly one cannot help thinking so when comparing it with the season described by Mr. Howe on his visit here last year, when according to his description the weather was so wretched that he was not warm once during the ten days he spent here. But if you have such a season as this has been only once in a while it will save the climate from being considered a very bad one.[26]

One of the first social events enjoyed by the Archibald family, and the only one of which there is a detailed record, took place on November 2nd, when the family visited the Grey Nuns' Community at St. Boniface. It is fortunate for us that Louis Riel's sister Sara, then a member of the Community, was there and wrote a letter to her brother telling of the Archibald's visit.[27] Also the Community's unidentified historian dutifully made an entry in the Chronicles touching on the same event.[28] The two accounts supplement each other nicely.[29] Remarkably enough there is nothing available from the pen of either Mrs. Archibald or Lily.

Mother Superior Clapin paid a visit to Archibald to extend an invi-

tation to himself, Mrs. Archibald and Lily to visit the establishments of the Sisters of Charity in St. Boniface. Archibald accepted, and a party consisting of the Archibald family, Mr. Hill, Donald Smith and Judge Johnson crossed the river on November 2nd. Mother Superior Clapin welcomed the group at the door and accompanied them to the common room, where twenty-two of the Sisters were assembled to greet them. A photograph of the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Archibald was in the hall. The party was taken on a tour of the convent school, and one of the students, Louise Rivet, presented an address which so moved the Archibalds they requested a copy of it. There was a programme of songs in English and French, one composed especially for the occasion:

> Oh! would we had a diadem
> To deck the lady's brow,
> Or if not this at least a wreath
> Of blossoms in full glow.

At the conclusion of the programme the party returned to the common room. Sister Riel captured part of the scene for us:

> Our good Mother was at the right of His Excellency: Sister Curran next to Madame, and your poor little Sara beside Miss Archibald who spoke to me all the time without embarrassment and with simplicity . . . All was joyful and harmonious with everyone in their best dress, the walls decorated with garlands, and inscriptions showing love and respect. Photographs of the Governor and his three daughters were flanked with white roses. When he saw this he said: "Madame, we find ourselves like one family here." . . . I was next to Miss Archibald, and entertained her as well as I could.

Sara could not help remembering there was one--now in exile--who ought to be there but could not be:

> I tried to forget. I kept silent and thought of the present. I talked to her for about a quarter of an hour. Every time I glanced toward His Excellency our eyes met. Miss Archibald discussed

> her trip and the pleasure she had seeing her Papa . . . .

The visit to the Community of the Grey Nuns deeply impressed the Archibalds with the useful work the Sisters were doing. The next day Archibald sent a messenger across the river with a gift of five pounds[30] to assist them, and Mrs. Archibald sent a box of candy. For her part Lily began to take daily trips into Winnipeg to have French lessons at the Academie Sainte-Marie under the direction of Sister Allard. Lily also arranged to use the Sisters' piano for practice, Government House not being equipped with one.[31]

With this intimate sketch of the Archibalds' visit to the Sisters of Charity in St Boniface the curtain comes down and we must be content to view them from a distance and at second hand. We know that they attended balls and dramatic performances like the one to which reference has been made and at which some sort of unpleasant incident occurred, bringing the affair to an end.[32] New-Year's levees were held in both 1871[33] and 1872,[34] and Mrs. Archibald was hostess at each. Years later Sheriff Colin Inkster recalled "the dignified hospitality dispensed at that vice-regal residence within the Fort--the right service, the best wines, the Highland welcome that always had been characteristic of the Red River of the North".[35] Many years later in Halifax Mrs. Archibald was to tell about the peculiar tails of Donald Smith's dinner coat. Smith had by then become a peer of the realm. Mrs. Archibald thought that the coat had been made by a local tailor who did not know right from left in "tails". Sheriff Inkster explained the "tails" that amused Mrs. Archibald. The morning coat was "so constructed that the skirts in front could be detached and hooked back under the tails". It was an old tailoring trick

for thrifty Scots which enabled them to get double duty out of one suit.[36]

Dr. John O'Donnell, in his Manitoba As I Saw It, devoted all too few lines to a dinner he remembered at which the Archibalds presided:

> After the opening of the first session of the first Parliament of Manitoba, the next event to be mentioned was the State Dinner at Government House. The reader must not imagine it was one of those perfunctory dinners of State where everyone looks bored, wearing that fixed smile which suggests the idea of "Why did I accept the invitation? How glad I shall be when it is over, that I may make my excape!" It was nothing of the sort; it was superlatively interesting. The favored of the Court, who were in juxtaposition to His Honor, wore the most recent evening dress. All Canadians, of course, dressed appropriately, but the other members wore their ordinary holiday attire, common to the country, which was in many instances, very picturesque. At that table was seen the broadcloth capot of the Hudson [sic] Bay Company, with polished brass buttons, Hudson Bay sash and moccasins; some in Scotch tweed suits; others in frock coats, and the most surprising thing was the ease of manner displayed by all. The table manners were all the most fastidious could desire, and the conversation edifying, and a gentlemen of the press of Montreal, who sat beside me, remarked "If all dressed the part, they would appear well at a Vice-Regal State Dinner anywhere."[37]

A hint as to the view from the head table was given by Archibald in December or 1870:

> . . . I am bound to say that at a public Ball given a few evenings ago I only saw three pair of moccasins and these were monopolized by the stronger sex . . .[38]

Archibald was aware that he and Mrs. Archibald were officiating at the end of an era in Red River society and costume:

> With the influx of strangers in the spring--which will come in like an avalanche--all that distinguishes us will disappear, moccasins will be a tradition, and the appearance of the peo-

> ple . . . will be as vulgar and uninteresting as an assemblage of Ontarians or New Brunswickers.[39]

We are indebted to Dr. O'Donnell for what is known of a custom which the Archibalds followed while in Manitoba:

> Governor A. G. Archibald . . . was a man of great tact. At that early day, distant from city markets, it was difficult to obtain luxuries for elaborate entertaining. Notwithstanding, he gave a dinner nearly every Thursday evening, bringing together people of the most discordant political views, and everything passed off so pleasantly that those social gatherings were looked forward to with a great deal of pleasure, and it did much to allay public ill-feeling. Governor Archibald was a most charming conversationalist, and all who assembled at his board left with [a] "he is a jolly good fellow" smile on his countenance. He was undoubtedly the right man for the place at the time . . . .[40]

"My heart is in Nova Scotia," wrote Archibald on December 20, 1870, near the end of the one personal letter from him which has survived the Manitoba experience. Not two weeks later he was to be booed[41] in the "row" which the Volunteers "raised"[42] following the first provincial election. No reference to this incident is to be found in any of Archibald's public letters, and no private ones about it are known to exist. The same is true of Mrs. Archibald and Lily. It is scarcely credible that two women with relatives and friends in far-off Nova Scotia could have spent twenty-one months in Manitoba and leave only a remark about Donald Smith's coat-tails for the historian to consider. Yet this is the state of affairs that confronts us here. There is not a whisper, for example, of the mutiny of February 18th, which must have been a very unsettling--if not terrifying--experience for anyone at Government House. It is possible to trace the movements of the Archibalds in Manitoba, but this must be done for the most part with the aid of newspapers and other

sources. When the Archibald's moved to "Silver Heights" in May of 1871 Le Métis commented that Archibald appeared "extremely tired".[43] There is evidence to suggest that in May of 1871 the Lieutenant-Governor was at the very end of his resources. Like Riel in January of 1870, Archibald had carried too heavy a burden too long. If we can believe an account published in the Globe Archibald so lost his temper over articles about him appearing in the News-Letter that he summoned one of the printers to his office and an angry exchange ensued:

> Lieutenant-Governor: I will tell you why I sent for you. It was quite understood between Dr. Schultz and myself before he left for Ottawa, that no more articles should appear against me in the News-Letter, and [I] have word from Ottawa that Dr. Schultz has come to the same understanding with the Government there. I am confident that the blackguardly articles to which I refer would not have appeared were the Doctor here: now I want you to promise that nothing more will appear against me until the Doctor returns.
> The Printer: I cannot promise anything, as I have nothing to do with writing articles for the paper. I have to print them when they are handed to me . . . .[44]

The move to "Silver Heights" was probably not as successful in easing Archibald's fatigue as he had hoped. His presence there a few miles west of Winnipeg at that time was of assistance to all concerned in the frequent consultations which had to take place during the long confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. "Silver Heights" was handier than Fort Garry when certain irate Canadian settlers "waited on the Lieutenant-Governor for positive information on the land question". The Globe published a report of what had followed:

> One of the members of the deputation was a settler [who] had already made some improvements, to abandon which, he represented to His Excellency, would be a greater hardship than he proposed to endure: whereupon Mr. Archibald became "dignified" and told the deputation that they were at liberty to pursue

> their own course, as it was nothing to him and no part of his business to confer with emigrants on such matters and though he had devoted a great deal of attention to it, he was under no obligation to perform such a service . . . .[45]

Only a few days later the peace of "Silver Heights" was shattered by the suicide of George Hill, Archibald's private secretary. Hill was the son of Rev. George Hill, rector of St. Paul's church in Halifax. As a private secretary the young man was expecially valuable to Archibald since he wrote and spoke French with facility.[46]

Hill had become almost one of the Archibald family, accompanying the Lieutenant-Governor-to-be both to New York and then on the long canoe trip to Fort Garry. He went with the Archibald family wherever they had been invited, as for example, the two levees and the visit to the Grey Nums' Community. When the Archibalds moved to "Silver Heights" Hill moved too, and took lodgings in a house adjoining the Lieutenant-Governor's residence. On the fourth of July he had gone on the excursion boat up the Assiniboine and had appeared to be in good spirits. Upon returning to "Silver Heights" that evening he laid out sums of money for certain bills that he owed. Then he strolled down a lane, put a revolver to his head and shot himself.[47] Needless to say the event caused "great excitement"[48] and Archibald had the unpleasant task of notifying Hill's family in Nova Scotia. One is left wondering whether we have here another proof of the pressure under which Archibald and those around him were working at this time.

Mrs. Archibald attended the treaty negotiations at the Stone Fort, or Lower Fort Garry, and was present on August 3, 1871, to sign as a witness.[49] Both she and Lily accompanied the treaty party to Manitoba

Post for the treaty-making there, and both signed as witnesses to the treaty on August 21st.[50] Despite the fact that this was their first and only trip to the North-West Territories[51] and that treaty talks were delayed by "adverse winds on Lake Manitoba"[52] there is nothing concerning this trip from the pen of any of the Archibalds.

Archibald had wished for some time to visit Portage la Prairie, both to get some idea of the appearance and extent of the prairie country lying to the west and to make a conciliatory gesture to a community which had been a problem to administrators throughout its short life. The opportunity came in late September of 1871, not long before the Archibalds moved from "Silver Heights" to Government House in Fort Garry. Alfred Boyd, the provincial secretary, and Mr. Bouthillier, the new private secretary, went along with Archibald, leaving "Silver Heights" on Monday, September 18th.[53] They drove to Portage la Prairie, and visited leading citizens there.[54] Then, with arrangements made for a public meeting in the school-house on the 22nd, they set out to look at the West. Taking the Fort Ellice trail which ran nearest the Assiniboine river, they proceeded along it some fifteen miles beyond Rat Creek. They then crossed northwardly over the open prairie and struck the other road leading to Fort Ellice at a point near the mission on White Mud River. They traced this trail westwardly to what is called the "third crossing", about forty miles distant from Portage la Prairie. It would appear that they reached a point slightly east of Manitoba's western boundary.[55] They then returned to Portage la Prairie to make themselves ready for the meeting in the school-house.

J. J. Setter read a prepared address on behalf of those assembled.

He stated that while Archibald might have been led to consider Portage la Prairie as a "rebel" parish he could count upon the loyalty of its people as he strove to set the province on a course leading to general prosperity.[56] As Setter spoke he knew that there were many in the people assembled who had listened to Scott and his companions and made the long mid-winter march to the Lower Settlement in February of 1870. Two men had died as a result, and these deaths were held by many against the western settlements represented at the meeting. Setter himself had played a key role in the organization of that "rebel" movement against the generally-accepted Provisional Government.[57] No general amnesty had come with Archibald. All now wondered how "smooth Archie"[58] would deal with those events still so painfully fresh in the memory of all.

Archibald was equal to the occasion. "You allude to the great future of this Province," he said, "I have never felt so assured of that future as I do at this moment."

> For two days I have been moving as rapidly as horses could take me over the virgin districts that lie west of this Parish, and during that period I have seen some of the most beautiful spots upon which my eyes have ever rested. My whole journey has been through a country more uniformly rich and fertile than any equal space I have ever seen.

Archibald spoke of the events of the last twenty years and of the changes that had been made, culminating in the Indian Treaties of recent weeks. "The iron horse is now at your door. A stream of immigration is now about to pour into your country, keeping pace with the progress of railways." Finally he touched upon the point that many were waiting for:

> You will make some allowance for me, if my eyes, dazzled by the bright vision ahead, refuse to turn, or turn with reluctance, to look behind amid the obscurity of times of commotion and disorder that occurred before the responsibilities of Canada commenced, to strain for the discovery of dark

spots that may be found in the events of the past.

"You refer," Archibald went on, "to the feelings which are incident to the condition of a province situate like this.

> I may say, gentlemen, I have no objection to vigorous criticisms on the part of the Press. A certain portion of the political strife and animosity to which you refer, is an inseparable incident of free institutions. It is the condition annexed by the Almighty himself to the development, the progress, and the improvement of civil government. I accept, as I have always accepted such criticism, with the determination of giving it no other answer than that of living it down. Let me ask you to treat in the same manner, the imputations which you say have been cast upon you. Let us, in our respective spheres, strive to do our duty as God gives us light to see it. We shall then, at all events, be sustained by the sweetest consolation which we can enjoy, the consciousness of having done what we believed to be right.[59]

Very soon after the Lieutenant-Governor's return from Portage la Prairie the Archibald family moved out of "Silver Heights" and back to the less congenial environment at Government House, Fort Garry. While they regretted the move from St. James Parish[60] the move was not unexpected. Before making the move in the spring Archibald had had to give notice that he would vacate "Silver Heights" in September.[61] It was now time to honor the commitment he had given.

Archibald's part in the events at the time of O'Donoghue's Raid has already been described in detail. Unfortunately we have no indication of the movements of Mrs. Archibald and Lily at this time. We do not know, for example, whether they watched from Fort Garry the assembling of the Métis force in front of St. Boniface Cathadral. If they were reading, in the days and weeks after the Raid, the reports in the Liberal and the Ontario press, they must have found it a harrowing and disheartening time. Archibald was well aware of the necessity for all

in public life to accept the criticisms published in a free press. He was not, however, prepared for the campaign of vituperation[62] which followed the publication of Mulvey's editorials in the Liberal. Beginning with the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois, it reached a crescendo after the famous handshaking of October 8th. Archibald submitted his resignation in late 1871,[63] so that by early January of 1872, when the second session of the Manitoba provincial parliament began, he was a "locum tenens", to use the term that he used for himself.[64]

When Parliament opened, an incident occurred which is strangely symbolic of the situation in which Archibald then found himself. He was driven from Government House to the Parliament building by team and cutter. The drive from Fort Garry to Winnipeg was uneventful, although the route was lined by interested persons and companies of soldiers from the men of the second Red River Expeditionary Force then in occupation at Fort Garry. An artillery saluting party of two guns had been assembled at a point roughly opposite to Schultz's Drug Store. As the Lieutenant-Governor's team drew near the guns the horses took fright and reared and plunged, breaking the pole of the cutter. The driver had difficulty regaining control of his horses, and Archibald had to proceed to the Parliament building on foot.[65] Archibald could have been pardoned if, during his walk along Main Street to the Parliament building, bitter reflections passed through his mind. In a very real sense the political vehicle which was Manitoba's provincial government also had a broken cutter Pole. Sixteen months after his arrival in Manitoba he still had not found a premier to lead a government. The men whom he had found to work with him knew that they did not have the confidence of

the people, and acted the part. The men who had that confidence were still in exile. The result was that Archibald had to act as both team and cutter pole, both providing the energy and giving direction to the government. As the Métis commented a few days later in reporting on the session, Archibald was at the same time "Governor, Attorney-General, Treasurer, Minister of Public Works, Provincial Secretary, etc., etc."[66] While he had painfully built, and was still building, a broad base of support for his government, the lack of a general amnesty and the presence of an army of occupation effectively precluded any system of responsible government.

We can catch a glimpse of the Archibald family in action again in February, at the time of a meeting of the St. Andrew s Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society on February 6th. Archibald was glad of a chance to do a bit of conciliation in St. Andrew s. It seemed to him that he had not had the cooperation he should have had from that parish, and he did not know why. Mrs. Archibald and Lily went along with him and attended the meeting in the St. Andrew s school-house. Rev. J. P. Gardiner was chairman of the meeting. Like J. J. Setter of Portage la Prairie, Gardiner had played a part in the Schultz counter-movement of early 1870,[67] and then he was instrumental in sending boats up the Winnipeg River to meet and assist the Red River Expeditionary Force.[68] He had, in addition, been part of parish in-fighting which took place during the time of the Provisional Government, and letters had been written to his Bishop concerning his words and his actions in that time.[69] Absence of any general amnesty had left this clergyman confused and unshriven, and he could not avoid alluding to it in his speech welcoming

Archibald, Mrs. Archibald and Lily: "Whatever may have been the representations made to Your Excellency of the people of this Parish, you will find none more respectful and loyal than ourselves." Once again Archibald was equal to the occasion, and spoke for three-quarters of an hour, assuring his listeners of the desire of his administration to let bygones by bygones and look toward the future of Manitoba.[70] While he might consider himself only a "locum tenens" Archibald was still strengthening the basis of his government.

Archibald's resignation had been submitted in November and December. Sir John A. Macdonald did not accept this resignation at the time, nor did he make it public. There had been rumors published by the News-Letter and later in the Liberal that Archibald was resigning or had resigned and nobody paid much attention. In early 1872 his opposition was calling for Archibald's resignation or withdrawal or impeachment, it did not much matter which. Archibald was in an intolerable position, both as to his usefulness in Manitoba and as to his career after returning to Nova Scotia, and he implored Charles Tupper, then President of the Privy Council, to do something about it.[71] Macdonald, however, cannily kept Archibald in suspense, while the Lieutenant-Governor sold off his furniture and made preparations to leave the province on short notice.[72] It was not until the meeting of Parliament in April that anything definite was done. Macdonald used the public announcement of Archibald's resignation on the day before Parliament met as a means of forestalling the presentation of a resolution by John C. Schultz, M. P. for Lisgar, calling for Archibald's impeachment in the House of Commons.[73] When it was announced in the Manitoba press two quite different methods of acknowledg-

ing it were adopted by Manitoba citizens.

The "Canadian" party prepared effigies of Archibald and Riel and burned them in a bonfire in front of the recently-constructed White Store.[74] Mr. Garrett of the Garrett House acted as master of ceremonies while a dozen or more men, including Stewart Mulvey of the Liberal and John C. Schultz, M. P., looked on. Mr. de Plainval of the Winnipeg Police attempted to prevent the burning of the effigies, and an incident followed which was reported and commented on in most of the Manitoba newspapers.[75] The recently-founded Manitoba Gazette had the presence of mind to ask why it was that John C. Schultz, M. P., was at the demonstration when he should have been representing his constituency in Ottawa.[76]

The other effort resulted in one of the most unusual expressions of sentiment ever seen in Manitoba's history. A committee of those favorably disposed towards Archibald's government prepared an address expressing the sorrow of the people at Archibald's decision to resign as Lieutenant-Governor. It was circulated throughout the parishes and signed by more than 1500 of the Settlement's people.[77] On June 25th a deputation of M. P. P.'s, cabinet ministers and friends called upon Archibald. Andrew McDermott read the address in English: "We, the subjects of Her Majesty", it began, "resident in Manitoba, beg leave most sincerely to offer you, on the occasion of your departure from the Province, our most sincere congratulations on the fair, able and impartial manner in which you have administered the very arduous and onerous duties devolving upon you as the Governor of this Province. We beg leave to assure you that on leaving us you carry with you the esteem and gratitude of all good and loyal men. Your policy, as we view it, has been in the

highest degree successful in securing peace and prosperity in the Province, and your statesmanlike action has resulted in bringing about a state of matters which could hardly have been anticipated.

> Whilst many of your acts and motives have been misrepresented and condemned for party purposes by a certain section of the press and people of the other Provinces of the Dominion, we who have had the opportunity of realizing from day to day the result of your policy, and who from experience can compare the present comparatively happy and prosperous state of the country with the state of confusion it was in when you arrived in our midst, can only assure Your Excellency that the Dominion of Canada owes you a deep debt of gratitude for the unceasing labor and untiring care with which you have crowned your policy with success.
>
> Trusting that Your Excellency with Mrs. Archibald when you return home will meet your family in good health and that you will be long spared to be useful in any sphere to which you may be appointed, is the earnest wish of the undersigned.

When the address had been read in French by Mr. Lemay, a thick package of signed sheets was handed to Archibald's secretary. Archibald rose to read his reply. "Gentlemen," he began, "the Address which you have just presented [to] me is signed by so large a proportion of the substantial inhabitants of the Province that I may fairly accept it as expressing the voice of the mass of the people. The generous estimate you have formed of my public conduct is most gratifying to me. I have always aimed to deserve your good opinion. I have always believed that, eventually, my motives and conduct would be understood and appreciated: but I did not dare to entertain the hope that the time had already come, when the spontaneous voice of the people would award the very flattering testimonial I have this day received from you.

> Arriving among you, as I did, at a time of great excitement, when the passions of the people of

> all classes were much inflamed, I should not have been doing my duty by you or by my Sovereign, if I had not counselled and practised the greatest forbearance.
>
> It required no sagacity to foresee that this course would be distasteful to a considerable body of the people of the country. Least of all could I hope it would be acceptable to those of you, who smarting under the recollection of recent sufferings, were not in a frame of mind to form a calm judgment of what was really for the best, in the interests of all. I was therefore not surprised, indeed I fully anticipated, the disappointments and misapprehensions which many of you entertained, flowing as they naturally did, from this policy of forbearance, but I was content to await, and I am now rewarded for awaiting, the verdict of the sober second thought of the people.

