(Continued from 4th page.)

touches accidentally upon the point on which he is insane.

"Q. Had you been informed at any time of the particular mental disease with which Mr. Riel was supposed to have been suffering?—A. I don't think I ever knew as much of it as I have learned here.

"Q. So that you never made any endeavor to?—A. I never did, that is, I never spoke to him specially with regard to what he believed to be his mission, knowing that many very sane men might be so, and yet a man might be perfectly sane.

"Q. So that you have no doubt at all, doctor, from the evidence that you heard here given by the different witnesses who were examined, the conduct of Mr. Riel is perfectly compatible with a perfectly sound mind?

Now mark this answer. The doctor says:

"Well, I regret to say that my hearing is rather imperfect in the court room and that I have not been able to hear as well as I could wish."

He goes further than that. He says:

"If it can be proved that a man is acting under an insane delusion, then any act I should consider which he performed under the delusion, any act having special relation to his delusion, I should consider that he was not personally responsible for."

Now let me here again summarise the evidence of these medical men. Here is a witness called for the Crown, who honestly tells us he is not an expert, that he knows nothing about insanity, that the most he knows of insanity is that, as a medical man, he has occasionally signed the certificate to send a man to gaol who is notoriously a lunatic, that he never spoke to Louis Riel on the subject of his delusions, that he never examined him as a lunatic, that he never spoke to him on the subject or made any attempt to discover whether or not he was subject to delusions; he admitted that he was deaf and could not very well hear what was going on, and he admitted that if a man is subject to delusions and commits a crime within the scope of those delusions, he is not responsible for it. We are asked on that evidence to justify the Government for hanging this man. I say it is not enough to justify them. I say it is not enough to justify the hanging of a dog, let alone the hanging of a man. There is another aspect of this case which I wish to discuss for a moment. From the 15th March, when the first indication of an uprising took place, down to the trial of Louis Riel, and down to the execution of Louis Riel, there were doubts in the minds of many thoughtful men as to Louis Riel's sanity. After the trial there were grave doubts as to Louis Riel's sanity. There were grave doubts from the medical testimony, there were grave doubts from the facts elicited at the trial, and from the acts and conduct of Louis Riel; and yet this Government never took the first step to settle these doubts until one week before Louis Riel was consigned to the gallows. One week before the day fixed for the execution, this Government sent three medical men to examine Louis R[illegible] as an expert in insanity cases, and all of whom were the paid employees of this Government. Is that the kind of commission that reasonable, sensible, thoughtful men expected that this Government would issue to test the sanity of a man about to be executed for a crime he was alleged to have committed? When the petitioners asked the Government to appoint a commission to test this man's sanity they expected they would appoint a commission of experts, a commission of experienced men, who would be prepared to report irrespective of the views, the inclinations, the desires or the sympathies of the Government. Instead of that they appointed three of their employees, three men who ought not to have been appointed, men who knew nothing about insanity. These men examined him, and they made their report a week before the Regina scaffold received its victim. The report of one of them is dated the 8th November. The report, in the ordinary course of mail, would reach Ottawa certainly not before the 13th November On the 12th November, on Thanksgiving Day, this Government passed an Order in Council to execute Louis Riel, and the warrant to consign him to the scaffold was signed on the 12th November. Her Majesty's representative in this Dominion was aroused from his midnight slumbers on the 12th November to sign the warrant which consigned this men to the gallows before that report could, in the ordinary course of mail, have reached its destination at Ottawa. I charge that this Government, without waiting for the report of the medical commission, independently of the medical commission, passed the Order in Council, without knowing what the report of the commission was, to execute this man who was alleged to be a lunatic and whom I believe to have been laboring under these delusions. That fact is manifestly clear, and I challenge contradiction of it. Further, when the honorable and gallant knight who presides over the Militia Department of this country, found that he was getting into difficulties with some of his countrymen, because it was said he had fled to the Northwest to avoid being present at the Council which decided the fate of Riel, his chief wrote him a letter on the 3rd November, stating that Sir Adolphe Caron was present at the Council Board when the Government decided to hang Louis Riel. I say the Government decided to hang him without waiting for the report of the medical commission, and the proof is under the hand of Sir John Macdonald himself. But does the report justify the action of the Government? No. On the contrary, I say this report in the clearest possible manner strengthens and confirms the evidence given at the trial by Dr. Clark and Dr. Roy. Dr Valade, one of the commissioners, says:

"I have come to the conclusion that he suffers under hallucinations on religious and political subjects."

