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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1885

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

We are sending to our subscribers statements notifying them of the date when their subscriptions shall expire. Those who are in arrears would do well to remember that their backwardness in paying their debts is not calculated to facilitate the business of this office, or to enable us to meet our debts. We would also beg to remind our readers that by paying for the paper in advance the subscription is reduced from \$1.50 to \$1.00. Prompt payment is the order of the day.

The Shamrock Amateur Athletic Association is an institution that has now become a portion of our civic and social economy, and we, in company with we suppose every one else, witness its advances with satisfaction. Not content with having attained its present prominent position, the association proposes to still further enlarge its field of opportunities by increasing its revenues by taking advantage of the joint stock system. It is of course known that the Association has many heavy expenses to meet, its maintenance a gymnasium, with its adjuncts, and now wishes to establish a library and otherwise extend the benefits the association offers its members. The cause is a good one, and we have little doubt the men of money will do their best to aid this laudable object by subscribing for the stock in the association which it is proposed to issue.

The vote in the general elections in Ireland can leave no doubt in the minds of the English people as to the wishes of the Irish people. By nearly two to one all over, and in a still more marked manner if the Ulster vote is deducted, the people are in favor of Home Rule. It may be that Mr. Parnell's position has not been understood in England, and of course it is well enough known that some portion of the press have alleged that he has not represented the Irish wishes. That idea may now be abandoned. The statement is made that Lord Randolph Churchill has drafted a scheme of Home Rule in anticipation of the question coming before Parliament. So far as it is described it is much the same as one put forward by Lord Lorne not long ago in a magazine article. It will, however, probably be found that the scheme of Home Rule will be drafted by those who have made it an accomplished fact.

THE ORANGEMEN'S PROTEST.

The Orangemen are far from being a detestable specimen of humanity. In Ireland there is a good deal of the brute about him; outside Ireland, and especially in this Canada of ours, there is a great deal of the ass about the thoroughbred Orangeman. Take for instance the Orangemen of Kingston. They held a public meeting last evening, it was presided over by the Mayor. They called the meeting to protest against the action of their Irish fellow-citizens who had previously assembled to declare in favor of the self government of Ireland, and who were addressed by leading public men and also by Bishop Clery, who delivered a masterly speech on the occasion. These Orange fanatics of Kingston, enjoying the blessings of self government in this country, do not want Ireland to come under its healthy influence, and have resolved to memorialize Her Majesty declaring that they have no sympathy with Home Rule for Ireland, and that they deprecate the agitation now going on. Just imagine the Queen being memorialized by a class of men who conspired to deprive her of her throne, and afterwards threatened to kick her crown into the waters of the Boyne.

The Kingston Orangemen would do well to study the situation and events a little more closely before pronouncing so dogmatically

on what would or would not be for the benefit of the Irish people. At the Protestant Synod of the Diocese of Dublin, held November 9, a motion of which notice had been duly given, "declaring that the concession of a native Parliament to Ireland would result in the confiscation of landed property, the persecution of the Protestant churches, and the severance of Ireland from Great Britain," was ruled out of order.

Let orangemen in Canada take a hint and acquire a little of the wisdom of their generation.

CHAPLEAU'S TERREBONNE LETTER.

The Hon. Mr. Chapleau, Secretary of State and member for the County of Terrebonne, has addressed a letter to his constituents, giving the long-promised explanations of the reasons which dictated the course pursued by him in the settlement of the Riel affair. The letter is a weak and most unsatisfactory document. It is nothing but a development of the views which Mr. Chapleau had already set forth in that memorable letter which he wrote to the French-Canadians of Fall River, Mass., last June, and in which he savagely foretold, even before Riel was brought to trial, that the prisoner of the Government would be hung. This Terrebonne letter is moreover nothing but a re-hash, cleverly worded, of all the old statements made against Riel and the half-breed agitation and subsequent revolt. All the testimony that is favorable to the cause of the Metis and of their chief is seditiously ignored and set aside. While all the charges and accusations against Riel, and all the assertions that the North-West was more or less a paradise, where rebellion should never have shown its head, are repeated with emphasis. Mr. Chapleau's explanation, instead of being a justification of the course pursued by the Government in hanging Riel, is nothing but a justification of their misadministration of the affairs of the North-West; instead of justifying his own conduct in the matter, he has simply striven to condemn the electors who had fault with and protest against the action of Sir John Macdonald and his Cabinet. The Secretary of State makes a touching appeal to his constituents to believe him that in voting for the execution of Riel he and his colleagues only followed the dictates of their conscience and of their oath of office. That appeal might be more effective if the world was not aware of the fact that for months previous to the fatal decision the Ministers had assured the people and the people's representatives that in the end Riel's head was safe. Did not the recognized organs of the ministers, inspired by them and speaking for them, tell the people of Canada up to within a few days of the 16th of November that Riel would not suffer the penalty of death? No, there is too much evidence to the contrary, there were too many promises, too much assurance before-hand to believe, after the perpetration of the crime, that "conscience" and "oath of office" had not to buckle down to party exigencies and Orange demands. Those who are acquainted with the inner workings of the Cabinet machine know that what we here assert is unfortunately but too true.

