

whites. If Indians, let them go to their reserves; if white men let them take their homesteads. That was the policy of the Government, and it was acted upon. A commission was issued. What were the instructions given to the commission? Were they to treat those half-breeds as the half-breeds of Manitoba had been treated? No. The instructions to the commission were simply to give the half-breeds of the North-West a plot of land of 100 acres as a homestead and nothing more. The instructions to the commissioners were to give:

"To each half-breed head of a family resident in the North-West Territories, outside of the limits of Manitoba, previous to the 15th day of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, the lot or portion of land of which he is at the present time in *bona fide* and undisputed occupation, by virtue of residence upon and cultivation thereof, to the extent of 160 acres, and if the lot or portion of land of which he is in *bona fide* occupation as aforesaid should be less than 160 acres, the difference to be made up to him by an issue of scrip, redeemable in land, at the rate of one dollar per acre, and in the case of each half-breed head of a family residing in the North-West Territory previous to the 15th day of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, who is not at present in *bona fide* occupation of any land, scrip to be issued, redeemable in land, to the extent of one hundred and sixty dollars."

There was the policy of the Government; and, Sir, this policy was elucidated further by the First Minister himself in a speech delivered in this House on 6th July last. There he gave the motives for that policy. He not only gave the policy, but he gave the motives actuating the Government in adopting it. He said:

"Well, Sir, what was the Government to do? We had all our friends; we had the Archbishop; we had even Mr. Jackson, of whom the hon. gentleman has spoken, who now represents the half-breeds in the North-West Council—we had him stating that there should be no grant given to the half-breeds except on condition of five years of continuous occupation. There was a conflict of opinion. I will not trouble the House with showing that there was an infinity of opinions. An infinity of advice was offered to the Government, how best to deal with the half-breeds, and the Government had only one thing to think of—what was the best for the people, what was it best to do for them, to save them even against their own improvidence, and at the same time not to keep back the settlement of the country. This, Mr. Speaker, may account to any reasonable man for what the hon. gentleman talks of as delay. They were not suffering anything. The half-breed had his own lot. He was not cultivating the land that he had. Giving him his land and giving him more land was giving him nothing. The nomadic half-breed, who had been brought up to hunt, having had merely his chance to repair to in the dead season, when there was no game—what advantage was it to him to give him 160 or 240 acres more? It was of no use to him whatever, but it would have been of great use to the speculators who were working on him and telling him that he was suffering. Oh! how awfully he was suffering—ruined, destroyed, starving, because he did not get 240 acres somewhere else, or the scrip for it, that he might sell it for \$50. No, Sir, the whole thing is a farce."

So you see, Mr. Speaker, here is the whole policy and the motives for that policy. Because the half-breed of Manitoba had been injudicious, the half-breed of the North-West was to get nothing; because the half-breed of Manitoba had sold his scrip for \$50, the half-breed of the North-West Territories was to get no scrip at all. That was the reason of the Government's policy—that was the cause of the policy. The Government came to this conclusion, that the half-breed of the North-West should not get the same treatment as the half-breed of Manitoba, but they did not dare to announce their policy. They wanted to carry it out, but to carry it out on the sly—to carry it out, but not before the eyes of the people of the country. They knew very well that if they were to tell the half-breeds of the North-West Territories that they would not be treated as had been the half-breeds of Manitoba, and would not get as much land as the half-breeds of that Province, this would be objected to, not only by the half-breeds, but by the white settlers, the officials, the missionaries, by all those whose advice the Government had sought. Having come to that conclusion they came to adopt the fatal policy of to-morrow, to-morrow, to-morrow. They trusted that by resorting to that policy of to-morrow, by carrying out that policy, but not announcing it, by-and-bye something would arise and the matter would be forgotten. But the matter was not

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forgotten. Those men rose in rebellion, and then immediately the Government came down on their knees. What they had refused hitherto they telegraphed in haste to their commissioner to grant at once. They telegraphed their commissioner to grant the half-breeds of the North-West Territories what had been claimed for them. Sir, the Prime Minister having spoken the language which I last quoted, went on to say:

"Now, Mr. Speaker, we, at the last moment, made concessions, and we did it for the sake of peace."

At the last moment? Not at the last moment. Not at the eleventh hour but at the fourteenth hour, when blood had been shed, when lives had been lost, when injury had been inflicted which no power under heaven could repair, then the Government yielded to the demands of those people, but not before then. And I call the attention of Parliament to the motives which were assigned by the Government for that fatal and mistaken policy. What were the motives given? The Government would not give the half-breeds of the North-West Territory the same privileges as had been given to the half-breeds of Manitoba. The half-breeds of Manitoba had been improvident in the management of their property, and therefore the Government would not give the half-breeds of the North-West any property at all. The half-breeds in Manitoba had sold their scrip for \$50, and therefore the Government would not give the half-breeds of the North-West any scrip whatever. The half-breeds of Manitoba had sold their lands to speculators and had been despoiled by speculators, and therefore the Government would despoil the half-breeds of the North-West of the whole of their lands. Sir, because the half-breeds of Manitoba had been injudicious in the management of their affairs, it was monstrous that the half-breeds of the North-West should not be accorded any rights, and that the Government should break faith with them. If the half-breeds of Manitoba had been injudicious in the management of their property, there was a remedy. The remedy was the one suggested by Archbishop Taché and by all those conversant with the matter. The remedy was to couple with the legislation some safeguard, whereby the grants of land might be kept to the people, and might be put beyond the reach of white speculators. But who has ever heard of such a monstrous policy as the policy which was propounded and carried out by this Government, namely, that because the half-breeds of Manitoba had been injudicious in the management of their property, the half-breeds of the North-West should have no property whatever? It is again worth while to consider the motives of the Government. They say the half-breeds of Manitoba disposed of their lands, and that is the reason why they gave no land to the half-breeds. Sir, is land such a scarce article with us that the Government of a sudden have become so parsimonious? Is the land of such value that the Government should of a sudden be taken with such a fit of economy? Why, Sir, did the Government in this matter of the land grant, consider like the French gentleman of whom Balzac says, that "the soil was his mistress"? It is true that the Government have without remorse or compunction given away millions of acres of land to their favorites, that they might indulge in speculation, but the grant to the half-breed is only 160 acres because he, too, forsooth, might speculate. It has been said several times that even if that grant was refused to the half-breeds even if they were entitled to it still it was a very small grievance at best, and was no reason for going into rebellion. Sir, that is not the question. I do not examine here whether this was a cause sufficient for going into rebellion or not, but I ask of this Parliament, was there any excuse for this Government acting as they acted? Was their course calculated to promote harmony and peace rather than to promote discontent and produce all the conse-