Archibald went on to express his satisfaction that his administration had "been sustained through two sessions of the Legislature by an overwhelming majority of the people's representatives . . ." He expressed satisfaction with the present state of affairs. Turning to the future he said that it was "for the people of this country, and the people who are pouring into it, to prove themselves worthy of the portion which is thus falling to their lot." Concerning his own departure he said:

> I shall bear with me to my distant home, a kindly recollection of you all. I have formed many friendships here; I have received much kindness from you, and when I leave you, I shall retain a lively interest in your welfare and prosperity. Mrs. Archibald, whom you associate with me in your good wishes, makes me the channel to convey to you, her appreciation of the kindness which we have all received at your hands, and unites with me in wishing you, one and all, a happy and prosperous future.

The Manitoban reported that "during the reading of the Reply the Governor was much affected, and seemed to feel that in leaving the Province he was parting with a large number of true friends".[78]

Mrs. Archibald and Lily left Manitoba on July 23rd, believing, as Archibald did, that he would be leaving very shortly. They left on board the "International" accoompanied by Mr. Bouthillier. The Lieutenant-Governor accompanied them as far as Pembina and returned to Fort Garry on July 26th.[79] Archibald's departure, however, was not so imminent as they had thought. The Canadian government seemed to be in no particular hurry to make any definite move concerning Archibald or a possible successor.

At Portage la Prairie Archibald had spoken of the coming of the "iron horse" to Manitoba. In his reply to the Settlement's address on June 25th he had spoken of trade with the Orient, and how it would stimulate the economy of Manitoba and of Canada. Now an earnest of things often foretold appeared in Manitoba in August of 1872 with the arrival and outfitting of an exploration party of the Canadian government, charged with the task of finding a satisfactory route for a railway to the Pacific. Guides had to be hired, equipment bought, and supplies laid in for a lengthy period of exploration. As Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Manitoba Archibald had to welcome the party to Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Sandford Fleming was "chief" of the expedition, while a Halifax clergyman, Rev. George Munro Grant, was its secretary. Fleming's son Frank and a Halifax physician, Dr. Arthur Moren, were also with the party. From Toronto to Fort Garry they were accompanied by Colonel Patrick Robertson-Ross, Adjutant-General of the Canadian Militia, and his son Hugh. During the steamboat passage through Lakes Huron and Superior, John Macoun, a botanist on the staff of Albert College, Belleville, was invited to accompany the party and prepare a

report on the flora and agricultural potential of the country. At Fort Garry, a member of Fleming's field staff, Charles Horetzky, formerly with the Hudson's Bay Company and one of the pioneer photographers in the Canadian West, joined the expedition.[80] It was a distinguished group of men, men of whom Canada was to hear a great deal more in the years to come. Archibald saw to it that they were made acquainted with American Consul J. W. Taylor, Land Commissioner McMicken, officers of the Battalion, J. C. Schultz and others.[81] Archibald accompanied the group to Kildonan, where they called on Mr. Black.[82] When they were setting out for the North-West Territories Archibald accompanied them as far as "Silver Heights", where he showed them the garden. Then they said good-bye and set out for the North-West.[83]

Rev. George Munro Grant kept a journal of the journey in search of a route for the Pacific railway, and in 1873 his book Ocean to Ocean was published. Through this book we may receive a hint as to how Archibald and his policies were regarded by certain of the intelligentsia of the Dominion, as represented by Grant and his circle of associates. Grant wrote as follows of their departure from "Silver Heights":

> After dinner we said good-bye to the Governor, a statesman of whom even opponents will hereafter record that he deserved well of the country, because on all great occasions he preferred country to self or party, and of whose work in Manitoba we ought to say and would say much more, WERE IT NOT FOR THE FACT THAT WE HAD PARTAKEN OF HIS HOSPITALITY [emphasis mine].[84]

Nowhere in his text was Grant able to bring himself to mention the Lieutenant-Governor by name, and it is only in the editorial chapter summary for the fourth chapter that the reader is given his name. This attitude was not temporary, and the omission was not an accidental slip or over-

sight. Twenty-seven years later Grant wrote an introductory chapter for Canada's Sons on Kopje and Veldt by T. G. Marquis. The following paragraph appears there:

> When Riel murdered Scott, Ontario went wild. When, subsequent to his being amnestied by the Governor of Manitoba he broke into rebellion . . .the other provinces sent their sons in midwinter . . . .[85]

In August of 1872, when Grant met Archibald at Fort Garry, the membership of "Canada First" had expanded to include a number of such men as Grant,[86] and Mulvey's interpretation of what had happened in O'Donoghue's Raid was gospel to these men.

The summer of 1872 was an anxious, lonely and tedious time for Archibald. He had no way of knowing what the future held for him, and it appeared that Macdonald and his cabinet had forgotten about him. Mrs. Archibald and Lily were gone. After mid-June he no longer felt free to accept an invitation to pay a visit to the Bishop's Palace or the Convent in St. Boniface--scenes of pleasant times in 1870 and 1871. As he explained in a letter to Taché, ". . . acceptance . . . would be made a handle for the same kind of attacks that were [made] on a previous visit".[87] He had to officiate at several functions like the Punshon lecture given in a Hudson's Bay Company warehouse in the evening of July 30th.[88] John McDougall of the western missions was at the conference and was interrogated by Archibald about conditions in the North-West. In his account of the event McDougall was no more willing than Grant had been to identify the Lieutenant-Governor by name.[89] He opened the Provincial Exhibition of October 2nd and 3rd, one of his last official acts before his departure from the province.[90] When he left the province

on the steamer "International"[91] on October 9th,[92] no one knew whether or not he would be back. It was understood that Alexander Morris would act in his place in case of illness.[93]

Archibald had left Manitoba, never to return.

Footnotes

1. The phrase is in Archibald's letter to William Young: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Young Letters, Archibald to Young, Dec. 20, 1870.

2. PAC MG26A, Vol. 61, McMicken to Macdonald, October 5, 1871.

3. PAC, Archibald's letter of February, 1871.

4. Archibald arrived Sept. 2, 1870, and left October 9, 1872. Mrs. Archibald and Lily arrived October 15, 1870, and left on July 23, 1872. For Archibald's departure see Le Métis, Oct. 12, 1872. For Mrs. Archibald's and Lily's departure see the Manitoban, July 27, 1872, and Le Métis, July 24, 1872.

5. See, above, chapter entitled "The Lieutenant-Governor Arrives".

6. Beckles Wilson, Lord Strathcona: The Story of His Life, p. 107.

7. PANS, Young Letters, Dec. 20, 1870.

8. See, above, chapter entitled, "The Insurrection--William McDougall".

9. PAC, Archibald's letter of February, 1871.

10. See, above, chapter entitled "The Smith Régime".

11. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 1, 1870 (St. Vital, Sept. 10, 1870).

12. Two sources state that the "cannon" was really the one-legged blacksmith, Marion, using anvils and gunpowder to simulate the sound of cannon in salute to Archibald. See Globe, Sept. 28, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 10, 1870); Telegraph, Sept. 27, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 16, 1870). See also PAM MG7 D2 M221, Sisters of Charity, MS Chronicles, entry for Sept. 7, for reference to the bells.

13. R. S. Craggs, Sir Adams G. Archibald, has, after page 25, a photograph of Archibald's notarial seal, which is now in the Dalhousie University Law Library. See also page 8. The Latin means "No reward without effort".

14. Telegraph, Sept. 27, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 16, 1870).

15. Le Nouveau Monde, Oct. 1, 1870 (St. Vital, 10 Sept. 1870).

16. Ibid.

17. Telegraph, Sept. 27, 1870 (Fort Garry, Sept. 16).

18. Ibid.

19. The Telegraph report made reference to "glees and catches".

20. Manitoban, Oct. 22, 1870.

21. R. S. Craggs, Sir Adams G. Archibald, p. 8.

22. C. R. Dunphy and H. W. McPhee (eds), St. John's Church, Truro, (1973), pp. 4, 8.

23. Elizabeth Parker, "Manitoba's First Lieutenant-Governor" in Dalhousie Review, Jan. 1931, p. 524.

24. R. S. Craggs, Sir Adams G. Archibald, pp. 10-1.

25. Archibald is in error here. He arrived on the evening of the 2nd.

26. PANS, Young Letters, Archibald to Young, Dec. 20, 1870.

27. The letter is in Mary V. Jordan, To Louis, Toronto, (1974), p. 26.

28. PAM MG7 D22 M221, Sisters of Charity, MS Chronicles, entry for Nov. 2, 1870.

29. The following account uses both sources.

30. The MS Chronicles has "5 louis".

31. MS. Chronicles, entry for Nov. 2.

32. See, above, chapter entitled "Fires, Assaults and Threats".

33. Manitoban, Jan. 4, 1871.

34. Le Métis, 11 Jan., 1872.

35. Elizabeth Parker, "Manitoba's First Lieutenant-Governor", in Dalhousie Review, January, 1931, p. 521.

36. Ibid.

37. Dr. John H. O'Donnell, Manitoba, pp. 71-2.

38. PANS, Archibald to Young, Dec. 20, 1870.

39. Ibid.

40. O'Donnell, Manitoba, pp. 78-9.

41. Le Nouveau Monde, Feb. 3, 1871 (Pembina, 10 jan.).

42. PAM MG14 C23 Box 3/6, Diary of C. N. Bell, entry for Dec. 30, 1870.

43. Le Métis, May 27, 1871.

44. Globe, June 19, 1871 (Winnipeg, May 21), article by "Commentator".

45. Globe, July 4, 1871 (Winnipeg, June 24).

46. Manitoban, July 8, 1871.

47. Ibid; Begg and Nursey, Ten Years in Winnipeg, p. 36.

48. Diary of C. N. Bell, entry for July 5, 1871.

49. Hon. Alexander Morris, Treaties, p. 316.

50. Morris, Treaties, p. 320. Mrs. Archibald signed "E. A. Archibald".

51. Manitoba House was in Township 22, Range 11, W. 1, well to the north of the boundary of that time, of 50 degrees, 30 minutes N., which passes through township 18.

52. Morris, Treaties, p. 41, Wemyss Simpson to Howe, Nov. 3, 1871.

53. Manitoban, Sept. 30, 1871.

54. Anne M. Collier, Portage La Prairie, p. 43, says that a storekeeper, Frank Fields, was one of them.

55. Margaret Morton Fahrni and W. L. Morton, Third Crossing, A History of the First Quarter Century of the Town and District of Gladstone in the Province of Manitoba, has a map of the area in question.

56. Manitoban, Sept. 30, 1871.

57. See, above, chapter entitled "Four Days--Two Bodies". Setter's own account was used by Hill in chapter 13 of his History.

58. Setter used the term in a letter to Schultz: PAM MG12 E3 Box 16/19 Schultz Papers, Setter to Schultz, April 19, 1871.

59. Manitoban, Sept. 30, 1871.

60. "Selections From the Unpublished Recollections of Mrs. S. C. Pinkham an Early Manitoban." Part III, Manitoba Pageant, Autumn, 1974, pp. 12-3.

61. PAC, Howe to Archibald, May 11, 1871.

62. See especially the Globe and the Telegraph for the months of July, August and October, 1871.

63. PAC MG26A Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 31, 1871. He stated his "willingness" to resign on November 25, and his "desire" to do so on Dec. 31.

64. "Locum tenens" means a substitute. Archibald borrowed the word from church usage. See "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 163.

65. Liberal, Jan. 19, 1872; PAM MG14 C23 Box 3/6, 1871-2 journal of C. N. Bell, entry for Jan 15, 1872.

66. Le Métis, Jan. 11, 1872.

67. St. Paul Press, Oct. 6, 1870 (Pembina, Sept. 22).

68. Huyshe, The Red River Expedition, p. 155; "Narrative of the Red River Expedition" in Blackwood's Magazine, Feb. 1871.

69. PAM MG2 C2, Eleanor Kennedy Papers, Kennedy to Bishop of Rupert's Land, Oct. 10, 1870.

70. Manitoban, Feb. 12, 1872.

71. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol 187, Archibald to Tupper, June 12, 1872. See also USNARS Microfilm T24 Toll 2, Taylor to Hale, April 22, 1872.

72. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 23, 1872.

73. USNARS microfilm T24 Roll 2, Taylor to Hale, April 22, 1872.

74. Ibid.

75. Manitoban, April 20, 1872; Le Métis, April 24, May 1, May 15, 1872; Manitoba Gazette, April 20, 1872; Liberal, May 4, 1872.

76. Manitoba Gazette, April 20, 1872.

77. The list is in three issues of the Manitoban, those of June 29, July 6 and July 20, 1872.

78. Manitoban, June 29, 1872.

79. Manitoban, July 27, 1872.

80. Rev. G. M. Grant, Ocean to Ocean, pp. 7-8. See also, for other aspects of this exploratory work, Charles Horetzky, Canada On The Pacific; Sandford Fleming, Report on Surveys and Preliminary Operations on the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1877.

81. Grant, op. cit., pp. 78-9.

82. Grant, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

83. Grant, op. cit., pp. 83, 87.

84. Grant, op. cit., p. 87.

85. T. G. Marquis, Canada's Sons on Kopje and Veldt, p. 3.

86. Denison, Struggles, p. 53.

87. AASB T10930, Archibald to Taché, June 20, 1872.

88. Rev. George Young, Memories, p. 238.

89. John McDougall, In The Days of the Red River Rebellion, pp. 238-9.

90. Manitoba Gazette, Nov. 13, 1872.

91. Manitoba Gazette, Nov. 13, 1872.

92. Le Métis, Oct. 12, 1872.

93. PAC MG27 1C8, Microfilm (M69), Archibald to Morris, Dec. 17, 1872.

Chapter Thirty-seven
The Member for Lisgar[1]

The problems of what to do about Riel and Schultz had caused Archibald considerable anxiety in the first weeks of September, 1870. There were no written instructions on those subjects, and Archibald had had to learn in quite different ways that neither man could be called upon to attempt to form a government for the new province of Manitoba. As the months passed and as Archibald gradually came to understand the political forces at work in Manitoba he learned how cruelly he had been deceived by the members of the so-called "loyal" party.[2] With the events of O'Donoghue's Raid came the full realization that there was only one man in Manitoba who possessed the confidence of a majority of the province's people, and that man was neither John C. Schultz nor any member of the provincial legislature, the executive council or the legislative council. Had there been no second army of occupation at Fort Garry Archibald could well have risked calling a second provincial election and asking Riel--who would certainly have been elected--to form a government. However, the arrival of the second Red River Expeditionary Force meant that this option was no more open to Archibald than it had been before.[3] Moreover, certain developments were to show unmistakably that while Riel might have majority support in Manitoba, public opinion elsewhere would never permit him to become that province's premier. While the Manitoba Act and Archibald's instructions might point to the practise of responsible government in Manitoba, political forces elsewhere forbade it absolutely.[4] Before dealing with these developments it will be useful to outline the changes in the political situation which took place before late 1871.

Archibald began the organization of his government with the appointment of Alfred Boyd as provincial secretary and Marc Girard as provincial treasurer. The appointment of Boyd bought peace with the more violent members of the "loyal" party, and the appointment of Girard was acceptable to the French Métis because he was Roman Catholic and spoke French.[5] While these two appointees assisted in the administration of affairs, Bishop Taché was in constant communication with Archibald and with Riel and the men around him, assuring a peaceful acquiescence on the part of the French-speaking Métis.[6] Where the English-speaking Half-breeds were concerned a "Central Committee" performed much the same service, but without the contact with Riel. Men such as James Ross, Dr. C. J. Bird and Robert Cunningham travelled from parish to parish during the election campaign, urging the importance of cooperating with Archibald and his policy of "letting bygones be bygones". Others like A. G. B. Bannatyne, Alexander Begg and James Tanner performed the same service less notably and in a much more restricted area. The first provincial election institutionalized the arrangement of forces of February, 1870, leaving Boyd, now elected representative for St. Andrew s North, in a very uncomfortable position. In the votes during the 1871 session he opposed the government as many times as he supported it.[7] This, for a member of the Executive Council as minister of public works and agriculture, was hardly a creditable record, while many in St. Andrew s were very annoyed with him for not voting with E. H. G. G. Hay on the question of an investigation into the events of 1869 and 1870. In the O'Donoghue's Raid emergency Boyd was not in the province. No one was very surprised when he submitted his resignation as cabinet minister to Archibald in mid-

December of 1871.[8]

The case of Marc Girard is likewise interesting in what it tells us about Archibald's cabinet. Girard had arrived in Red River in late August of 1870. Accordingly no one had any particular objection to his appointment. However, he had no knowledge of the concerns or problems of the Red River people and had to depend upon Taché and the men who had worked with Riel for insight into them. His voting record in the Assembly was impeccable, but the events surrounding O'Donoghue's Raid--when he served in the absence of Taché, as go-between between Archibald and Riel--brought into bold relief his true importance in Red River affairs. He was appointed to the Senate in December of 1871 for the same reasons that led to his appointment by Archibald. The Senate was thus deprived of an authentic Red River voice.

The first provincial election saw Boyd and Girard safely returned to the Legislative Assembly, and Archibald was able to complete the formation of his ministry. On January 10, 1871, he appointed Henry Joseph Hynes Clarke as attorney-general, Thomas Howard as minister of public works and agriculture, and James McKay as executive councillor without portfolio. Ten days later Howard and Boyd exchanged offices, Howard becoming provincial secretary. Certain historians have made reference to Clarke as Manitoba's first premier, but nothing in the available evidence gives a valid reason for that conclusion. True, the man's speaking and debating ability enabled him to take the lead in piloting government legislation through the House, but the notes of the Executive Council, Archibald's correspondence with Sir John A. Macdonald, and Clarke's absence from the scene of decision-making at the time of

O'Donoghue's Raid make it clear that he was not in any way leading the government.[9] As for Thomas Howard, formerly Captain and Paymaster in the Quebec Rifles, his appointment could cause no annoyance to the "loyal" party who looked to John C. Schultz as leader. Howard was the son-in-law of Colonel Dyde,[10] the Montreal friend and ally of Col. G. T. Denison of "Canada First".[11] He could not bring to the cabinet anything in the way of experience with Red River affairs, and must have been acceptable to the Lower Settlement for somewhat the same reasons that had permitted Boyd to remain in the cabinet for more that a year. The executive councillor without portfolio, James McKay, had credentials entitling him to both criticism and praise, depending on the point of view. He was one of those who took part in talks going on at the time of Dennis's initiatives. He was imprisoned briefly by the provisional Government. He was one of those who assisted the Métis councillors to persuade the Sioux not to come to Fort Garry on New Year's Eve, 1869. A Roman Catholic, McKay was a great friend of Bishop Taché,[12] knew several Indian languages and had a vast knowledge of the people of the territories lying to the west of Manitoba.

The Legislative Council was summoned by letters patent of March 10, 1871. James McKay, the President of Council, has already been noticed. If one were to make a political spectrum of the members of this Council, with these who had taken part in the Provisional Government at one extreme and members of the "Canadian" or "loyal" party at the other, an interesting analysis of Lientenant-Governor Archibald's choices would result. François Dauphinais would almost certainly be at one extreme. He was one of the group of men who made the Insurrection. He was a mem-

ber of the Convention of November, a member of the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia, and was one of the three councillors taken prisoner by Wolseley's force when Fort Garry was accupied by it. He was one of those who worked to gain Métis support for Archibald's government at the time of O'Donoghue's Raid. Had Riel been permitted to form a cabinet for the new province, Dauphinais might well have been one of the members. James McKay, noticed above, would likely occupy the place next to Dauphinais. Salomon Hamelin[13] was one of the group of Métis who came under the influence of Donald Smith and his money in February of 1870, and said that Riel and his party had gone too far. An old man, and long a member of the Council of Assiniboia, he had a wide knowledge of the Red River Settlement and of the great plains to the west. Hamelin would likely occupy a place next to McKay. In the middle of our spectrum would be found Colin Inkster, of St. John s parish. Inkster was one of a group of men who took a prominent part in the discussions recorded by Alexander Begg in his Journal. He was one of the men who determined on going to Schultz and telling him how he was endangering the whole settlement by the course he was pursuing in fortifying his houses. He, along with Maurice Lowman and James Ross, had gone to Riel to ask for a general amnesty to all Canadians immediately after the release of the prisoners on February 16, 1870.[14] When he opposed John C. Schultz in the Lisgar constituency in 1871 either he or a friend of his composed two "Tracts For The Times" attacking Schultz's approach to the campaign.[15] Next in line would be Dr. John H. O'Donnell, who would in later years write Manitoba As I Saw It. O'Donnell had come to Manitoba in 1869 at the urging of John C. Schultz. He was staying with the Schultz's at the

time of the Schultz houses incident, and was taken prisoner along with the rest. When Dr. James Lynch left Red River for Canada in the spring of 1870 he appointed Dr. O'Donnell to look after the payment of claims relating to those who had enlisted in Dennis's force. A man of independent mind, O'Donnell came to see that the Schultz houses incident was a serious mistake, and that it was better, all things considered, to lend support to Archibald's policy of letting bygones be bygones than to act toward the "provisionals" in a spirit of revenge. Second to the end of the spectrum would be Donald Gunn, the naturalist and historian. An old man at the time of the Insurrection, Gunn had been a member of the Convention of November, and, while it cannot be proved, was probably one of the three delegates who were reporting to Schultz on the progress of each day's discussions. He was a member of the Convention of January, again representing St. Andrew's. He nominated Schultz for the Dominion election in the constituency of Lisgar. Schultz wrote to Macdonald recommending his appointment to the Senate, and Macdonald in turn wrote to Archibald about it. Not wishing to leave things to chance Schultz spoke to Archibald on the subject.[16] At the end of the spectrum would be Francis Ogletree, of Portage la Prairie. Ogletree was a Canadian who had settled at the Portage in 1869.[17] He was with the Portage men when they marched past Fort Garry to Kildonan in February of 1870, and he was one of the "general council for the force" there. Like Charles Mair and others he was prudent enough to return to the Portage by means of a route that did not take him near Fort Garry.[18]

It is hardly accurate to state, as F. A. Milligan has done, that there were "no representatives of the Loyal party" in the Legislative Council.[19]

It is necessary and appropriate here to make a similar analysis of the men whom the people of Manitoba had elected to their Legislative Assembly. Taking into account their performance as members in the 1871 session will provide additional insights as we strive to examine the political changes that had taken place.

