

Mr. MACKINTOSH. I have no doubt that the temperate, judicious, patriotic and carefully considered speech delivered by the hon. member for West Huron (Mr. Cameron) will not only be read by the public with surprise, but will place his party in a position which they will have no reason to feel proud of. Sir, I yield to no man in my feeling of sympathy for those who have suffered in the North-West, and I yield to no man in my desire to vindicate the rights of the people, not only of the North-West, but of the entire Dominion. Therefore, when the hon. gentleman constitutes himself the champion of the people of the North-West, it behooves us to look into the record of his party, and not do as he demands—treat that record as a sealed book. Sir, we have heard the present Administration called ignorant, incompetent, and imbecile. His allegation recalls the happiest days of my life, those I spent in yon press gallery, when I witnessed the operations of an incompetent Administration in this House—an Administration which the hon. member for West Durham (Mr. Blake) was virtually ashamed to remain in. The Administration in which Mr. Ross was Minister of Militia, in which Mr. Coffin was Receiver-General and in which Mr. Cauchon was President of the Council. Mr. Cauchon has gone, and with his record I shall not deal; but these were the pillars of the Administration of the State, the men who formulated legislation that a subservient majority was at all times willing to endorse. Hon. gentlemen opposite appear to think that we should close the book of the past, that we should wipe out their record, and discuss simply the question as to what is the position of this Government with regard to the North-West. I have always held, as a member of the Dominion Parliament, and as a member of the electorate of the Dominion, that we should have no issue among us as to origin, race, or nationality; but the hon. member for West Huron (Mr. Cameron) last night, in discharging the first barrel of his gun, referred to a question which occasioned much heart burning in 1870, the murder of Scott in the North-West, and charged the Government of that day with having given money to Louis Riel to leave the country in order to escape the consequences of his crime. I did not desire to take up that subject, but it would not be fair to the party in power if I did not furnish such evidence as will prove to this House and the country that the Administration of hon. gentlemen opposite, from 1874 to 1878, had much more to do with the amnesty of Riel and the present difficulty in the North-West, than the Government which preceded or followed it. To do so I will have to refer to the record, and therefore must crave the indulgence of the House while reading a few extracts from the organ, then controlled by the Hon. George Brown, the recognised leader of the Opposition in those days, as bearing out the position I take. The very moment the Government of my right hon. friend, Sir John Macdonald, endeavored to take possession of the North-West Territories and Rupert's Land, the *Globe* was prepared to condemn every official the Government sent up there, to embitter the minds of the people in every possible way against the Government and do all it could to stir up feelings of antagonism in that new country. The *Globe* said, on the 31st August, 1869:

"If Mr. Macdougall is sent up to Fort Garry with a ready-made council composed of men utterly ignorant of the country and people, the strongest feelings of discontent will be aroused."

That was the olive branch sent to the North-West in 1869, and a message similar in intent, I am sorry to say, has been sent there from the same source in 1885. On 26th July, 1869 the *Globe* said:

"We are not surprised to hear, as we do, that the Government plan for governing the North-West is very distasteful to the people of that Territory. When the measure was before Parliament, we pointed out that its oligarchical feature could not fail to be unpopular with the people to be governed by it, and advices from the Territory confirm our anticipations."

Of the Red River Council, the same organ, on September 7th, 1869, said:

"At best, the Territory gets a miserably small boon when it is allowed 2 votes out of 8 or 9 in the management of its own Government; and there are many chances that practically, that small boon may be rendered nearly worthless. We pointed out the other day that the only possible reason for refusing to select the Local Executive Council of the territory from the residents thereof, was to be found in the desire of the members of the Dominion Government to have the patronage to distribute among their adherents in other part of the Dominion. Mr. Macdougall's little compact will be made up, in the main of strangers, and if they do not govern worse than the old Family Compact, it will be because of the difference in the times, we have the consolation of knowing, however, that the Red River compact will not last as long by many years as did the old Upper Canada one. The mere appointment of an irresponsible council of outsiders for the Red River country, will be the signal for an agitation there for a Legislature responsible to the people under Local Executive responsible to the Legislature. And that agitation will soon dispose of the oligarchy."