Why, that was the defence, that was the only defence, that was the real defence, that he suffered under hallucinations on these two subjects. That was proved, in my judgment beyond all doubt. Dr. Valade, it is true, states further that Louis Riel could distinguish right from wrong, but I have shown very clearly that that "right and wrong" theory is no test of the insanity of a man who commits a crime, when insanity is set up as a defence. I say that, if you take the evidence of Dr. Valade, and leave out what he ought not to have put in his report, that "right and wrong" theory in regard to insanity, which was exploded before Dr. Valade was born, as he ought to have known, that evidence confirms in every respect the evidence of Dr. Roy and Dr. Clark. So Dr. Lavell, who is another employee of the Government, says that Louis Riel suffered from delusions on political and religious subjects. That was a complete defence. I say this "right and wrong" theory is wholy inexcusable in medical men, I do not care who they are, and they cannot justify that theory by any modern work upon medical jurisprudence or upon insanity, and they cannot justify it by any case in the courts of any country that I know of, at all events. Now sir, if Dr Valade and Dr. Lavell know no more about the other branches of their profession than they do about insanity, all I can say is, that I would not like to be placed under their care. Then we have the reports of Dr. Jukes. Why did the Government send Dr. Jukes? I ask the Minister of Pub Works why? They know from the report of the trial that he swore he was not an expert—that he knew nothing about insanity. The idea of sending a medical man, or any man, who knows nothing about insanity, or who is not an expert, to test a man's sanity, is a farce; in this case, unfortunately, it is too solemn a farce to be trifled with, but it is inexcusable in the Government of this country, and wholly unjustifiable at that. They were not limited in their choice. They had the United States and Canada to choose from, and they surely could could have found some men known as experts to test this man's sanity. Now, sir, let me read from the report of Dr. Jukes, of the 6th November:

"Louis Riel has been under my special care medically as surgeon of the force for upwards of five months. During that time I have visited him with few exceptions every day, have studied him closely and conversed with him long and frequently. After careful and continuous examinations, which under varying circumstances, from day to day, I cannot escape the conviction that except upon certain purely religious questions, he was when first entrusted to me and still continued to be perfectly sane and accountable for his actions."

Turn to the sworn statement of Dr. Jukes and see how that confirms the statement he makes. He says:

"I never specially examined him as a lunatic, I never made a special examination of him as a lunatic. * * * Never any special endeavor, anything beyond ordinary conversation of the day. * * * It is unquestionably true that you may converse with the man continually and not be aware of his insanity until you touch accidentally, or some other person touches accidentally, upon the point on which he is insane."

Now, sir, there you have the answer of Dr. Jukes to Dr. Jukes, and he admits that Louis Riel was laboring under a delusion upon the subject of religion, and so stated at the trial. Now, sir, we find this Government, careless and negligent as they are, must have had something more than doubts upon Riel's sanity, and to hang a man, with doubts of that kind hanging over the question of his sanity, is nothing more than judicial murder.

Why, again, did the Government hang Louis Riel? Where was the justification in the medical testimony and in the evidence of medical men, and in the examination of witnesses at Regina? I say Mr. Speaker, that the Government of this country never intended to hang him, until the power and pressure of an unseen irresponsible power became so strong, that they compelled the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald to hang Louis Riel. That power has kept this Government in power for many long years; that power was never reconciled to the expenditure of public money in order that Louis Riel might escape the vengeance of the law for the murder of brother Scott. That power demanded, at the hands of this Government, that the blood of Brother Scott should be avenged by the blood of Louis Riel. That power was too strong to resist, and brother Sir John A. Macdonald yielded to that power. Am I overstating the fact? I am not overstating the fact. Turn to the *Orange Sentinel*, the organ of the Orrngemen. The hon. member who preceded me challenged contradiction upon this subject. He said the Orangemen did not thirst for the blood of Louis Riel to avenge the death of brother Thomas Scott. Sir, I say the expressions in the organ of the association and the resolutions in the lodges of the association which found their way to the Government, insisted upon the Government shedding upon the scaffold the blood of Louis Riel. The *Orange Sentinel* of 6th August, 1885, a few days after the trial, and before the question of the man's sanity or insanity was settled otherwise than by the evidence at the trial, says this:

"We hold that it is the duty of the Government to take no notice of this recommendation to mercy, but in the interests of the Dominion at large to let the law take its course."