At the outset it must be reiterated that the elections of 1870 were not free. There was interference by the Volunteers at many stages and levels, not the least of which was the participation of an officer as candidate in St. Peter's in direct violation of the Queen's Regulations. In reaction to this interference there was a closing of ranks in French-language parishes and the election of candidates by acclamation. Thus men entered the Legislative Assembly whose lack of experience of Red River affairs was complete. All that could be said for them was that they were Catholic, spoke French, and had the blessing of Bishop Taché. H. J. H. Clarke, Joseph Dubuc, Marc Girard, Joseph Lemay, and Joseph Royal replaced men like Baptiste Beauchemin in St. Charles, Pierre Thibert in St. Paul s, Ambroise Lépine in St. Boniface, Pierre Parenteau in St. Norbert and Pierre Poitras or Xavier Pagée in St. Francis Xavier.[20] Only André Beauchemin of St. Vital, Pierre Delorme of St. Norbert South and Louis Schmidt of St. Boniface remained of the men who had made the Insurrection, and Pierre Delorme's election to the House of Commons would remove him effectively from the provincial scene for much of the time. Of the remaining members, all old settlers, J. H. McTavish of St. Anne was a newcomer to Manitoba politics, Pascal Breland of St. Francis Xavier was an old man who had once been a member of the Council of Assiniboia, and George Klyne of Ste. Agathe and Angus

McKay of Lake Manitoba had opposed Riel in early 1870.

In the English parishes interference by the Volunteers had less effect, although it was in St. Peter s that Captain Howard of the Quebec Rifles was elected. Donald Smith, with only a few months experience of Red River affairs, was elected in Winnipeg, defeating John C. Schultz. Like Delorme, election to the House of Commons removed him from the provincial scene. Six of the members, John Sutherland, Dr. Bird, E. H. G. G. Hay, Thomas Bunn, David Spence, and John Taylor had seen experience in one or more of Red River's previous assemblies, although John Taylor was eventually replaced by James Cunningham on a technicality. Bird, Bunn and Sutherland had joined the Provisional Government, but while Bird and Bunn were later elected to the Legislative Assembly of Assiniboia Sutherland was not.

When the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba met in late March of 1871 there was at first no clear pattern in the voting of the members. However, it gradually became apparent that E. H. G. G. Hay of St. Andrew s South was an unofficial leader of the opposition. A study of ten recorded votes shows that John Sutherland voted with Hay a total of ten times, while E. Bourke of St. James, John Norquay of High Bluff and David Spence of Poplar Point did so on nine occasions, Fred Bird of Portage la Prairie, eight. On April 25th, when the vote was taken on Clarke's amendment to Hay's motion asking for an investigation into the "Outbreak of 1869-1870", Norquay voted with the coalition which was supporting Archibald's "let bygones by bygones" policy. George Klyne of Ste. Agathe and Thomas Bunn of St. Clement s did not vote.[21] Smith of Winnipeg and Delorme of St. Norbert South were in Ottawa, and Joseph

Royal of St. Francis Xavier West was acting as speaker. It is not inaccurate to state that this vote of 14-5 against an "investigation" reproduced in a legislative manner the February, 1870, confrontation between the Provisional Government and Schultz's counter-movement.

In their first elections for the House of Commons Manitoba voters gave encouragement to all the factions which had contended for power in 1869 and 1870. Two men already in the Assembly were elected to the Commons. Pierre Delorme was elected in Provencher; Donald Smith of the Hudson's Bay Company in Selkirk. John C. Schultz defeated Colin Inkster in Lisgar, where the "general council for the force" was still a fresh memory. In Marquette voters reflected historic divisions between the four French-speaking and three English-speaking parishes by giving the same number of votes to Dr. James. S. Lynch of "Schultz houses" fame and Angus McKay who, under the influence of Donald Smith, had worked with Pierre Léveillé against Riel.[22]

If John C. Schultz, M. P. for Lisgar, made a report to Denison and "Canada First" in late September of 1871 he had every reason to make it sound very optimistic. Immigrants were arriving steadily in the Red River Settlement and the Half-breeds were having to give way. The incident at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois--now renamed the Boyne River--had shown that Ontario pluck could make the Lieutenant-Governor back down, and the "block" idea would soon be quite dead. Best of all, Archibald had finally begun to realize where power really was in the Settlement. Schultz was being consulted on a regular basis, possibly more often even that Taché. The only cloud in Schultz's sunny sky had come with the arrival of F. G. Johnson, Commissioner appointed to hear evidence rela-

tive to claims submitted by "sufferers" in the Insurrection of 1869-70.[23] Schultz had, of course, submitted his claim and was heard sympathetically. The problem which then arose was that since he was claiming for imprisonment as well as for losses allegedly sustained in the three houses which the "loyal" party had fortified in November and early December of 1869, the amount of his award might well equal those of all the other claimants combined.[24] Conversations had revealed that some of the men had an inflated idea of the importance of their own imprisonment, and could not see that loss of property was an important--perhaps a paramount--consideration.[25] He must make a note to tell Mulvey that more emphasis should be made in the Liberal on poor Scott's contribution to the "loyal" cause.

O'Donoghue's raid in October put an end to Schultz's complacency. Suddenly he realized that, while Riel might be in enforced hiding, he was not in exile and was very much a force to be reckoned with. Something would have to be done about this immediately. What that "something" was Schultz did not know, but every possibility between having himself appointed premier and forcing Riel to go into exile would have to be tried.

In early November Archibald reported to Macdonald on developments flowing from the so-called "Fenian Raid". Three French Half-breeds had been arrested and warrants were out for two or three more. John Bruce had been dismissed from the magistracy, evidence being insufficient to guarantee a conviction for complicity in the raid. Archibald told Macdonald how these efforts had been received by the community:

> The determination to punish treason is satisfactory to the moderate part of the community, but there are some zealots, principally Canadians in

> Winnipeg, whom nothing would satisfy short of the extermination of the race of French half-breeds [sic]. These bigots are not numerous. By themselves they would not be dangerous; but they are used as instruments by men who have not the excuse of being and who scarcely pretend to be governed by convictions, whose only object in pandering to the prejudices of such people is to create excitement which they can turn to account for themselves.

Archibald now became more specific:

> Your friend Schultz is secretly stirring up the movement. He wishes to get into the Local Government. He told me so the other day, and added that he thought he could make capital of the prejudices against the French Halfbreeds [sic] although he admitted there was but one course open as regards the acceptance of their services and that was the one that had been taken.
>
> He is beyond measure the most barefaced fellow I have ever met. He thinks it hardly necessary to throw a decent veil over his want of principle. He is ready to enter into any arrangements and make any combinations so as to acquire a voice in the local affairs. I should have no objections to give him a trial, if I could do so without losing more by it that I could gain.

Archibald closed by pointing out the difficulty involved in allowing Schultz to have such a "voice":

> You can understand that it would be impossible to govern this province, as it is to govern Canada, without some assistance from the French Element, and, at this moment, I have reason to believe there is not a member from a French constituency who would have anything to do with an arrangement of which Schultz was a part.[26]

A little more than two weeks later Archibald wrote again to Macdonald, this time to describe one of the means that Schultz had adopted of attacking Archibald's administration. Schultz had been instrumental in calling a series of public meetings at which resolutions were passed calling for the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba:

> These have not been convened in a way to give value to their expressions of opinion. They have not been called by the Sheriff or other Public Authority, the time of holding them has not been duly advertised, the meetings have been packed by partisans of Shultz [sic] going from house to house warning friends to appear and giving no notice to the other side: but still it is unquestionable that the want of vigor and debating power on the part of the English members of the Cabinet has given Shultz [sic] an apparent triumph. Of course, I cannot constitutionally treat as the expression of the People any resolution except those of their representatives in the Assembly and when called upon [by the delegates elected at these meetings] I will take that line.

Archibald then digressed to discuss political matters generally.

> There are great indications of weakness in the Government. Rumor has it that Mr. Clarke is in league with Dr. Schultz. He hardly disguises his hostility to his English colleagues. He is said to have declared that either he or they must resign. He refused to attend Schultz's meetings on the grounds that it was only the English section of the cabinet that was attacked. The "Liberal" which formerly could find nothing too bad to say of him, and which treated him as the 'bête noir' of his party, is significantly silent.
>
> Besides this Mr. Royal is evidently intriguing. He is now speaker of the assembly but is said to aspire to be a minister. In the number of the "Metis" before last he says there is but one <u>Frenchman</u> [emphasis his] in the cabinet and that there should be two-- In the "Metis" of today he is more explicit. This evidently means war against Mr. Clarke and indicates that the French are ready to throw him overboard. I have reason to believe that whatever might be Shultz['s] [sic] views the English opposition would not take Mr. Clarke up. The absence of the Catholic Bishop who is the only head the French have, puts them all at sixes and sevens--If he were here he would in all probability control the disorderly movement among his own nominees. You can easily understand, therefore, that what with internal dissensions in the Government and what with divisions in the ranks of the French Private [sic] members supporting of it, it may happen that some modification of the Government will be necessary.

> Of course I must take things as I find them and it may happen, though I do not believe it, that Schultz may effect some combination with the French representatives which may upset the administration and bring about a ministry of which the English section will be under his influence. He will never be satisfied without a sop and would require to be provided for in any Cabinet which might result . . . .[27]

Archibald enclosed in his letter to Macdonald a clipping from the Liberal giving an indication of the dissatisfactions being expressed at the public meetings. Mr. Mulvey had introduced a resolution stating that "unsuitable persons" had "been appointed as members of the Executive Council" and that "since their appointment . . . their whole administration" had "been in direct violation of the principles and practice of the constitutional government" which obtained in the older provinces. Mr. Cromarty had moved, seconded by Mr. Tait, "that the action of the Government ever since they came to the Province, more especially during the late excitement" had "been highly condemnatory" and that it was "calculated to foster and increase the ill feelings that now exist between the two sections of the community, thus retarding the pacification of the country". Donald Gunn had moved, seconded by Henry Smith, that the meeting had "no confidence in the Government; and that in consequence of the notorious election frauds in several constituencies the present House of Representatives" did not "fairly represent the wishes of the people". These resolutions were all carried unanimously, and John Tait and E. H. G. G. Hay were appointed as delegates to carry these resolutions to the Lieutenant-Governor. In addition these delegates were to "respectfully request the Lieutenant-Governor to at once dissolve the House and cause a new election to be made".[28]

The delegates elected at the various meetings duly sought, and received, an audience with the Lieutenant-Governor. Archibald replied in the only way that he could reply: he must regard the Legislative Assembly as the true voice of the people, and his government possessed the confidence of that Assembly. The delegates took his message back to the various communities which had elected them, and meetings were held to hear the reports.[29] Archibald was careful to send an observer to the Winnipeg meeting and wrote to Macdonald at some length about it:

> At the meeting to report my answer which took place in Winnipeg and which was attended by from 50 to 60 persons, the principal speakers were Schultz, Mulvey and a Mr. Gunn, son of the man Schultz wants made a Senator. The meeting consisted largely of the class of people who figure in all the disorders here. One of them, a Mr. Davison, has been with Dr. Schultz at every meeting. He came up here with the troops as voyageur. He now keeps a Saloon in Winnipeg. It was at his house the so-called mass meeting referred to in my last was held. He, in fact, is a type of the lot. At the meeting to receive the answer, he entered into conversation with a young man I had sent there to see what was going on. He referred to the expression contained in one of the Resolutions carried in the different Parishes relative to the pacification of the country. He said the pacification we want is extermination: We shall never be satisfied till we have driven the French half-breeds [sic] out of the country--But said the young man Mr. Mulvey is in favor of pacification. The reply was "Mulvey be damned"--Couple this with what followed and you will see that whatever may be Schultz['s] object this is the spirit of the men with whom he is acting.

Archibald then turned to look again at the general political scene. "All Schultz['s] hopes of getting into office were based on his being able to establish relations with the French through Royal. The editor of the "Liberal" on the 1st of December[30] comes out with a declaration inspired if not written by Dr. Schultz, with the aim of bringing about such relations, but the very next paragraph, written probably by Mulvey,

reads as if it were intended to repel any approach. Any 'rapport' between Schultz and the French is possible only by oblivion of the past. This Schultz sees and says he wishes to bring about; but with such assistants as Mulvey and the madmen he is surrounded by, every overture is accompanied with something to ensure its rejection."

> Two or three days ago, and after the meeting where Davison expressed his idea of pacification, this same man, in company with Schultz's father-in-law, one Farquharson, who lives in the house with Schultz, a Stewart Mulkins (a nephew by the by of Col. Dennis) and a number more, about 10 in all, chiefly disbanded soldiers, armed themselves to the teeth and set out at night for the settlement some six miles off from here, where Riel's mother and sister live, and where they supposed Riel himself to be. Five of them entered the house about nine o'clock at night leaving the other five as a guard outside. On entering, the party showed their revolvers. One presented his to the head of the mother, another to the head of the daughter, threatening the women to shoot them unless they told immediately where Riel was. The women refused to tell anything more that that he was not there. One of the men declared that he would kill Riel that night wherever he might find him. They left after about half an hour and returned to Winnipeg. The men had their features covered, so as to avoid recognition but even if undisguised they would have been unknown to the women. Information has leaked out, however, to show who some of them were. I am not aware that the evidence is sufficient to ensure a legal conviction. The alarm soon spread in the neighborhood and in the course of a short time a number of the neighbors collected in the vicinity and but for the return of these people to Winnipeg there would have been bloodshed.[31]

Archibald continued this narrative in a letter written three days later, on December 16th:

> Since then an information was laid before the Hon. Mr. Hamelin, a Justice of the Peace, of the County of Provencher, resident at St. Vital, charging a man named Buchanan a discharged Volunteer, with being one of the party engaged in the raid. He was adroitly arrested by the police and carried

> before the justice and held to bail to appear before the next court--His comrades, including the man Davison and Mulkins, and some twenty others armed themselves and went up to the justices to rescue him. They declared before they went that unless the prisoner was released there would be civil war. We had pushed the treason felony prosecutions against the half-Breed [sic] raiders with great vigor you will think when you read the speeches of the attorney-general--with rather too much vigor--but it would not do to say there should be law for one class and none for another: so that at the risk of possible consequences the case proceeded.
>
> The magistrate was moderate in his demand of bail. At the examination the witnesses identified Voyageur Davison, who was in attendance, as another of the raiders and possibly a warrant may be issued for him--but as the object is accomplished of shewing that the law can be upheld on both sides, I shall not be very solicitous to have further risks run.[32]

By the time this letter was written on December 16th, another initiative concerning Riel had been under way for some time, and Canadian government policy concerning him was becoming explicit. It will be remembered that in his letter of November 20th Archibald referred to the "absence of the Catholic Bishop". Bishop Taché in 1874 told the Select Committee a great deal about this absence. Taché had left Manitoba before O'Donoghue's raid on that province, and, as we have seen, McMicken had met and talked with him in Minnesota. When Taché arrived in Quebec in early October Sir George Cartier spoke to him about the advisability of having Riel leave the province for a while.[33] His presence in Manitoba, it was stated, "would be taken up by the Press, and would cause excitement in the Province of Ontario" during the forthcoming elections.[34] Cartier wanted Taché to use his influence to have Riel leave Manitoba. Taché was angry that the promised amnesty had not

been issued, and was reluctant to "interfere". Cartier insisted, saying that Taché was "the pastor of the people", and Taché eventually was persuaded to try. He pointed out to Cartier that Riel was poor, that his mother was a widow with four young girls and three young boys and had no means of support, especially when her eldest son was away. Riel had only his own labor for support, and it was not fair to ask him to leave his home without some compensation or some means of travelling. Cartier saw the truth of this and asked Taché to come and see him when he visited Ottawa in December. In Ottawa Taché talked with both Cartier and Macdonald about the matter. Macdonald said, "If you can succeed in keeping him out of the way for a while I will make his case mine, and I will carry the point." Taché commented to the Select Committee as follows:

> The question of amnesty had caused me so much pain already that I thought I would be justified in using all honest means to secure Sir John's assistance in the granting of the amnesty, and it was on that ground, and on that ground only, that I promised, as I did then, promise Sir John, that I would endeavor to persuade Riel to leave Red River for a while.[35]

Taché spoke to Macdonald in the same way he had spoken to Cartier, and Macdonald agreed that Riel would have to have some compensation. Macdonald said he would consult with Cartier and communicate with Taché again. In December of 1871 Macdonald wrote to Taché as follows:

> I have been able to make the arrangement for the individual that we have talked about. I now send you a sight draft on the Bank of Montreal for $1000; I need not press upon your Grace the importance of the money being paid to him periodically (say monthly or quarterly) and not in a lump, otherwise the money would be waisted [sic] and OUR EMBARRASSMENT BEGIN AGAIN [emphasis mine]. The payment should be spread over a year.[36]

Taché left Montreal by train on January 2nd, 1872, and at a station

between Prescott and Sarnia was handed a letter from Cartier. Cartier alluded to the draft which had been sent by Macdonald, and stated that it would be advisable for Ambroise Lépine to leave too, and that the money should be divided between him and Riel. If Taché had any thoughts about this unilateral halving of the amount to be paid he did not record them. He reached St. Boniface on January 16th,[37] and soon spoke to Archibald, who agreed that the "withdrawal" of Riel and Lépine was desirable. True to his word Taché found an opportunity to consult with Riel and Lépine. The response was at first very negative. Lépine said he would not leave the country, that agreements had been made with the Canadian government and it was for that government to protect them and to get rid of their own difficulties. Riel also objected strongly, saying:

> You know my disposition; I am sure I am killing myself in the estimation of my friends if I do leave, because they would say that I have been bought, and I am not in the market. Besides I have no means at hand, and I will accept no favor from the Canadian Government until all our difficulties are settled.

Taché insisted, showing " the difficulties for the country involved in their presence", and using all the arguments he could think of. Riel and Lépine asked for time to think over the matter.[38]

There is evidence to suggest that Riel and Lépine did more than "think over the matter". It will be remembered that in October of 1870, exasperated with the mounting violence in the Settlement, Riel and his associates prepared a "Petition to the President of the United States". Then at the time of O'Donoghue's raid, in October of 1871, Riel presented the Métis council with a set of questions inquiring into the

likelihood that the Canadian government would keep the promises made, including the general amnesty and the apportioning of the 1,400,000 acres of land to the Métis. The decision was that it did not appear that the Canadian government would honor its commitments. Nevertheless, the council decided to "delay . . . judgment" in order not to "exert a wrong influence on the Métis". Now, nearly four months later, with the situation worsening, the Métis were faced with a request from their Archbishop that Riel and Lépine should go into exile. It would appear that in this emergency the Métis council was called[39] together to discuss the situation and prepare another appraisal of their people's situation. On January 3rd, 1873, Riel and Lépine signed a long letter and sent it to the new Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Alexander Morris.[40] The letter, like the "Petition to the President of the United States", outlined the violent history of the Red River Settlement from the Métis point of view, and brought it up to the election riot of September, 1872. There is in this document one very long paragraph which appears somewhat different in intent.[41] The paragraphing is different as is the style, considerable use being made of rhetorical questions. The point of view seems to be that of early January, 1872, and one cannot but wonder if this paragraph was written separately and for a different purpose. There is no way of satisfying our curiosity, of course, since the original document, written in French, was lost before the English translation was published.[42] Whatever the truth of the matter, the long paragraph touches on the high points of the Archibald administration; the reign of terror, the failure to issue a general amnesty and the consequent absence of responsible government; the withdrawal of Riel in Beauchemin's favor; the moderation and patience of the Métis when under attack; the mobili-

zation at the time of O'Donoghue's Raid; the failure of the Canadian government to stand behind Archibald in the Raid's aftermath; the nocturnal raid on the house of Riel's mother; the failure to punish those involved. The concerns are those of a council rather that those of an individual, forcing one to consider the possibility that the decision of Riel and Lépine, when it was expressed to Taché, was that of the Métis council rather than of the two who had been requested to go into exile. The decision was not one to be taken lightly, and it was not taken soon.

There were very good reasons to doubt the usefulness of the policy being promoted by Taché. The absence of Riel and Lépine was not going to speed up the apportionment of the 1,400,000 acres to the Métis. That was, apparently, beyond the power of anyone in Mnaitoba, elected or otherwise. The absence of Riel and Lépine was likewise not going to change the patent fact that no Métis could go into Winnipeg without risk of being severely injured, or that no woman could cross a Winnipeg street without being abused or insulted.[43] The raid on Madame Riel's house in December had only underlined what a good many Métis already knew: if James Farquharson, Schultz's father-in-law, and his associates Buchanan, Davison and Mulkins were jailed a great contribution to Manitoba's peace would be made. However that only pointed again to something else everybody also knew: such men could do as they pleased as long as the troops remained in Fort Garry. Archibald's policies and Archibald's police were paralyzed[44] while they were there. The absence of Riel and Lépine would not change that. The absence of the two men would, moreover, leave the Métis people temporarily leaderless at a time when the need for leadership had in no way diminished. What would happen if O'Donoghue

tried another bid for Métis support?

There was one argument that Taché was using which it was impossible for Métis to evaluate, and that was the one which insisted that there was no hope for a general amnesty if the present Canadian government was defeated. That defeat was certain if fanatical groups in Ontario were aroused to oppose the government because Riel and Lépine were still at large in Manitoba. Riel and Lépine could ensure the issuing of a general amnesty for the people of Red River simply by doing nothing to compromise or jeopardize the continued existence of the present government. Both Riel and Lépine had had experience with the fanaticism of Orangemen, and wanted no part of it. They had no way of evaluating Taché's understanding of Ontario politics, however, and had to take his word concerning the effect that their disappearance from Manitoba would have upon Ontarians. However, Taché came from a good Canadian family and must know something about Canadian politics. Also, it appeared that Archibald was in agreement with the Archbishop.[45] In due course, on February 16th, the two men told Taché of the decision taken. They would leave the matter to his judgment on certain expressed conditions: that Taché would give them a letter "stating that it was at [his] request that they determined to leave", and that they would be "furnished sufficient means to travel, and something to be given their families during their absence".[46] Taché wrote the letter,[47] made the necessary arrangements concerning their expenses,[48] and the two men were able to leave Manitoba a few days later. Before they left Manitoba, on Sunday, February 25th,[49] reports had come to Manitoba that the Ontario Legislature had appropriated five thousand dollars to pay a reward to anyone succeeding in

arresting the parties responsible for the "murder" of Thomas Scott. The County of Middlesex added an additional thousand dollars as an incentive. American Consul J. W. Taylor reported to his superior that the Métis had held secret meetings to discuss whether precautionary measures of some kind should be taken. "It is too early," Taylor commented, "to determine whether the Orange party will be appeased, or encouraged to new excesses, by the departure from the Province of Riel and Lépine." "In this connection," Taylor went on,

> I invite the attention of the Department to the action of the Manitoba Legislature. On motion of Attorney-General Clarke, a resolution passed by a vote of 18 to 5 rebuking the interference of Ontario: but more significance is attached to a subsequent resolution, introduced by Mr. Donald A. Smith, who represents Fort Garry and vicinity in the Local Legislature and the District of Selkirk in the Dominion Government [sic], which was adopted by a unanimous vote, invoking the interpretation of the Queen's Government to settle all questions connected with the events of 1869-70, or in the language of the resolution, "of the period intervening between the passing of the Dominion Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the North-western Territories, when the same should be united to Canada, and the date when the Union actually took place." The resolution last mentioned was passed February 5.[50]

At about the same time Archibald dealt with the same matter in a letter to Sir George Cartier. "I have had a rather anxious time," Archibald began, "since the intelligence arrived of the rewards offered by Middlesex County Council and the Legislature of Ontario.