Again, the *Globe* said:

"The territory does not belong to Canada, the Hudson Bay Co. has ceased to reign, and Messrs. Bruce and Riel may hoist any flag they please, without special charge of disloyalty being raised against them. A portion of the people of Red River have committed grave errors, but the Ottawa Government were the first to do wrong, and ought to be the first to acknowledge it and make restitution."

But, Sir, the *Toronto Globe*—the organ of the Reform party, and the very journal that now eulogises Archbishop Taché and pretends to advocate the rights of the half-breeds—then said, on the 4th of April, 1870:—

"Governor McDougall returned and commissioners were sent up to treat with the rebels on behalf of the Government, and who were the commissioners?—a priest in full sympathy with a large section of the rebels; a French Canadian without talent or influence, and a Hudson Bay Company factor only careful to preserve the property of his employers. Can we wonder that the labors of these gentlemen seem rather to have strengthened Riel's power than weakened it; it is a fact that Mr. Donald A. Smith canvassed the settlers to secure their adhesion to Riel's Government."

This was the language used then, this the language which inspired and encouraged and approved of rebellion, and looking over the official records it will be found that a gentleman who was connected with the *Globe* revised the proof-sheets of Riel's manifesto. Lieutenant Governor McDougall, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, said:

"I enclose a printed paper (A) issued by the rebels at Fort Garry on the 6th instant. It was printed at the office of the *Nor'-Wester* by the rebels, who seized the office for the purpose, the proprietor and his employees refusing to have anything to do with it. The type was set by a Yankee in their ranks, and the proof corrected, as I am informed, by Mr. Ross, late of the *Globe* office, Toronto. This 'call' was enclosed in a letter under cover to the Postmaster at Pembina, which he delivered after some hesitation and stating that he would not in future deliver letters to me which might come under cover addressed to him."

And this was the document referred to:

("A.")

"PUBLIC NOTICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF RUPERT'S LAND.

"The president and representatives of the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land, in council (the invaders of our rights being now expelled), already aware of your sympathy, do extend the hand of friendship to you our friendly inhabitants, and, in doing so, invite you to send twelve representatives from the following places, viz:—

"St. John's, 1; St. Margaret's, 1; Headingley, 1; St. James, 1; St. Mary's, 1; Kildonan, 1; St. Paul's, 1; St. Andrew's, 1; St. Clement's, 1; St. Peter's, 1; town of Winnipeg, 2;—in order to form one body with the above council, consisting of twelve members, to consider the present political state of the country, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed best for the future welfare of the same.

A meeting of the above council will be held in the Court House, at Fort Garry, on Tuesday, the 16th day of November, at which the invited representatives will attend.

"By order of the president,

"LOUIS RIEL, Secretary.

"Winnipeg, November 6th, 1869."

Agitation was prompted in that country, and human blood was shed. Instead of regretting, the party of hon. gentlemen opposite then, as now, striving to reach the Treasury benches here and striving to control Ontario as well, were prepared to utilise that unfortunate tragedy for the purpose of advancing party interests. Take the evidence of the late Hon. Joseph Howe, when he returned from the North West as to the feeling existing in that Territory, excited by journalistic articles such as those referred to. I quote from official reports of *Debates* February 1870:—

"I do not desire to abuse the *Globe* or any other newspaper, because I am too old a journalist myself to take such a course. I will say this, however, that when I was in the house of Captain Kennedy and when the subjects of how the Territory was to be governed, and how Canada was to act, and what the instructions of Mr. Macdougall were, and what he would do when he came into the Territory were discussed, I did there as I did everywhere else—defended what was the policy of Canada in the most open and undisguised manner. And where I defended as I was bound to do, the incoming Governor, against the charges and insinuation and doubts and apprehensions thrown out against him,—when I did this—what was the answer? I was referred to Mr. George Brown's editorials as an evidence of the fact that he (Brown) had said that Canada would send men in there to ride rough shod over the country, that the