We make this statement in the teeth of Mr. Chapleau's assertion that the Cabinet "did not yield in this decision neither to appeals nor intimidation from any sect nor faction, and the enemies of the Government have no ground for argument in this." The friends of the Government, and men who were as firm and as strong supporters of the Government as ever Mr. Chapleau was, are those upon whose word we make the charge that it was party or sectional exigencies which decided the fate of Louis Riel.

How is it that the Secretary of State emphasizes the fact that the Government had only decided what the law should take its course? If such was its intention and decision, how is it that the "recommendation to mercy," which was an essential part of the verdict, as the word "guilty" itself, was not taken into consideration by the Cabinet? Mr. Chapleau never alludes for a moment to this fundamental feature of the sentence, which, he says, was allowed to take its course. The law was forced and made to sanction an act which the verdict did not exact. We firmly believe that if the jury, although of a different race and creed and antagonistic to the prisoner, had an assurance that their recommendation of mercy would be ignored by the executive, it would have brought in a verdict of not guilty. All this goes to prove that it was not exactly the law which the Ministers were so anxious to vindicate. If the Government have no other defence, no other justification of their action, which is condemned, not only by the Canadian people, but by every civilized nation and by every sentiment of humanity, then they must stand convicted of the crime which has been laid at their door, and for which the Canadian people will exact the severest punishment under the constitution.

THE BALANCE OF POWER.

The balance of the two English parties in the present general elections could not be more perfect and could not help the object of Mr. Parnell more effectively. Eighty-five or ninety Irish members will be able to make and unmake English Cabinets at will in the next Parliament. Unless some extraordinary change occurs in English opinion within the next forty-eight hours, Mr. Parnell is now certain to be master of the situation, in spite of all opposition. The Irish vote has invaded England and Scotland, and has already captured several seats. Many English members who made themselves specially objectionable by their insulting conduct to Irish members in the last Parliament have been defeated by the Irish vote in England, which has proved itself in the hands of Mr. Parnell a formidable political engine.

Even in Ulster the loyal candidates have had exceedingly narrow escapes, winning elections by majorities of 30 and 40 out of total votes of seven and eight thousand. In the rest of Ireland it is a clean sweep; the loyalist candidates are cutting a sorry figure, securing but a few hundred votes out of totals of four and five thousand.

MISGOVERNMENT AND REBELLION.

The Dominion Government are very foolish to imagine that the wrath and opposition of the people are directed against them solely because they have executed Louis Riel. Sir John's official organs are making vain efforts to turn the public mind exclusively to the consideration of the question—"Was it right to hang Riel?" The Secretary of State and the ex-Minister of Justice have been selected by the Cabinet to ring the changes on the same question.

The Hon. J. A. Chapleau's task was to paint the half-breed leader in the most hideous colors, to show him up as an unprincipled and unscrupulous villain, as a man without heart and without conscience; it was a degrading role for the great French-Canadian tribune to have played. Its disgrace and degradation are all the more emphasized by contrasting Chapleau's letter with that of Rev. Father André, which will be found in another column.

Sir Alexander Campbell follows the Secretary of State with a lengthy document rehearsing the details and incidents of the trial, and coming to the conclusion that the Government only did their duty in hanging Riel. The Ministry expect to blindfold the Canadian people with these two documents to the real question at issue—is Sir John and his Cabinet guilty of misgovernment in the North-West? but their expectations will not be realized.