The *Sentinel* proceeds to argue in favor of the execution of Louis Riel, because

"He committed a most foul and atrocious murder upon a loyal Protestant subject."

If he had committed it upon a Papist it would have been all right, but he committed it upon a Protestant subject.

"The blood of his many victims cry aloud for vengeance."

On the 10th September, the *Sentinel* says:

"Riel has been fairly tried and convicted, and the sentence of the court must be carried out"

That is the mandate—the sentence must be carried out—no attention to the recommendation to mercy, no attention to a further investigation as to his responsibility—that sentence of the court must be carried out. A correspondent who signs himself a Deputy Master of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1041, Chatham, on the 20th of Oct., 1885, says

"As a representative of the Orange body, I wish to remind Sir John Macdonald, who belongs to the same organization, that a very solemn responsibility devolves in him in connection with the fate of Riel. If Sir John should interfere to pardon a twice-convicted rebel and the murderer of Scott, he will make justice a mere mockery, &c."

On the 29th October, 1885, the editor says:—

"In pressing on the Government the necessity of hanging Riel during the first outbreak under his personal direction, a man whose only offence was loyalty to the British Crown was ruthlessly butchered. The blood of Thomas Scott yet cries aloud for justice."

Upon the 6th November, brother Morton, in Toronto, in the meeting of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 821, said:

"And shall this arch-rebel go free while loyal Orangemen have stained the ground with their blood to uphold the Queen's authority? Never. (Loud applause.) And the sooner the Government of Sir John Macdonald understands the feeling of Orangemen on this question, the better. I was pleased to notice in the speeches of County Master Somers, District Master Wilson and Bros. Graham and Low the determination expressed that if the Government allows Rome to step in on this occasion and secure a reprieve for this arch-traitor, the Conservative party can no longer count upon their services, although they have worked and voted for them for many years."

Here, Sir, from the organ of the Orangemen are a pronunciamento, a declaration, a command, a threat. You must hang Louis Riel to avenge the blood of Thomas Scott, or else we, Orangemen, who have stood by you in good report and in evil report, who never deserted brother Sir John A. Macdonald—we will vote against you at the next general elections. That is not all. I propose to read the expressions of opinion given by some of the Orange associations to show the real cause why this Government disregarded the recommendation to mercy, and the evidence of insanity given at the trial. On the 10th September, at a regular meeting of the Loyal Orange Lodge No. 884, at Merritton, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, not a dissenting voice:

"At the regular meeting of L.O.L. No. 844, Merriton, held in the hall 2nd Sept., the following resolution was unanimously adopted: 'Resolved, that we, the members of the above lodge, believe that Riel, the arch-traitor of the Northwest Territory, having been tried and convicted of high treason and sentence passed, that the sentence should be carried out and Riel executed, and we will, to the utmost of our power as electors, constitutionally oppose any Government that will commute the said sentence, or interfere to prevent it being carried out.'

"Signed on behalf of the lodge,
"WM. SMITH, W.M.,
"T. W. WILSON, Sec."

Here is the command in its bald simplicity. The sentence passed on Louis Riel, right or wrong—let the man be sane or insane, it must be carried out—otherwise every Orangeman in the lodge will vote against the Government. This resolution was no doubt sent to Bro. Sir John Macdonald, who adds to his other dignities that of Knight of the Scarlet. The command had to be obeyed, it was obeyed and Riel was hanged in obedience thereto. A member of L. O.L., No. 693, writes to the *Sentinel*, in September, 1885, and declares:

"That if Riel is not executed, the Conservative candidates will lose almost every supporter in the peninsula."