> Intense excitement prevailed for a while among the French half-breeds [sic]. 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 [emphasis mine]. 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 [sic], 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 . . . .[51]

The writing of this letter must have caused Archibald great mental anguish. He was having to admit that once again a military force was preventing Manitoba from enjoying responsible government. No more than in 1870 or 1871 could he count upon the obedience of the military force

which was supposed to be there to give strength to the civil power. An attempt to arrest any of the "small band of lawless men, idlers and roughs" could well be fraught with the risk of trouble with the force at the Fort. Also, Archibald was a Father of Confederation, one of those who had labored to create a new federation which it was hoped would operate according to the principles of responsible government at both the provincial and the federal levels. Now the Legislature of Ontario and the council of the County of Middlesex were presuming to tell the people of Manitoba whom they could or could not have as leaders of their provincial government. As Archibald told the Select Committee of 1874, "the whole of the French half-breeds [sic] 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."[52] When Archibald assisted in sending Riel and Lépine into exile he knew very well that he should have been asking them to form a government. He was soon to realize that he had made an error in judgment.

It was not, as it turned out, a good time for Riel and Lépine to be leaving the province. By going when they did the two men were to create a very bad impression in the minds of the Métis, and their absence bought nobody any peace. A crisis similar in some respects to that of the previous spring and summer was in the making, and the two men must have known of it. While the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois had been about unoccupied lands along the stream of that name, that of early 1872 concerned timbered stands that were much nearer at hand. Neither saw any bloodshed, and both saw the eventual

acquiescence of the Métis in a policy that involved trusting the constitutional process to safeguard their interests. In 1872 as in 1871 they were disappointed. All through the late winter and early spring of 1872 the Manitoba newspapers were filled with the timber question and its ramifications. To make a long story short the Métis prople arrived at an agreement concerning the conservation and use of timbered lands only to have strangers go onto them and cut timber where they pleased.[53]

American Consul J. W. Taylor summed up the affair very succinctly when he reported to his superior in April as follows:

> I have to report that the crisis which I regarded in June last with so much apprehension, and which was then avoided by general acquiescence in the Half Breed [sic] claims, has been precipitated by late intrusions on the timber lands of the tracts selected and (as is claimed) allotted by the Governor. Large meetings have been held in the French parishes to remonstrate: an address has been presented to the Governor, and a most determined resistance to any appropriation of their lands by Canadian emigrants has been manifested. One resolution, very significant in its terms, expresses regret at the "enforced absence of Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine whose patriotism and intelligence would have been of great service to their countrymen at this important juncture."[54]

In early 1872 Archibald considered himself a "locum tenens", and his resignation was made public in April in time to forestall a move in the House of Commons for his impeachment. In April too the Dominion Lands Act came into effect, and the people of Manitoba began to learn that neither their provincial legislature nor their Lieutenant-Governor had the last word in matters involving their public lands. A comment on the editorial page of the Manitoban shows the trend of their thinking:

> If the 31st clause of the Manitoba Act means any-

> thing at all, it must mean that on the day the Act was passed, the children of the half-breeds [sic] resident in the province at the time of the passing of the Act were endowed with the right to the possession of 1,400,000 acres. With the right thus given them, why should there be any tampering or delaying with regard to the possession? The land is theirs--nobody can take it away from them. Confederation was entered into on this understanding and on the understanding that possession was to be obtained at once. What is the excuse of delaying? Why not arrange the whole matter at once and have done with it? At the very moment we write a large proportion of the Half-breed population are agitated to an extent which to every thinking man looks threatening to the very existence of the Province as a whole, from the fact that they are becoming day by day more convinced than ever that the Half-breed grant as propounded in the 31st section of the Manitoba Act was never meant for anything else than a blind.[55]

The answer to this editorial question is that the minister in charge, Senator J. C. Aikins, was insisting that "action in the direction of setting apart the said Grant has necessarily been delayed" because the surveys were not "sufficiently far advanced to permit of the land being described".[56] It would have been a simple matter for the Manitoba legislature to have apportioned the land to the Half-breeds according to the principle of "metes and bounds". This could have been done in a matter of a few days, since most parishes had chosen their lands in the summer of 1871. Had the action been taken in the spring of 1872 Aikins--faced with a 'fait accompli' and an aroused public opinion--would have had to accept it. However, in order to take such action the Manitoba legislature would have had to be led by a leader who knew the local situation, and that person was not in the province at the time.

With the realization that power over the management of Manitoba's unoccupied lands was in Ottawa attention quickly centred upon the

gentlemen elected to represent the four Manitoba constituencies in the House of Commons. The Manitoba Gazette and Trade Review published a report in mid-April that Pierre Delorme was the only member of the House of Commons from Manitoba then in Ottawa for the parliamentary session.[57] The others were, presumably, on the way. To the astonishment of everybody John C. Schultz, M. P. for Lisgar, had returned to Red River on the 17th,[58] just when he might have been assumed to be at work in Ottawa. "Why is he here?"[59] asked Le Métis. There were two answers, evidently: he had come to set in motion the impeachment of Archibald;[60] he had come to consult with his constituents.[61] Schultz had gone to Ottawa for the opening of Parliament. Now, for some reason known only to him, he had left the capital city and returned to Red River. Bearing in mind the concentrated campaign Schultz had conducted to win the Lisgar seat in 1871, we can perhaps only conjecture that something he considered more important than impeaching Archibald or consulting with his constituents caused his return to Manitoba at this time. Probably we can assume that his much-published attendance at the great bonfire of April 19th,[62] where effigies of Archibald and Riel were burned, can be dismissed as a smoke-screen intended to disguise his real purpose in being in Winnipeg. Most likely the same can be said of the spate of indignation meetings which were held in several parishes.[63] Schultz must surely have consulted with his constituents prior to his departure for Ottawa not long before.

In my opinion we must infer that while in Ottawa Schultz had learned something that somehow altered the situation in Manitoba in a way that made his presence there advisable if his own private interests were to be served. Not the departure of Riel and Lépine, surely, for the departure

of these two was common knowledge in late February. Not the meetings in the French parishes, either, for these had begun prior to the departure of the two Métis leaders. There is evidence to suggest that the news Schultz heard in Ottawa touched him in the one place where he was sensitive--the pocketbook. In my opinion, Schultz learned two items of news while in Ottawa, and the third came to him by telegraph from Manitoba.[64] In April of 1872 the Dominion Lands Act was passed, putting into effect the imperial ideas the Canadian government had about western lands. In April also the decisions of Judge Johnson concerning the claims of Red river "sufferers" received official sanction, and Schultz learned that he was to receive more than 34,000 dollars.[65] These two items by themselves would have caused Schultz satisfaction and joy without forcing his immediate return to Winnipeg. However, the third item was probably a telegram from Mrs. Schultz in words to this effect: "Half-breeds selling lots cheap. Come at once."

A great many columns in Manitoba newspapers were soon filled with accounts of meetings held in Lisgar parishes, and with criticisms of John C. Schultz for leaving his post at a time when duty demanded his presence at Ottawa.[66] In one of these accounts we can perceive a hint as to what had brought him back to Manitoba: ". . . if reports speak truly, the Doctor has been buying up these claims in considerable numbers at low prices."[67] Schultz had not foreseen what the immediate result of the departure of Riel and Lépine would be. Now he must quickly make the arrangements by which he could come into possession of choice Red River lots offered for sale by Half-breeds or by Volunteers not wishing to settle in Manitoba.

The demoralization of the Half-breed people has been dealt with at length elsewhere,[68] and it is not necessary to go into it here, except to remark that there can be no doubt as to when it occurred. Two years after the negotiations of April and May of 1870 there was still no sign that anyone intended to parcel out the 1,400,000 acres to the Half-breeds in any way whatever, let alone in such a way "as to meet the wishes of the Half-breed residents". Many Half-breeds had left Red River at the time of the arrival of the Red River Expeditionary Force. Others left not long afterwards.[69] Some of the first to leave had established themselves on the South Saskatchewan at a place not far from Fort Carlton in what was then known as "the Saskatchewan". A report of the founding meeting of their new parish was published in the Manitoban early in 1872.[70] Those that remained clung to the assurances of Archibald, of Taché and of Riel that the Canadian government intended to keep its word. The election of Schultz, the continuing violence at Red River, the rumored resignation of Archibald, the departure of Riel and Lépine--these things eroded the confidence of the Red River Half-breeds and made them prone to be taken in by a new "confidence" game, aptly described for posterity by the Manitoban:

> Another of these confidence games (for there is no other name as fitting) is being largely carried on in the matter of the Half-breed land grant. The Half-breed is if possible treated to liquor and then the confidence begins. He is told that the Half-breed grant is all but a sham--that it will never come to anything. That to a certainty the claim he has made is of no earthly value. But as he is a decent sort of fellow and an old friend, out of pure friendship this confidence man offers him--say--five pounds, three in goods the rest in cash, for his claim, and we regret to say that the game has been far too successful. This explains the reason for the eagerness with which certain parties have been urging the Government to adopt

the script system. . .[71]

The Manitoban said that it was everyone's duty to warn the Half-breeds about this "confidence" game.

Schultz had many embarrassing moments during his time back at Red River. Comrades of the "Schultz houses" incident wondered why his time in prison was so much more valuable than theirs.[72] Others had questions to ask about certain "oak logs"[73] which Schultz's associates were alleged to have cut for him during the winter. As could be expected Schultz was not entirely successful in his efforts to answer these questions, for many took very seriously indeed his absence from the House he had received their support to enter only a year before. E. H. G. G. Hay would oppose him in the[74] next Lisgar election, and Doctor Lynch grew to feel he could no longer trust him.[75] Nevertheless, accompanied by a body-guard of disbanded Volunteers and voyageurs,[76] he maintained the stance that he was consulting with his constituents, and attended a number of meetings called for that purpose. One of the concerns expressed at these meetings illustrates clearly that the exodus of Métis was noticeable early in 1872. A new census was needed, some said, because anyone could see that Métis parishes--especially those at White Horse Plain--had lost population since the "enumeration" of 1870.[77]

Schultz learned something else while at Red River. Riel was in St. Paul, Minnesota, and not in Quebec, as the first reports had stated. Schultz did not want Riel to be in St. Paul any more than he wanted him to be in Manitoba. In St. Paul Riel was potentially even more dangerous than he was in the Settlement. At the southern terminus of the world of Métis freighting Riel could be in constant personal and tele-

graphic contact with Métis leaders, and, if he chose, he could use St. Paul newspapers to publicize the Métis point of view and air Métis grievances. Something must be done and done quickly. He would have to make some arrangements to force Riel to leave St. Paul. A little money judiciously spent should do the trick.[78]

His arrangements completed in both Manitoba and St. Paul Schultz made his way back to Ottawa.[79] In June the honorable member for Lisgar rose in his place in the Commons and moved an address asking for an increase in the military force in Manitoba. He recommended three hundred infantry and one hundred mounted men.[80]

Appendix "A"

Paragraph from letter of Ambroise Lépine and Louis Riel to Lieutenant Governor Morris, January 3, 1873.

"Since the 24th August, 1870, we have been cajoled by the Ottawa Government, left without protection, and afterwards robbed of our liberty. Individual domestic happiness was impossible; our lives were in constant danger. What reason has the Canadian Government thus to postpone to the injury of everything that people hold dear--the fulfilment of the same promises they had given us? The Government at Ottawa could not, in the face of the whole world, evade the inauguration of the grand principle of liberty consecrated by their agreement with us and by the Manitoba Act so nobly approved by both Houses; but they took care to neglect everything else, and every day the influence of the General Government was exercised for the purpose of preventing the Local Government from discharging its duty towards us; nay, more, the fundamental principle of our Constitution was violated. The representative of the Electoral Division of St. Vital resigned his seat in the Local House voluntarily; and, in accordance with the necessary legal formalities, his constituents accept and applaud his resignation. What is the conduct of the authorities? They have already declared they refuse to accept Mr. Beauchemin's resignation. And against whom are these arbitrary acts directed? Against those who from 24th August, 1870, have in reality preserved the peace of the country , by their respect for authority, by their moderation and by their patience in submitting to the oppression under which they suffer. For if the half-breeds had used their right to

defend themselves when unjustly attacked, and when the law left them unprotected, where would the Province be? Not only has our conduct always been conformable to our arrangements with Canada, but more than this, we are loyal and devoted to the Queen. In the autumn of 1871, on the simple appeal of the Lieutenant-Governor, we all were assembled to march against the Fenians at Pembina, at the very time that we were considered in Canada as a population of brigands, so that Governor Archibald knowing the danger in which we lived, was constrained, in order to give us an inducement to assist him in uniting the population, to assure us that he would use his personal authority to protect us so long as the Province was threatened by Fenians. We united our people with no little difficulty, endeavoring to induce them to forget the ground of their just indignation. We served the public cause--the cause of the Government. Has the Government remembered our services?--on the contrary, we would suppose the Government was angry with us. Has it not been charged as a crime against Mr. Archibald that he gave us his hand? nor did the Government come to his aid to defend his conduct against public opinion. It did not avail itself of the opportunity of doing justice to us, or of causing justice to be done to us; they even have rejected us and abandoned us to the fury of our enemies. On the 8th December following, a band of 15 men go to St. Vital, they enter like brigands at Madame Riel's house, saying that they came in the Queen's name with a warrant against Louis Riel, whom they sought everywhere with arms in their hands, upsetting everything in the house, insulting, outraging, and feloniously threatening with their fire-arms the women in the house. Up to this moment these malefactors have been spared and even treated with consideration (menagés)."

Appendix "B"

Letter of Archbishop Taché to Messrs. Riel and Lépine
(Translation)

"St. Boniface, Manitoba,
16th February, 1872.

"Gentlemen,--In the conversation we had yesterday you decided to leave to my judgment the decision to be taken in relation to the difficulties which threaten to arise owing to fanaticism. Were it not for your well-known patriotism and disinterestedness, I should not even venture to express the opinion I have formed.

"I know that a motive of fear or the mere desire of personal safety would not influence you: hence I have given hardly a moment's consideration to the chances in that direction. Surrounded by your friends, protected by their devotedness and zeal, you are as safe here as elsewhere, and perhaps more so than you would be travelling; nor is this the question to be considered.

"I know that the line of conduct you have marked out for yourselves is rightly dear to your hearts, and that you are determined not to deviate in any way from the principles by which you are guided, much less to yield to unjust influences, how urgent soever they may be.

"Your fellow citizens love and respect you, and the influence you enjoy amongst them enables you to do them good and to be useful to them. Your presence is a bond of union amongst them. Your departure would be a trial as well as a sacrifice. I know all this, gentlemen; I know it all the better from the fact that for a long time these matters have occupied my mind and my heart daily. Despite that knowledge I take it upon me to utter the painful and delicate word, Go, disappear for a time;

do not leave even a pretext to those who are assailing you so unjustly. They want to accomplish evil ends, to disturb the country, to ruin it if possible, and with that view they gladly make use of the pretext that you are here. Deprive them of that pretext, offer this fresh sacfifice on the altar of your country; you know by experience as well as from principle that it befits good citizens to place the public welfare above the most legitimate individual aspiration. Shew once again that your patriotism is not confined within the narrow limits of personal advantages, but that on the contrary you are capable of forgetting self when good is to be done.

"I feel, gentlemen, the magnitude and the extent of the sacrifice I ask of you. I have seen many sincere and devoted friends who think as I do. Few, no doubt, will take upon themselves the painful task of begging you to go away. My friendship and my confidence in you have nerved me to do so. I have declared myself your best friend; this has caused me to be insulted by those who hate you, and would treat me with the same contempt as they do you. Well, let them insult me again, for I am ready to repeat, and I do repeat, that I consider myself your best friend, and as such I venture to take the liberty of giving advice of so painful a nature. I know how painful it must be to you to go forth into exile, to go forth to expiate in a foreign land the crime of having so deeply loved the country of your birth. I know the affection you leave behind. If my friendship counsels your departure, it will also inspire me with compassion, and I shall not fail to offer a meed of consolation to those who must shed bitter tears during the days of your absence. Farewell, gentlemen, I bless you; and, awaiting your return, I pray to

God to keep you and to bring you back safe and sound.

Yours, &c.,

"Alexander, Archbishop of St. Boniface

To Messrs. Louis Riel and Ambroise Lépine,

St. Vital, Manitoba."

("Report of the Select Committee of 1874," pp. 56-7)

Footnotes

1. Schultz's election to the House of Commons is dealt with in the chapter, above, entitled "Schultz's Campaign on Behalf of the Volunteers." Lisgar comprised the five lower parishes of St. Paul's, St. Andrew's North, St. Andrew's South, St. Clement's, and St. Peter's.

2. See chapter, above, entitled "The Lieutenant-Governor Arrives".

3. The Expedition reached Fort Garry on November 18, 1871. See C. P. Stacey, "The Second Red River Expedition", in Canadian Defence Quarterly, Vol. VIII, No. 2, January 1931. See also C. S. P. 1872 (No. 15) for "Statement of Expenditure Made on Account of 'Manitoba Expedition'".

4. See chapter, above, entitled "To Organize a Government".

5. See chapter, above, entitled "The Lieutenant-Governor Arrives".

6. Archibald gave full credit to Taché in a letter to Macdonald: PAC Macdonald Papers, MG26A Vol. 18708, Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 12, 1871.

7. See issues of the Manitoban for the period March 18 to May, 1871.

8. Manitoban, Dec. 16, 1871. Boyd's letter was dated Dec. 9, 1871.

9. There is a discussion of the point in F. A. Milligan, "The Establishment of Manitoba's First Provincial Government" in HSSM, Series III, No. 5, 1950. See also Juge L. A. Prud'Homme, "Le Premier Parlement de Manitobe, 1870-1874" in TRSC, Section 1, 1933, pp. 165-182. See also the article by Dr. Lovell Clark in Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

10. PAC, Macdonald Papers, MG26A, Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 11, 1870.

11. Col. G. T. Denison, Soldiering, p. 186.

12. Lionel Dorge, "The Métis and Canadien Councillors of Assiniboia", in The Beaver, Winter, 1974, p. 56.

13. Lionel Dorge, "The Métis and Canadien Councillors of Assiniboia", in The Beaver, Autumn, 1974, pp. 40-1.

14. Begg's Journal, pp. 191, 215, 259-60, 308.

15. One of these "Tracts For The Times", No. 1, was privately printed and was signed "A.B.C.D." It has the date 20 Feb. 1871. It mentions Colin Inkster in the last paragraph, and a copy is to be

found in PAM, Inkster Papers, MG14 B30, Box 1, File 1a. The other, No. 2, appeared in the Manitoban for March 4, 1871. The tracts defend the role of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Insurrection. A reply to No. 2 was composed on March 12 by John Garrioch and sent to the News-Letter, but apparently never published. It may be found in PAM MG 12, E3, 16/19 (Schultz Papers). Garrioch accused the Company of complicity in the Insurrection. Taken together, the three documents illustrate how two factions were arguing in the early months of 1871.

16. PAC Macdonald Papers, MG26A, Vol. 187-8, Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 12, 1871; Sept. 18, 1871.

17. PAM MG3 B9, McVicar Papers, McVicar to fiancée, Sept. 18, 1869; F. N. Shrive, "Charles Mair: A Document of the Red River Rebellion" in CHR Vol. 40, 1959, p. 221.

18. F. N. Shrive, op. cit., p. 223.

19. F. A. Milligan, op. cit., p. 16.

20. The list is in the Manitoban, Jan 4, 1871. See Appendices "A" to "F" for the chapter "The First Provincial Legislature".

21. See note 7.

22. Manitoban, Feb. 25, 1871.

23. C. S. P. 1872 (No. 19) p. 9; J. H. O'Donnell, Manitoba, pp. 50-1.

24. Schultz claimed $55,065 for property losses, $10,000 for imprisonment and expatriation. He was awarded $31,890 for property losses and $3,000 for expatriation, making atotal of $34,890.

25. The criticism materialized at meetings in April. See Liberal, April 27, 1872.

26. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Nov. 4, 1871.

27. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Nov. 20, 1871.

28. LLM, Liberal, Nov. 17, 1871.

29. See for example, LLM, Liberal, Dec. 8, 1871.

30. No copy of this Liberal exists in any known public collection.

31. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 13, 1871.

32. PAC MG26A Vol. 187-8, Macdonald Papers, Archibald to Macdonald, Dec. 16, 1871. The complaint of 26 of the parishioners of St. Vital, dated Dec. 9, 1871, and addressed to Archibald, is in the file with this letter.

33. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 53.

34. Ibid., p. 55.

35. Ibid., pp. 53-4.

36. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, Macdonald to Taché, Dec. 27, 1871.

37. Taché was now Archbishop of St. Boniface, and on his trip from St. Norbert to St. Boniface he was escorted by "sixty sleighs". Dom Benoit, Vie, Vol. 2, p. 155.

38. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 55.

39. The loose organization of 1870 and 1871 was formalized in October and November of 1871. See the Writings--Riel, pp. 158-160.

40. The letter is in "Report--1874", pp. 200-7. See also A. H. de Trémaudan, "Notes and Documents", in CHR, June 1926, for a discussion of this letter. See also Writings--Riel, pp. 250-1.

41. The paragraph is on page 205 of "Report--1874". See Appendix "A".

42. A. H. de Trémaudan, op. cit, p. 138.

43. Liberal, July 26, 1871.

44. American Consul J. W. Taylor used the word "paralysed" at the time. See USNARS T24 Roll 2, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Hale, April 22, 1872.

45. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 55. See also Archibald's deposition in the report.

46. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 55.

47. The letter is on pp. 56-7 of Taché's deposition. See Appendix "B".

48. See "Report--1874": Archibald's deposition; Smith's deposition; Taché's deposition; Macdonald's deposition.

49. USNARS T24 Roll 2, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Hunter, Feb. 28, 1872.

50. Ibid.

51. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, Archibald to Cartier, Feb. 24, 1872.

52. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 151.

53. See especially Le Métis, Jan. 27, Feb. 3, Feb. 10, April 10, 1872.

54. USNARS T24 Roll 2 Taylor Papers, Taylor to Hale, April 22, 1872.

55. Manitoban, April 1. 1872.

56. PAM, Archibald Papers, Aikins to Archibald, Sept. 6, 1872.

57. Manitoba Gazette and Trade Review (afterwards Manitoba Gazette), April 20, 1872. The first issue of the Manitoba Gazette appeared on March 9, 1872.

58. Ibid. Liberal, April 20, 1872 (LLM).

59. Le Métis, April 24, 1872.

60. Ibid.

61. Le Métis, May 1, 1872.

62. Manitoba Gazette, April 20, 1872; Liberal, April 20, 1872; Manitoban, April 27, 1872; Le Métis, May 1, 1872.

63. Four were held in one week: Manitoban, May 11, 1872.

64. The telegraph line was completed to Winnipeg in November of 1871. Archibald and the Governor General exchanged messages on November 20: Manitoban, Dec. 9, 1871.

65. Details appeared in the Manitoban, April 27, 1872.

66. See, for example, Manitoban, April 27, May 4, May 18, May 25, 1872; Liberal, April 27, 1872 (LLM).

67. Manitoban, May 4, 1872.

68. See especially Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien, "La Décadence du Groupe de la Rivière Rouge", pp. 1109-1133.

69. Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 107, Riel to Taché, Sept 30, 1870.

70. Manitoban, March 11; March 18, 1872.

71. Manitoban, July 6, 1872.

72. Manitoban, May 11, 1872; Liberal, April 27, 1872.

73. Manitoban, May 4, 1872.

74. Manitoba Gazette, Sept. 7, 1872; Sept. 14, 1872.

75. PAM MG12 E3 Schultz Papers, Lynch to Wilson, April 9, 1874.

76. Manitoban, May 4, 1872.

77. Manitoban, May 25, 1872; Liberal, May 18, June 8, 1872.

78. "Report--1874", Riel and Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Jan. 3, 1873, p. 206.

79. He left Winnipeg on the "International" in the week before May 4; Liberal, May 4, 1872.

80. Manitoba Gazette, June 29, 1872.

Chapter Thirty-eight
The Election Riot of September 19, 1872

The "loyal" or "Canadian" party showed its true colors in late September of 1872. W. F. Butler had something to say about it:

> Representative institutions had been established in the new province of Manitoba, and an election for members of Parliament had just been concluded. Of this triumph of modern liberty over primeval savagery, it is sufficient to say, that the great principle of freedom of election had been fully vindicated by a large body of upright citizens, who, in the freest and most independent manner, had forcibly possessed themselves of the poll-books, and then fired a volley from revolvers, or, in the language of the land, "emptied their shooting irons" into another body of equally upright citizens, who had the temerity to differ with them as to the choice of a political representative.[1]

Butler, about to set out on a second journey across the North-West, had been witness to a deliberate attempt, on the part of the "loyal" or "Canadian" party, to seize and destroy the poll-books at the St. Boniface polling place. His sarcastic comment on the incident is only one of a number of references to it which can be found in historical works.[2] For Archibald, who had striven mightily for more than two years to establish representative institutions in Manitoba, the incident must have been a revelation, brutal in the extreme, of the extent to which he had been naive in his trust of the Canadian government, of the actual alignment of factors in Manitoba and Ontario, and of the completeness of his failure as Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

A man who had become a good friend of Archibald's, the American Consul, James Wickes Taylor, saw Archibald's failure too, and described it in frank terms to his superior within a week of the event:

> I can only describe the present condition of things

> as an anarchy. The Government is HAPPILY SURPRISED [emphasis mine] that the soldiers have not fraternized with the populace, but I have no expectation that there will be any serious attempt to punish the guilty parties. I cannot better describe the situathan in language which I felt constrained to use in my dispatch No. 94 of April 22, 1872: 'The Government is paralysed at all points by the breach of faith which accompanied the Canadian occupation of the country in 1870. If the Queen's Proclamation of General Amnesty had closely followed the Manitoba Act, actual peace [,] not a hollow pretence of peace, would soon have been assured. As it is, the administration of affairs is a series of makeshifts--a constant effort to avoid responsibility, and in no department are the results more palpable, than in the demoralization of the Judiciary.' I reserve further comments.[3]

As has been noted elsewhere, there were to be elections in only three of Manitoba's four federal constituencies. Riel and Clarke had been persuaded to allow Sir George Cartier to be elected in Provencher by acclamation. Voters in Lisgar, Marquette and Selkirk still had to register their votes, and it was in Selkirk that the "loyal" or "Canadian" party, known by the Métis as "orangeistes", staged the riot. There were several pretexts for their actions. As early as May of 1872 the Manitoba Liberal had protested about the fact that the names of such people as Riel, Lépine, Ritchot, Royal, Dubuc, Schmidt and Létendre were on the Provencher voters' list. Le Métis republished the Liberal's protest in this way:

> The Liberal adds in a menacing tone that if such men are permitted to vote, men . . . 'shall and will record their votes'. Which means, whether they are on the list or not, whether they have the right to vote or not, they will vote.[4]

On the other hand, the names of newcomers, people with only a few weeks' residence, were not to be found on the lists. While the voters' lists had been brought up to date, it is, indeed, doubtful whether the name of

Frank Cornish, who had arrived in Manitoba in July, was on the list. That of Stewart Mulvey most definitely was.[5] The Manitoba Liberal alleged as the immediate reason for the riot that a Mr. Genton had not been "allowed" to be a candidate.[6] However, as Archibald pointed out in a letter to Macdonald,

> [Genton] did not wish to run. He declared in writing which was delivered to the Returning Officer and produced at the Hustings before one o'clock that he would not run.[7]

The withdrawal of Genton left only two candidates, Wilson and Smith contesting the election.

There were three polling places in Selkirk: one at Headingly, one at the police station in Winnipeg, and one at the home of Roger Goulet in St Boniface.[8] Rumors had circulated in Winnipeg the day before the election that a party of Wilsonites planned to cross the river and seize the poll-books.[9] Events were to prove the rumor well-founded. Voting went on very quietly, and there was nothing whatever to provoke any violence. However, about three o'clock,[10] between forty and fifty of Wilson's supporters crossed the river to St. Boniface, taking with them a wagon bearing the slogan "Vote for Wilson". The wagon was filled with new wagon wheel spokes, "curious playthings to take across", the Gazette Extra commented, "if the party merely went over from curiosity to see how things were going". The men had the advantage of surprise. The poll clerk was seized from behind, and his book was snatched from him and destroyed. A group of St. Boniface people attacked the intruders, wagon wheel spokes were seized, and a general melee ensued, in which the Wilsonites were driven off. A number of them drew revolvers and proceeded to fire at the St. Boniface men.[11] James Farquharson was seen

to drop on one knee, take deliberate aim at Mr. Genton, and fire his revolver again and again and again.[12] Fortunately no one was killed, but several were severely wounded.[13] The Wilsonites withdrew towards the ferry landing, meaning to return to Winnipeg. However, they found that, as they later learned, Mr. McMicken[14] had given orders to have the ferry[15] rope cut, and the ferry scow had drifted downstream.[16] Some Wilsonites found rowboats and canoes lying handy and used them to cross the river, while the rest thought they would have to swim for it. The timely arrival of a steamer bringing a company of Volunteers from Pembina kept them from having to do this. The boat's captain sized up the situation and transported the Wilsonites to Winnipeg.[17]

There is a certain amount of confusion in the reports of what then happened in Winnipeg. It would appear, however, that after the mob's unprovoked attack on St. Boniface, the authorities decided to call upon the military for help. The soldiers made their appearance under the command of Major Irvine and drew up in a line some distance down the street from the police station.[18] The Liberal Extra stated that several people were prevented from voting by the excitement created by the appearance of the soldiers. The Manitoban Extra, however, insisted that "20 or so" of the mob went in to vote, only to find out what they already well knew, that is, that they had no vote. All sources agree that, upon the appearance of the soldiers, Mr. Cornish got on a wagon or a stagecoach and addressed the crowd, abusing the soldiers and the officers in charge of them and saying that it was against all British principles of law and justice for soldiers to interfere in an election.[19] He attacked Archibald and Donald Smith. The sheriff, he said,

was a perjured and base man, the chief of police a "toad-eating Communist".[20] He was followed by Stewart Mulvey, who continued in an effort to excite the feelings of the mob and incite them to acts of violence.[21] When the poll closed the soldiers were withdrawn, and the mob then made efforts to lure the police away from the platform of the police station. These efforts failed for a time, the police being determined to remain passive until something occurred to force them to act. Eventually a fight broke out in the crowd--probably started purposely--and the combattants were instantly surrounded by men brandishing sticks and wagon wheel spokes. This had the effect of drawing the police away from the police station to stop a fight. In the resulting mélée Captain de Plainval was surrounded and beaten, suffering severe cuts and bruises on his head.[22] The sources do not agree on what happened at the end of this fight. One stated that de Plainval and his force had to give way and retreat to the shelter of the police barracks.[23] However, Stewart Mulvey told Schultz, and Schultz reported to Donald Gunn, that "Plainval got badly beaten about the head and ran like a lamplighter".[24] Mulvey added that "the police were disarmed of their batons and they themselves thrust in the Police Station down stairs and locked up". Schultz later boasted that "Plainval's head [was] still badly swollen and his stick or baton of office [was] in the hand of Tom White as a trophy of the day".[25]

The village was quiet for a time, but not for long. As soon as it was dark a crowd of 50 or 60 gathered and made their way to the office of the Manitoban,[26] then in the "large Ross building".[27] Here they smashed the windows, broke down the doors, and completely sacked the

premises, upsetting the type and doing their best to destroy the presses.[28] The Manitoban Extra noted that while the Manitoban and Métis newspaper files were torn into shreds, the Liberal file, "which hung conspicuously on the same rack was left untouched". The mob then turned their attention to the Métis office in the McDermott block, where the Gazette was also printed. Here the performance at the Manitoban was improved upon, as the mob mutilated the presses and threw the type out the window. They would have set fire to the building, but the fire did not take hold, and the village was saved from a serious disaster, since a high wind had sprung up.[29] According to the Manitoban "two panes of glass were smashed in the Liberal office, and a handful of type scattered on the floor. But the device is too thin--the sham is too transparent."[30] John C. Schultz was ecstatic about the damage to the three printing plants. The Métis office press and type . . ." he wrote to John Gunn, "went out the window and it will be some time before 'Jean Baptiste' can express his grievances in print."[31]

The police were not able to interfere in these attacks on the printing establishments, but the soldiers under Major Irvine made another appearance in the village. When the soldiers appeared the mob was in front of McMicken's land office making threatening demonstrations. No damage was done, however, and the mob gradually dispersed. Irvine stationed soldiers in front of the newspaper offices, and a large body of armed special constables patrolled the village until the early hours of the morning.[32]

"Jean Baptiste" was not the only one rendered temporarily incapable of expressing ideas in print. The damage done to the publishing indus-

try in Winnipeg by the riot was significant. The Manitoban was the first of the damaged plants to issue an "Extra", with the aid of a hand press belonging to the Bishop of Rupert's Land and "a little type scraped together from the rump". The Manitoban did not resume regular publication until November 30th. The Métis Extra appeared on the 23rd, probably printed with the same press and type borrowed by the Manitoban. Except for one issue put out on October 12th, the Métis suspended publication until November 30th, by which time the plant had been moved over to St. Boniface. The Gazette Extra, published on the 24th, was probably published on the same press. No further issues of the Gazette appeared until November 13th. The Liberal, then, except for the October 12th Métis mentioned above, was the only newspaper serving Manitoba until the Manitoba Free Press began publication on November 9th. In a very real sense the crippling of the newspapers on September 19th--along with the imminent departure of Archibald--marks the end of one era and the beginning of another in Manitoba's history.

Schultz's alibi was excellent. As he wrote to Donald Gunn, he had been out of town[33] in the Lisgar[34] constituency: "The horse being tired I only came to Mr. Tait's last night,--and [came] from there up to here this morning."[35] "It seems to be a fact. . . that the French struck the first blow," he later wrote to John Gunn, "and fired the first shot across the River, and that Ricey Howard[36] commenced the scrimmage on this side, hence with them rests the onus of the row."[37]

Having "got the rights of the story" from Mulvey and Wilson and written to Donald Gunn, Schultz went to see the Lieutenant-Governor and warn him "against making arrests". Schultz said he "had heard"

that a "body of French Half Breeds [sic] were to be called in as Special Constables to aid in the arrests". Archibald replied that no such idea had been entertained. Schultz then advised that it would never do to make any arrests at all. If the attempt were made the officers would be resisted and there would be civil war. He gave it as his opinion that the soldiers would take sides with the mob.[38]

After this interview there could no longer be doubt as to Schultz's opinion of where power was in Manitoba!

Schultz knew, and knew that Archibald knew, exactly who would be involved if arrests were, indeed, made. Archibald proceeded to inform Macdonald on the point and ask advice:

> The Ringleaders inciting the mob are Cornish and Mulvey; the former you know at least of repute, the latter is Editor of the "Liberal" and captain of a militia company. Both harangued the mob on the occasion of the row at the Polling Booth, stimulating them to disorder by every kind of foul epithet hurled at the authorities. Mulvey declared to the mob that if the soldiers were ordered to fire, they would not obey their officers, and they need therefore not fear them. Many of THE MEN WHO WERE AT ST. BONIFACE [emphasis mine] are in Mr. Mulvey's company and they are affectionately and not inaccurately spoken of by himself as "Mulvey's tigers".

Archibald then turned to the part played in the St. Boniface fight by James Farquharson:

> I do not lay much stress upon the fact that that man "Farquharson" who is particularly and not improperly known as "Old Depravity" is Dr. Schultz's Father-in law. A very good man may be unfortunate in having a blackguard hold that relation to him, but of course, in the popular mind, it leads to very natural, if not entirely logical inferences.

"The officers of the Force assure me," Archibald went on, "that the

men will do their duty. I am inclined to think they will . . ."

> Oh that I had 100 trained English soldiers. For preserving the peace in the difficult circumstances we are placed in on both sides they would be of more use than 1,000 of these men.

"Now," Archibald concluded, "the question arises what is to be done?"

> Are we to take Dr. Schultz's advice and do nothing? Is property here to depend upon the will of a mob, and life upon the accuracy of aim of such men as Farquharson[?]. It seems to me that not to correct some of the ringleaders would be to abdicate the functions of government and that it ought to be done at whatever risk. I shall telegraph you for instructions but have written this more fully that you may have all the materials for judgement.

Archibald wrote his letter on the 25th of September. On the seventh of October Macdonald wrote his reply.[39] Since Archibald had left Manitoba on Board the "International"[40] on October 9th[41] the letter must have found him gone from Manitoba and followed him to Nova Scotia. By that time he had put Manitoba behind him and probably preferred not to hear more about it. Macdonald assured him that he should "by all means get Cornish and Mulvey indicted". A complaint should be sent to the Adjutant of Militia. A court of inquiry could then be held.

> I note what you say about Schultz. His reelection for Lisgar is, in one sense, to be regretted, but WE MUST TREAT HIM NOW AS A FRIEND AND SUPPORTER. [emphasis mine]

"This, however, should not deter you from pursuing a firm course in the way of vindicating the law."

A few days later Macdonald received a letter from Gilbert McMicken, giving particulars about the situation in Manitoba.[42] Things were still very unstable, he said, "indeed already they have a lot of roughs in from Moorhead during the excitement. Schultz, Lynch, Cornish, Mulvey and

Davis CAN AT ANY TIME THEY PLEASE plunge us into the wildest disorder . . ." Turning to the matter of the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, McMicken wrote,

> You could not do better than LET MR. A[RCHIBALD] RETURN.

Footnotes

1. Sir W. F. Butler, The Wild North Land, pp. 13-4.

2. There are excellent sources for information about the riot. Each of Winnipeg's four newspapers published an "extra" giving details of the event. In addition, letters written about it at the time by Archibald, Schultz and J. W. Taylor have survived. Secondary sources are, on the whole, not too helpful. Begg and Nursey, in their Ten Years in Winnipeg, published in 1879, touched on the event without identifying in any way those who had been instrumental in fomenting it: "We have no wish to dwell on this scene of disorder and destruction, it was alike discreditable and unfortunate for the town, but it is a subject of congratulation that, since that time our city has been remarkably free of any such misfortunes." Their account is, however, completely accurate in its assessment of the riot's effect on Winnipeg's newspapers. Begg, in his History of the North-West (Vol. 2), was more forthright in his treatment of the essentials and in his identification of Mr. Wilson's supporters as the chief protagonists. Bryce, in A History of Manitoba, gave a very brief account, writing of a "political cyclone" and emphasizing the attacks on the newspapers. Butler's short reference has been quoted verbatim. F. H. Schofield, in Vol. 1 of The Story of Manitoba goes into a fair amount of detail, but mistakenly places the St. Boniface events in Winnipeg. Schofield's is the only account that mentions the steamer. He does not mention the destruction of the Gazette or the survival of the Liberal. MacBeth, in The Making of the Canadian West, mistakenly states that the riot took place in connection with the first election in Winnipeg.

3. USNARS, T24 Roll 2, Taylor Papers, Taylor to Hale, Sept. 23, 1872.

4. Le Métis, May 22, 1872. LLM, Liberal, May 18, 1872.

5. PAM MG12 AL #744 "Abstract of names added to and names struck from the electoral list," Sept. 9, 1872.

6. Liberal Extra, Sept. 20, 1872.

7. PAC MG26A, Vol. 187, Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 25, 1872.

8. Manitoban Extra, Sept. 21, 1872.

9. Gazette Extra, Sept 24, 1872.

10. Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 25, 1872.

11. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872.

12. Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 25, 1872; Métis Extra, Sept. 23, 1872.

13. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872.

14. Liberal Extra, Sept. 20, 1872; Taylor to Hale, Sept. 23, 1872.

15. PAM MG2 C25, Schultz Papers, Schultz to Donald Gunn, Sept. 20, 1872.

16. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba, Vol. 1, p. 326.

17. Schofield is the only source to mention this detail.

18. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872; Liberal Extra, Sept. 20, 1872.

19. Ibid.

20. Manitoban Extra, Sept. 24, 1872.

21. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872; Liberal Extra, Sept 20, 1872.

22. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872.

23. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872.

24. Schultz to Donald Gunn, Sept. 20, 1872.

25. Schultz to John Gunn, Sept. 23, 1872.

26. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872.

27. Le Métis, Aug. 28, 1872.

28. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872.

29. Gazette Extra, Sept. 24, 1872; Métis Extra, Sept. 23, 1872; Manitoban Extra, Sept. 21, 1872.

30. Manitoban Extra, Sept. 21, 1872.

31. Schultz to John Gunn, Sept. 23, 1872.

32. Manitoban Extra, Sept. 21, 1872.

33. Schultz to Donald Gunn, Sept. 20, 1872.

34. Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 25, 1872.

35. Schultz to Donald Gunn, Sept. 20, 1872.

36. Presumably Thomas Howard, the Lieutenant-Governor's secretary, who would have to sign the order for the use of the military.

37. Schultz to John Gunn, Sept. 23, 1872.

38. Archibald to Macdonald, Sept. 25, 1872.

39. PAC MG26A Macdonald Papers, Macdonald to Archibald, Oct. 7, 1872.

40. Manitoba Gazette, November 13, 1872.

41. Le Métis, October 12, 1872.

42. PAC Macdonald Papers, Vol. 246, McMicken to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1872.

Chapter Thirty-nine
To Elect A Cabinet Member

Riel and Lépine did not remain long in exile in St. Paul. Schultz's efforts forced their temporary departure to Breckenridge.[1] From there Lépine returned to Manitoba, while Riel went back to St. Paul. In the latter part of June Riel again left St. Paul and went to St. Joseph, on the international boundary. From there he made frequent trips into Manitoba, and what he learned there persuaded him that he must resume public life. His people wanted him to be their representative in Parliament.[2] It was thus that his path crossed that of H. J. H. Clarke, who had decided to try his political fortunes in Ottawa, and that Riel, Taché and Archibald made a last effort to extract a promise from the Canadian government to do something about Métis land grants. Once again Riel had to make a sacrifice in order that the "interests of the Province"[3] might be better served.

The Dominion elections had been held in the older provinces a fortnight earlier than those in Manitoba.[4] Sir George Cartier was defeated in Montreal East in a violent contest[5] that featured the use of noisy mobs[6] of men and the participation of Colonel G. T. Denison, of "Canada First",[7] and his Montreal ally, Colonel John Dyde,[8] on the side of Cartier's opponent, Jetté. Archibald told the Select Committee of 1874 how he had acted on Sir John A. Macdonald's request to have Cartier elected in a Manitoba constituency. On September 4th Macdonald sent Archibald this telegram:

> Get Sir George elected in your province--do not however allow late Provisional resign in his favor.[9]

Archibald then sent for Mr. Clarke, and talked the matter over with

him. Clarke believed that he could beat Riel, and would fight it out to the end if Riel ran as a candidate. He would, however, withdraw if all other local candidates withdrew. With this assurance Archibald conferred with Taché emphasizing reasons why Riel should withdraw too: he would never reach Ottawa alive; if he did, he would be expelled from the House; if he were not expelled he could hardly expect to have any considerable influence there; his election would be a source of trouble, and would retard the progress of the country in every way. On the other hand Cartier, if elected, would have to do more about the issuing of an amnesty.[10] The next day Taché informed Archibald that he had conferred with Riel and a number of leading people and found that they were willing, if Clarke withdrew, to combine in supporting Sir George Cartier if he was willing to give certain pledges. Archibald telegraphed to Macdonald on September 5th, and a careful reading of the telegram reveals the concerns of Riel and the Métis leaders just one month before Archibald's departure from their province:

> Sir George Cartier can be elected by acclamation for Provencher if he feels free to say, 'That the settlers shall be continued in the exercise of all the rights they have been accustomed to enjoy in respect of the lands on the rear of their lots, and no sales or entries thereon shall be permitted till the question of those rights shall be settled and adjusted UNDER THE AGREEMENT WITH THE DELEGATES [emphasis mine]. 'That no person shall be allowed to enter on the townships laid aside for the half-breeds [sic] from the date of their selection, and any person entering after that date to be removed by the Government authority.'[11]

There was no immediate reply to this telegram, and on the 11th Archibald telegraphed again:

> Is there any answer to my cypher telegram? Time passing, and parties anxious have telegraphed

direct, requesting reply.