The Ministry will not be allowed to avail themselves of any side issue as a means of escape from responsibility for the evils caused by their misgovernment. All the bloodshed, all the destruction of property, all the waste of public money, all the sufferings of the Metis, and all the ill-feeling which fills the land, are the direct results of their misgovernment. There would have been no rebellion if there had been no oppression, no robbery, no ill-treatment of the honest and peaceful half-breeds. Sir Alexander and Mr. Chapleau deny that the half-breeds had any grievances; but such a denial is perfectly futile in view of the proceedings of the scrip commission, which was set to work the moment the Metis appeared in arms. They had vainly petitioned for redress during the past seven years. Their clergy had fruitlessly appealed to the Government on their behalf. These petitions kept pouring in from every settlement in the North-West and demanded only simple justice, but they were treated with scorn. An answer was not even vouchsafed. Instead of receiving protection, Ottawa kept on increasing the number of intruders, until the suffering half-breeds were driven from their lands and their homes. Mgr. Grandin, the venerable Bishop of St. Albert, added his influence and his efforts to the work of trying to open the eyes of Sir John to the seriousness and gravity of the situation. His Lordship made every effort, by voice and pen, to solicit the Government to act equitably towards the Metis. But to petitions, prayers, letters and delegations the half-breeds received nothing but contemptuous silence from Ottawa.

To use Henry Grattan's memorable words, "The treason of the Ministers against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the Ministers." That is the whole situation in a nutshell, and that is the situation Sir John and his Ministers will have to face when they come to reckon with the representatives of the people, or, if those prove false on the floor of the House, with the people themselves at the ballot box.

The wonder is that the half-breeds stood the oppression so long without taking up arms before they did. A Halifax contemporary, looking at the sufferings and the indignities to which the half-breeds were subjected, asks: "Is there a parish in Nova Scotia that would have tolerated a similar outrage? We thank Heaven that no body of men so craven could be found within the limits of this whole province. These men at Batoche stood to their arms, and in a few weeks after the first shot was fired they had achieved everything for which they had struggled. Louis Riel was but their leader—assuming the leadership at the urgent request of the half-breeds. Because he placed himself at the head of the rebellion, in the interests of the people, and to secure their lands and guard their churches and tombs, he is sent to the scaffold as a malefactor."

That is the view taken of the rebellion by the masses of the people. It is common to the entire confederation. A Toronto contemporary said that if men of English blood had been in a position like that of the half-breeds, "they would have sternly repulsed to the sword after their petitioners had been neglected; to doubt it would be treason to the most glorious memories of British freedom. From time immemorial men of the English race have been ready to rebel against any authority not yielding quickly to their just demands; they have been the freest of men because the most rebellious." Justice consequently cries out, not against the men who fought for their homes, but against the Ministers who forced the rebellion and created it by their own criminal misadministration. In fact it may become a question of impeaching the principal ringleaders in the spoliation and oppression of the population of the North-West.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE LOYALISTS EXPOSED.

The elections of 1885 will remain remarkable in the history of Great Britain, as showing the utter insignificance of the "Loyalist"

party in Ireland. The "Loyalists," by their loud talk in the past, have led a large part of the world, and the whole of the British Government, to believe that they were the majority in Ireland, but to-day by their votes at the polls they have given the completest proof of their feebleness. Loud-mouthed loyalty will no longer be allowed to block the progress of the country. It will be the voice of the whole people that will have to be listened to in the British House of Commons, until College Green is opened, which may be very soon. The unanimity of Irish feeling and Irish opinion is pretty well illustrated in the results of the elections. In a large number of the constituencies in Ireland there was not a single Loyalist to say "nay" to the election of a Nationalist. Then in the constituencies where the effrontery of the Loyalist quailed his feebleness, the squelching he received was something ponderous; for instance, in Kerry, where Mr. Sheehan, Nationalist, was elected by 3,069 to 30 for Mr. Robertson, the Loyalist; or in Cork, where Dr. Tanner received 5,033 National votes and Patton, the Loyalist, got the crumbs, representing 106 votes, and so on through the rest of the country.