At a regular meeting of L. O.L. No. 1457, Nelson, Man., it was resolved:

"That we will refuse to support any Government which will not see that justice is meted out to all those who have been engaged in the rebellion."

L.O.L No. 1505, on 22nd September, adopted the following resolution:—

"That this L.O. Lodge strongly urges upon the Government the importance of carrying these decisions into execution without delay," &c.

At a meeting held on 22nd September, 1885, in the lodge room of Dominion City, L.O.L. No. 1499, the following resolution was passed:—

"That we, as members of L.O.L. No. 1499, view with distrust the action of the Government, through the Governor General, in granting the respite to that arch traitor, Louis David Riel, as is in effect an attempt to thwart justice. We, therefore, refuse to support any Government who so interfere and permit those implicated in the Northwest rebellion to escape the penalty of a righteous sentence."

The following resolution was passed by L.O.L., No. 300:

"That we, as Orangemen, view with feelings of fear and regret the present position of the Louis Riel matter—although condemned to be hanged on the 10th of last month, but still lives. We strongly recommend that no subterfuges be allowed, nor any delay given through which this justly condemned rebel leader may escape. We also strongly wish our brethren throughout Canada to join hands in preventing any outrage in this matter to our Queen and country, whom we as Orangemen have united to cherish and protect."

At the regular meeting of L.O.L No. 80, Peterboro, held the 30th November, 1885, the following resolution was passed:—

"That L.O.L. No. 80 sees with regret the obstacles that are being put forward to prevent the just penalty from being meted out on the scaffold to the rebel Riel for his many crimes; and that this lodge is of the opinion that no further respite should be granted him, but that he should suffer the extreme penalty of the law, and be hanged in fulfilment of the sentence passed upon him; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald.

WM. JAMIESON, Secretary.

At a meeting of L.O.L. No. 425, held on the 5th November, 1885, it was resolved:

"That we, as loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, deem it our duty to urge upon our representatives in Parliament the necessity of an honest, manly and fearless administration of justice in the execution of the fairly tried, twice condemned and sentenced arch rebel and murder Louis Riel."

1886.

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Time will not permit to read all the resolutions, even those under my control. Not only do I charge this Government with being influenced by the loyal Orange body, but to the everlasting disgrace of the members of that body, scarcely had the soul of Louis Riel appeared before his Maker than they gloated over his execution which had taken place on the Regina scaffold. At the regular meeting of L.O.L No. 1528, held at Moosomin, four days after the execution, the following resolution was passed:—

"That we, the members of L.O.L. No. 1528, do hereby congratulate the Government in carrying out the death sentence passed on the arch rebel and traitor, Louis Riel and that the blood of our murdered brother Scott is at last avenged after a period of fifteen years, and we pledge ourselves to support the Government which has shown that justice will be dealt out to all classes, no matter what their creed may be, and, furthermore, should any trouble arise through French or Roman Catholics interference with the administration of our laws or rights, we will support the Government and our constitution and laws, even to shedding our blood in defence of the same."

Not satisfied with having executed Riel, they met in solemn concave and passed a resolution congratulating the Government on the tragedy that had taken place. At a regular meeting of L.O.L. No. 1222, the following resolution was passed:—

"That we the members of Royne L.O. L. No. 1222, here assembled, desire to express our satisfaction that the law has been permitted to take its course in the case of Louis Biel, the leader of the Northwest rebellion, who, on Monday, the 16th November, paid the penalty of his many crimes, and who was responsible for the loss of many valuable lives, among whom were two members of our noble order."

A manifesto was issued by the Royal Grand Black Chapter of Western Ontario, and in that manifesto appears the following language:—

"We believe that in no time in our history as a Grand Black chapter has our principles of loyalty, love, and truth been more confirmed than at present, when treasonable devices are so glaringly accomplished, and when Romanism is so energetically engrafting itself into our civil institutions, and when even a late rebel and arrant traitor to the counary is held up as a saint and martyr, beatified by large portions of the Liberal press, even the *Globe* itself, trying to turn the world upside down on the axis of the rotten Riel agitation.