Macdonald's reply was as follows:

> I have sent message to Cartier, at Montreal, today, and expect his answer tomorrow by telegram. OFFERED SEVERAL SEATS HERE [emphasis mine]. A minister ought, I think, to give no pledge: it is a question of confidence altogether.

Archibald now wrote to Taché:

> My dear Archbishop,- I received last evening a telegram from Sir John, to say that he had received my message, and sent it to Sir George, and that he expected a reply today, and would forward it to me at once. I see that he thinks the constituency ought to elect Sir George frankly without stipulation. They could safely confide in promises, WHICH BEING ALREADY MADE, CAN GAIN NO STRENGTH BY REPETITION [emphasis mine]. You shall have the answer from Sir George whenever it arrives.

That same day a telegram came from Macdonald:

> Sir George will do all he can to meet the wishes of the parties. This statement should be satisfactory.[12]

Nomination day, September 14th, was drawing close and there was concern, among Riel and his associates, about the silence on the part of Cartier. Also, for a time it appeared that another candidate, Mr. Davy, intended to enter the race and force an election. Riel had had to be very persistent in his efforts with his colleagues. Early in the morning of Saturday the 14th Taché wrote to Archibald:

> I have pleasure in informing you that success now appears to me certain. I had no definite news until TWO O'CLOCK THIS MORNING [emphasis mine]. That is the reason why I did not send yesterday evening, provided always that Davy raises no obstacles.[13]

That same day Archibald received a telegram from Macdonald:

> Sir George, who is absent, agrees with me as to pledges it will be his interest to secure the approbation of his constituents, and he can be of more service to them than any other man.[14]

Sir George Cartier was elected by acclamation in Provencher. He thus became the first Canadian cabinet minister to represent a Manitoba constituency. There are aspects of the consultation and correspondence which brought it about which are of interest to our study. First, it is to be noted that Cartier had no part in them himself. In September of 1872 he was not a well man. The condition from which he was suffering--Bright's disease--was forcing him to visit specialists in Montreal and would cause his death in May of 1873. Riel and his associates, concerned about the delay in replying, would have been even more concerned about what they were doing if they had known this. Also to be noted is that in September of 1872 a situation similar to that of September 1870 existed. The peace of the province was being maintained because Archibald, through Taché, was in contact with the group of men who had the confidence of the majority of the province's people. Clarke, who would like to have been premier, knew this, and it is no doubt for this reason that he challenged Riel to a duel during the early part of the election campaign.[15] Then the reference to the "agreement with the delegates" is to be noted. Riel and his men were recalling the letter which Cartier had given to Father Ritchot in lieu of an order-in-council during the negotiations of May, 1870.[16] It is not clear whether Macdonald or any other members of the cabinet knew of the existence of this document. Certainly there is no reference to it--nor any trace of its spirit--in the orders-in-council concerning Manitoba's lands or in the Dominion Lands Act. What is certain is that this document had purchased the acquiescence of the Half-breeds

in 1870, just as Archibald's letter of June 9th brought it in 1871.[17] Now, with Archibald discredited[18] and powerless, the Half-breed leaders were hoping to hold Cartier to his promise of May 23, 1870. They were assuming that Cartier had sufficient influence in the Canadian cabinet to bring about changes in land policy. They wanted some arrangement made which would permit the continuation of 'hay permit' privileges at the rear of their river lots--something the township system would not permit. They also wanted an end to the protection afforded to newcomers by the order-in-council or May 26, 1871. This iniquitous order-in-council, which protected newcomers in their "irregular" occupation of unsurveyed lands while Aikins was insisting that the Half-breeds could not be assigned their lands until surveys were completed, had the effect of sanctioning an invasion of these lands. Here and there Half-breeds on the ground recognized it for what it was, and drove the newcomers away,[19] but for the most part these new settlers had been permitted to stay. A few days before he received Macdonald's telegram asking for the election of Cartier in Manitoba, Archibald had reserved fifty-five townships for the Half-breeds,[20] but the section surveys were not all completed to the point where individual assignments could be made. Meanwhile unrest was general, examples of violence occurred, and many Half-breeds decided to leave the province and go west.

In asking Cartier to use his influence Riel and the men around him were making a last desperate effort to have their land assigned to them in a way that suited their way of life. They were, however, clutching at straws. Cartier's personal influence in the cabinet had been seriously eroded, and especially where Manitoba's affairs were concerned. In June

of 1870, when he had written his long memorandum[21] requesting the issuing of a general amnesty, only Sir Francis Hincks, the minister of finance, had given him support. As Sir John Young pointed out in his accompanying letter to Granville, Cartier's statement, though "entitled to all the consideration due to the writer's long experience and high political standing in North America" was "not the expression of the opinion of an united cabinet." "Sir George Cartier", the Governor General went on, "though acting Prime Minister admits that he would rather not open a discussion on the subject with the whole body of his colleagues."[22] In February of 1871 Sir John A. Macdonald had commented in a letter to Rose that Cartier had "lost the ear of the Upper Canadians" and that there were "some very ticklish questions which will be brought up in my absence."[23] Lieutenant-Governor Archibald was known to be the appointee of Cartier, and the fierce press criticism that had followed Archibald's actions during the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois and after the so-called Fenian Raid had been directed at Cartier more than at any other cabinet member. Then, too, the management of Manitoba's unoccupied lands was a responsibility of the secretary of state, Senator James Cox Aikins, and government policy carefully codified in the Dominion Lands Act. If Cartier had not been able to influence the making of policy during the drafting of the Act, it was not likely that he would be able to bring about a change in its operation in September of 1872.

This, of course, is assuming that Cartier wanted to make changes to the Dominion Lands Act, and this is by no means certain. On May 2, 1870, on the day that the Manitoba bill was introduced in the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Northcote had a conversation with Sir George Car-

tier. According to Northcote Cartier spoke as follows:

> We propose to form a small province and to give it a constitution which will be fit for it, but we do not mean to give the local legislature power over the lands, because we have to provide for the extinction of the Indian title, for our engagements to the H. B. Co., and for the construction of a Railway. We therefore mean to keep the power of dealing with the lands in our own hands, making a larger contribution to the provincial expenses tham we usually do in consideration of our doing so. But we propose to allot 1,500,000 [sic] acres, or thereabouts, to the half-breed [sic] population, who seem to have a kind of Indian claim to some land.[24]

Careful analysis of Cartier's words reveals that he foresaw a situation not unlike that which obtained in Manitoba in 1872. Manitoba was then a small province whose legislature did not have power over the land. Arrangements had been made in 1871 for the extinction of the Indian title, and the Dominion Lands Act had certainly arranged for the fulfilment of Canada's "engagements" to the Hudson's Bay Company. The construction of a railway was under consideration. The only thing that was *not* complete was the allotment of 1,400,000 acres--concession on which key point by Ritchot and Scott had made all others possible. In 1872 Cartier's objective of 1870 had come true, and we have to consider a scenario quite different from the rather pathetic one sketched above.

Did Cartier break his work to Ritchot and the Métis? Did Aikins break Cartier's word? It is probable that we cannot answer these questions and, since Cartier's papers seem to have been destroyed and Aikins left few papers, we may never be able to answer them. However, we are face to face with the uncomfortable fact that an administration that could find plenty of surveyors before the transfer became official somehow could not find surveyors and set them to work before a full

year after the transfer had transpired. An administration which caused its delegates to remark that under the B. N. A. Act the provinces had control of the lands several months later prepared and passed an Act which gave control of Manitoba's lands to the Dominion government. This same administration could pass an order-in-council allowing "irregular" procedures on the part of Canadian settlers but could not allow Archibald to use the ancient principle of "metes and bounds" in describing blocks of land of the kind the Half-breeds desired. We have no desire to suggest that the Madconald-Cartier administration used duplicity in this matter, but what happened while they were in charge looks very like duplicity.

In any event there is no evidence of any kind that Cartier did anything "to meet the wishes of the parties". In September of 1872 he had only a few months to live.

Footnotes

1. "Report--1874", letter of Riel and Lépine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Jan. 3, 1873.

2. Le Métis, Aug. 21, 1872.

3. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 164.

4. Ibid.

5. The Montreal Gazette, Aug. 20, 1872, Aug. 27, 1872.

6. La Minerve, Aug. 22, 1872.

7. Col. G. T. Denison, Soldiering, p. 186.

8. Colonel John Dyde was a Montreal businessman and prominent militia figure: Toronto Daily Mail, March 6, 1886; Montreal Gazette, March 6, 1886.

9. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 165.

10. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, pp. 164-5.

11. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 58; Archibald's deposition, p. 165. See also Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, p. 224.

12. "Report--1874", Taché's deposition, p. 59; Archibald's deposition, p. 166.

13. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, p. 166.

14. Ibid.

15. Le Métis, Sept. 4, 1872.

16. See Appendix "A" of chapter entitled "Negotiations Leading to the Manitoba Act."

17. See Appendix "A" of chapter entitled "The Confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois".

18. Manitoban, July 20, 1872, report of meeting of July 13 at St. James.

19. Manitoba Gazette, July 6, 1872.

20. PAM (L. G.), Letter Book F, Archibald to Secretary of State, July 27, 1872; Archibald to Secretary of State, Aug. 26, 1872.

21. "Report--1874", Cartier's Memorandum of June 8, 1871, pp. 171-8.

22. PRO CO537, Supplementary Correspondence, Canada, Hincks to Sir John Young, June 9, 1870; Sir John Young to Granville, June 9, 1870.

23. PAC, Macdonald Papers, Vol. 157, Macdonald to Rose, Feb. 22, 1871.

24. W.L. Morton(ed), Birth, "Diary of Sir Stafford Northcote", May 2, 1870, p. 97.

Chapter Forty
The Unforgiven "Colony of a Colony"

By late September of 1872 a shrewd observer of the Manitoba scene could have discerned that an intermediate period in the province's history had ended. We do not need to speculate about this since there were shrewd observers who reported on aspects of the situation. American Consul James Wickes Taylor described the state of affairs as "anarchy". Gilbert McMicken saw where power was and reported to Sir John A. Macdonald:

> Schultz, Lynch, Cornish, Mulvey and Davis can at any time they please plunge us into the wildest disorder . . . .

Archibald too saw where power was and longed for a force of "100 trained English soldiers". However, since he had no such force he was reduced to asking Macdonald what to do:

> Are we to take Dr. Schultz's advice and do nothing? Is property here to depend upon the will of a mob, and life upon the accuracy of aim of such men as Farquharson?

Macdonald's reply ranks among the most cynical of replies ever made by Canadian politicians:

> I note what you say about Schultz. His re-election for Lisgar is, in one sense, to be regretted, but we must treat him now as a friend and supporter. This, however, should not deter you from pursuing a firm course in the way of vindicating the law.

Schultz's supremacy was especially noticeable where the publication of news and ideas was concerned. Only the Liberal was appearing on a regular basis and it would be November before its opponents made their reappearance.

Manitoba was a monstrosity among the provinces making up the Canadian Confederation. Though equipped with a bicameral legislature its people had no control over the province's chief resource, not even over that portion of it referred to in section 31 of the province's constitution. And though it did not realize it, the Métis National Committee had lost its last opportunity to influence significantly the course of events.

An important part of Manitoba's situation in late 1872 was the continuing lack of a general amnesty. In his efforts to persuade Taché of the importance of Riel's withdrawing from the Provencher election Archibald alluded to the possibility of Sir George Cartier's making increased efforts to have an amnesty declared. In this line of thinking Archibald was mistaken: neither Cartier's election nor his death in 1873 would make a difference in the process of having an amnesty issued. Cartier had already done his very best in this regard, only to have his efforts effectively neutralized by Governor General Sir John Young and others. We must now see what happened.

In February of 1870 the "general council for the force", just before disbanding, asked for an amnesty for all those who had taken part in the rising at Kildonan.[1] They had good reason to do so, two men being on the point of death as a result of the rising. The 19th of the demands in the list of rights taken by the Red River delegates to Ottawa asked that "none of the members of the Provisional Government, or any of those acting under them, be in any way held liable, or responsible, with regard to the movement, or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations".[2] The delegates were instructed that this was a sine qua non of negotiations. The Provisional Government, for its part, issued in April a pro-

clamation stating among other things that an amnesty would be accorded to all those who would submit to it.[3] Meanwhile, Schultz and his companions, who had travelled to Ontario, had made contact with his associates of "Canada First". When the news of Schultz's arrival in St. Paul on March 31st reached Toronto Colonel G. T. Denison and others began to work to arrange a reception for him there. Denison said that the first of their meetings was held in private, "so much did we dread the indifference of the public and the danger of our efforts being a failure".[4] Between the 2nd and the 6th of April Denison's committee worked to urge their "friends" to attend the reception. In later years and in two books Denison took no pains to conceal his part in what followed or to hide the identity of the "friends" whose aid he had enlisted.[5] On this and on other occasions when the participation of a large crowd was needed Denison called upon the Orange lodges of Toronto and their youthful affiliates the "Young Britons". Denison was here working with the underpinnings of Sir John A. Macdonald's electoral support in Ontario.[6] Denison knew it and Macdonald knew it. Denison described a conversation between himself and Macdonald which took place not long before Ritchot and Scott were to arrive in Ottawa. Denison went to Macdonald and urged him not to receive the two delegates. Macdonald replied that he had no choice: the British government were favorable to their reception. Denison then said, "Well, Sir John, I have always supported you, but from the day that you receive Ritchot and Scott, you must look upon me as a strong and vigorous opponent". Sir John patted Denison on the shoulder and said, "Oh, no, you will not oppose me, you must never do that". Denison replied,

> I am very sorry, Sir John. I never thought for a moment that you would humiliate us. I thought when

> I helped to get up that great meeting in Toronto, and carefully arranged that no hostile resolution should be brought up against you, that I was doing the best possible work for you; but I seconded a very strong resolution and made a very decided speech before ten thousand of my fellow citizens, and now I am committed, and will have to take my stand.[7]

Dension's efforts at mobilizing Orange support were, of course, made easier by the fact that Thomas Scott, executed by the Provisional Government, was alleged to be an Orangeman, but many communities of Ontario could boast that one of theirs had been a "sufferer" with Schultz in the "cells" at Fort Garry, and many meetings were held to honor these men and send in resolutions asking that no amnesty be granted to the Red River "rebels".[8] Denison had other strings to his bow too. Cartier had been involved in the Lower Canada "patriote" movement with Papineau, and there were many like Denison who had never forgiven him and were prepared to call him a "French rebel".[9] Not long after the conversation recalled above Macdonald fell very ill, and thus escaped the brunt of Denison's attacks. Attacks on Cartier, however, were made in several ways, the most visible of which used slogans on posters:

Shall French rebels rule our Dominion?

This became especially effective after Macdonald's illness forced Cartier to become acting prime minister. Another involved the participation of Dr. James Lynch.

Dr. Lynch had been taken prisoner in the Schultz houses incident, and had been released with the rest of the more militant prisoners on February 15th. He had been appointed captain by Colonel Dennis when the Canadians were enrolled for service, and was to have been in charge of paying them. Before he left Red River on February 24th Lynch appointed

Dr. O'Donnell to act in his stead.[10] Once arrived in Toronto Lynch joined Denison and the others in arousing the people of Ontario. With all respect to Louis Riel's denial that Lynch was "acknowledged as delegate of the North-West"[11] Dr. Lynch became a very effective delegate indeed.

Dr. Lynch's first letter to Sir John Young was written on April 12th, and in it he did all possible to discredit Father Ritchot and Alfred Scott as "delegates of an armed minority" and to ask that they be not received by the government.[12] This was followed by a longer letter on the 18th of April, regretting that Ritchot and Scott had been received and pointing to them as prime movers in the "rebellion".[13] Lynch's concern was not to allow a regard for truth to prevent him from painting the two delegates in the blackest possible colors.[14] As a result of these two letters Lynch found himself invited to visit the Governor General, and a "lengthy interview"[15] took place. It is not known what was said in this conversation, but Lynch must surely have used this unexpected opportunity to put forward the strongest possible case for the "sufferers" and the severest possible indictment of the "rebels". A few days later Dr. Lynch wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald, recommending that Portage la Prairie be included in the new province. This letter, like those to the Governor General, soon appeared in the press.[16] Lynch was becoming a well-known Red River "delegate".

When Lynch wrote again to the Governor General a proposed amnesty to the "rebels of Red River" was on his mind, and Denison is believed to have had a hand in its composition.[17] Lynch used the most persuasive arguments he could muster to oppose the amnesty: it would be a reflection on the

loyal people of Red River; it would be an ancouragement to rebellion; it would encourage loyalists to acts of private vengeance; it would destroy all confidence in the administration of law and order. It is to be noted that, unlike Ritchot and Scott who knew that an amnesty should include all the residents of the Red River Settlement, Lynch was arguing in terms of an amnesty to those he considered "rebels" only: he would have dismissed indignantly any suggestion that an amnesty should have included himself. However, in this letter was also hidden a hint that there had been a conspiracy involving both Riel and those in "high positions":

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

At whom was Lynch pointing a finger in innuendo here? At Howe, who had paid a visit to Red River immediately before McDougall's arrival at the border? At Tache, who had returned from Rome at the Canadian government's request and was now making every effort to have a general amnesty declared? At Cartier, who seemed to be working in league with Tache? Whatever Young's thoughts as he read the letter's arguments they were returned to suspicions of conspiracy as he read the second last paragraph:

> The proceedings of the insurgent leaders previous to the attempt of Mr. McDougall to enter the Territory, as well as afterwards, led many to suspect that Riel and his associates were in collusion with certain persons holding high official positions. Although suspected, it COULD NOT BE BELIEVED [emphasis mine]. An amnesty granted now, including everyone, would confirm these suspicions, preclude the possibility of dissipating them, and leave a lasting distrust in the honour and good faith of the Canadian Government.

There can be little doubt that Lynch meant Cartier. Then Lynch penned the concluding paragraph, a paragraph designed to convince Young of the breadth of Lynch's compassion for the misguided:

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

We cannot know what thoughts were uppermost in Young's mind as he decided what to do with this letter from Lynch. All one can do is conjecture. However, it is certain that in his actions Young paid Lynch the supreme compliment. He wrote a note to Earl Granville as follows:

> I have the honor to forward herewith a copy of a communication which I have received from Dr. James Lynch, stating certain reasons which make it, in his opinion, inexpedient to proclaim a general amnesty in favor of all connected with the recent disturbances at Red River.[18]

In forty-seven words Sir John Young gave a communication from a partisan of the Red River disturbances the same weight as a long and well-reasoned memorandum from his acting prime minister, a man who had been in Canadian politics for twenty-two years, five of them as co-premier with Macdonald, a man who had been a Father of Confederation and had, more recently, ably participated, as minister of militia, in the successful efforts to repel a Fenian invasion of his country. How can we explain this?

Sir John Young was embarrassed in the summer of 1870,[19] more embarrassed than any of his Ottawa colleagues had a way of knowing. There were

good reasons for this. His career as a colonial administrator had not been a conspicuous success. In April of 1855, while lord high commissioner to the Ionian Islands, he had found himself at odds with the representative assembly, which his predecessor, Sir Henry George Word, had also found it difficult to conciliate. Young was not in sympathy with the desire of the majority of the inhabitants for a union with Greece, and in a dispatch to the colonial secretary in 1858 he recommended that Corfu and Paxo should be converted into English colonies with the consent of their inhabitants. The dispatch was stolen from the Colonial Office and published in the Daily News. This misfortune rendered Young's position impossible, and W. E. Gladstone, sent out as high commissioner extraordinary, recommended Young's recall. Gladstone gave strong testimony, however, to the mild and conciliatory nature of Young's administration, and recommended that he be employed elsewhere. Young left Corfu in January of 1859, and was nominated K. C. B. In 1861 he was appointed governor general and commander-in-chief of New South Wales, succeeding Sir W. T. Denison. Immediately after his arrival in New South Wales he was persuaded to try, by nominating fifteen new members, to compel the upper house of the New South Wales legislature to pass a measure regulating the allotment of crown lands. Denison, before his departure, had refused to use this expedient, and the colonial secretary, Henry F. F. Pelham-Clinton on hearing of the incident, signified his disapproval. Soon after the expiration of his term of office Young returned to England, and was created G. C. B. in 1868. Later that year the Conservative ministry offered him the governorship of Canada, an appointment which several of their party had declined because the Canadian parliament had impaired the

dignity of the office by reducing the salary.[20] Young accepted the appointment amid high hopes for the expansion of the new Dominion into the North-West during his term of office, only to find that there were, first rumblings of discontent, and then a full-blown insurrection at Red River.