A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF ORDER.

The scenes of violence and bloodshed which are being enacted in England over the results of the elections are quite up to the usual standard. A cable despatch tells us that the wires are burdened with stories from a score of places of barbaric violence in the provinces. Buildings have been gutted, candidates pounded, riots bloodily suppressed by the police, and the soldiers called out. The worst cases reported are in Somerset and Suffolk and in Denbigh, where the young Tory, Sir W. W. Wynn, barely escaped with his life. In the Wycombe division of Buckinghamshire the Liberals were so maddened by the victory of Viscount Curzon, Conservative, that they pelted him and his wife with mud and otherwise maltreated them. The Viscount's wife only escaped by climbing and jumping over a wall into an adjoining yard. In the accomplishment of the feat she lost her back hair. We don't know of any other body of electors outside of Great Britain that would thus attack and ill-treat a woman because she happened to be the wife of a victorious candidate. The cable man has been kind enough for once in his life to say that "thus far Ireland has set England a striking example of order, the only exception being the row at Dundalk, where Cullinan supporters hustled Messrs. Parnell and Dillon. Last evening Mr. Parnell held a meeting, attended by a thousand people, who received him enthusiastically."

THAT ORDER TO "STOP THE PAPER"

"The Montreal Post complains bitterly because the wife of one of the Catholic Ministers has withdrawn her subscription to that paper. Such action may appear petulant and undignified, but it is quite competent for subscribers to take it. Mr. Blake, it will be remembered, told *Crisis* to 'stop my paper' a few months ago. As the *Post* is trying to win Rielite supporters it must expect to lose the anti-Rielites."—*Toronto World*.

Our valued and esteemed contemporary of Toronto has put the Cabinet Minister's wife "stop the paper" case in a false and unfair light.

In the first place we made no complaint, bitter or otherwise, because of the order received from a Cabinet Minister's wife to "stop the paper." On the contrary, we looked upon the incident as more of a compliment than any thing else, as it was perfectly legitimate to construe the order to "stop the paper" into an indirect acknowledgment on the part of the Minister that the fairness and justice of the attitude of *The Post* and the truth and force of its arguments on the North-West trouble were unassailable, and that as the Minister could not answer them, the next best thing he had to do was to get his wife to abuse us and "stop the paper."

In the next place we never said that it was the wife of one of the "Catholic Ministers," as the *Toronto World* states, and our contemporary has no authority from us to say it was the wife of a Catholic Minister.

The *World* is also misleading when it says it is quite competent for subscribers to "stop the paper." We never denied such right or competency on the part of the humblest of our subscribers, much less on the part of a Cabinet Minister's wife.

Finally the *World* reminds us that "the *Post* is trying to win Rielite supporters it must expect to lose the anti-Rielites." Well, of course we expect it; and what is more, we are quite willing to part with the losses, since they are counterbalanced by gains of a very vast majority. Perhaps it will astonish the *World* when we tell it that the only anti-Rielite who refused to take the paper to date is the Cabinet Minister's wife, but it is a fact. We have, on the other hand, received innumerable adhesions and fresh subscriptions from the highest quarters, lay and ecclesiastical, which would prove the Rielite supporters, as the *World* pleases to call them, not only to be numerous, but intelligent and influential. Why, even the people in the country, who suspended their subscriptions on account of the small-pox epidemic, got over the scare like magic, and said they did not care about the small-pox, but to send on their papers.—*THE POST AND TRUE WITNESS*.

THE PROPOSED BOTANIC GARDEN.

Botanic gardens form so important a feature in the internal economy of old world countries that this city may rejoice that the establishment of a garden of the kind is approaching accomplishment. It is hardly necessary to allude here to the vast benefits these institutions confer upon the peoples of the countries in which they are situated. Science in its medical hand is greatly aided

