

there were in this rebellion, are not those who fought, and bled and died, but the men who sit on those Treasury benches? Sir, rebellion is always an evil, it is always an offence against the positive law of a nation; it is not always a moral crime. The Minister of Militia in the week that preceded the execution of Riel, stated his sentiments of rebellion in these words: "I hate all rebels; I have no sympathy, good, bad or indifferent with rebellion." Sir, what is hateful—I use the word which the hon. gentleman made use of—what is hateful is not rebellion, but is the despotism which induces that rebellion; what is hateful are not rebels, but the men who, having the enjoyment of power, do not discharge the duties of power; they are the men who, having the power to redress wrongs, refuse to listen to the petitions that are sent to them; they are the men who, when they are asked for a loaf, give a stone. The hon. gentleman hates all rebels, he says. I wonder if he will extend his hatred to the great rebel whose proud statue stands almost at my arm's length. I venture to say that if that man whose statue has been erected here had been living to-day, and had occupied his place on the Treasury benches, he would have remembered that he was once a rebel. I have seen the day when the Minister of Militia had not for rebellion the horror he now possesses. I have seen the day when the Minister of Militia had not for rebels the deep hatred which he proclaimed to the world almost within the hearing of a condemned man; I have seen the day when the Minister of Militia had great sympathy in his heart for rebellion, when he had deep sympathy in his heart for the very rebel whom he had in his mind, and whose death knell he was in advance ringing when he was proclaiming his hatred of rebellion at Winnipeg. Riel was once before a rebel; he was indicted before, not for rebellion, but for murder connected with a rebellion. The hon. gentleman who now has such a hatred for rebels spoke on that occasion. Resolutions were introduced into this House on a certain occasion to extend an amnesty for all offences connected with the rebellion and to all offenders, Riel and a few others excepted, and granting an amnesty even to them, but with certain restrictions. The hon. gentleman spoke on that occasion. Did he then proclaim, as he now does, his hatred of rebellion? Did he speak the language which he spoke lately in Winnipeg? Did he say he hated all rebels? "I have a hatred of all rebels; I have no sympathy, good, bad or indifferent with rebellion." No; but this is what he said:

"Mr. Caron said that he will vote against the resolution because it does not afford a complete solution of the North-West difficulty. Having voted against the expulsion of Riel from this House he cannot vote for his banishment from the country. A complete amnesty is the only practical solution, and he is sure that the same difficulties will recur next year."

Mr. Speaker, that was the sentiment of the hon. gentleman at that time. Well, if on that occasion Riel was entitled to a full amnesty, was he not entitled, at least, to a commutation of sentence on this occasion, when this last rebellion had not been darkened by such an act as darkened the pages of the first rebellion? The hon. gentleman in those days stated again and again that the first rebellion was justified. If the first rebellion was justified, was not the second rebellion equally justified? Where would be the half-breeds to-day if it had not been for this rebellion? Would they have obtained the rights which they now enjoy? I say, Sir, that the Canadian Government stands convicted of having yielded their rights only to rebellion, and not to the just representation of the half-breeds and of having actually forced them into insurrection. Mr. Speaker, such were my sentiments, and I spoke them elsewhere. I appeal, upon this occasion, as I did elsewhere, to every friend of liberty, to all those who, during twenty-five years past, have felt their hearts thrill whenever a struggle for freedom was going on in any corner of the world; with the Italians, when

they delivered their country from the yoke of Austria; with the Americans, in their stupendous struggle for national unity; with the Mexicans, in their successful attempt to resist the foreign domination which the French Emperor sought to impose on them; with the French themselves in their generous though often misguided efforts to establish amongst themselves the bulwark of freedom and responsible government; with the Danubian population, when they attempted to rid themselves from the degrading domination of the Turks; and when at last—at last—a section of our own countrymen rose in arms to claim rights long denied them, rights which were immediately acknowledged to be just, as soon as they were asked with bullets, are we to have no sympathy with them? Though, Mr. Speaker, these men were in the wrong; though the rebellion had to be put down; though it was the duty of the Canadian Government to assert its authority and vindicate the law, still, I ask any friend of liberty, if there is not a feeling rising in his heart, stronger than all reasoning to the contrary, that these men were excusable? Such were, Mr. Speaker, my sentiments. I spoke them elsewhere. I have had, since that time, occasion to realise that I have greatly shocked Tory editors and Tory members. Sir, I know what Tory loyalty is. Tories have always been famous for preaching loyalty to others. Tories have always been famous for being loyal, as long as it was profitable to be so. Under the reign of James, the Tories were gushing in their loyalty as long as the tyranny of the king fell upon the Whigs and Dissenters; but when at last the tyranny of James fell upon the Tories themselves and the Church of their heart, their slavish notions received a most salutary shock. They took side with the Whigs, and, horror of horrors, they shouldered the musket and joined the Prince of Orange and put him on the throne; and I believe that to this day the Tories will say that it was a happy day for England when that rebellion took place. If we pass from England to this country we have the same tale to tell. In 1849 the Tories were gushing in their loyalty as long as they expected the Governor General to be disloyal to the people, but when they found the Governor General was loyal to the people, their own loyalty oozed out of their bodies and vanished into thin air. They did not shoulder the musket—that would have been too noble a weapon—but with eggs and stones they pelted the representative of Her Majesty. They did not shoulder the musket, but with pen and ink they wrote and signed annexation manifestoes. And, Mr. Speaker, if we continue the story, even down to the days since this Government has been in power, we find that when they introduced the National Policy, and it was objected that that policy was unfair and ungenerous to England, and that it might possibly endanger British connection, the cool Tory answer was: "So much the worse for British connection." Sir, this is Tory loyalty. Ready they are to-day to sacrifice British connection, if British connection stands between them and their selfishness; ready they are to-day to sacrifice British connection if it stands between them and their enjoyment of power; ready they are to sacrifice British connection for mere sordid greed, but they affect, forsooth, to be shocked when we profess sympathy for men who, in the west, have been vindicating their rights long denied. Sir, I will not receive any lectures on loyalty from men with such a record. I am a British subject, and I value the proud title as much as anyone in this House. But if it is expected of me that I shall allow fellow countrymen unfriended, undefended, unprotected and unrepresented in this House, to be trampled under foot by this Government, I say that is not what I understand by loyalty, and I would call that slavery. I am a British subject, but my loyalty is not of the lips. If hon. gentlemen opposite will read history, they will find that my ancestors, in all their struggles against the British Crown in the past, never