The last thing Young wanted in this, probably the last appointment of his career, was another controversy, and yet the city of Toronto[21] seemed determined to erupt in general demonstrations designed to make headlines in newspapers.[22] To make matters worse, the man whom Young felt he could trust, Sir John A. Macdonald, had fallen seriously ill during the negotiations with the Red River delegates, and the responsibility for affairs was now on the shoulders of Macdonald's Quebec lieutenant, Sir George Cartier, a man among whose credentials was participation in the 1837 "patriote" rising in Lower Canada. Cartier had acted loyally enough during the Fenian scare, but there were allegations that he was less than enthusiastic about the expedition which was on its way to Red River.[23] Young did not wish to appear to mistrust his acting prime minister, but he did not wish to create unnecessary controversy either. Montreal was quiet: surely that was significant. Toronto was where the demonstrations were taking place. In his interview with Young Taché realized at once what was in the wind and made the natural inference in the letter that Young asked him to write:

> If an 'indignation meeting' called by the 'loyal inhabitants' of Toronto is sufficient to give a direction to the settlement of affairs at Red River, every one will easily admit that it is impossible for us to expect liberal measures, or even the most elementary justice.[24]

Taché was perfectly accurate in his observation: "indignation meetings"

in Toronto had given a direction to the affairs at Red River. Sir John Young had made up his mind not to recommend the issuing of an amnesty, and his position did not change. In 1872, when Ritchot and Scott presented another petition[25] for an amnesty, Young forwarded it to the Earl of Kimberley, along with a covering letter stating his "surprise" at the reference made in the petition to "assurances" which he, Young, was alleged to have given the delegates concerning the issuing of an amnesty. He had, he assured Kimberley, never made "any such promise of an amnesty as that which they allege".[26]

In September of 1872, at the time of the Dominion elections, the population of Manitoba was becoming aware that their province was not a province like the others. The process of learning can be traced by reference to articles, editorials and letters published in their province's newspapers. For example, in the April 1, 1872, issue of the Manitoban this editorial appeared:

> If the 31st clause of the Manitoba Act means anything at all, it must mean that on the day the Act was passed, the children of the half-breeds [sic] resident in the province at the time of the passing of the Act, were endowed with the right to the possession of 1,400,000 acres. With the right thus given them, why should there be any tampering or delaying with regard to the possession? The land is theirs--was entered into on this understanding and on the understanding that possession was to be obtained at once. What is the use of delaying? Why not arrange the whole matter at once and have done with it . . . Why does not the Governor General at once give authority to the Lieutenant-Governor to select the lots or tracts, and settle the thing forever?[27]

Three and one-half months later, on July 20th, the Manitoban commented that Manitoba should have been given its public lands when the Dominion Lands Act was passed, and that the Manitoba legislature should have "been

at pains to ascertain what was going on." "Every foot of land in the province," the Manitoban went on,

> belongs to the Dominion and must be administered by an agent of the Dominion. Even our hay lands!

Then the Manitoban asked what many wanted to ask:

> Is Mr. McMicken, as accredited agent of the Dominion Government here, after the Dominion Lands Act has become law, to interpret that Act: or has the local government anything to do with the lands of the province in any respect whatever, seeing that the new Act deals with hay lands, wood lands, mineral lands, and all kinds of lands, individually?[28]

E. H. G. G. Hay must have been discomfited when, as part of his unsuccessful campaign against John C. Schultz in Lisgar, he wrote to the Manitoba Gazette in early September:

> I have always maintained and still do, that as a province we ought to enjoy all the rights and privileges of a province, in accordance with the B. N. A. Act. These lands would not only be a source of revenue to our province, but would have saved the ill-feeling that has been caused through the negligence and ignorance of the Ottawa government as to the requirements of the people of Manitoba.[29]

If Louis Riel read the letter--and he was known to be at home in Manitoba at this time--he must have smiled a wry smile as he read Hay's words!

On October 9th Archibald left Manitoba on board the steamer "International".[30] Archibald was in a more enviable position than the men of the Union St. Alexandre, successor to the Metis National Committee and recently organized by Riel, Lepine and Schmidt and named in honor of Tache.[31] Archibald could decide that his departure now would not cause a civil war or other violence, and he was eager to escape from what had long been for him an intolerable situation. It was intolerable for the

Union St. Alexandre, too, but they could not walk away from it. It was difficult to decide which aspect of it caused them the most mental torture, the absence of a general amnesty, the Canadian government's delay in apportioning the 1,400,000 acres, the arrogance and belligerence of those squatting on what were considered to be Metis lands or the insolence of the "Orangiste" party in Winnipeg. As Riel and Lepine were later to express it, it was almost as though the Canadian government considered their people as "an enemy" causing "more than two years" of "public strife, dangerous and inimical to the interests of the Province".[32] Probably the most serious of all, from the point of view of the Union St. Alexandre was the general malaise concerning the 1,400,000 acres. Few believed in the promise of Section 31 any more. Many had sold out and left the province, saying that they would never be back.[33] Others had said nothing, but their actions spoke more loudly than words as they didn't even bother to shut the doors of their abandoned houses and stables.[34] Each passing day saw the population of the province change gradually and irrevocably. Everyone, clergy, "loyaux", "provisoires" and Union St. Alexandre could see that Manitoba already was not the Manitoba of July, 1870, and nothing, it appeared, could be done about it. The only bright spot for the Union St. Alexandre was the fact that the behavior of the "Orange" party had had the effect of forcing the English Metis into taking sides with the French,[35] and that such men as Bannatyne had continued as active allies and Robert Cunningham had taken their side.[36]

Curiously enough, an incident occurred in July of 1872 which gives a hint that the pressure being experienced by Riel and the Union St. Alexandre at that time was taking its toll. Robert Stalker, a harness-

maker of Winnipeg, met Riel in the vicinity of St. Vital on July 16th.[37] In the ensuing conversation Riel is reported to have spoken along these lines:

> Riel remarked [to Stalker] on the difference in spirit which animated the two populations. Mr. Stalker could move about anywhere in the French parishes without being either molested or insulted, while it was impossible for Mr. Riel or the French Metis to appear in certain English localities without exposing themselves to the risk of being injured, beaten, or even knocked out. And yet, Riel added, if we wanted to act we could do it, but that's not what we want. And at the same time this gentleman is reported to have fired his pistol into the air . . . .[38]

According to Stalker Riel's two companions said, "Do not do that", and tried to take the pistol away from Riel, but were not successful.[39]

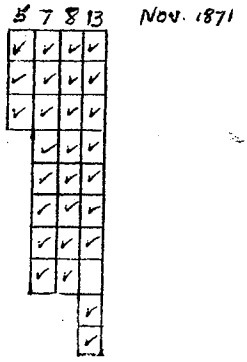
The situation in Manitoba in late 1872 was not unlike that predicted by the arrogant and boastful young Canadians in the summer and fall of 1870, when the Metis National Committee had been stung into taking action.[40] The Metis were becoming hewers of wood and drawers of water or were being dispersed into the seemingly endless lands of the West. What far-sighted British colonial administrators in the Colonial Office in London had foreseen and feared, as they sought to establish workable principles for the governing of a far-flung empire, had come true in Manitoba.[41] The chief resource of a people was under the control of a department located not in their own provincial capital but in a distant imperial capital and headed by a man who had never seen either that land or the people who lived on it. To make matters worse, the land was being used, not for purposes of Manitoba but "for purposes of the Dominion".[42] The people of Manitoba had striven to avoid this fate, and their efforts had resulted in so little violence and loss of life that the whole affair

looked absurd when compared with contemporary popular movements elsewhere. Amnesty, however, was not part of government policy because an "indignation meeting" in Toronto had given a "direction to the settlement of affairs at Red River . . .."

Manitoba had become in 1872 the unforgiven "colony of a colony".[44]

Appendix "A"

Chart showing attendance at meetings called by Louis Riel, Ambroise Lépine and Louis Schmidt to form an association among the Métis. Numbers below 104 are from Appendix "K", "Representatives of 1869-1872" to the chapter "The First Provincial Legislature." The letters PG identify men known to have taken part in the Provisional Government.



44. Ambroise Lépine
26. Louis Riel
48. Louis Schmidt, M.P.P.
23. Pierre Parenteau
Joseph St. Germain
Maxime Lépine
39. Bapt. Beauchemin
40. Pierre Delorme, M.P.P.
PG André Nault
PG Baptiste Lépine

First executive cf the "Union St. Alexandre", chosen in late 1871.

3. Pascal Breland, M.P.P., Pres. (St. Fr. Xavier)
94. Angus McKay, M.P.P., V. Pres.(Lake Manitoba)(1)
Maxime Lépine, Sec.-Treas.(St. Boniface)
48. Louis Schmidt, M.P.P., Sec.(St. Boniface)
PG44. Ambroise Lépine, Sec. (St. Boniface)
PG26. Louis Riel - to prepare address to Mgr. Taché (St. Vital)

Councillors-

Pierre Léveillé(1)(St. Fr. Xavier)
25. Pierre Poitras(St. Fran. Xavier)
40. Pierre Delorme, M.P.P. (Pointe Coupée)
23. Pierre Parenteau (St. Norbert)
Joseph St. Germain (St. Norbert)
27. Baptiste Touron (St. Norbert)
PG Baptiste Lépine (St. Norbert)
PG André Nault (St. Vital)
François Poitras (St. Fran. Xavier)
20. Pierre Lavallée (St. Fran. Xavier)
39. Baptiste Beauchemin(St. Charles)
John Grant (1)(St. Fran. Xavier)
18. Hon. F.-X. Dauphinais(St. Fran. Xavier)
Philibert Laderoute(St. Boniface)

(1) McKay, Léveillé and Grant had opposed Riel in January of 1870.

(Writings--Riel, Vol. 1, pp. 159-60, 169)

Footnotes

1. New Nation, Feb. 18, 1870.
2. John S. Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, has the full text of the delegates' instructions on pages 168-9.
3. Ibid., pp. 376-7.
4. Denison, Struggle, pp. 23-4.
5. Denison, op. cit., pp. 17-48; Denison, Soldiering, pp. 170-80.
6. Gregory S. Kealey, "Orangemen and the Corporation", in Victor L. Russell, Forging a Consensus, pp. 55, 62, 75.
7. Denison, Struggle, pp. 28-9.
8. Ibid., p. 27.
9. Ibid., p. 42.
10. PAM MG3 A1#11, Papers Related to the Red River Disturbances, statement of "James Lynch, Captain", Feb. 21, 1870.
11. Begg's Journal, "Memoir" by Louis Riel, p. 543.
12. The text is in Denison, Struggle, pp. 30-1. See also the Globe, April 16, 1870.
13. Globe, April 30, 1870.
14. For example, no mention was made of the deaths of Sutherland and Parisien. Lynch became a propagandist for a certain view of what happened during the Insurrection. See Manitoba Free Press, March 14, 1874.
15. Globe, April 16, 1870.
16. Ottawa Times, May 4, 1870.
17. Denison, Struggle, pp. 38-41.
18. PRO CO42 Vol. 687, Young to Granville, July 6, 1870.
19. "Report--1874", Tache's deposition, p. 40. Young was created Baron Lisgar of Lisgar and Baillieborough in October of 1870.
20. PRO, biograpical information based on Dunn, Ionian Islands in Relation to Greece; Resden, History of Australia; Lang, History of New South Wales.
21. "Report--1874", Tache's deposition, p. 40.

22. Especially the Globe and the Telegraph.

23. Denison, Struggle, p. 44.

24. "Report--1874", Tache's deposition, Tache to Young, July 23, 1870.

25. "Report--1874", Ritchot's deposition, pp. 84-5.

26. "Report--1874", Ritchot's deposition, p. 82.

27. Manitoban, April 1, 1872.

28. Manitoban, July 20, 1872.

29. Manitoba Gazette, Sept. 7, 1872.

30. Le Metis, Oct. 12, 1872; Manitoba Gazette, Nov. 13, 1872.

31. "Writings--Riel", Vol. 1, pp. 159-60, 169. See Appendix "A" for the Committee.

32. "Report--1874", Riel and Lepine to Lieutenant-Governor Morris, Jan. 3, 1873.

33. AASB Pere LeFloch, Saint Joseph, Aug. 13, 1872, T10780-10787.

34. AASB Pere LeFloch, Saint Joseph, Sept. 2, 1872, T10872-10875.

35. PAC Macdonald Papers, McMicken Correspondence, McMicken to Macdonald, Oct. 13, 1872; Oct. 23, 1872.

36. PAM MG14 B16 People of St. Vital to Robert Cunningham, July 23, 1873, on motion of Charles Nault, seconded by Louis Sansregret.

37. Liberal, July 20, 1872; Globe, July 22, 1872; Le Metis, July 24, 1872; Manitoba Gazette, July 27, 1872.

38. Le Metis, July 24, 1872.

39. Manitoba Gazette, July 27, 1872.

40. Begg, Creation, pp. 21-2.

41. Herman Merivale, Lectures on Colonization and Colonies, [1861], August M. Kelly Publishers, New York, 1967, p. 435; Hugh Edward Egerton, A Short History of British Colonial Policy, 1606-1909, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1897-1945, pp. 311-12.

42. The Manitoba Act, Section 30.

43. "Report--1874", Tache's deposition, Tache to Young, July 23, 1870.

44. Isaac Cowie, Company of Adventurers, p. 450.

Chapter Forty-one
Conclusion

In October of 1872--when Archibald left Manitoba--it was obvious to all that the efforts of the Metis in setting up a provisional government had not gained for them a secure position in Manitoba. It was clear too that Archibald's policy of conciliation and letting "bygones be bygones" stood revealed as a failure. No one was more keenly conscious of this than Archibald himself, and he must have experienced the deepest anguish when he took his departure. For these reasons it is essential here to recapitulate briefly the chief events of the Insurrection and Archibald's two years in Manitoba in order that there be no doubt in our minds as we analyze what historians have said--or left unsaid--about this important period in Manitoba's--and Canada's--history. [1]

After some initial setbacks in the winter of 1869-70, members and associates of "Canada First" had considerable success in influencing the course of events where the Red River Settlement was concerned. A carefully contrived campaign of public meetings and the publication of inflammatory editorials had aroused a large portion of Ontario public opinion to wish to avenge the death of Thomas Scott and the sufferings of the "Canadian" party. Col. G. T. Denison was able to have the Red River delegates arrested for a part in Scott's "murder", and Doctor Lynch, after having letters published in the press, had an audience with the Governor General, and used persuasive arguments against the issuing of a general amnesty. A well orchestrated campaign saw the nomination as commander of the Red River Expeditionary Force of Col. Garnet Wolseley, a man who was in close contact with, and under the influence of, Denison.

While its stated purpose was to be an "errand of peace", the Expeditionary Force under Wolseley's command openly became punitive in intent, and the Governor General saw to it that Wolseley was told that the Canadian government had never recognized the Provisional Government. While on one hand Bishop Tache was led to believe that a general amnesty was about to be declared, and this message was conveyed to those in charge at Red River, the Governor General carefully used his influence to make sure that such an amnesty could not be issued.

Meanwhile initiatives had been taken on another front. Charles Mair's advertisement began the artificial emigration that U. S. border officials were to notice in 1871. Archibald had not even left for Manitoba when Mair's advertisement appeared, inviting Ontario farmers to consider emigrating to Manitoba. Before Archibald arrived in Manitoba the North-West Emigration Aid Society had been organized, and it was soon pressing the Dominion government to make arrangements for the settlers going to Manitoba. Circulars were soon available for interested farmers, and correspondence began with such firms as Hill, Griggs and Company.

The Ontario Rifles at Fort Garry became an unruly army of occupation, providing protection for the "Canadian" or "loyal" party and a "reign of terror" for the Metis. In Manitoba the "reign of terror" began before Archibald arrived, and was to continue all during the making the enumeration, the provincial election campaign and the election of members to the House of Commons. This "reign of terror" had many effects. but three principal ones are easily discerned. Riel, the acknowledged leader of the majority group in the Settlement, was forced to remain in hiding. Hundreds of Metis family heads who had been active in the Metis movement as workers or supporters saw that there was going to be no peace

or tranquillity in the Settlement and came back to it only long enough to pack their belongings on their Red River carts and take their families and livestock to the plains. Finally, a profound conviction developed that neither the Canadian government nor the Archibald administration intended to honor the undertakings that had been given to the Red River delegates in April and May of 1870. The fact that no general amnesty was issued, either for Riel and the other leaders or for the general population which had been his support, meant that the Metis people began to lose faith in any constituted authority and in their clergy.

Meanwhile Archibald worked diligently, showing by his actions and appointments that he did not mean to follow a policy of revenge and gradually gaining the confidence of the general public and the hatred of Schultz and the "loyal" party. Constantly in touch with Taché, Archibald was able to know what Metis concerns were and to pass on his assurances that everything would be better in time. Taché in turn was in contact with Riel and the group of men who had worked with him to make the Insurrection. Archibald succeeded in pacifying the Indians, arranging for an enumeration and setting up administrative apparatus. As long as the Volunteers were at the Fort, however, it was impossible to do anything about the administration of justice. Neither in the drowning of Goulet, the burning of the Ross house or the accidental killing of Tanner in the election campaign was it possible to bring anyone to justice. It was difficult to get anyone to testify in the first place, and it would have been impossible to make an arrest or keep anyone in jail, with the Volunteers sympathizing with anyone who had acted with people whom they saw as enemies. Such was the pervading sense of unease in the Settlement that Archibald found himself

forced to postpone the opening of the provincial legislature. Matters reached something of a climax in February of 1871, when the Volunteers were out of control for hours and prisoners were released from jail. It was commonly believed at the time that only the election to the House of Commons of Schultz, who was directing the subversion of the Volunteers, prevented a major outbreak which would have seen the overthrow of Archibald's government.

During the fall of 1870 Archibald had thought about the best way to carry out the land grant of 1,400,000 acres included in the Manitoba Act in lieu of provincial control of lands. Through consultation with Tache and other influential people Archibald arrived at an appreciation of the matter as seen by the Metis. He was not personally in favor of "locking up" land and keeping it in blocks for the use of the Metis people, but he could see the importance of the policy to them. He was aware, moreover, that there were millions of acres, in suitable parts of Manitoba which the Metis were not likely to choose, available for settlement by newcomers. He several times urged upon the Dominion government the importance of concluding the apportionment of the 1,400,000 acres, but action was slow in coming. No surveyors arrived in the province until July of 1871, and no government land agent appeared until McMicken came in October of 1871 just before O'Donoghue's raid.

Early in the spring of 1871 members of the provincial legislature, aware that they had no power where land was concerned, had Archibald forward an address to the Dominion government, urging action in the grant of 1,400,000 acres. The Dominion government had issued an order-in-council outlining its policy in general terms, and it appeared that the Lieutenant-Governor had responsibility in the matter. Upon receipt of the address

the Dominion government issued another order-in-council stating that "bona fide" settlers who had staked claims on land that was not surveyed would be confirmed and protected in their possession of their claims. The order-in-council may have been drafted in good faith. The way things worked out, however, gave the impression then--and gives the impression to this day--that the government acted with duplicity.

In the early spring of 1871 the "emigrants" from Ontario, encouraged by Mair's advertisement and informed by the circulars of the North-West Emigration Aid Society, began to arrive in Manitoba. There were no facilities to receive them; land had not been surveyed; there was no agent to give them information. These settlers, acting according to the wording of the second order-in-council, squatted wherever the land looked attractive. The province's people, both English-speaking and French-speaking, were understandably concerned. Settlers were staking claims everywhere and nothing had been done about the 1,400,000-acre grant of the Manitoba Act. A delegation of members of the Legislative Assembly called upon Archibald, urging him to permit parishes to lay claim to land as their part of the grant on the principle of "metes and bounds", i.e., by using natural features such as rivers, creeks and "islands" of trees along with man-made landmarks like stakes and ferry crossings to describe the claims. The Manitoban appeared with lead editorials supporting this policy.

It is clear that it was the only possible solution. The people knew their settlements intimately. They could easily have claimed the approximate acreage to which they were entitled, describing the area by mentioning "metes and bounds". This could then have been surveyed in a way acceptable to those entitled to receive land, and everyone would have been satisfied.

A committee of the legislature with power to settle the claims could have sat and decided in a matter of hours whole sets of claims that were still to be settled decades later. In some cases justice has not been done to this day. However, the legislature did not have power under the Manitoba Act, and Ottawa was far away.

Archibald could see that the "metes and bounds" solution was the only possible one and agreed to it. He informed the parishes that they should decide upon the location and size of the allotment they were entitled to by the Manitoba Act. They were then to give "notoriety" to their choice by advertising in the local newspapers. Meetings were held in many parishes, especially the Metis ones, and statements of claim appeared in the Manitoban and in Le Metis.

Immigrants continued to arrive. A collision appeared inevitable. The Manitoban published editorials on many aspects of the land problem, and American Consul Taylor informed his superiors in Washington that a crisis was at hand. He was accurate in his observations. Collisions did occur in many places, and only the discipline of the Metis averted actual fighting and bloodshed.

The most dangerous situation was in the area along the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois, near what is now the town of Carman, Manitoba. The people of the parish of St. Charles had been in the habit of going out to this area for a considerable period of years, cutting hay, keeping bees, pasturing cattle, taking logs. Little permanent settlement had been made there, but the people of St. Charles considered it as theirs, and in the fulness of time a branch settlement would no doubt have been established there. With Archibald's instructions in mind calculations were made and a party

went out to blaze trees and post signs claiming a certain area along the river for St. Charles people.

Meanwhile a party of Ontarians had followed Mair's advice and cut across country from near Pembina, having been advised that good land with wood handy could be found. They found the land posted and trees blazed. Evidently certain Metis told them that the land had been claimed and warned them off. Threats were made; angry words were uttered. A less disciplined people than the Metis would have massacred the newcomers. Instead the Metis appealed to their leaders and to Archibald, and he, seeing that he could not force the Ontarians to go elsewhere for land, advised the Metis to give way. The Metis obeyed, but with a deep feeling of having been betrayed both by Archibald and by the Canadian government.

It was not long before the knowledge became general that Archibald's advice in the apportioning of lands on the "metes and bounds" principle was not going to be followed because it would not be honored by the Dominion government. Aikins explained sweetly that government policy knew nothing of "blocks" of land. The land was to be surveyed and apportioned out in "quarter sections" and "sections". There could be nothing known as "quarter sections" and "sections" until the land had been surveyed! Yet no surveyors were in sight.

Meanwhile the Liberal screamed to high heaven about the Lieutenant-Governor's illegal acts and the partiality shown to the Metis. In Ontario the Globe took up the cry and urged the recall of the Lieutenant-Governor.

The summer passed with the Metis angry and sullen and feeling betrayed and the Manitoban informing the people that in the last analysis Manitoba's government had nothing to say about land policy. There was nothing to do

but wait for the surveyors and the land agent.

This is where things stood on the eve of O'Donoghue's raid. Both Riel and O'Donoghue were in constant contact with the Metis leaders and knew the state of feeling that existed among them. The two men with such different backgrounds gave opposite advice. O'Donoghue counselled annexation to the United States. If this involved violence there was no better time than the present, for the bulk of the Ontario and Quebec Volunteers had been disbanded, leaving only a small force of about eighty men in the province. Riel counselled patience and reliance upon the words and deeds of Archibald and the Canadian government. He insisted that all would turn out well in the end.

Consul Taylor warned Archibald in early September of 1871 that there were rumors of a Fenian raid, but Archibald, always careful about acting prematurely, waited and listened. In constant contact with Metis leaders, Archibald knew the feelings that existed among the Metis people and, realizing the precariousness of his position, decided to hope that sober opinions would prevail.