"Never did we need to be more watchful than today in the view of the aggressive policy of our vigilant enemies, and, when not only men, but our very institutions are in danger. But we are persuaded that He who rideth on the Heavens will laugh, the Lord will have them in derision."

Sir, I charge further; I charge this Government and the First Minister of this Government, with having on the day of the execution, within a few hours of that event, received more than one telegram from members of Orange lodges declaring: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; we will all vote for thee for ever more!" Will they deny that? Will the First Minister or the Minister of Public Works deny it? We shall see. But that is not all. Not only did the Orange lodges and Orangemen clamor for the blood of Riel and gloat over his tragic fate, but they threatened those who believed that a lunatic was executed by this Government. Let us see what they said:

"Let it be proclaimed that the rights and liberties of Britons in an English colony, hang upon the breath of an alien race."

That is to say, Frenchmen!

"But English Canadians will not long suffer the galling bondage; and the day may not be far distant when the call to arms may not be far listant when the call to arms will again resound throughout the Dominion."

Not satisfied with pressing on the execution, and gloating over the tragic fate of Louis Riel, they threatened those who honestly believed that the Government did wrong in executing a semi-lanatic. The *Mail*, the organ of hon. gentlemen opposite, said on 3rd November, 1885:

"Let us solemnly assure them (the French Canadians) again that rather than submit to such a yoke, Ontario would smash Confederation into its original fragments, preferring that the dream of a united Canada should be shattered forever."

That is a warning to you, French Canadians, to take care of yourselves. If you vote against the Government, if you vote to turn them out of place and power for hanging a man whom you honest believed insane, we will shatter confederation into its original fragments. The *Mail* said further:

"As Britons we believe the conquest will have to be fought over again, and Lower Canada may depend on it there will be no treaty of 1763. The victors will not capitulate next time. * * But the French Canadian people would lose everything. The wreck of their fortunes and their happiness would be swift, complete, and irremediable."

Beware, take care, French Canadians, British law does not protect you in the eyes of the *Mail* and the Orangemen of Ontario, if you vote against the Government. If you vote with them it is all right, but vote against the Government and the conquest of Quebec will be fought over again, and there will this time be no treaty of 1763. This time the conquerors will not yield to those who were the vanquised. Was there ever anything in any country, in any party, in any organization more scandalous, more disgraceful and outrageous than this? Thirsting with unquenchable thirst for the victim's blood, gloating with inhuman delight over the victim of the Regina scaffold, and then threatening with conquest a free Province and denouncing a great and chivalrous race because they saw fit to oppose a Government who they honestly believed executed a man who ought not to have been executed. Now, Sir, I say that in view of all these facts, in view of the refusal of this Government—a course, as I say, unknown in criminal practice—to give this man a reasonable time to prepare his defence; in view of the objections to the admission of evidence which would prove as clear as the noonday sun which shines above our heads at mid-day, that the Government of this country are alone responsible for all the misfortunes that followed the rebellion in the Northwest; is view of the surrender of Louis Riel, as I honestly believe, under the impression that by so surrendering his life would be spared; in view of what I believe to be clearly established—the insanity of Louis Riel; or taking the lowest possible view of it, in view of the fact that his sanity was in doubt, and the disregard of this Government for the plainest principles of common justice, to give every person the benefit of the doubt; in view of the evidence in this case, the facts I have submitted to you, I say I am amply justified in the conclusion I have come to: that the Government of this country deserve condemnation at the hands of the people of this country. I say, however, that for four months—the period that elapsed between the conviction and the execution—this Government literally trafficked in the destiny of a fellow mortal. I say that during all the time from the conviction of Louis Riel to his execution this Government were balancing in the scales the problem of a human life. I say that during all that period this Government were throwing the political dice over the living body of Louis Riel—fixing his fate as Orange or Bleu might prevail. I say that Louis Riel was not executed to vindicate justice or maintain the majesty of the law. I say he was executed because of the pressure of this irresponsible power, and I say that the motives by which the present corrupt, incompetent, imbecile Administration, were actuated and moved, when a human life was concerned, deserve the condemnation of this House, and I believe they will receive that condemnation at the hands of the people of this country. I shall vote for the motion.

Legal.

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