by the opportunity afforded by the collection and study of the various growths, and B. tany generally is specially advanced. But in no country is such an establishment more needed than in Canada. It happens, very unfortunately, that the study of arbor culture has not received the attention it deserves, and when our forests are fast becoming, as at present, exhausted, the study of the practical side of tree planting and cultivation is much required. A botanic garden would do much in this direction, and if for no other purpose is an absolute necessity. Just at present the great treeless plains of the Northwest require planting. There have been but a few experiments made with trees and plants imported from countries where the climatic conditions resemble those of Manitoba and the North-West, and valuable time of course has now to be taken up with the necessary tests. This time can scarcely be spared. What the Hudson Bay Company could and ought to have done, but, with its rare selfishness and short-sightedness, neglected to do, is now thrown backward many years. The trial of some forest trees from the Himalayas is only now commenced. Had Canada possessed a botanic garden properly managed long ago, it is hardly too much to say that this question would have been solved in a satisfactory manner, and the all-important question of arboriculture in the North-West have been dealt with. It may be interesting to note the numbers of these institutions among civilized nations. Germany leads with 34, the British Empire follows with thirty, and other nations in the following proportions:—Italy, 23; France, 20; Russia, 16; Austro-Hungary, 13; Scandinavia, 7; Belgium and the United States, 5 each; Austria and Holland, 4 each; Portugal, Switzerland, each 3, and many other countries one each.

So far as the projected garden in Montreal is concerned it appears from the report presented at the first annual meeting to be starting under very encouraging circumstances. Great attention has very properly been given to Russian growths, there being now 542 trees or 1,400 shrubs from that country in the nursery of the association. This, in view of the similarity of the climate in many respects, is a very important study. Altogether there are nearly three thousand varieties of stock under examination by the Association. Important donations have been received from the Royal Gardens at Kew, from Liege, Belgium, from Coimbra, Portugal, from the Imperial Botanic Gardens, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere.

The project embraces the erection of important buildings for plants needing shelter and delicate cultivation and a park containing the more hardy species under study. The plan also proposes to establish a scheme which will enable individuals to take a personal interest in the conduct of the garden. This is to make the following three classes:—1st. The arboretum, embracing thirty-eight families of trees and shrubs. 2nd. The pond, with aquatic and marsh plants, embracing seventeen families. 3rd. The garden proper, in which are special plots representing seventy-five different families of plants, each being devoted to a single family. "It is designed," says the report, "that persons may select one or more of these families in which they are particularly interested, as objects of special attention, and that their donations be applied either to the first laying out of the garden or to its permanent maintenance." The benefits which such a botanic garden will confer upon the public as a great school of horticulture and agriculture, the care of trees and plants in general can scarcely be overestimated, and when once it is in full working order the public will probably marvel that they were without this important addition to our economy for so long a time.

HOW GRIEVANCES ARE REMEDIED.

The following story, which will give the people of Canada an idea of how the population of the North-West has been amply treated by the government, is given by the *Witness* regarding the manner in which the petition of certain Sioux chiefs from the neighborhood of Brandon has been attended to:—"It is stated that in August last the Indians petitioned the government to take cognizance of their grievances against their agent, a Mr. Herchmer. In October they were informed that their case had been considered and relegated to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney. In November Mr. Dewdney informed the petitioners that Mr. Herchmer had been promoted to the office of Inspector of Indian Agencies and would in a short time visit his agency, when he would enquire into the cause of the complaints and report upon them." Inspector Herchmer was, therefore, sent to enquire into the cause of complaints as to the conduct of Mr. Agent Herchmer.

The death of Riel is not the only thing the government will have to answer for before Parliament and the people.

THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL.

We devote the major portion of our space to-day's paper to the unabridged publication of the Pope's Encyclical *Immortale Dei*. It is beyond question the most important pronouncement of Pope Leo XIII's Pontificate, and we would advise our readers to peruse it with the utmost care and attention. His Holiness clearly and authoritatively defines the relation of the church to the civil governments, and the duties of Catholics both as members of the church and as citizens. An analysis of the Encyclical shows that it may be divided into four parts: the first expounds the principles of Christian society; the second exposes the principles of the "revolution"; the third demonstrates the absurdity and dangers of these latter principles, and the fourth teaches the line of conduct to be followed by Catholics at the present time. The lucid setting forth by His Holiness of the duties of the faith-

ful as Christians and citizens, and his urgent advice to them to participate actively in the political life of their respective countries carry with them a special and marked significance for all Catholics. There is, however, nothing novel or surprising for Catholics in this magisterial and masterly utterance of Leo XIII, as to what they must believe and do in their relations to God and society. The principles laid down are as old as the Church itself and are familiar to every conscientious and enlightened Catholic. From the whole tenor of the Papal pronouncement it is evident that the Holy Father wished to reach the minds and hearts of those outside the Church as much as those who recognize his spiritual authority. One of the most beautiful passages in the Encyclical points out the manner in which civil authority "should be equitable, displaying rather the qualities of a parent than those of a master, because the power exercised by God toward men is supremely just and derived from His Fatherly goodness."

The Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, in a letter from Rome, tells us that even the most anti-Papal and the most anti-Christian journals in France and Italy cannot withhold from the Encyclical the praise of being a most masterly composition as well as a masterpiece of Papal policy. Leo XIII. is spoken of as "the great Pope of modern times." The German press is especially warm and loud in its praise of the broad and liberal spirit which characterizes this Papal utterance, peremptorily deciding, as it does, many important questions of theoretical and practical politics.

MR. J. J. CURRAN'S LETTER TO THE LONDON CATHOLIC RECORD.

Mr. J. J. Curran, member for Montreal Centre, has, within the past few days, placed himself on record in regard to the political movement which has been set on foot to overthrow the government of Sir John A. Macdonald for their mal-administration of the affairs of the Canadian Northwest, which gave rise to the rebellion of the wronged half-breeds, and culminated in the cruel and uncalculated for execution of the leader and representative of the Metis cause, at Regina, on the 16th of November last.

Mr. Curran makes known his views and sentiments on the situation in a two column letter, which was addressed to Rev. Father Coffey, editor of the *London Catholic Record*, and which was intended as an answer to the latter's fearless denunciation of the Regina blunder and his vigorous arraignment of the Government's misgovernment in the North-West.

The letter was published simultaneously in the *Montreal Gazette*, which had the audacity and disloyalty to endorse and justify the Orange threats and ravings of the *Toronto Mail* to reconquer this Province of Quebec and abolish the civil and religious rights which our people enjoy.

Being desirous of arguing the question out on its merits, and of taking no unfair advantage of the Government's animosity by keeping him out of court, we deemed it our duty to print Mr. Curran's letter in full, and would permit of its reproduction in *defenso*, which it does to-day.

A calm and studious perusal of this document reveals much weakness in the presentation of the case, want of logical consistency in the arguments, and we regret to say, a little misrepresentation in the assertions. It is altogether a piece of one-sided pleading, and, as such, forms a natural appendix to the Government's defence already set up in Hon. Mr. Chapleau's Terrebonne Letter and in Sir Alexander Campbell's memorandum.

All these documents sin in the same direction on the same point.

They are remarkable not so much for the facts that are alleged or for the statements that are made, as for the facts that are suppressed and for the statements that are ignored. They constitute but one side of the story and as such are totally insufficient upon which to build history and establish justice. We have already demonstrated this in previous articles, as far as Mr. Chapleau's letter and Sir Alexander Campbell's memorandum are concerned.

It will be an equally easy task to expose the same radical fallacies in Mr. Curran's plea.

To stay the hand of chastisement which the people of Canada, irrespective of creed or race, have raised against the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald Mr. Curran appeals to the religious sentiment of the people, and particularly to the Irish Catholics, and tells them to look at the bloody results and savage excesses accomplished during the rebellion. All these are placed to the credit of Louis Riel, and the Metis chief is put down as their responsible author.

All history challenges and disputes the fairness and justice of bringing home such a charge to the half-breed leader. What General of the English, French, American, or of any civilized nation has been visited with odium and punishment for the excesses committed by the savage and uncivilized tribes that were constantly in their military service? We know of none, nor does Mr. Curran, and we say it was neither honorable nor honest on his part to try and manufacture out of the uncontrollable misdeeds of a few Indians, an argument to justify the hanging of Louis Riel, and an excuse to poison the minds of Irish Catholics against the executed leader of an oppressed people, to blind them to the true issue, and win over their sympathy to a guilty government.

Mr. Curran misrepresents Rev. Father Coffey's position when he says in his letter—

"As you (Rev. Father Coffey) have put it, however, this is no case in itself to invite Irish Catholic sympathy."

Now we are thoroughly acquainted with what the reverend editor has written on this