When Gilbert McMicken arrived with news of the movement of a small Fenian force toward Pembina, Archibald realized that everything depended upon the attitude of the people of the French-speaking Metis parishes, since most of these parishes were between Winnipeg and the border. If these Metis decided to join O'Donoghue the issue would be decided at once, since the English-speaking parishes, all north or west of Winnipeg, would be isolated from help coming from any quarter. The situation was critical, and Archibald knew it.

In addition to these strategic facts just mentioned Archibald knew

that a certain element of the English-speaking people who would volunteer for service--the "loyal" or "Canadian" party now augmented by disbanded Volunteers--would as soon fight the Metis as the Fenians. The danger of civil war was real indeed. When the Metis had made their agonizing decision to support him, Archibald did not dare to invite them over to Fort Garry to review them, but went himself to St. Boniface instead, where he met and shook hands with Riel.

The press attacks upon Archibald and the Canadian government had been vicious enough after the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. The Liberal sounded the war cry and the Globe dutifully charged. After O'Donoghue's raid the Liberal renewed its attacks and the Globe and other Ontario newspapers chose to follow the Liberal's interpretation of what had happened. Unfortunately the Canadian Cabinet also accepted this view of events and Archibald felt himself forced to submit his resignation. The Canadian Cabinet began to search for ways to remove what it saw to be the cause of these attacks, and when Bishop Taché was in Ontario and Quebec in late 1871 he was urged by Cartier and Macdonald to arrange for the departure of Riel and Lepine from Manitoba into temporary exile. Tache was unwilling at first to try this, but eventually agreed to make the effort. Money was made available by Macdonald for the travel expenses of the two men and for the Riel family, who in Louis' absence would have no means of support. Taché later said that the only reason he had for thus arranging the departure of the two men was his wish to secure Macdonald's help in the granting of a general amnesty. Riel and Lépine did not wish to leave Manitoba, and did so only after receiving Tache's written earnest appeal to their patriotism.

Tache's cooperation with Cartier and Macdonald in the arranged exile

of Riel and Lepine was a serious strategic error. The decision gave no one any peace, it did not bring the desired general amnesty, and a most unfortunate impression was created in the minds of the Metis people. Very soon after the departure of Riel and Lepine more families began leaving the Red River Settlement. These people knew that their own leaders had left the province. With Archibald gone or soon to go--his resignation had been accepted before the opening of Parliament as a means of forestalling Schulcz's motion for Archibald's impeachment--the Metis knew they had no advocate left.

In April of 1872 the Dominion Lands Act became law. Far from giving the Metis and the promised 1,400,000 acres priority, the Act made "such lands as . . . may be required to satisfy the . . . claims created under Section 31" of the Manitoba Act "subject to" rights "defined or created under this Act". Any Volunteer who had come to Manitoba in August of 1870 was as entitled to a grant of land as a Metis whose family had been in the province for decades. The Manitoban was soon railing against the "confidence" games by which Metis were being relieved of their land claims. John C. Schultz returned suddenly from Ottawa, ostensibly to confer with his constituents, but more likely to take advantage of the chance to buy Metis lands and claims at a low price.

During late 1871 and early 1872 Riel had been working to organize a permanent committee to provide the leadership needed by the Metis, and this resulted in the Union St. Alexandre, named in honor of Taché. This organization consisted of men who had worked with him in the Provisional Government, along with others who had been forced by the violence of the Volunteers and "loyal" party to look for ways of protecting Metis interests. Some of

the men had helped Riel to mobilize Metis support for Archibald and Canada at the time of O'Donoghue's Raid. This new organization was involved in the moves made in September of 1872 to elect Cartier--who had been defeated in his Montreal riding--for the constituency of Provencher. Once again Riel had to show his patriotism by agreeing to withdraw from the contest. It is probable that whatever stability there was in the Manitoba situation in late 1872 was due to the work of this organization.

Neither the outline of events briefly summarized here nor the 1872 situation here described squares with those to be found in the work of the Canadian historians of the Period. Yet a study of the available documents suggests that this interpretation is correct. In my opinion there is no adequate published history of the 1869-1872 period. Each of the extant histories omits aspects so significant that the omissions leave the narrative seriously flowed. One could compare each one to a crossword puzzle whose aficionado, while dedicated, is nevertheless called away at a certain moment to take care of family affairs, leaving a number of key words so far from finished that the one who picks up the unfinished puzzle cannot guess them. Yet the missing letters are not numerous nor the clues obscure.

A. S. Morton terminated his history with British Columbia's entry into Confederation in 1871.[2] Yet, strangely enough, Morton's work comes closer than most to grappling with the essential aspects of the period. He saw that the Insurrection was not a rebellion.[3] He recognized that Metis occupation of Fort Garry was a clever strategic move, even if he had no way of divining why it happened when it did.[4] He realized that Macdonald and Cartier had destroyed the symmetry of the B. N. A. Act in appropriating Manitoba's lands "for purposes of the Dominion".[5] He knew that the Red

River Expeditionary Force had not brought law and order to Manitoba.[6] He appreciated the fact that O'Donoghue had good reason to expect the Metis to join him in 1871,[7] although he did not see the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois incident as a contributing factor. Likewise he did not see that Riel had had to restrain his more impetuous followers when they, back in the Settlement because of smallpox in the West, asked to be allowed to take action against the Red River Expeditionary Force.

G. F. G. Stanley's The Birth of Western Canada is regarded as a standard work on the Red River Insurrection, and his Louis Riel has been accepted as the basic biography of the Metis leader. Yet a reading of these two books leaves certain questions, particularly about the Archibald regime, unanswered. In The Birth of Western Canada Stanley dealt with the Red River Expeditionary Force of 1870, and then launched into a long discussion of the amnesty question.[8] While such a discussion was necessary and very revealing, dealing with it at this point forced Stanley to touch upon Archibald's early months in Manitoba only tangentially. The chapter makes important points concerning the reasons why an amnesty was never issued, but, perhaps without realizing it, Stanley had allowed himself to be lured away from a proper treatment of Manitoba in late 1870 and early 1871. He never returned to it, shifting his gaze in the next chapter to the growth of settlement in the north-west. Accordingly the problems created by an army of occupation at Fort Garry never received Stanley's full attention. In Louis Riel Stanley made essentially the same error of arrangement, following Riel, Lepine and O'Donoghue into hiding and taking his attention away from developments at the seat of government.[9] The result is that Stanley never did face the fact that the presence of an army of occupation

at Fort Garry and its behavior toward the civilian population effectively prevented Archibald from succeeding in his policy of conciliation. And, while Stanley touched upon the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois in his The Birth of Western Canada,[10] he did not return to it in Louis Riel, so did not see that Archibald was under attack in the Ontario press even before O'Donoghue's Raid. Accordingly he did not have a means of measuring the achievement of Riel and his committee in holding the allegiance of the Metis for Canada.[11]

When W. L. Morton's Manitoba: A History was published in 1957 both A. S. Morton's History of the Canadian West to 1870-1 and Stanley's The Birth of Western Canada had been known in academic circles for nearly twenty years. J. K. Howard's Strange Empire was published in 1952 and W. M. Davidson's Louis Riel: 1844-1885 had appeared in 1955. All of these books had made reference to the violence that characterized the Archibald period, especially the first months of it.[12] Evidence pointed to the Volunteers at Fort Garry as being responsible for much of it. Yet Morton wrote as though he did not see that the presence of the Volunteers was the backdrop against which the events of 1870-1 were played out and with which Archibald, in his efforts to establish a provincial government, had to cope. One can only suggest that Morton's slight pro-Canadian bias, evident in the introduction and footnoting of Alexander Begg's Red River Journal,[13] received enhanced expression in the general history suggested by the University of Toronto Press. Accordingly it is impossible to take seriously the conclusions at which Morton arrived concerning the Red River Insurrection and the Archibald years in Manitoba. A statement which he made concerning the situation in Manitoba immediately after O'Donoghue's raid is a case in

point:

> There could be no peace in Manitoba if the amnesty were granted, none if it were denied.[14]

This is beautiful prose--Morton's prose is beautiful throughout--but it is not good history. If there was no peace in Manitoba it was because a general amnesty had not been granted. This policy had as its tangible expression the presence of an army of occupation in the province giving encouragement and force to the tiny "Canadian" or "Orangiste" party. What Morton should have written was "There could be no peace in Ontario if the amnesty were granted, because Col. G. T. Denison and 'Canada First' were using their connections with Orange lodges to put pressure on Macdonald and his Cabinet". Morton cannot be excused on grounds of ignorance, since his footnotes indicate that he had read Denison's account of the carefully contrived demonstrations.[15]

The passing of the Manitoba Act and the organization of the so-called "province" of Manitoba did not represent a victory for the prople of Red River who had supported the Provisional Government, as W. L. Morton implied.[16] Riel and his supporters did little more than interrupt a constitutional revolution being arranged by the Macdonald-Cartier Cabinet, a revolution that would set Confederation on a quite different course from that envisaged by their fellows at Charlottetown, Quebec and London. In so concluding I have to agree with certain aspects of the writings of D. N. Sprague, who in his articles has used the phrase "government lawlessness"[17] in the administration of Manitoba land claims. There is no doubt that section 30 of the Manitoba Act was contrary to the spirit of the B. N. A. Act. Not until the passing of the British North America Act of 1871 was the Canadian government immune from the possibility of embarrassing revela-

tions made by Riel or others interested in living according to what had been enacted in 1867. Had the government acted promptly on Archibald's recommendations of December, 1870, or had it allowed the setting aside of "blocks" of lands by parishes according to the old principles of "metes and bounds" at the time of the confrontation at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois, it would not have been open to charges of duplicity. Sprague would have enhanced the credibility of his articles if he had researched the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois incident.

The Red River Expeditionary Force under Wolseley did not establish law and order in the new province of Manitoba. The men of the Ontario and Quebec regiments of Volunteers became a badly-behaved army of occupation giving support and force to those who, like J. C. Schultz, were deliberately fomenting disorder. Neither the Expedition of 1870 nor that of 1871 was necessary, either for purposes of internal order, where both were counter-productive, or for purposes of international strategy. There is no evidence that any individual in the American government acted in such a way as to arouse fear or suspicion on the part of the Canadian government. The Canadian government feared American influence so little that it did not act quickly on Butler's recommendation that a force be sent to maintain order in the area actually beginning to be penetrated by American entrepreneurs acting out of Fort Benton. One cannot help reflecting that, had the government acted on Butler's recommendation, the Cypress Hills Massacre would almost certainly have been prevented.

During the Archibald regime in Manitoba a large part of the Metis people were cleared from the province by terror. It was neither necessary for the Metis people to be cleared from Manitoba nor inevitable that they

should be so dispersed, as G. F. G. Stanley has suggested.[18] Had they been granted a provincial government with the powers of other provinces under the B. N. A. Act, and had there been no hostile army of occupation, these people could have hung on to their toe-hold in Manitoba. As it was, their own sense of discipline, their willingness to listen to Riel, and Riel's faith in the integrity of the Canadian government lost them whatever last-minute chance they had of saving themselves from being dispersed. By the end of 1872 the Canadian government had broken the word of Macdonald, of Cartier, of Sir John Young, of Thibault, of de Salaberry, of Donald Smith, of Bishop Tache and of Archibald himself.

Why did Archibald leave Manitoba in October of 1872? A cynic could reply--cynics have already replied--that there was no good reason why he should not leave Manitoba, since what he had been sent there for was accomplished: the Metis had been kept quiet while a constitutional revolution had been set in place, leaving Canada on a quite different course from the one set by the Fathers of Confederation. Unfortunate though it may seem, at the end of this long study one is forced to admit that the cynic has a point and that some questions have to be asked. Was Archibald a "stool-pigeon"? Was it his duty to maintain the loyalty of the Red River Metis while the legal mechanisms were set in place which would deprive them of their lands and make of them a dispersed people? There are historians who would assert this as truth, and one must admit that things did fall into place remarkably well for Macdonald and Cartier, all things considered. After April of 1872 they were in a position legally and constitutionally--if not in the spirit of the B. N. A. Act of 1867--to use the lands of the West "for purposes of the Dominion".[19] However, that this is true does not

necessarily mean that Archibald was part of some kind of plot to defraud the Metis.

In my opinion Archibald left Manitoba at a moment when he was convinced that he could do so without running the risk of causing a civil war or other violence. Since he was powerless to change Canadian government policy the sooner he disassociated himself from it the better. He had come to believe that the failure to grant an amnesty amounted to a failure to grant responsible government and that, accordingly, his administration was a failure. In my opinion what he had to say about this issue, both to the Canadian government and to the Select Committee of 1874, effectively absolves him from any charge of collusion in what happened in Manitoba. One cannot do better than quote again from his letter to Howe of January 20, 1872:

> It seems to me that the people here must be allowed to be judge 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 cannot go back to inflict punishment for offences in which half the population were implicated, committed before responsible Government was conceded. . . .
>
> I am quite content to await the time when a healthier public opinion will take the place of the feverish exicetment lately prevailing in some parts of the Dominion. Meanwhile, let a different experiment be tried. At the end of a year of such a regime, 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'[20] you can hardly hope to carry on responsible Government by inflicting death penalties on the leaders of a majority of the electors.[21]

The policy advocated in this letter was repudiated by Macdonald and his Cabinet, and Archibald's resignation was accepted. No more than Riel, it appeared, could Macdonald escape from the exigencies of statecraft. "Indignation meetings" had, indeed, given a direction to Red River affairs and to Canadian affairs. It would have required moral courage and decisive action for Macdonald and Cartier to have regained the initiative lost to Denison and company in April of 1870 and never regained. Since these commodities appear to have been in short supply Denison was, in effect, allowed to dictate policy, and Canada was set of a course which would eventually lead to disaster. It may well be, of course, that the option to declare a general amnesty was never again open to Macdonald and Cartier after April 26th, the day it was promised.[22] Orange lodges all across Ontario had been aroused, and Dr. Lynch had had his interview with the Governor General. Be that as it may, Denison's policy meant no general amnesty for the people of Red River and an army of occupation in Manitoba. This precluded any possibility of a fair trial for Riel and his associates

and ensured the eventual ascendancy of John C. Schultz.

What has this study of the period contributed to an understanding of Canadian history? I think I have shown that the policy of Macdonald and Cartier was to use the lands of Rupert's Land and the North-West "for purposes of the Dominion".[23] Other aspects of policy were dictated by Denison and "Canada First".

Macdonald and Cartier were not supermen, and they were not supernationbuilders either. They appear to have had a vague idea of a railway line connecting the old provinces with the trade of the Pacific area. Neither of them appears to have had any clear idea that the people of Rupert's Land could be productive Canadian citizens in a society as bilingual as Quebec or parts of Ontario or New Brunswick. This is remarkable, considering that all of the French Metis and many of the English had family connections with the old provinces, and makes one think that both men must have been afflicted with a racial bias of some kind. Probably the Latin expression "tabula rasa" expresses their inchoate ideas about the vast expanses of the North-West. Their over-riding idea seems to have been to annex these lands by any means, foul or fair. They were certainly prepared to carry out a constitutional revolution in order to achieve their ends. The people of Red River, in their several sets of demands, were asking for nothing that was not in the spirit of the B. N. A. Act or was not already a part of Red River or Canadian custom and tradition. The use of both French and English had been part of western custom for many years, and many western people were bilingual or trilingual.[24] All the colonies had had legislative councils.[25] The Manitoba Act spoke essentially the same language as the B. N. A. Act where its educational provisions were con-

cerned,[26] because Manitoba schools had been denominational since the beginning of missionary work. In the demands that were expressed in late 1869 and early 1870 Riel, Ritchot and the men of the Provisional Government emerged as the conservatives, Macdonald and Cartier and their Cabinet as the revolutionaries. There is no other construction that can be placed upon what happened.

The B. N. A. Act of 1867 assigned to the provinces the management of their public lands. This was in accord with a trend in British colonial thinking which had been developing for some time. It was not in accord with the expansionist ideas of Macdonald and Cartier. The building of a railway required a source of revenue, and Macdonald and Cartier were determined that this revenue should fall under Dominion control. So not only did they see to it that the vast lands of the North-West were under Dominion control but they also saw to it that the lands of the new province of Manitoba were to be used "for purposes of the Dominion". In so doing they made the word province almost meaningless. As Macdonald said in his famous statement,

> It was not, of course, a matter of any serious importance whether the country was called a Province or a Territory. We have provinces of all sizes, shapes and constitutions; there are very few colonies with precisely the same constitution in all particulars, so that there could not be anything determined by the use of the word.[27]

Macdonald and Cartier knew that what they were doing was not in the spirit of the B. N. A. Act, and they were almost certainly told this in so many words by the members of the Red River "Canadian" party in Ottawa at the time of negotiations. John C. Schultz had to be paid for his acceptance of the new principle, and this caused ill-feeling between him and Charles

Mair. This is to be found clearly stated in the documents. Remarkably enough, few people in public life seem to have said a great deal about this new principle, so great was the public preoccupation with an incident that served as an excellent smokescreen. I refer to the execution of Thomas Scott.

In the Red River Settlement the execution of Thomas Scott was no more than another in a series of events involving the "Canadian" party and its opposition to the Metis National Committee's efforts to form a provisional government and negotiate with Canada. In Ontario the execution of Scott only added to the list of wrongs that the "sufferers" could relate to their audiences all across Ontario. The significance of this execution does not lie in any of the Red River factors studied by A. S. Morton, W. L. Morton, G. F. G. Stanley or L. H. Thomas, historians who have given the event the most careful and impartial attention.[28] The significance of the event lies rather in the use that was made of it in Ontario.

It must be borne in mind that the first of Red River's problems had not yet been solved. Red River had never been made a crown colony, and so, at this critical point in its affairs had no advocate at court. The Red River delegates pressed for a general amnesty and a promise was made that one would be arranged. However, the predicament of Red River was that those asking for the amnesty had to make the request through the leaders of the opposing party in a dispute of over six months duration. It was as though one disputant was forced to ask the other to be judge. It could not be taken for granted that Macdonald and Cartier would be impartial--although Cartier in his memorandum to Sir John Young certainly achieved a TOUR DE FORCE[29]--and the man who might have been expected to be impartial, Governor

General Sir John Young, was not. It was the bad luck of Red River--and of all Canada, in the long run--that among those who saw through this conundrum most clearly was Col. G. T. Denison, and that he and Lynch, Mair and Schultz were prepared to take any action necessary to achieve their own ends.

Ontario did not react instantly or spontaneously to the news of the execution. It required a carefully contrived campaign to arouse the latent passions of the portion of Ontario's population that was the basis of Sir John A. Macdonald's electoral support there, but once that constituency was aroused there was a most uncomfortable situation for that gentleman. Orange lodges held indignation meetings across the length and breadth of Ontario, asking that no amnesty be issued and that an expeditionary force be sent to Red River. Preparations for the expeditionary force continued to be made--these had begun long before the execution of Scott--and on the subject of the general amnesty there was paralysis in government circles, even though the people of an entire province were involved. Bishop Taché, in pointing out the effect that a demonstration in Toronto could have on the Canadian government,[30] had found a weakness in the system of cabinet representation put together by Macdonald.[31] Canadian governments have not rectified that weakness to the present day. If the execution of Scott has been a divisive factor in Canadian affairs the fault is not Riel's nor the Provisional Government's but that of Denison, Lynch, Macdonald, Mair and Schultz, Each of these men had a motive for allowing the Scott affair to be a smokescreen.

The tragedy of the events of 1869-1872 was that Canada lost the services of a people who were a bridge, both between English and French and between Indian and white. Also unfortunate was the substitution of an imperial system for one that could have been federal.

Footnotes

1. The topics in this recapitulation have all been dealt with in the main body of the thesis.

2. A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-1, p. 920.

3. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 882.

4. Ibid.

5. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 914.

6. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 919.

7. A. S. Morton, op. cit., p. 920.

8. G. F. G. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 144.

9. G. F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, Chapter 9, "O'Donoghue".

10. G. F. G. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, pp. 165-6.

11. G. F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, pp. 171-4.

12. A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-1, p. 919-920; G. F. G. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 164; J. K. Howard, Strange Empire, pp. 210-1; W. M. Davidson, Louis Riel: 1844-1885, pp. 210-1; 94-5.

13. See, for example, W. L. Morton, Alexander Begg's Red River Journal, pp. 1, 67, 77, 462, 528, 530, 532, 537, 538, 539, 546.

14. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 147.

15. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 518, footnote 341.

16. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 150.

17. D. N. Sprague, "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887", Manitoba Law Journal, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1980, p. 415.

18. G. F. G. Stanley, Birth of Western Canada, p. 67.

19. Manitoba Act, section 30.

20. For the Biblical reference see Matthew 7:16.

21. "Report--1874", Archibald's deposition, Archibald to Howe, Jan. 20, 1872.

22. W. L. Morton (ed), Birth of a Province, "Ritchot's Journal", entry for April 26, 1870; "Taylor's Letters", Taylor to Fish, May 2, 1870, p. 57; "Taylor's Letters", Taylor to Fish, May 3, 1870, p. 61.

23. Manitoba Act, section 30.

24. A.-G. Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien, Vol. 1, pp. 363-6.

25. W. P. M. Kennedy, The Constitution of Canada--1534-1937, pp. 159, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172; Article on "Upper Canada" by Roger Hall in The Canadian Encyclopedia; Article on "Newfoundland" by W. F. Summers in The Canadian Encyclopedia.

26. Compare the language of section 22, subsections 1, 2, and 3 of the Manitoba Act with that of section 93, subsections 1, 3, and 4 of the British North America Act.

27. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. May 2, 1870, p. 1287.

28. A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-1, pp. 907-8; W. L. Morton, Alexander Begg's Red River Journal, pp. 109-116; G. F. G. Stanley, Louis Riel, pp. 111-7; L. H. Thomas, article on "Louis Riel" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

29. "Report--1874", Cartier to Young, June 8, 1870, pp. 171-8.

30. "Report--1874", Tache's deposition, Tache to Young, July 23, 1870, pp. 41-2.

31. W. P. M. Kennedy, The Constitution of Canada--1534-1937, pp. 317-8.

Abbreviations

AASB - Archives de l'Archevêché de St. Boniface

LLM - Legislative Library of Manitoba

MTL - Metropolitan Toronto Library

NLC - National Library of Canada

PAC - Public Archives of Canada

PAM - Provincial Archives of Manitoba

PANS - Public Archives of Nova Scotia

PAO - Provincial Archives of Ontario

PRO - Public Record Office

QUL - Queen's University Library

SA - Saskatchewan Archives

UCA - United Church Archives

USNARS - United States National Archives and Records Service

UA - University of Alberta

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